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Cookbook of the Songola: an Anthropological Study on the Technology of Food Preparation among a Bantu-speaking People of the Zaïre Forest.

Takako ANKEI
Faculty of Education, Yamaguchi University

"La découverte d’un mets nouveau fait plus pour le bonheur du genre humain que la découverte d’une étoile."
Brillat-Savarin, 1826

"...we are dealing with a galaxy of words in the arrangement of which a thesaurus of some magnitude might be compiled." E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 1940

ABSTRACT
What do African women do to prepare their daily diet in a rural environment? This article is an attempt to answer this question, based on an eight months' field survey among the Songola, a Bantu people living in the tropical rain forest of the Republic of Zaïre.

In order to shed light on their system of cooking as a whole, the author established cumulative inventories of 1) 377 materials having different Songola names, 2) 49 Songola verbs for the techniques of preparation, 3) 40 cooking tools, and 4) a total of 335 recipes of which 75 were for intermediate products having their Songola names. Materials are identified, labeled with Songola, Zairian Swahili, and Latin names, and described from the statements of the Songola and the observations by the author. The boundaries for the elements of each set of inventories are determined by "emic" approach, or depending upon the concepts of the Songola themselves. Each verb for cooking, accompanied by an operational definition, is illustrated by sample sentences and sketches of the author. Recipes, represented by a combination of the former three elements, are described by text and flow charts with which readers will easily understand the systematic relationship between them.

A single material cassava had recipes of the greatest diversity: divided into three by the Songola ("sweet" tubers, "bitter" tubers, and leaves), it gave birth to a total of 30 different recipes and 8 intermediate products for other recipes, and 35 different dishes. Thus, the result was an overwhelming variety of cooked food available among the Songola: they know as many as 2099 different dishes. Seeing that salt and a small amount of sugar are the only materials provided from outside of their territory, we can have an image of the original affluence of food and diet in African tropical rain forests.

Key words: Cooking, Folk classification, Recipes, Songola, Zaïre.
I Introduction

A. Purpose of research and the study method.

This article consists of detailed descriptions of the knowledge and practice of food preparation among the Songola, a Bantu-speaking people living in the tropical rain forest of the central Zaire basin. It is confined to a cumulative listing of the materials, the techniques for preparation, and the recipes. It does not deal with the preparation of alcoholic beverages since that has been published elsewhere (T. Ankei, 1987, 1988). The specific ways of acquiring food materials are not described either because they have been, and will be treated in other papers (see Y. Ankei, 1981; 1984; 1988; 1989).

An analysis of these results and an ethnographic comparison of culinary practices in Africa will be published in a separate article, which will be followed by a study on dietary practices. Ethnographic comparisons of cooking and diet between different cultures will be made possible only through the accumulation of detailed descriptive works.

I have made every effort to approach the system of folk classification by the Songola in order to find out the principles underlying their culinary practices. We must describe the environment, plants, and animals, as are conceived by the Songola, namely according to the way in which they give names to and utilize them. Even if a folk category is not overtly given a name, it was often possible to find out verbs or adjectives that contour the category. In other words I tried to demonstrate the "emic" concepts whenever possible, and to provide readers with objective descriptions, not simple translations of words, for each concept of the Songola. I have prepared line drawings from my sketches and from pictures taken by my husband and by myself during our stay among the Songola. Hopefully they will help readers form a concrete image of the art of Songola cooking.

My field survey was carried out during two periods for a total of eight months from July to December 1978 and from November 1979 to February 1980. Observation and daily conversations with Songola women are the principal sources of the results. Drawing sketches was a good way to initiate conversations with them about their daily activities and their material culture. Interviewing was carried out in Zairian form of Swahili. I collected Songola names for food materials and utensils, verbs for cooking processes, and other expressions concerning the art of cooking. During the last month of my stay, when I came to be able to follow what the Songola women explained to me in Swahili, three women of the village of Ngoli helped me to review all the recipes.

I intended that this work, although unfortunately published in a language that is not easily understood by the Songola, could be used as a cookbook of an African people both for those who take interest in African cooking and for the coming generations of the Songola people.

A housewife of a Songola family decides what to cook, among other things, based on what is reasonably available on a particular day. She must also take into account possible and desired combinations of materials, what the members of her family have eaten in recent days, and what they are going to eat in the days to come. So, an anthropological study of cooking and dietary practices must encompass the
backgrounds for the decision-making of persons who prepare meals.

In order to be able to make a decision on what dishes to prepare on a certain day Songola women as cooks must be well acquainted with the following factors: 1) materials and their folk classification which may decide the preference and avoidance (including taboo) of a certain food, 2) methods of processing these materials as are conceived by the women themselves, 3) utensils needed for each process, and 4) the special knack, if any, for the success of each recipe.

Every dish of the Songola can be described as a successive combination of the four elements mentioned above. So, flow charts of cooking processes are the major results of this paper. Provided with sufficient knowledge and materials, anybody could prepare any of the Songola dishes described in this paper.

B. The Songola.

1. Location.

Figure 1 shows the location of the Songola and their subgroups in the Republic of Zaire. They live not very far from Kindu, the capital town of the Région du Maniema (formerly Sous-Région du Maniema in Région du Kivu). Kindu is located at 2700 kilometers upstream on the Zaire-Lualaba River. They live in two administrative sections in the Zone de Kailo (formerly Zone de Kindu), Collectivité de Wasongola and Collectivité d'Ambwe. Both of them exist in the Zone de Kailo. Y. Ankei (1984) estimated that there are more than fifty thousand inhabitants who regard themselves as the Songola. Murdock (1959) classified them among the Equatorial Bantu group.

2. Language.

The Songola language belongs to the Bantu language group of D-zone. It has seven vowels ("a e i o u" plus narrow "i" and "u" denoted by addition of a cedilla ".") , two tones (of which only the high tones are shown by acute accents to economize accent marks), and 14 noun classes distinguished by different prefixes. A period is interposed between a stem and its prefix (or suffix) to clarify the grammatical structure of each word. Consult Y. Ankei (1989: 4-6) for more details on the language.

In the territory of the Songola there is a group of people named Ombo, who use Ombo language, a tongue different from Songola, and belonging to the Bantu language group of C-zone. They are said to have migrated from the west bank of the Lualaba, and have retained the life style of the Songola.

In both of the study villages Kuko and Enya dialects of Songola are used. These two dialects have only a small difference in their pronunciation and vocabulary. I will refer to the linguistic differences between the two study villages when needed.

A Zairian form of Swahili is used as a lingua franca in the eastern parts of the Zaire Republic. Swahili terms are always spelt without tone marks and can be distinguished from Songola terms. For the facility of readers who use other dialects of Swahili, Tanzanian form of Swahili are also provided in brackets consulting a Swahili dictionary (Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili 1981).
Fig. 1 The location of the study area.  
*Inchi [Nchi] ya Wasongola.*
3. Life styles and identity of the Songola.

There are at least two definitively different life styles among the Songola: cultivators and fishermen. The former live in the forest and practice rather self-sufficient slash-and-burn cultivation (Y. Ankei, 1981), whereas the latter live along the Lualaba as full-time fishermen (Y. Ankei, 1989: 10-15). They are often associated by ties of barter of farm produce and fish (Y. Ankei, 1984).

Cultivators are called ba.têm.i bé ma.slu, namely people who cultivate fields, and fishermen are called ba.lôbî bê h.fii, namely people who catch fish. Fisherman are also called ba.enyâ. Hunters may be called ba.lûmba bê nyama, namely hunters of animals, but there are no groups of the Songola for whom hunting is the most important subsistence activity.

People who regard themselves as Songola are very diverse. There are at least five subgroups among them. They may have different languages, different life styles, and sometimes different ethnic origins (Table 1). The Songola are a complex ethnic group which has been formed by some local political power (Y. Ankei, 1984). There was a tendency before and during the colonial era. People became Songola by adopting the Songola language, life style (cultivators or fishermen), and especially by their food preferences.

Among the complex subgroups of the Songola, I chose two villages Ngoli and Tongomacho. Ngoli was a village of a forest-dwelling subgroup named Kuko, and had 92 inhabitants at the end of 1979. Tongomacho is a village of the Enya subgroup, and is located on the bank of the Lualaba River like other fishing villages. It was inhabited by 30 persons in 1979. All families of Ngoli earn their living by primarily self-sufficient slash-and-burn cultivation of the rain forest, whereas Tongomacho villagers were fishermen.

**Table 1. Livelihood of the Songola: River and forest peoples.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subgroup</th>
<th>Enya</th>
<th>Kuko</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitat</td>
<td>Riverside of the Lualaba</td>
<td>Tropical rain forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livelihood</td>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>Slash-and-burn cultivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Songola and Swahili</td>
<td>Songola and Swahili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village name</td>
<td>Tongomacho</td>
<td>Ngoli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village type</td>
<td>One row of houses on the banks.</td>
<td>Two rows of houses along the truck road.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (Feb. 1980)</td>
<td>31 persons</td>
<td>92 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mens’ work</td>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>Clearing the forest for fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small-scale cultivation</td>
<td>Extraction of palm oil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in markets</td>
<td>Cooking and nursing children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s work</td>
<td>Cooking and nursing</td>
<td>Field works other than clearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivation in half of the households</td>
<td>Participation in the markets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communal work</td>
<td>Repairing big fishnets</td>
<td>Does not exist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communal meal</td>
<td>All of the men’s meals</td>
<td>Does not exist</td>
</tr>
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II Materials and their folk classification

A. Food and beverages among the Songola.

The Songola divide the act of taking things into the stomach for the purpose of nourishment as .c. (verb stem for "eat", the infinitive is ku.c.á) and .sol. (to drink). This work describes both of these two categories, the former corresponding to "food", the latter to "beverages." There is another verb .men. (to swallow) denoting to take things other than food and beverages as medicine tablets through the mouth. There also is a term, .lil., applied to the feeding action of animals. Biting by a dog is .lás./.dás. Examples: Ma.báta má. lil.í ŋ.fíi. "Ducks are feeding on fish." Ngwá ē. ŋ.dás.i. "A dog has bitten him."

There are two Songola words to refer to food or what is eaten. One is j.ca, and the other is bi.kuca. Both words are derivatives of a verb stem .c. (eat), and have no difference in singular or plural forms. The latter word bi.kuca is analysed as bi+ku+c+a, denoting respectively 1) a prefix for noun class number 8, 2) a prefix for an infinitive, 3) verb stem, and 4) a suffix. We might take this word as an abbreviation of bj.endo b. j ku.c.á, or "things to eat."

The Songola use these two words in slightly different senses according to context. An informant says that j.ca is a small amount of food consumed only by the members of a single family, and that bi.kuca is a large amount of food enough for all the villagers. In this context, foodstuffs carried to a barter market are bi.kuca, and are not j.ca. Another informant says that bi.kuca is a cooked food whereas j.ca is uncooked material for cooking. However, there are exceptions to this. Papaya, always eaten raw, is bi.kuca, whereas three sorts of cooked food made of bitter cassava are j.ca, and are usually eaten as cold snacks. I would conclude that bi.kuca is a food (or its material) to share among families and j.ca is one which is not enough in quality or in quantity to share beyond the boundary of a household. In the territory of the Enya, a term ki.jmá (bi.) is used to denote food, and there is no complexity as is found among the cultivator subgroups of the Songola.

The Enya use the term bi.soko in plural form as a category for certain food. It means a dish made from fish, game, worms, or leaves of amaranth, yautia, and sweet potatoes. For Kuko people the term means principally fish in general, and at the same time the food described above. Curiously enough, the Songola do not regard a dish of cassava leaves as bi.soko. An informant holds that bi.soko is a luxurious dish flavored with salt, and that cassava leaves make a mundane dish often cooked without salt. Another term ŋ.bóka (probably deriving from a Swahili word mboga) is a synonym for bi.soko in this sense. An Enya informant told me that fish and meat give out mu.sábj or broth, whereas cassava leaves don't. In short, we could reconstruct that Kuko people have replaced the original Bantu term ŋ.fíi (fish) for another term ke.soko (good dish). Apparently fish provided by Enya fishermen was and has been the best relish for the cultivators in the forest.

The verb .sol. (drink) has its derivative noun ke.solá (beverage). Some of the beverages are consumed hot, sometimes with stimulating
materials as coffee and red pepper. These hot drinks create *ki. úmúmbí*, warmth in the body. Because of this character some women insist that they are both beverages and food. On the contrary, thin porridge made of cassava flour is regarded as food in spite of its liquid character.

B. Environments and seasons for the acquisition of materials.

1. Environments as seen by the Songola

A village, *ka.ca*, of the Kuko subgroup of the Songola is composed of two rows of houses on both sides of a road, *h.jilá*. On the other hand, the Enya fishermen construct their village of a single row of houses on the bank of the Lualaba River. In both subgroups a homestead, *lu.kumbu*, is a combination of several huts, *ń.dábu*, enclosed by a tall fence (Fig. 2). This enclosure is usually occupied by one patrilineal family with bachelors and occasional visitors. It usually has spaces for guests. The courtyard is cleaned everyday. Hunting

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*Fig. 2 A household, *lu.kumbu*, of the Songola.*

*Lupango ya Wasongola.*

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*Fig. 3 A Songola house, *ń.dábu*, composed of a sleeping room and a veranda.*

*Nyumba ya Wasongola.*
dogs, goats, hens, and ducks are roaming in and out of the enclosure. At night fowls are enclosed in a wooden cage.

A wife owns ndabu, a sleeping room and balása, a veranda for cooking (Fig. 3). This veranda, used also as a living room, has a cooking place, ma.fjka, which is composed of one or two fireplaces, ki.balá. A fireplace may be a firth made of clay, three pairs of bricks (see Fig. 71) or three large trunks of firewood (see Fig. 4). The triple trunks are called me.konda (see Fig. 69), whereas chopped firewood is lu.kúnj. Over the fireplace, there is ki.liya, a smoking shelf fastened to the roof. Women keep their reserve of food and cooking utensils there. Ngoli villagers often construct a roofed or non-roofed smoking shelf in the courtyard (Fig. 4). This shelf is also called ki.liya. They dry detoxicated cassava tubers, one of the most important food materials both for consumption and for sale. Women chop firewood in the courtyard. They also break palm bunches, pound rice and dried cassava tubers, dry crops in this courtyard. When it is not rainy or too bright, women work together to prepare food material before taking them to their fireplaces: they pluck leaves, peel tubers or fruit, scale and cut fish, or remove inedible parts of birds and animals. Ducks, hens and dogs assemble around the women and swallow the scraps.

Preparation of food materials also takes place out of the courtyard: a woman peels tubers of bitter cassava in her field, a hunter dismembers his game by a stream in the forest, and a man or a boy butchers fowls and goats in the dooryard. Thus, men engage in only a small part of the acquisition and preparation of food materials. In Ngoli a man climbs the high trunk of palm trees and cuts oil palm bunches, or hunts animals and birds. Women do not engage in butchering, but all other preparation is the task of women.

The space behind an enclosure is called ku.jlinga, and serves as a

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**Fig. 4** A large smoking shelf ki.liya, a smoking grill for fish, mo.pela and me.konda, a triplet of large logs for firewood. Man's basket, ke.sakamykongo and a gourd ke.pombo are hung at the corner of the shelf. Height 110 cm.

Kahala ya mihogo na kahala ya samaki.
A number of useful plants grow in dooryard gardens. Here, a housewife can easily obtain some of the cooking materials needed in only small amounts: red pepper, tomatoes, onions, leeks, ginger, turmeric, and lemon grasses. Leafy vegetables such as yautias and a variety of sweet potatoes also grow here. Ngoli villagers grow other plants in their dooryard gardens. They plant fruit such as plantains, bananas, pineapples, papayas, lemons, oranges, avocados, mangoes, guavas, breadfruit, and coffee. They also plant newly introduced varieties of useful plants. These plants can be better looked after and protected from damage by chimpanzees, monkeys, elephants, and possibly from thieves. Tongomacho villagers also use the slope of the bank as their dooryard gardens as their dooryard gardens.

Ngoli village was situated in 1980 in a plantation of oil palm trees planted before the Independence. Many Kuko men climb oil palm trees and cut bunches of palm fruit. The groves of oil palm trees are a source of important cooking material, of palm oil sold at a high price, and delicious and nutritional palm wine for the Songola (Y. Ankei, 1981, T. Ankei, 1987).

Drinking water is drawn from a spring or a stream away from villages. This place is called *ku ma.ánji* which means "beside the water (Fig. 5)." Water for washing materials and for cooking may be drawn from large rivers such as the Lualaba (Fig. 6) and *ki.címa*, or wells dug in villages; a Songola village has a source in the nearby bush. Drawing water, *teng. ma.ánji*, is the task of women and girls. In the 80's wells were being dug in villages having sources remote from the village. Songola villagers living on a bank of the Lualaba draw drinking water from the headwaters of a stream flowing into the Lualaba.
Fields are scattered within a 30 minutes' walk from Ngoli village. In a newly slashed field, women plant several varieties of plantains, cassava, and rice, one or two varieties of maize and groundnuts. There are small patches of one to three varieties of tomatoes, chili, eggplant, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, yams, taros, cucurbits, and amaranth. A few women cultivate sesame, gourds, and bambara groundnuts.

A field lasts usually for 2-3 years after slashing and burning the forest. Shrubs and trees grow speedily in fallow or abandoned fields and transform them into bush, and then secondary forests. Women walk through patches of land which are in various stages of succession from fallow to secondary forest on their way to a field. In this way they make use of a variety of vegetation types for the collection of cooking materials. Fallow provides fallen trees for firewood (both for *lu.kunj* and *me.konda*) and abundant mushrooms on them (Fig. 7). Women collect edible leaves or fruit of some herbs and trees growing in fallows. They also collect broad leaves of a herb family Marantaceae in secondary forests for wrapping food. A species of edible fern grows in *ma.anga*, the abandoned site of a village or in *bu.süb1*, a place covered with grass because of repeated cultivation.

Songola call forests which have never been slashed for fields by the name *mu.kunda*. This term can be translated as "primary forest". They classify *mu.kunda* into four types according to the difference of soil and the vegetation on it (Table 2). A forest in the course of transition from bush to adult secondary forest is *ki.kông4*, which is subdivided into three categories. These folk categories of the forests will be described and discussed in another paper on the ethnobotany and ethnoecology of the Songola (T. Ankei, in preparation). Women rarely collect wild plants growing in primary forests or the oldest stage of secondary forests because they are located a long way from villages or fields. Men occasionally collect plants such as mushrooms during their hunt in the forests. A dominant tree *mu.lyli* (*Gilbertiodendron dewevrei* (DE WILD.) J. LÉONARD) produces abundant large edible seeds which have been very important as famine food. It takes a long time to remove the toxic materials in the seeds, and the Songola do not usually consume them. A wife sometimes asks her husband to look for young leaves of two species of trees in the primary forest. They give a special flavor...
Table 2. Folk categories of the habitats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Songola</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>mu.kunda (mi.)</td>
<td>Primary forest in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a1</td>
<td>ki.bamba (bj.)</td>
<td>Primary forest of Gilbertiodendron dewevrei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a2</td>
<td>lu.anja (n.ganja)</td>
<td>Primary forest having no dominant species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a3</td>
<td>lo.ménya (m.)</td>
<td>Primary forest near rivers and swamps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a4</td>
<td>lo.senga (ñ.)</td>
<td>Swamp forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b1</td>
<td>ku.lu.úji</td>
<td>Land along rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b2</td>
<td>ku.lu.alaba</td>
<td>Land along the Lualaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c0</td>
<td>ñ.sju (ma.)</td>
<td>Cultivated fields and fallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1</td>
<td>ki.kúngá ki.tángí</td>
<td>Young secondary forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c2</td>
<td>ki.kúngá kée lu.bísi</td>
<td>Secondary forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d0</td>
<td>ke.banga (bj.)</td>
<td>Land degraded by repeated cultivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d1</td>
<td>ka.ca (tu.)</td>
<td>Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d2</td>
<td>ñ.jilá (ñ.)</td>
<td>Road and roadsides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>bu.subí (ma.)</td>
<td>Grassland covered by ferns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ki.liba (bj.)</td>
<td>Swamps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>lu.úcj (ñ.gúcj)</td>
<td>The Elila and other larger rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ka.úcj (tu.)</td>
<td>Streams in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>ñ.kúngó-ý.é-ka.ácj</td>
<td>Headwaters of streams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>mu.sálu (mi.)</td>
<td>Estuaries of streams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>ku.sf-ý.é-ku.alaba</td>
<td>Slopes of the banks of the Lualaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1</td>
<td>ma.kanga</td>
<td>Grass foliage (Echinochloa &amp; Vossia spp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2</td>
<td>j.sénó (ma.)</td>
<td>Shades of shrubs stretching over water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>mu.úgi-w.é-ku.alaba</td>
<td>In the Lulalaba River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>.boma (.)</td>
<td>Hydroelectric dam lake of the Ambwe River</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

resembling that of garlic to certain dishes.

The Songola used a kind of salt made from plants before the arrival of Europeans. The major source of this salt was ki.ungí (Pistia stratiotes L.) an aquatic plant growing in the tributaries of the Lualaba River. There were rare spots in the forest where water containing salt was available. The Kuko people are said to have utilized the salt from such places.

Each patrilineage of Kuko villages usually has a camp site of its own deep in the primary forest. During fishing and hunting seasons members of the lineage bail out streams or build weirs to catch small fishes (Y. Ankei, 1989: 10-12) or hunt animals by surrounding them with nets. A man brings a bow and arrows with him when he enters the forest. He uses poisoned arrows for monkeys. When a hunter kills an elephant on the land owned by a village (more precisely, by a traditional village chief, mo.kota) villagers make up a camp at the site of the hunt. They dismember it, eat as much as they can, and smoke the rest to bring back home. Ngoli villagers, who are not Muslims, regard most mammals, reptiles and birds in the forest as edible. On the other hand, about 50 % of the Enya villagers were Muslims during my stay among the Songola.

The Songola collect aquatic animals such as frogs, molluscs, crabs,
shrimp, and insects for food. Some of them eat land snails.

Both Tongomacho and Ngoli villagers visit *ki.cuka*, markets and *j.iükä*, stores. They visit a market at Elila on Sundays. Near the village of Bukindi, at four kilometers from Ngoli they have another type of market for barter on Tuesdays. They control the use of cash, and directly exchange fish and produce from their fields. Women from Ngoli village sell their produce at the cash-using market, and buy their daily necessities such as salt and soap. They depend on the barter market for the major part of the supply of fish. Tongomacho villagers obtain more than half of their foodstuffs other than fish at the barter market, and the rest from cash-using markets (Y. Ankei, 1984).

2. Seasonal changes.

There are *bu.wá*, dry seasons and *unjọ́*, rainy seasons in the territory of the Songola (Y. Ankei, 1989: 9-10). The long dry season begins in May and ends in August, whereas the short dry season occurs in February.

Seasonal changes of rainfall and the water levels of the Lualaba determine the yields of produce and fish. Seed crops have distinctive seasons for their harvest: maize in December, rice February to April, chilies February to July, and tomatoes January to May are examples of such harvest seasons. Groundnuts have two harvest seasons: December to January and May to June. On the other hand, "seedless" crops like cassava and plantains take a long time (6 months to 4 years) until harvest. These vegetatively reproducing crops and tree crops such as oil palm can be harvested all year round. Ngoli villagers choose different varieties and different periods for planting to shorten the inter-harvest periods.

High water seasons are difficult periods for Tongomacho villagers and other fishermen of the Lualaba, whereas the heavy rain that causes inundation in the Lualaba brings about a season for weir fishing by Ngoli villagers along streams in the forest.

There are other seasonal gifts of the forest: various species of edible worms and honey.

C. Folk categories of the materials for food and beverages.

Materials for food and beverages are not treated in the same manner by the Songola. There are distinctive patterns of preparation according to the different characteristics of the groups of materials. However, these groups are rarely overtly labelled with nouns. I managed to find out verbs and adverbs corresponding to the observed behavioral grouping of the materials (Chart 1). The materials for eating, can be divided into what is to *jámb*. (prepare food by heating, or to cook in a narrow sense), and what is not cooked and eaten *bu.bisi* (raw). Sweet fruit, cultivated or wild, are usually eaten raw.

Among the materials for cooking by heat, the following distinction can be made. Some are made into dishes that are presumably eaten with other food. In exceptional cases they are eaten alone without accom­paniment of other food. The status of such a poor meal is called *bu.saku*, a Songola term meaning a "pity." You can imagine the status of *bu.saku* by picturing a Japanese meal composed of a single bowl of cooked rice or millet! Starchy food materials as cassava, plantains,
rice, etc. are included in this category. Thus, this folk category could be translated as "principal starchy food materials." I will refer to this category of materials as A group.

The cooking materials for food other than the above A group are never eaten alone. Among these materials, there is a group that corresponds to the Songola verb *lungy*, namely "make (something) tasty", and regarded as having the ability of making other food tasty. Salt, chilies, and oil, for example, are included in this category. Materials in this category seem to correspond to "condiments", but they have a wider usage; for example, a mixture of salt and chili sometimes comprises a "dish" to be eaten with boiled and sliced bitter cassava or boiled yam. This category of materials will be referred to as B group.

Food materials other than the above A and B groups are divided according to the folk criteria of "having *musuna* or not". *Musuna* can be translated as "muscle". Those food materials lacking "muscles" correspond to vegetables (except "condiments" of the B group). Leaves, stems, fruit, seeds, and mushrooms are included in this category. I will call this category as C group.

The rest are materials having *musuna*. This category can be translated as "animals" in its widest sense. The Songola distinguish several more divisions in this folk category: *nyama* (D group), *bji.soko* (E group), *ki.limu* (F group), and the rest, G group, which are not named overtly (a residual category).

*Nyama* (in a wide sense) further includes at least two folk categ-

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**Chart 1.** Grouping of the materials for food and beverages.

![Diagram of Chart 1](image-url)
ories: nyama (in a narrow sense) i.e. mammals and reptiles; and nyonj, birds.

All of the materials in this category can be called nyama in one sense or another. For a Songola woman as a cook the distinction between birds (nyonj) and other animals (nyama) is not very important. She knows the folk terms to distinguish small animals (ka.nyama) from larger animals and to distinguish small birds (ka.nyonj) from larger birds (nyonj). However, a Songola woman prefers to explain that only the essential division in this category is nyama and ka.nyama.

Since a separate paper on the folk knowledge and use of animals among the Songola is in preparation, I will deal with only an outline of the ethnozoological description needed for cooking.

The next category is bij.soko in Kuko dialect (n.fii in Enya dialect), corresponding to fish in general (E group). For the distinction of fish from other aquatic animals, (see Y. Ankei, 1989: 15-16).

Among the other folk categories having a smaller number of materials, there is ki.limu (F group) which is comprised of bugs and worms. It is highly probable that the Songola cook and eat many more species of insects and worms than are described in this paper. Unfortunately, I could not observe the activities in the season for worm collecting.

The final category (G group) of those beings having musuna (muscle) is comprised of crabs, prawns and eggs. The listing of food materials ends with those that are eaten raw (H group) and the beverages (I group).

There are three major categories for Songola's beverages, ke.solá: 1) ma.ânjj, water, 2) maly, alcoholic beverages, and 3) jalú, other hot beverages. Since this paper does not deal with alcoholic beverages, the major materials are related to the preparation of the third category jalú. In a narrow sense, jalú is a hot infusion of chilies and other plants taken with a snack made from materials in group A. In a broad sense, it includes all the beverages resulting from the infusion of some plant: tea, coffee, and many others. In Zairian Swahili the Songola call the former lisongo, and the latter chai or "tea".

Chart 1 shows a scheme for grouping the materials for food and beverages (A-I). It gives a simplified expression in English for the readers' convenience although each category is based on concepts of the Songola, and not on "scientific" or "objective" classification.

A. Principal starchy food: food called bu.saku "pity" unless accompanied by other food.
B. Condiments and seasoning food that can "improve the taste" (.luny.).
C. Having no muscles (mu.suna): plants as cooked leaves or fruit.
D. Nyama in a broad sense or mammals, reptiles, and birds: first group of materials having muscles (mu.suna).
E. Bij.soko/n.fii or fish: second group of materials having muscles.
F. Ki.limu or bugs and worms: third group of materials having muscles, ki.limu: bugs and worms.
G. Residual category of D-F or amphibians, crustaceans, and molluscs: other materials having muscles.
H. Materials eaten raw (bu.bísi).
I. Materials for beverages (ke.solá).
III Inventory of the materials for food and beverages

In this chapter I will describe all of the materials in the order of the above mentioned grouping A to I.

Tables 3A-3I give concise information on the following features of the materials.

Nomenclature: 1) singular forms of vernacular Songola names and its plural forms in parentheses, 2) inclusive vernacular names or lexemes if any, 3) Swahili names in Zairian form of Swahili, 4) English names in some cases, and 5) Latin names.

Type of usage: 1) utilized parts of each material, 2) locality of acquisition denoted by the abbreviations in Table 2, 3) availability ("c" for common, "s" for seasonal, "r" for rare), and 4) activities (C for cultivation, D for butchering domestics animals and fowl, F for fishing, G for gathering, H for hunting, and M for purchase with money). Since all wild animals and birds are obtained by hunting and fish by fishing, the information on the activities are omitted for Tables 3D and 3E.

The text for each material is described using the following reference numbers which represent different topics.

1 Biology: biological information such as synonyms of Latin names, and English names if any. I consulted reference works in page 174.
2 Names: Other vernacular names and folk etymology.
3 Folk identification and classification: Statements such as "X can be distinguished from Y because...", etc.
4 Acquisition: Information on methods of acquiring the material.
5 Economy: Information on price and marketing.
6 Gastronomic introduction: general descriptions of taste and cooking methods.
7 Restrictions: Avoidance as food and taboo for consumption, etc.
8 Other use: Use other than food, such as ritual medicine.
9 Oral tradition: Songs, sayings and episodes.
10 Ethnographic notes.
11 Linguistic and ethnolinguistic notes.

A. Materials for principal starchy food (Table 3A).

A1. j.omá (m.omá)
1— a green unripe bunch of plantains; 2— after several days of preservation in a room it becomes yellow and ripe plantains having a different name, mu.titi; the Songola have more than 29 different varieties; 3— food of the ancestors; "You will not have abdominal troubles if you confine your meal to plantains."; 4— planted in fields where primary forests are slashed; yield is poor unless planted on a rich soil; 6— no difference of cooking method among the cultivated varieties; peel (B12) is used for condiments; 8— ka.ánj or leaves are used as important cooking utensils (T30); dry leaves cooked with dried elephant meat to soften it; 11— the irregular prefix of the plural form m.omá may be a result of an elision of the vowel "a" in its hypothesized plural form ma.omá*.

A2. mo.songú w.ácićimá (me. songú y.ácićimá)
1— "sweet" cassava, or a group of varieties having little poisonous
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Latin names</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Parts eaten</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Availability</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td><em>j. omá (m. omá)</em></td>
<td><em>ndisi</em></td>
<td>plantain</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c0,d1</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musa sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td><em>m. songú</em></td>
<td><em>muhogo</em></td>
<td>cassava</td>
<td>tubers</td>
<td>c0,d1</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>w. úcigimá</em></td>
<td><em>utamu</em></td>
<td>(sweet)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manihot esculenta CRANTZ.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td><em>m. songú</em></td>
<td><em>muhogo</em></td>
<td>cassava</td>
<td>tubers</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>w. úcigumá</em></td>
<td><em>uchungu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manihot esculenta CRANTZ.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4*</td>
<td><em>j. liya (ma.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>kihama</em></td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>aerial</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dioscorea cayenensis LAM.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5*</td>
<td><em>lo. sele (ù.)</em></td>
<td><em>mbeku ya</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>a1</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gilbertiodendron dewevrei (DE WILD.) J. LÉONARD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A6*</td>
<td><em>m. bálá (mi.</em>)*</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>acasia seeds</td>
<td>a1,a2,a3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pentaclethra macrophylla BENTH.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td><em>m. fúnga (mi.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>mupunga</em></td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oryza sativa L.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td><em>i. súngú (ma.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>muhindi</em></td>
<td>maize</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zea mays L.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A9</td>
<td><em>m. kolokoto (me.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>muhindi</em></td>
<td>ripe</td>
<td>maize</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Zea mays L.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
<td><em>ka. ndolo (to.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>biazi ya</em></td>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>potato</td>
<td>c0,d1</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ipomoea batatus L. kishenzi</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td><em>i. kaca (ma.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>kihama</em></td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>tubers</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dioscorea sp.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td><em>i. súngú (ma.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>kihama</em></td>
<td>African bit-</td>
<td>tubers</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dioscorea dumetorum (KUNTH) PAX. ter yam</td>
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<tr>
<td>A13</td>
<td><em>lu. ngúma (ù.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>kihama</em></td>
<td>greater yam</td>
<td>tubers</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dioscorea alata L.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A14</td>
<td><em>ki. sulí (bj.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>kihama</em></td>
<td>yellow Guinea</td>
<td>tubers</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dioscorea cayenensis LAM.</td>
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<td>A15</td>
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<td><em>kihama</em></td>
<td>aerial yam</td>
<td>aerial</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>r</td>
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<td>Dioscorea bulbifera L.</td>
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<td>yautia/</td>
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<td>c0,c1,d1</td>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>tannia</td>
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<td><em>i. kázá (ma.</em>)*</td>
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<td>A17</td>
<td><em>j. sólá (ma.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>maboka</em></td>
<td>pumpkin</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cucurbita sp.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A18*</td>
<td><em>mu. tükulútúmbá</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>a1,a2,c2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(mi.</em>)*</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chytarantus carneus RADLK. ex MILDBR. var. secundiflorus HAUMAN</td>
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<tr>
<td>A19</td>
<td><em>m. káma (me.</em>)*</td>
<td><em>njukumawe</em></td>
<td>bambara</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Voandzeia subterranea (L.) THONARS.</td>
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<td>A20</td>
<td>–</td>
<td><em>mambuluku</em></td>
<td>seedless</td>
<td>fruit</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>Artocarpus communis FROST.</td>
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<td>breadfruit</td>
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</table>
material in their tubers; young leaves (Cl) are also consumed; 2—mo.songú means cassava in general; w.áçécjìmá means "sweet"; 4—it takes only 6 months until harvest, and may be grown on the poorest soil; 6—one of the most mundane foodstuffs for the Songola.

A3. mo.songú w.áçywá (me.songú y.áçywá)
1—"bitter" varieties of cassava; their tubers contain hydrocyanic glucoside, a fatal poison unless it is sufficiently removed; young leaves (Cl) are also consumed; 2—w.áçywá means "bitter"; 3—twenty-nine varieties are recognized by the Songola; 4—have a longer growth period, and generally have larger tubers than A2; 6—varieties are divided into three groups according to their respective method for detoxication; 10—cultivated in larger quantity than A2 because of a longer harvest season and a better yield.

A4. j.liya (ma.)
1—aerial tubers of a wild species of yellow Guinea yam (Fig. 8); may be a species escaping from cultivation; larger than 10 cm in diameter; 3—poisonous and is different from j.tý (A15), a cultivated species of yam which bears edible aerial tubers having yellow flesh; 6—has a slight bitter taste even after the removal of its bitter sap.

Fig. 8 Aerial tubers of bitter yam, j.liya (A4). Length 10 cm.
Mbenu [mbegu] ya kihama, j.liya.

A5. lo.sele (ǹ.)
1—seeds of mu.lyli tree, one of dominant trees of the subfamily Caesalpinioideae in the Zairian tropical rainforest (Fig. 9); this species often makes up a pure stand in the primary forest; 3—4 cm in diameter; 4—obtained in large quantity at the end of the dry season; 6—removal of their bitter taste is necessary.

A6. mu.bálá (mi.)
1—seeds of Congo acacia tree, Mimosoideae (Fig. 10); larger than 5 cm in diameter; 4—not as abundant as A5; 4—collected during dry seasons; 6—removal of their bitter taste is necessary.

A7. mu fyngá (mi.)
1—upland rice of Asian origin introduced by the Arabs in the 19th century; 28 varieties; 6—cooking method is the same in spite of different tastes among the varieties.

Fig. 9 N.sele, seeds of a wild tree mu.lyli (A5) and its leaves. Seed length 3cm.
Mbenu ya limbalu na mayani yake.
Fig. 10 Congo acacia, *mu.bálá*. (A6) Length of a seed
5-6cm. Pod length ca. 60 cm.
*Mbeku ya muti ya mu.bálá.*

A8. *j.sángú* (ma.)
1—native varieties of maize have violet seeds; newly introduced varieties have pale colored seeds; 2—a name for unripe stages; see A9; 4—harvested in December; 6—the first crop and gives accent to inter-harvest meals made only from cassava.

A9. *mo.kolokoto* (me.)
1—maize ears having hard, dry kernels; 3—has a different name from unripe maize A8; 6—Songola use A9 almost exclusively for distilling liquors, and seldom as food.

A10. *ka.ndolo* (to.)
1—sweet potatoes; 3—a variety for leaves is *ma.tembéle* (C5); 4—common, but cultivated only in a limited amount; 6—regarded as a relish to monotonous meals.

A11-A14. *j.kaca* (ma.), etc.
1—four different species of yams; 4—harvested 2-4 years after transplanting; commonly planted, but eaten only several times a year.

A12. *j.súngá* (ma.)
1—African bitter yam; 3—has yellow flesh.

A13. *lu.ngúma* (n.)
1—greater yam; 3—has white flesh and slightly bitter taste.

A14. *ki.sulí* (bij.)
1—yellow Guinea yam; 3—has watery yellow flesh.

Fig. 11 Aerial tubers of sweet *yam, j.tú* (A15). Length up to 7cm.
*Mbeku ya kihama, j.tú.*
A15. j.tu (ma.)  
1— aerial tubers of a cultivated yam (Fig. 11); 6— has no bitter taste, and can be eaten without a process of detoxication.

A16. ki.lali k.e bj.kwamanga (bj.lali bj.j bj.)/i.kaká (ma.)  
1— yautia, cocoyam, or American taro; 2— ki.lali is a term for any edible tubers; another name i.kaká is not preferred because it also means a penis of a boy before circumcision; 4— cultivated both in villages and fields; 6— young leaves (C6) are also eaten.

A17. j.sóla (ma.)  
1— pumpkin; 3— there are several varieties (Fig. 12); 4— cultivated in fields and harvested at the same time as rice; 6— seeds (B9) and young shoots (C6) are also eaten; 10— hard shells have a name ka.baca, and are used as cups for drinking hot beverages.

A18. mu.tukutumbá (mi.)  
1— a low tree in the adult secondary forest bearing edible seeds (Fig.13); 6— tastes like sweet cassava or yam tubers when boiled.

A19. mo.kama (me.)  
1— groundnuts (Fig.14); 2— Swahili name njukumawe means njuku (groundnuts) of mawe (stones) denoting its hardness; 4— occasionally cultivated in fields; 6— has a powdery taste like kidney beans.

A20. mambuluku (Swahili)  
1— breadfruit introduced by Belgians; 6— boiled.

Fig. 12 Two varieties of pumpkin (A17).  
A: j.sóla and B: ki.luba.

Aina mbili ya madodoki. A: j.sóla na B: ki.luba.
B. Materials for condiments and seasoning food (Table 3B).

Bl. *j.bifla* (ma.)
1—oil palm; crop of West African origin (Fig. 15); very important for the nutrition of the peoples of the forest; 2—the tree itself is called *m.bifla*; more than three varieties are recognized (Fig. 16); 3—three varieties are cultivated among the Songola; the most common variety is *j.bifla*; *j.boë* has thicker pulp (mesocarp) and yields more oil than *m.bifla*; *j.kungúbifl* has relatively pale, fibrous pulp and foams when squeezing its juice; this is why the Songola add at least the same volume of *j.bifla* to *j.kungúbifl*; 4—harvested all year round in villages and oil palm groves; 5—bunches, fruit, and extracted oil are sold; 6—juice of boiled fruit is added to many dishes; *ma.kùta* or palm oil can be preserved; flowers (B10) and bracts (B11) are also used for food; alcoholic beverages are prepared from its sap; 10—palm oil is also used as fuel for lanterns and a cosmetic for body care.

B2. *mu.sa* (mi.)
1—oil extracted from the albumen (endosperm) of kernels of Bl; 2—*mu.sa* means kernels of any seeds; 6—gives excellent oil for food; the Songola rarely use kernel oil for cooking because cracking kernels is a tedious task and because they have an abundant supply of palm oil; 10—used to prepare medicine and a cosmetic for body care.

B3. *n.juku* (n.)
1—groundnuts; 2—Songola name is related with its Swahili name *njoku*; 4—cultivated in fields having poor soil; 6—unripe seeds are boiled; when ripe, it may be eaten as a snack; it is pounded for use as a condiment.

B4. *n.tete* (n.)
1—a cultivated cucurbit of
### Table 3B (1) Materials that make food tastier: condiments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Songola names</th>
<th>Latin names</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Parts eaten</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Availability</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>j.bila(ma.)</td>
<td>Elaeis guineensis JACQ.</td>
<td>ngasi oil palm</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c1,c2,d1</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>B2</td>
<td>mu.sai(mi.)</td>
<td>Elaeis guineensis JACQ.</td>
<td>misa ya ngasi oil palm</td>
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<td>Arachis hypogea l.</td>
<td>kalanga groundnut</td>
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<td>c0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>B4</td>
<td>n.tete(n.)</td>
<td>Cucumeropsis mannii (NAUD.)</td>
<td>kokoliko</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>B5</td>
<td>lu.nkuma(n.)</td>
<td>Sesamum indicum l.</td>
<td>bufuto sesame</td>
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<td>r</td>
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<td>B6*</td>
<td>lo.kongo(n.)</td>
<td>Panda oleosa PIERRE</td>
<td>mbuku ya boe</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>a1,a2,c2</td>
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<td>B7</td>
<td>j.banda(ma.)</td>
<td>Irvingia smithii PIERRE ex ENGL.</td>
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<td>B8*</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>ma.kali (m.e)</td>
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<td>mua ya oil palm</td>
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<td></td>
<td>mu.tubula</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.bila</td>
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<td>m.omasi</td>
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<td>miti ya rice</td>
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<td>d1</td>
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<td>b2</td>
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<td>asili lettuce</td>
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<td>j.lengelenge</td>
<td>Echinocloa pyramidalis HITC et CHASE/?Panicum sp.</td>
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<td>leaves</td>
<td>b2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
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<td>lo.kolokosi</td>
<td>Cyathula prostrata (L.) BLUME</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>c1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>l.e mu.lami</td>
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<td>mu.siki(mi.)</td>
<td>Chumbi rock salt</td>
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<td>k.bolite(to.)</td>
<td>Chumbi</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>B19</td>
<td>pili pili</td>
<td>Capsicum ?frutescens L.</td>
<td>chillies fruit</td>
<td>c0,d1</td>
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Table 3B (2)

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<th>Locality eaten</th>
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<td>Capsicum annuum L.</td>
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<td>fruit</td>
<td>c0, d1</td>
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<td>mu.nyungili bufili</td>
<td>Hua gabonii PIERRRE ex DE WILD.</td>
<td>wé bi. sisj b. i. ki. lúla</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td>a1, a2</td>
<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>B22*</td>
<td>mu.nyungili bufili</td>
<td>Hua gabonii PIERRRE ex DE WILD.</td>
<td>wé bi. muka b. i. ki. lúla</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>a1, a2, a3</td>
<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>B23*</td>
<td>mu.nyungili matungulu</td>
<td>Scorodophloeus senkeri HARMS.</td>
<td>wé bi. sisj b. i. ká. bácamba</td>
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<td>c</td>
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<td>wé bi. usu b. i. ká. bácamba</td>
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<td>Lycoperisicon esculentum MILL.</td>
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<td>- ndimu</td>
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<td>su1a(=) sukali sugar</td>
<td>Curcuma domestica VAL.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>markets</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>M</td>
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</table>

African origin (Fig. 17); 4—harvested in the same period as rice; 6—seeds are pounded and used as condiment.

B5. lu.nkuma (n.)
1—sesame; seeds are black and have a slightly bitter taste; 4—frequently cultivated; harvested with rice; 6—pounded for condiment.

B6. lo.kongo (n.)
1—seed of a tree of the primary forest (Fig. 18); 2—the tree itself is called .bo6; 4—fruit contains three seeds; 6—kernels are taken out of decomposed fruit, and are broken with a bush knife to eat the albumen resembling groundnuts.

B7. j.banda (ma.)
1—seeds of a large tree growing on the banks of rivers; 6—broken with a bush knife to eat the albumen inside.

B8. lu.acú (m.pacú)
1—seeds of a tree in the primary forest; 6—albumen in large and hard shells is eaten like groundnuts; 11—comparison of singular and plural forms suggests an omission of "p" sound from the hypothesized singular form lu. pacú*.

B9. ki.muka k. é j.sola
1—seeds of pumpkin (A17); 6—used like B4.
Fig. 17 A cultivated cucurbit, *n.tete* (B4). Diameter 10 cm. Seed width, 1.2 cm.

*Kokoliko.*

B10. *ma.kálj m.é mu.túbúlá*

1—young male flower of oil palm (see Fig. 15a); 6—dried and burnt to ash; liquid extracted from this ash is used as condiment.

B11. *ma.kálj m.é ù.bíla*

1—bracts of an oil palm bunch (see Fig. 15b); 6—used just like B10.

B12. *ma.kálj m.é m.ómá*

1—peeled skins of plantains; 6—usage as B10.

B13. *ma.kálj m.é mu.fyngá*

1—stems and leaves of rice (A7); 6—usage as B10; 10—unless used this way, B11-B13 are usually thrown away as waste.

B14-B17. Materials for making vegetable salt; replaced with rock salt bought at stores and markets; 10—the Songola no longer make traditional salt; they buy it at markets for the preparation of folk medicine.

B14. *ki.ungí (bi.)*

1—a floating herb (Fig. 19); 4—can be collected in large quantities in the tributaries of the Lualaba; formerly occasionally transplanted to increase production; 6—dried and burnt to ash; unlike B10-B14 the extract for this ash is filtered and then boiled dry to make a material resembling salt; the "salt" from this plant is called *mu.síkí w.é ki.ungí* namely salt made from this plant.

B15. *ì.légéléngé c.é lo.béle*

1—tall grasses of family Gramineae growing along the

Fig. 18 *N.kongo* (B6), seeds of *boé* tree. Diameter of a fruit, 6 cm.

*Mbeku ya muti ya boé.*
riverside; 6—used like B14, but not so well-known as B14.

B16. *lo.kolókósíj* l. é mu.lúmi
1—tall herb of family Amaranthaceae; 6—the same as B15.

B17. *j.ánga (ma.)*
1—leaves of oil palm trees; 6—burnt with B14.

B18. *mu.síkį* (me.)
1—rock salt; 5—pounded in a mortar and stored in a bottle or in broad leaves.

B19. *ka.bólé (to.)*
1—chili; bird pepper; 6—fresh fruit is used in rainy seasons and then dried for dry seasons; a mixture with rock salt pounded in a mortar is often added to a variety of foods; 9—the term *ka.bólé* is sometimes used as a symbol of a poor dish, salt representing a good dish; the Enya ask a fishermen coming from the moor, *ku.ma1ingá búnįj* (what happened in the trap)?; the fisherman will answer *ka.bólé* when fishing was unsuccessful (a positive reply will be *mu.síkį*, or salt); this practice may have derived from the custom of cooking cassava leaves without expensive rock salt; 10—used as folk medicine for a variety of diseases.

B20. *monį (ba.)*
1—chili; red pepper; there are several varieties having different shape, color, and degrees of hotness; 11—the plural form *ba.monį* seems exceptional, and probably is a borrowed word from peoples living to the west of the Songola, where they pronounce the suffix "ma." as "ba."

B21–24. *mu.nyíngílí*
1—leaves, seeds, or bark of two species of trees growing in the primary forest; have a strong smell resembling that of garlic; 6—added to food to give a special smell; added only during later stages of cooking for fear of losing its flavor.

B25. *ka.mátı (to.)*
1—small tomatoes; 4—planted in fields, and used only during the rainy season; 6—raw fruit is squashed and added to fish or meat cooked in palm oil; 11—the singular form was invented from the plural form *to.mátı*, the beginning of the word taken as a prefix for a Bantu noun class.

B26. *ndimu* (Swahili)
1—lemon; introduced by Belgians; 4—rare; 6—juice may be added to foods like tomatoes.

B27. *matungulu* (Swahili)
1—onion; smaller than 3 cm in diameter; 4—rare; 6—used with foods cooked in palm oil.

B28. *ki.muka k.é .dodókį*
1—angled loofah, a cucurbit having edible pulp; 4—rare; 6—pulp of young fruit is added to boiled fish or meat.

B29. *kimanjano* (Swahili)
1—tumeric; 4—occasionally cultivated in dooryard gardens or in pots; 6—tubers are used as condiments.

B30. *sulá (=)*
1—sugar; 4—bought at stores and markets; 5—very expensive; 6—added to some of the foods for babies and for ill persons.
C. Materials for other dishes of plants such as cooked leaves or fruit (Table 3C).

C1. tungu (=)
1—leaves of cassava plants (A2 and A3); 4—young leaves are collected in the fields; 6—the most important food material for the Kuko subgroup throughout the seasons; cooking for more than one hour is needed to diminish toxic materials in leaves; 9—there is a riddle denoting the usefulness of this plant, "People eat my upper and lower parts. Who am I?"; a Kuko man narrated as follows: nyama na samaki ni mutu wa kupitapita. Haingekuwa na sombe, tungekufa na njala zamani. "Meat and fish pass by soon. If it were not for cassava leaves, we would have starved to death,"; thus, he stressed the importance of cassava leaves for the diet of forest people.

C2. ke.njelo (bi.)
1—a cultivated species of amaranth; 4—most women cultivated it in their fields; harvested twice a year; 6—not as tangy as other edible leaves.

C3. mo.soko (me.)
1—more robust than C2, probably a different species of the same genus as C2; 4—cultivation is rarer than C2; 6—has the same taste as C2.

C4. ka.lulo (tu.)
1—another species of amaranth; cultivated and also grows spontaneously in fields of Enya subgroup; 6—has a slightly bitter taste.

C5. ma.tembélé (ma.)
1—a distinctive variety of sweet potato grown for the leaves; the underground parts are not consumed; introduced by Belgians; 4—cultivated in villages and fields; 6—always cooked with palm oil, and breaks the monotony of cassava leaves.

C6. ki.sisi ké bj.kwámanga
1—young undeveloped leaves of A16; 4—planted in villages and fields; found growing half wild as an escaping plant in the site of an abandoned village.

C7. mu.lilí w.é j.sólá
1—young shoots of pumpkin (A17); 6—cooked with decomposing meat or fish because of its good smell.

C8. pinale (Swahili)
1—a cultivated liana brought by Belgians; 6—young stems and leaves are cooked in the same manner as C2; 11—the "Swahili" name corresponds to "épinard" or spinach in French.

C9. suu (Swahili)
1—a cultivated plant brought by Belgians; 4—rare.

C10. sinja (=)
1—a wild herb having small white flowers; 4—leaves are often collected from escaping plants in a village; it is not easy to collect it in abundance; 6—has no harsh taste, and mixed with meat and fish.

C11. ki.silúsilú (bi.)
1—a wild fern growing in open grasslands; 6—undeveloped leaves are eaten.

C12. j.singú (ma.)
1—a wild liana herbaceous; 6—young leaves are cooked with eggplants; delicious.

C13. mo.pone (me.)
1—a wild hairy herbaceous liana; 6—cooked like C10.

C14. nyumbú (=)
1—a wild herbaceous liana; 6—collect young leaves, and cook it in broad leaves with oil, salt, and red pepper.

C15-C20. a.lúly (ba.), etc.
3—mushrooms growing on the ground (ko mo.séke); 6—pounded in a mortar after taking off hard lower parts; dried if collected in abundance.

C21-C27. j.kimú (ma.), etc.
3—mushrooms growing on rotten
**Table 3C (1) Materials for food having no *mu.suna* (muscles): vegetables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Songola names</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Parts Localities eaten</th>
<th>Availability</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td><em>tungu (=)</em></td>
<td><em>sombe</em></td>
<td><em>cassava</em></td>
<td>shoots/ c0</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Manihot esculenta</em> CRANTZ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td><em>ke.njele (bj.)</em></td>
<td><em>michicha/ lengalenga</em></td>
<td><em>amaranth</em></td>
<td>shoots/ c0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Amaranthus hybridus</em> L.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td><em>mo.sóko (me.)</em></td>
<td><em>michicha/ lengalenga</em></td>
<td><em>amaranth</em></td>
<td>shoots/ c0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Amaranthus sp.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td><em>ka.lulú (tu.)</em></td>
<td><em>michicha/ lengalenga</em></td>
<td><em>amaranth</em></td>
<td>shoots/ c0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Amaranthus sp.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C5</td>
<td><em>ma.tembélé (ma.)</em></td>
<td><em>matembele</em></td>
<td><em>sweet.</em></td>
<td>shoots/ c0,d1</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ipomoea batatus</em> (L.) LAM.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>potato</em></td>
<td>leaves</td>
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<td>C6</td>
<td><em>ki.sisí k.é</em></td>
<td><em>bipulupulu</em></td>
<td><em>yautia</em></td>
<td>leaves c0,d1</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Xanthosoma sp.</em></td>
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<td>C7</td>
<td><em>mu.lílí w.é</em></td>
<td><em>maboka- j.ólá</em></td>
<td><em>maboka</em></td>
<td>shoots/ c0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Cucurbita sp.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
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<tr>
<td>C8</td>
<td><em>–</em></td>
<td><em>pinale</em></td>
<td><em>indian</em></td>
<td>shoots/ d1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Basella alba</em> L.</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>spinach</em></td>
<td>leaves</td>
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<td>C9</td>
<td><em>–</em></td>
<td><em>suu</em></td>
<td><em>chinese</em></td>
<td>leaves d1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Brassica sp.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>cabbage</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>C10*</td>
<td><em>sinja (=)</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>shoots/ c1,c2,d1</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>G,C</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hilleria latifolia</em> (LAM.) H. WALT.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
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<tr>
<td>C11*</td>
<td><em>ki.sí.kúslúlú (bj.)</em></td>
<td><em>brake(fern)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves c0,c1,d1,d2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pteridium sp.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>C12*</td>
<td><em>j.síngu (ma.)</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>shoots/ c1,c2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Phytolacca dodecandra</em> L’HÉRIT.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
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<tr>
<td>C13*</td>
<td><em>mo.pone (me.)</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>shoots/ c1,c2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
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<tr>
<td>C14*</td>
<td><em>nyumbú (=)</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>shoots/ c0,c1,c2,d1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Momordica foetida</em> SCHUM. et THONN.</td>
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<td>C15*</td>
<td><em>a.lyu1y (ba.)</em></td>
<td><em>buyoka ya fungus on</em></td>
<td><em>uluy(=) udongo</em></td>
<td>a2,c2</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>C16*</td>
<td><em>i.ntótó (ma.)</em></td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>c1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>C17*</td>
<td><em>ka.sékeleca (to.)</em> do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>a1,a2,a3,c1</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>C18*</td>
<td><em>ki.lingica (bj.)</em> do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>s</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>/i.mbuliká (ma.)</em></td>
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<td>C19*</td>
<td><em>ke.kaly (bj.)</em></td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>a1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>C20*</td>
<td><em>námikíl (=)</em> do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>a1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>C21*</td>
<td><em>j.kímá (ma.)</em></td>
<td><em>buyoka ya fungus on</em></td>
<td>miti</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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### Table 3C (2)

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Songola names</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Parts eaten</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Availability</th>
<th>Activities</th>
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<tr>
<td>C22*</td>
<td><em>ka.óbóóbyá (to.)</em></td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>C23*</td>
<td><em>ká.kokó (tó.)</em></td>
<td>bukoko</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>r</td>
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<td><em>ka.maléyá (to.)</em></td>
<td>buyoka ya</td>
<td><em>miti</em></td>
<td>c1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>C25*</td>
<td><em>j.tele (ma.)</em></td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>a1,a2,a3, c1,c2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>C26*</td>
<td><em>kulungú (ma.)</em></td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>a1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td><em>mu.kungu (mi.)</em></td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>a1,a2,a3</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>C28*</td>
<td><em>mu.pukípukí (mi)</em></td>
<td>buyoka ya</td>
<td>fungus on palm kernels</td>
<td>b1,d1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>C29</td>
<td><em>ka.sulu (tu.)</em></td>
<td>nyanya</td>
<td>eggplant</td>
<td>fruit c0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solanum sp.</td>
<td>utamu</td>
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<tr>
<td>C30*</td>
<td><em>lu.sákú (n.)</em></td>
<td>saku</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c2</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>Pachylobus sp. (Dacryodes)</td>
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<td>C31*</td>
<td><em>lu.bílí (m.)</em></td>
<td>mbeku ya</td>
<td>fruit a1,a2</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>Canarium schweinfurthii</td>
<td>miti ya kasuku</td>
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<tr>
<td>C32</td>
<td><em>lu.saba (n.)</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>yam shoots</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>Dioscorea spp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C33*</td>
<td><em>lo.tóba (n.)</em></td>
<td>mukaukau</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>shoots a3,a4</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>Ancistrophyllum sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C34</td>
<td><em>mo.léngé (me.)</em></td>
<td>muwa</td>
<td>sugar-cane sap</td>
<td>d1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saccharum officinarum L.</td>
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<td>C35*</td>
<td><em>bu.ukí (bu.)</em></td>
<td>asali</td>
<td>bee</td>
<td>honey</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>Apis sp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C36*</td>
<td><em>bu.ukí w.é</em></td>
<td>asali</td>
<td>stingless bee</td>
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<td>r</td>
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</table>

APIDAE

trees; 6—see the preceding.

C28. *mu.pukípukí (mi)*
1—wild, but sometimes planted in villages; the fruit resembles that of C30.

C29. *ka.sulu (tu.)*
1—eggplant having red peels (Fig. 20); 4—cultivated in fields.

C30. *lu.sákú (n.)*
4—wild, but frequently planted in fields (Fig. 21); 6—the fruit tastes slightly "salty."

C31. *lu.bílí (m.)*
1—wild, but sometimes planted in villages; the fruit resembles that of C30.
Fig. 20 Ka.sulu (C29), fruits and a leaf of "sweet" variety of eggplant.

Nyanya utamu.

Fig. 21 Lu.saku (C30), a fruit covered with pink skin and its pale brown kernels. Diameter of a fruit, 3 cm.

Mbeku ya saku.

D. Mammals, reptiles, and birds (Table 3D).

The Songola distinguish game animals in four or five folk categories. Game that is still alive is nyama y.e mj.jso (game with opened eyes), nyama y.e mé. soló y.andí e.ése (game with its all intestines), nyama y.e kú.ba.ik.a (gutted game), and nyama y.e mú.sii (dismembered game, literally game with blood). There is a folk category nyama y.e bu.bisi (raw game) to include these four categories. When a game is in the course of decomposition, it is now classified as ke.bolábola (decomposing game or fish). A pregnant animal is called nyama y.e mó.ntonge (game with foetus), and gives soft and delicious meat. The Songola enjoy the soft meat of foetus of larger game like elephants, buffaloes, or bush pigs. The meat of game, once smoked, is nyama j.úmá (dry meat). Lastly, decomposing, but still edible meat and fish have a special name ke.bolá bola, a term derived from a verb .bol., to decompose.

chimpanzees; juice is concentrated by evaporation; the syrup is eaten with roasted plantains.

C35. bu.úkJ (bu.)
1—honey; 4—collected January to February and May to June.

C36. bu.úkJ w.é ki.táwá
1—honey of a wild stingless bees called ki.táwá; 3—honey of ki. táwá is darker in color than that of honey bees; 4—collected for a longer season than C35.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Songola names</th>
<th>Latin names</th>
<th>INCLUSIVE LEXEMES</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English names</th>
<th>Ref.no.</th>
<th>Ankei, 1988</th>
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<td>D1</td>
<td>m.buli(m.)</td>
<td><em>Capra hircus</em></td>
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<td>mo.koko(me.)</td>
<td><em>Ovis longipes</em></td>
<td>kondo</td>
<td>sheep</td>
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<td>j.mundu(ma.)</td>
<td><em>Aonyx sp.</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>otter</td>
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<tr>
<td>D4</td>
<td>j.umbu(ma.)/nyima(=)</td>
<td><em>Viverra civetta</em></td>
<td>yobo</td>
<td>African civet</td>
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<td>ka.byu(to.)</td>
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<td>Bate's dwarf antelope</td>
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<td>ka.kelegenye(to.)</td>
<td><em>Lutra maculicollis</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>spotted-necked otter</td>
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<td>black-fronted duiker</td>
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<td>waterbuck (female)</td>
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<td>potto</td>
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<td>lo.gombe(ŋ.)</td>
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<td>? marsh mongoose</td>
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<td><em>Anomalurus sp.</em></td>
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<td>mu.ali(mi.)</td>
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<td>mu.kala(mi.)</td>
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<td>? long-snouted mongoose</td>
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<td>chimba-udongo</td>
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<td>D21</td>
<td>m.boko mw.ilo</td>
<td><em>Syncerus caffer</em></td>
<td>mbogo</td>
<td>African buffalo (dark skin)</td>
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<td>m.boko y.e.sangangulubi</td>
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<td>African buffalo (orange skin)</td>
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<td>sangangulubi(=)</td>
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<td>bush pig</td>
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Table 3D (2)

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<td>ke. námbo lela(bj.)</td>
<td><em>CERCOPITHECIDAE</em></td>
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<td>small monkey resembling talapoin</td>
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<td>ñ. sokó(ñ.)</td>
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<td>chui</td>
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<td>Manis tricuspid</td>
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<td>n.káká(kn.)</td>
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<td>D58</td>
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<td>Loxodonta africana</td>
<td>tembo</td>
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<td>n.gwelema(n.)</td>
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<td>Š.JOKA nyoka</td>
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<td>Testudo sp.</td>
<td>kobe</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D65</td>
<td>j.báta(ma.)</td>
<td>Anas domesticus</td>
<td>bata</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D66</td>
<td>ñ.kókó(n.)</td>
<td>Gallus gallus domesticus</td>
<td>kuku</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>D67</td>
<td>ka.mübíka(tu.)</td>
<td>Gallus gallus domesticus</td>
<td>jogoo</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D68</td>
<td>j.langi(ma.)</td>
<td>Guttera edouardi</td>
<td>kanga</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D69</td>
<td>j.tundú(ma.)</td>
<td>Francolinus sp.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D70</td>
<td>ki.cúngú(bj.)</td>
<td>Gypohierax angolensis</td>
<td>mombo</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D71</td>
<td>ky.elele(by.)</td>
<td>ANATIDAE</td>
<td>bata ya</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>D72</td>
<td>ki.lingá(bj.)</td>
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<td>jiwa</td>
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### Table 3D (4)

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<th>English names</th>
<th>Ref.no. Ankei,1988</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D73</td>
<td>ki.masi ki(bj.)</td>
<td>Lophaetus occipitalis</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>long-crested</td>
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<tr>
<td>D74</td>
<td>ki.numbi numbi(bj.)</td>
<td>Phalacrocorax africanus</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>pigeon</td>
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<tr>
<td>D75</td>
<td>ki.lungula(bj.)</td>
<td>Scopus umbretta bonnemant</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>turaco</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D76</td>
<td>lo.koli(n.)/ka.koli koli(to.)</td>
<td>Urolestes melanoleucus</td>
<td>kabemba</td>
<td>eagle</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D77</td>
<td>lu.ninga(n.)</td>
<td>Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>saddle-bill stork</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D78</td>
<td>mw.imbi(mi.)</td>
<td>Phalacrocorax africanus</td>
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<td>long-tailed cormorant</td>
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<tr>
<td>D79</td>
<td>mo.loba(me.)</td>
<td>Scopus umbretta bonnemant</td>
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<td>hammerkop</td>
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<tr>
<td>D80</td>
<td>mo.lomba(me.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>D81</td>
<td>mu.mbuli(mi.)</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a bird of the size of</td>
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<tr>
<td>D82</td>
<td>n.gambu(n.)</td>
<td>Urocolites melanoleucus</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a small hen</td>
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<tr>
<td>D83</td>
<td>n.jijja(n.)</td>
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<td>jiwa</td>
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<td>D84</td>
<td>n.ju(n.)</td>
<td>Polemaetus bellicosus</td>
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<td>martial eagle</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D85</td>
<td>n.koko monga(n.)</td>
<td>Bycanistes albotibialis</td>
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<td>small woodpecker</td>
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<tr>
<td>D86</td>
<td>n.kolongo(n.)</td>
<td>Corythaeca cristata</td>
<td>bulukoko</td>
<td>great blue turaco</td>
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<tr>
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<td>n.kusu(n.)</td>
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<td>grey parrot</td>
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<tr>
<td>D88</td>
<td>m.pua(m.)</td>
<td>Psittacus erithacus</td>
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<td>white-thighed hornbill</td>
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<tr>
<td>D89</td>
<td>sango lololi(=)</td>
<td>Psittacus erithacus</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>larger kingfisher</td>
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<td>D90</td>
<td>ka.nyanga(tu.)</td>
<td><em>KA.</em> NYAMA</td>
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<td>giant elephant shrew</td>
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<td>dwarf galago</td>
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<td>D92</td>
<td>ki.sindo(bj.)</td>
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<td>D93</td>
<td>ki.sindo k.e. montelo</td>
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<td>small squirrel</td>
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<td>D94</td>
<td>n.kese(n.)</td>
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<td>D95</td>
<td>mu.lima (mi.)</td>
<td><em>KA.</em> NYAMA</td>
<td>popo</td>
<td>giant bat</td>
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<td>D96</td>
<td>j.lungumbantinga(ma.)</td>
<td><em>KA.</em> NYONJ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a small bird with a long tail</td>
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Table 3D (5)

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<th>No.</th>
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<th>English names</th>
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<td>D97</td>
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<td>small parrot</td>
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<td>D98</td>
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<td>small-sized bird</td>
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<td>D99</td>
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<td>? bee eater</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Hirundo sp.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>D104</td>
<td>ka.yuúlu(tu.)</td>
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<td>tinker bird</td>
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</tr>
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<td>CAPITONIDAE</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>D105</td>
<td>ke.poóndo(bj.)</td>
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<td>? barbet</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D106</td>
<td>ki.tungula(bj.)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D107</td>
<td>mu.sikalumbu(mi.)</td>
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<td>? barbet</td>
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<tr>
<td>D108</td>
<td>lo.cekeleke(ù.j)</td>
<td>KA.NYONJ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>weaver</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PLOCEIDAE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D109</td>
<td>suúkulu(=)</td>
<td>KA.NYONJ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>small bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?PASSERIFORMES</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(dogs), m.páka (cats), j.lükj (rats in houses), and ka.limalima (small-sized bats). Tiny snakes and lizards are not eaten. Most of the birds are regarded as edible.

The Songola say that hippopotamus, n.gubá in Songola, was the most delicious of all animals. It could not be treated in this text because it has been extinct in the territory of the Songola.

Reference numbers on the last column for mammals correspond to those of the article dealing with a comparison of mammal nomenclature of Songola and Ombo languages (Y. Ankei, 1988).

D2. mo.koko (me.)
1—sheep; a domestic animal introduced by the Arabs in the 19th century; 4—less resistant to

4—kept in villages without any harness; Ngoli villagers butchered goats only on rare occasions such as Christmas ceremonies; 5—its purchase is very difficult because a herd of goats is a symbol of wealth among the Songola; 6—cooking methods are identical with other furry wild animals; 8—traditional bride wealth of the Songola consists of a total of ten goats, ideally half of them being female; used also as a reparation for the accusation of having cursed a person to death.
illness and fewer than goats (D1); 6—cooked as D1; 10—indispensable for a ceremony among the Muslims.

D3-D45. *i.mundu* (ma.), etc.
1—wild furry animals of larger size; 4—there are more than 20 hunting methods such as traps, nets, spears, and bow and arrows; 6—hunters dismember the carcass of game on the bank of a stream; women receive dismembered parts of an animal with remaining skin and hair which will be burnt off before cooking; *N.KIMA* or monkeys are often smoked; an animal killed with a poisonous arrow is also consumed without any danger; the part shot by an arrow becomes dark in color and tastes bitter; 7—Muslims call the flesh of a game butchered by non-Muslims *nyama* [*nyamavu*] (Swahili), and do not regard it as food.

D37. *cýmba* (=)
1—aardvark; 6—its taste resembles that of bush pigs (D23-D24); removal of hair is not necessary; 7—former generations permitted only adult men to eat its flesh; Muslims refrain from eating this animal because of its similarity to bush pigs; 10—has a "spirit" subordinate to that of D57.

D46-D53. *cýnga* (=), etc.
1—wild furry animals of the cat family Felidae; 2—called *nyama* [*ba.kota*], animals for village chiefs, because the use of their skins they have been strictly reserved for village chiefs; 6—men skin the game before cutting it up; 7—skins are never consumed as are those of D1-D45; the Songola say that the liver of a leopard (D52) is highly poisonous and it must be thrown from a boat into the middle water of the Lualaba; 10—each of these animals has specific spirit, *mu. limu*, of its own admired by former generations of the Songola.

D54. *ký.jkú* (bj.)
1—blush-tailed porcupine; covered with quills; 6—its habit of feeding on cassava tubers in the fields make its flesh very tasty; after soaking in boiling water, quills or spines are removed with a knife; 7—the thin layer of muscles on the back is a delicacy called *nyama* [*ba.kúngú*], meat for seniors, and reserved for old men.

D55-D57. *ka.bánga* (tu.), etc.
1—three species of pangolins; 3—covered with *ma.amba* (scales) like those of fish; 6—after soaking in boiling water, scales are removed with fingers; 7—former generations permitted only adult men to eat the flesh of these animals; 10—D56 has a "spirit" subordinate to that of a leopard (D52).

D58. *ň.joy* (ň.)
1—African elephant; 4—on arrival of the news that an elephant was shot by an authorized hunter in the forest, people depart for the site of the kill with baskets filled with starchy food to eat with elephant meat and pans to cook it; they construct huts and smoking shelves around the carcass to make dried meat of the elephant; members of a village have the right to eat the meat of an elephant killed in the territory of their village, and the village chief himself has the right to take one leg; ivory and a part of the meat are the possession of the government; 6—most of the meat is smoked at the spot of the kill; intestines and the trunk are regarded as the most delicious; 7—Muslims of an Enya village told me that they do not eat the meat of D58-D64 because it is impossible to butcher these animals in an appropriate way, namely, saying the name of Allah; 10—some of the seniors call elephant meat *nyama* [*y.e ń.*}
Sónjì, meat of shame, because of dispute and quarreling at the kill site, and refrain from attending the distribution of meat.

D59-D60. mo.nkondekonde(me.), n.gwenà (n.)
1—crocodiles; 2—D60 has broader jaws, and attacks humans; 4—protected by the government; I observed the former killed by fishermen because it was entangled in a fishnet; 6—crocodile meat tastes somewhat between fowl and fish; skin is the possession of the government.

D61. n.gwelema (n.)
1—giant lizard.

D62-D63. n.sátu (n.), etc.
1—snakes of larger size; 6—the head is used to prepare charm medicine against snake bites and is rarely eaten.

D64. ki.kálu (bj.)
1—land turtle; 6—a cook must first beat the shell before dismembering to loosen it.

D65. n.kókó (n.)
1—hen; 4—fowls range freely during the day, and are put in a cage at night; 6—cooking method is the same as that of D66, D68-D87; although bird meat is not smoked probably because of its poor supply, the Songola are forced to smoke it during an epidemic disease of their fowls; 10—given as gift for a guest; when there is a severe quarrel between a married couple, young relatives of the wife seize several hens ranging in the village for their consumption; the loss must be paid back by the husband who hit his wife and treated her dishonorably.

D66. ka.mbíká (tu.)
1—rooster; 2—Songola name means "a small being which crow (.mbk.)"; 6—rarely eaten; 8—may be given as a gift.

D67. j.báta (ma.)
1—duck; 2—omnivorous, and feeds on whatever is available in the village; regarded as "dirty" because of this food habit; 4—they range freely during the day, and are put in a cage at night; 6—before cooking a woman must carefully wash their skin with cassava flour and soap; 7—some women refuse to eat its flesh; 10—rarely given to a guest.

D68-D89. j.langj (ma.), etc.
1—wild birds of larger size; identification is less reliable than that of mammals or fish; 6—feathers must be taken off before cooking.

D90-D95. ka.nyngá (tu.), etc.
1—small-sized mammals; 2—ka.nyama; 6—hair is burnt off first.

D96-D109. j.lungumantinga (ma.), etc.
1—small-sized birds; 2—ka.nyong; caught in traps or by sporadic shooting of stones from rubber catapults; 6—cooked in leaves because the amount available is always very small.

E. Fish (Table 3E).

The Enya classify fish into n.fíi-c.é-ma.mba (fish covered with scales) and n.fíi-c.é-bo. sélo (fish without scales, or fish with slimy skin). n.fíi-c.é-ma.mba is further divided into n.fíi-c.é-ma.mba-ma.kúlú (fish with large scales) and n.fíi-c.é-ma.mba-ma.sálj (literally fish with small scales, explained as fish with soft, edible scales). Further, n.fíi-c.é-mi.kúwa (fish with poisonous spines) are divided from n.fíi-c.é-bo. sélo. This system for the folk classification of fish among the Songola (Y. Ankei, 1989: 17) corresponds precisely to the different methods needed to prepare it for cooking.
**Table 3E (1) Materials having *mu.suna* (2): fish**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref. no.</th>
<th>Songola names (Enya dialect)</th>
<th>Latin names</th>
<th>Folk category</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Fishing methods</th>
<th>CLOFFA Ref.no</th>
<th>Ankei'89</th>
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<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td><em>mu.köngā(mi.)</em></td>
<td><em>Polypterus endlicheri</em> HECKEL</td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>A C D</td>
<td>20 30 40 50</td>
<td>5. 2. 4</td>
<td>S3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td><em>ka.pandamükonge/mo.kombe(me.)</em></td>
<td><em>Polypterus sp.</em></td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>A C D</td>
<td>40 50</td>
<td>5. 2</td>
<td>S4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td><em>mw.ènge</em></td>
<td><em>Hepsetus odoe</em> (BLOCH)</td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>20 40 50</td>
<td>25. 1. 1</td>
<td>S29</td>
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<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td><em>MANDA(=)</em></td>
<td><em>Hydrocyclus spp.</em> in general</td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>30 50</td>
<td>26.10</td>
<td>S37</td>
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<tr>
<td>E5</td>
<td><em>manda-y.e-èw.ènge</em></td>
<td><em>Hydrocyclus goliath</em> (BOULENGER)</td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>26.10. 3</td>
<td>S38</td>
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<tr>
<td>E6</td>
<td><em>s.binga(m.)</em></td>
<td><em>Hydrocyclus sp.</em></td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>30 50</td>
<td>26.10</td>
<td>S39</td>
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<td>E7</td>
<td><em>manda-y.e-mù.àpängù</em></td>
<td><em>Hydrocyclus forskali (CUVIER)</em></td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>26.10. 2</td>
<td>S40</td>
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<td>E8</td>
<td><em>ka.mangâmanga(tu.)</em></td>
<td><em>Hydrocyclus sp. juv.</em></td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>26.10</td>
<td>S41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E9</td>
<td><em>manda-y.e-kí.bíla/j.úca(ma.)</em></td>
<td><em>Alestes macrophthalus</em> GÜNTHER</td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>D F</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>26. 1.28</td>
<td>S32</td>
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<td>E10</td>
<td><em>MO.KASA(ME.)</em></td>
<td><em>Distichodus spp.</em></td>
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<td>D E</td>
<td>30 40 50</td>
<td>27. 3</td>
<td>S43</td>
</tr>
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<td>E11</td>
<td><em>ù.cyna(m.)/mo.kasá-w.é-n.cyna</em></td>
<td><em>Distichodus sp.</em></td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>D1</td>
<td>40 50</td>
<td>27. 3</td>
<td>S44</td>
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<td>E12</td>
<td><em>ki.mpukusu(bi.)</em></td>
<td><em>Distichodus antonii</em> SCHILTHUIS</td>
<td>1.1.1</td>
<td>A D1 E</td>
<td>20 40 50</td>
<td>27. 3. 4</td>
<td>S45</td>
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*Potamotherissa obtusirostris (BOULENGER)*

*Xenomystus nigri (GÜNTHER)*

*MORMYRIDAE in general*

*Campylomormyrus elephas (BOULENGER)*

*Marcusenius greshoffi (SCHILTHUIS)*

*Marcusenius macrolepidotus (PETERS)*

*Marcusenius stanleyanus (BOULENGER)*

*Mormyrops (Mormyrops) sp.*

*Mormyrops (Mormyrops) delicious (LEACH)*

*Mormyrops (Mormyrops) masuianus BOULENGER*

*Mormyrops (Mormyrops) nigricans BOULENGER*

*Mormyrops (Mormyrops) sp.*

*Mormyrops (Mormyrops) catastoma GÜNTHER*

*Mormyrops sauagii BOULENGER*

*Petrocephalus microps BOULENGER*
### Table 3E (4)

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*Synodontis* spp. of smaller size
Table 3E (5)

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In Table 3E, several series of fish have vernacular names preceded by numbers 1 to a maximum of four. These numbers correspond to a life cycle stage of a fish which changes its name according to its growth (see Y. Ankei, 1988, for more detail).

Even if there are a number of fish of which the consumption is restricted for nursing women, only three species of fish are excluded from the repertory of Songola food (Y. Ankei, 1988). They are *ka.nyonyiñfií* (Panthodon bucholzi PETERS, a small fish which jumps over the water), *mu.ntiñfinii* (Belonoglanis tenuis BOULENGER, a twig-like tiny fish) and *lu.kumbí* (Xenomystus nigri (GÜNTHER), a small, thin fish which continues to breathe a long time in the air, and is believed to cause a prolonged stay in your deathbed).

E1-E48. *mu.kúngá* (mi.), etc. 1—fish with large scales to be removed before cooking.

E1-E2. *mu.kúngá* (mi.), etc. 2—fish for fishermen; 6—their flesh is very firm like animal meat; scaling is difficult.

E4. MANDA (=)

7—liver must be thrown away as it causes skin diseases.

E10. *MO.KASA* (ME.)

1—fishes of the genus Distichodus; 2—an inclusive fish name to include fishes having reference numbers E12-E19; 6—some of these fish which develop yellow flesh are avoided by nursing women for fear of making their children ill; this illness is called *lu.ambu*.

E20. *mu.nkwánkwa* (mi.)

2—has parasites in its gill covers; 6—they cut off its head during preparation.

E21-E22. *m.bulí*(û.), etc. 7—nursing women are not advised to eat these fishes for the same reason as in E10.

E32. *mo.langancala* (me.)

1—a carp living in rapids of the Lualaba; 6—a great delicacy; its scales softens after long and careful cooking; 10—a man who gave a dish of this fish to his father is said to have been rewarded with a slave in return.

E42. *m.papa* (û.)

7—a taboo for nursing women.

E49-E82. *ki.búba* (bj.)

1—fish with small scales that are not removed; 6—the following.
fishes are small in size even in their adult stages, and are cooked with their intestines: E51, E58-E61, E68, E69-82.

E52. lu.kumbi(ñ.)
5— I found this fish at a market of the Songola in spite of the following taboo; 6— the Songola refuse to cook this fish; 7— a taboo fish; if you eat this fish often, you will continue to breathe a long time in your deathbed like this fish.

E53. Ñ.PÔTO (Ñ.)
1— fishes of the family Mormyriidae; 2— an inclusive name for fishes E54-E71; 6— larger fishes of this group have stiff skin.

E83-E106. ki.buwa (bj.)
1— fish without scales but having three large poisonous spines (see Fig. 131); 6— large fishes of this group are rarely smoked for fear of losing their fat.

E98. mo.pjíí (me.)/ñ.cif.y.e-

F. Bugs and worms (Table 3F).

F1. lo.pó(ñ.)
1— larvae of F7; 2— grow out of palm trunks felled for palm wine production; found in either of two palm species, j.bondo (raffia palm) and ì bfìa (oil palm); 4— about two weeks after the drying up of palm sap men and women chop palm trunks with an axe and collect white larvae of this species which grow to the size of a thumb; about one liter will be collected at a time from one trunk of the palm; 6— regarded as the most delicious of all worms (see Fig. 34); very fat and nutritious.

F2. mo.sóko(me.)
1— hairy worms as long as 4 cm; 2— a relative of tú.kuú; 4— found surrounding the base of a trunk of mo.sóbó tree, Petersianthus macrocarpus (P. BEAUV.) LIBEN. (Lecythidaceae), on rainy days; 10— the same name as a vegetable C3.

F3. ke.kelekéle (bj.)
2— spiny worms.

F4. ká.kuú (tu.)
2— hairy in October, but they lose their hair when they make up a collective cocoon in March; 4— collected on a tree named mo. sengélé wé tú.kuú, Bridelia micrantha BAII. (Euphorbiaceae); a cocoon contains up to half a liter of these worms; 6— they are called j.ca lé kale, food of old times although frequently eaten even today.

F5. ka.mpanda (tu.)
1— inch worms; 4— abundant during dry seasons; found on ki.lumbá-lúmbu trees, either or both of Caloncoba welwitschii (OLIV.) GÜRKE and Buchnerodendron speciosum GÜRKE (Flacuriaceae).

F6. ki.nkúcu (bj.)
2— worms on oil palm trees; 6— stiff but comestible.

F7. ka.nyúmbú (tu.)
1— adult insects of F1; 2— at-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Songola names</th>
<th>Latin names</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Availability</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>lo.pó(ǹ.)</td>
<td>Rhynchoophorus sp.</td>
<td>pose</td>
<td>larva of F7</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>c0-1,d</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>mo.sóko(me.)</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>a c</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>ke.kelekéle(bj.)</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>a c</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4</td>
<td>ká.kuá(tú.)</td>
<td>Anaphe sp.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>cl-2</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F5</td>
<td>ka.mpanda(tu.)</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>a c</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F6</td>
<td>ki.nkúcu(bj.)</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>a c</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F7</td>
<td>ka.nyumbá(tu.)</td>
<td>Rhynchoophorus sp.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>weevil</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>c0-1,d</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F8</td>
<td>lu.kálungunyú(ǹ.)</td>
<td>DYTISCIDAE</td>
<td>diving beetle</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>A B</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F9</td>
<td>lu.swá(ǹ.)</td>
<td>Macrotermes sp.</td>
<td>inchwa</td>
<td>termite</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>c c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tracked by the smell of palm wine, enter the pot, and often are drowned in it; 6—children catch several insects and roast them in leaves for their snacks; 9— it was a monster named ke.njelénjele who refused to share his palm wine with others in a text of the epic of the Songola.

F8. lu.kálungunyú (ǹ.)
1—a green diving beetle having a strong smell; 4—caught with small fishes and frogs in bailing out shallow waters; 6— roasted in leaves.

F9. lu.swá (ǹ.)
1—larvae of termites; 4—collected from termite hills in the forest.

G. Amphibians, crustaceans, and molluscs (Table 3G).

G1-2. mo.tókó (me.), etc.
1—frogs and tadpoles; 4—collected with fish when bailing out shallow water in the dry season; 7—a taboo for pregnant women.

G3. i.kálá (ma.)
1—a crab living in the Lualaba and its estuaries; is not found in the forest; 2—a villager of Ngoli told me that the aquatic beetles (F8) are the substitute for crabs; 4—caught by bailing shallow water; 6—dried if there is an abundant catch; occasionally added to cassava leaves.

G4. mo.palí (me.)
1—a prawn living in muddy places along streams; abounds in the territory of the Binja subgroup of the Songola; 2—Binja name is mo.óngosá; 4—caught by bailing; 6—dries in one day and lasts for up to one month; Europeans' favorite dish.

G5. lo.kokú (ǹ.)
1—a bivalve in the Lualaba; very much resembles an oyster; 2—regarded as a "younger brother" of G4.

G6. lo.kóla (ǹ.)
Table 3G  Materials having *mu.suna* (4): other animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Songola names</th>
<th>Latin names</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Parts eaten</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Availability</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G1</td>
<td><em>ki.límbá</em> (bj.)</td>
<td>SALIENTIA</td>
<td>chula</td>
<td>frog</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2</td>
<td><em>j.bólo</em> (ma.)</td>
<td>SALIENTIA</td>
<td><em>mutoto ya chula</em></td>
<td>tadpole</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G3</td>
<td><em>j.kálá</em> (ma.)</td>
<td>CRUSTACEA</td>
<td>kala</td>
<td>crab</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G4</td>
<td><em>mo.palj</em> (me.)</td>
<td>CRUSTACEA</td>
<td>kosakosa</td>
<td>prawn</td>
<td>whole</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G5</td>
<td><em>lo.kóko</em> (ń.)</td>
<td>PELECYPODA</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>oyster-like flesh</td>
<td>bivalve</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6</td>
<td><em>lo.kóla</em> (ń.)</td>
<td>Achatina fulica</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>giant snail flesh</td>
<td>c,d</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G7</td>
<td><em>lo.késé</em> (ń.)</td>
<td>PELECYPODA</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>bivalve</td>
<td>flesh</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G8</td>
<td><em>j.ye l.é n.koko</em></td>
<td>Gallus gallus domesticus</td>
<td>mayai ya kuku</td>
<td>eggs of hen inside</td>
<td>dl</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G9</td>
<td><em>j.ye l.é j.báta</em></td>
<td>Anas domesticus</td>
<td>mayai ya bata</td>
<td>eggs of duck inside</td>
<td>dl</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G10</td>
<td><em>j.ye l.é n.joka</em></td>
<td>OPHIDA</td>
<td>mayai ya nyoka</td>
<td>snake eggs inside</td>
<td>c,d</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1—giant snail; 4—picked up by chance on the way to fields; 5—some Songola women pierce the shells and hang them with strings on the wall until they become abundant enough for sale in markets; 6—cherished by some fishermen as Lokele people; 7—many Songola women refuse to eat it.

G7. *lo.késé* (ń.)
1—bivalves in the Lualaba; 2—there are *lo.késé, j.késé, and ki.kúlunkešé; 4—the flesh will be skewered with a string and smoked if there is an abundant catch.

G8. *j.ye l.é n.kóko*
1—eggs of hen; 4—found in the cage or a room for the hen; often given as gifts to the guest.

G9. *j.ye l.é j.báta*
1—eggs of ducks; 4—collected in a cage or a room for ducks.

G10. *j.ye l.é n.joka*
1—eggs of snakes; 6—boiled and eaten like eggs of fowl.

H. Materials for food eaten raw (Table 3H).

H1. *ki.kúmbi* (bj.)
1—bananas; a group of varieties different from plantains; 5–6 varieties having different size and color of fingers; 5—Songola women sell bananas at markets; they are also given as small gifts for visitors; 6—sweet and eaten raw as a snack; 10—an informant told me that their cultivation became widespread during the age of the Belgian rule; 4—cultivated in villages because of damage by chimpanzees roaming in fields.

H2. *j.papáiu* (ma.)
1—papayas; 2—cultivated in villages for the same reason as H1;
### Table 3H  Materials eaten raw: fruit and flower

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Songola names</th>
<th>Latin names</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Parts Locality</th>
<th>Availability Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1</td>
<td>ki.kūmbi(bj.)</td>
<td>Musa sp.</td>
<td>kitika</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>fruit d1</td>
<td>c C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>j.papái(ma.)</td>
<td>Carica papaya L.</td>
<td>papai</td>
<td>papaya</td>
<td>fruit d1</td>
<td>c C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3</td>
<td>ki.nanási(bj.)</td>
<td>Ananas comosus (L.) MERR.</td>
<td>nanasi</td>
<td>pineapple</td>
<td>fruit d1</td>
<td>r C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>mo.mbélë(me.)</td>
<td>Physalis sp.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Cape gooseberry</td>
<td>fruit d1</td>
<td>r G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5</td>
<td>j.pela(ma.)</td>
<td>Psidium guajava L.</td>
<td>mapela</td>
<td>guava</td>
<td>fruit d1</td>
<td>r C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H6</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Persea americana MILL.</td>
<td>aboka</td>
<td>avocado</td>
<td>fruit d1</td>
<td>r C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H7</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Mangifera indica L.</td>
<td>mahanbe</td>
<td>mango</td>
<td>fruit d1</td>
<td>r C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H8</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Citrus sp.</td>
<td>mandelena</td>
<td>orange</td>
<td>fruit d1</td>
<td>r C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Anona muricata L.</td>
<td>musitafeli</td>
<td>sour sap</td>
<td>fruit d1</td>
<td>r C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H10*</td>
<td>j.ngunguliyá(má.)</td>
<td>Begonia eminii WARB.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
<td>r G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H11*</td>
<td>ka.kongacj(to.)</td>
<td>Oldfieldia africana BENTH. &amp; HOOK. f.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>a1,a2,a3</td>
<td>r G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H12*</td>
<td>ka.mungumungu</td>
<td>ké mu.kálí</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poggea alata GÜRKE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H13*</td>
<td>ka.sombó na matungulu</td>
<td>Aframomum stipulatum (COGN.) K. SCHUM.</td>
<td>wild ginger</td>
<td>ba cwá ya poli</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>a4,b1,c1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H14*</td>
<td>pén-géléc(=)</td>
<td>Thaumatococcus daniellii (BENN.) BENTH.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
<td>s G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H15*</td>
<td>lo.bélë(á.)</td>
<td>Aframomum laurentii DE WILD.</td>
<td>matungulu ya poli-</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
<td>c G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H16*</td>
<td>m.bombombo(m.)</td>
<td>Passiflora foetida L.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>b2,d2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H17*</td>
<td>ma.mambú(mi.)</td>
<td>Chrysophyllum delevoyi DE WILD.</td>
<td>African star</td>
<td>apple</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>a1,a2,c2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H18*</td>
<td>mu.sikiliki(mi.)-</td>
<td>Myrianthus arbores P. BEAUV.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>a1,a2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H19*</td>
<td>mu.silkindí(mi.)-</td>
<td>Pancovia laurentii (DE WILD.) GILG ex DE WILD.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>a1,a2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H20*</td>
<td>ka.angangulubi(tu.)-</td>
<td>Loudetica simplex C. E. HUBB.</td>
<td>ground</td>
<td>part</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>r G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H21*</td>
<td>tonga(=)</td>
<td>Grewia pinnatifida MAST.</td>
<td>tongatonga</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>b1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H22*</td>
<td>ka.pamí(tu.)</td>
<td>Pennisetum purpureum SCHUM.</td>
<td>kamuwa</td>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>sap</td>
<td>b2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H23*</td>
<td>j.banda(ma.)</td>
<td>Irvingia smithii PIERRE ex ENGL.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>b2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H24*</td>
<td>j.tekeke(ma.)</td>
<td>Dichanthera strigosa (COGN.) JACQ.-FÉL.</td>
<td>bonbon ya poli-</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c1</td>
<td>c G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H25*</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Sherbournia calycina (G.DON) HUA</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table continues with additional entries not fully transcribed here.*
6—a snack and a gift; some women refrain from eating papaya in the evening because it cools down your body.

H3. *ki.nanásj* (*bj.)*
1—pineapples (see Fig. 39); 2—the native variety have smaller fruit and leaves with longer spines than the new variety introduced by Belgians; 4—planted only in villages because of chimpanzee damage.

H4. *mo.mbélé* (*me.*)
1—Cape gooseberry (Fig. 23); planted in a few villages; also found escaping from cultivation and becoming half wild; 6—children pick and eat sweet and sour fruit.

H5. *j.pela* (*ma.*)
1—guava; introduced by the Arabs; I found a variety bearing large fruit planted by a Belgian settler; 6—eaten with skin as a snack by both children and adults; 8—has a variety of medicinal uses.

H6. *aboka* (*Swahili*)
1—avocado; tall trees in villages; introduced by Belgians; 4—boys climb avocado trees to collect their fruit; 6—unripe fruit becomes soft and ripe after several days of storage in a room; eaten as a snack.

H7. *mahembe* (*Swahili*)
1—mangoes; a tall tree introduced by the Arabs; 6—they peel the skin of a mango fruit when it becomes soft and fragrant.

H8. *mandelena* (*Swahili*)
1—an inclusive name for any of the cultivated plants belonging to the orange family; both of the two varieties in the Songola had thick edible peels.

H9. *musitafeli* (*Swahili*)
1—soursaps; a short tree planted in the courtyard; introduced by Belgians; 4—collected when the flesh holding small seeds becomes very sweet and fragrant.

H10. *j.ngunguljyá* (*ma.*)
1—a herb growing on fresh and rotten trunks of the raffia palm; 6—sour budding flowers are eaten on the spot of collection; leaves are used to prepare a beverage (H13).
H11. *ka.kongaci* (to.)
1—fruit of a tall tree in the primary forest; 6—both men and monkeys feed on their sour fruit.

H12. *ka.mungumungu k.e mu.kāli*
1—fruit of shrubs which abound in young secondary forests; 6—ripe fruit becomes as sweet as bananas, and is peeled.

H13. *ka.sombó na ba.cwa*
1—a wild herb of the family Zingiberaceae; 2—the name means "a small sombó as short as a pygmy." 6—white pulp in the red fruit is edible; oil palm fruit wrapped with leaves of this herb are put in hot ashes in order to give it a good smell.

H14. *géngélécá (=)*
1—triangular fruit of a herb of the family Marantaceae; 2—the herb itself has another name *ke. éngesa*; 6—ripe fruit is extremely sweet.

H15. *lo.bélé* (m.)
1—fruit of another herb (Fig. 24) of the same family as H13; more robust than H13; 2—the herb itself has another name *mo.sombó*; 6—men, chimpanzees, and monkeys eat them when ripe; nectar from flowers is sipped.

H16. *m.bombombo* (m.)
1—fruit of a herbaceous liana growing on banks of the Lualaba; 6—yellow fruit is sweet and sour.

H17. *mu.ambú* (mi.)
1—fruit of a tree of primary forests (Fig. 25); this tree rarely grows in groups; 4—people remember the sites of this tree and go to look for the fruit under them in their season; 5—sold at markets; 6—fruit of the size of an orange is esteemed by men and elephants; you remove the stem first, sip the sweet mucous juice, divide the fruit, taste the sweet nectar around the seeds, and chew sweet and sour pulp.

H18. *mu.sikiliki* (mi.)
1—fruit of a short tree in secondary forests; thumb-sized fruit with 2 seeds inside; 6—ripe fruit is sweet and juicy; chewed like oil palm fruit by men, chimpanzees, and monkeys.

H19. *mu.silikindi* (mi.)
1—a short tree which abounds in primary forests; bears small red fruit; 6—children and monkeys eat the sweet fruits.

H20. *ka.angangulubi* (tu.)
1—seeds of a tall grass growing in fields; the Songola say that this grass has edible, 5cm long, underground "fruit"; 2—the latter half of its name means bush pigs; 6—tuber-like "fruit" is eaten raw; bush pigs, *N.GULUBI* (D23 and D24) are very fond of them.

H21. *tonga (=)*
1—fruit of a shrub named *mu. lulu*; 6—red, sweet pulp around a seed is chewed.

H22. *ka.pamj* (tu.)
1—elephant grass; a grass resembling sugar-cane; 4—sometimes planted in courtyards; 6—sweet sap in the stem is chewed just like sugar-cane.

H23. *i.banda* (ma.)
1—a large tree on the banks of rivers; 4—has a distinctive fruiting season; 6—pulp of the fruit is sweet and edible; albumen in the kernels is oily and...
tastes like B6.

H24. *j.tekeke* (ma.)
1—fruit of a 30cm high herb growing on the roadsides and in the dooryards; 6—white pulp containing small seeds has sweet and sour taste; Swahili name, *bonbon ya poli*, means a bonbon of the forest.

H25. —
1—fruit of a herbaceous liana of the family Acanthaceae.

1. Materials for beverages (Table 31).

11. *ma.Ánjj*
1—water; either hot or cool; 2—hot water is *ma.Ánjj má.kongá*; 4—a Songola village generally has a source for good drinking water; in fishing camps they may take water from the Lualaba which provides more or less turbid and salty water; away from sources, during hunting in the forest for example, tasteless cool sap of a certain woody liana plays the role of excellent drinking water; they say that they sometimes collect this sap in a pan and boil food in it; drinking water is drawn in an earthenware pot or in a calabash, *ke.pómbó*; 6—drinking water is stored in a large earthenware pot, *m.paka* in Kuko dialect and *ka.búmbí* in Binja dialect (Fig. 26), which keeps the contents cool through evaporation from the surface; there are small earthenware pots *ka.yko* for serving water during a meal (Fig. 27).

12. *ka.bólé* (to.)
1—chilies; bird pepper; the same plant as B19.

13. **.monif* (ba.), etc.
1—chilies; varieties of red pepper; the same as B20.

14. *ki.sulúsulú* (bj.)
1—bitter variety of eggplant; compare with C29; 2—*ke.songo songo* in Binja dialect; 6—gives bitter taste to the beverage.

15. *mu.nyingili w.é bj.muka b.í ki.lúla*
1—seeds of a tree; see B22; 6—gives garlic-like flavor.

16. *mu.nyingili w.é bj.sisí b.í ka.bácamba*
1—leaves of a tree; see B23; 6—gives garlic-like flavor.

17. *mu.nyingili w.é bj.usu b.í ka.bácamba*
1—bark of a tree; see B24; 6—gives garlic-like flavor.

18. *lu.andula* (*n.g*)
1—young shoots of a wild herbaceous liana; 6—gives stimulating sour taste.

19. *kaáwa* (=)
1—Congo coffee; 4—planted in villages; 6—roasted beans are crushed and infused; drunk either with or without sugar; 10—Protestants, who refrain from drinking alcoholic beverages, call it *maly m.é ba.poló*, or "alcohol for the Protestants."

110. *n.keců* (*n.*)
1—grains of a wild species of the same genus as pepper; 6—pounded grains are infused.

111. *ka.ngaulímbu*
1—lemon grass; 4—cultivated in villages; 6—leaves are infused to make lemon grass tea.
Table 31  Materials for beverages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Songola names</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Parts eaten</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Availability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ma.ánjí</td>
<td>mayi</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ka.bólé(to.)</td>
<td>pilipili</td>
<td>chilies</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c0,d1</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Capsicum frutescens L.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>.moní(ba.) etc. pilipili</td>
<td>chilies</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c0,d1</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Capsicum spp. mbuzi</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ki.sulúsulu(bj.)nyanya</td>
<td>eggplant</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Solanum sp. uchungu</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mu.nyingili</td>
<td>bufili</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td>a1,a2</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hua gabonii PIERRE ex DE WILD.</em></td>
<td>w.é bý.muka b.ý ki.lúla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>mu.nyingili</td>
<td>bufili</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td>a1,a2</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Scorodophloeus zenkeri HARMS.</em></td>
<td>w.é bý.sisý b.ý ka.bácamba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>mu.nyingili</td>
<td>bufili</td>
<td>barks</td>
<td>a1,a2</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><em>Scorodophloeus zenkeri HARMS.</em></td>
<td>w.é bý.usu b.ý ka.bácamba</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>lu.andula(ñ.g)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td>c0,c1,d1</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Cissus adenocaulis STUD. ex A. RICH.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>kaáwa(-)</td>
<td>kahawa</td>
<td>Congo coffee seeds</td>
<td>d1</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Coffea robusta HORT.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>n.kecú(ñ.) pilipili manga</td>
<td>Benin pepper</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Piper guineense SCHUM. &amp; THONN.</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>ka.ngaulímbu</td>
<td>chaichai</td>
<td>lemon grass</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td>a1,r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Cymbopogon citratus (D.C.) STAPF.</em></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>tangawusi</td>
<td>ginger</td>
<td>roots</td>
<td>d1</td>
<td>r</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Zingiber officinale ROSC.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>j.ngunguliyá( má.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Begonia eminii WARB.</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>ka.ukyá(tu.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td>a1,a2,a3</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Leonardoxa romii (DE WILD.) AUBREV.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>lu.áminu(ñ.g)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>c1,c2</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Croton mutango MÜLL. ARG.</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>j.bondo(ma.)</td>
<td>libondo</td>
<td>raffia palm</td>
<td>sap</td>
<td>c0,c1,c2,d1</td>
<td>c,G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Raphia sp.</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>j.bíla(ma.)</td>
<td>ngasi</td>
<td>oil palm</td>
<td>sap</td>
<td>c1,c2,d1</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><em>Elaeis guineensis JACQ.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>mu.fyngá(mi.)</td>
<td>mupunga</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Oryza sativa L.</em></td>
<td></td>
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<td>119</td>
<td>mo.kolokoto(mé.)muhindi</td>
<td>maize</td>
<td>seeds</td>
<td>c0</td>
<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Zea mays L.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>mo.songú</td>
<td>muhogo</td>
<td>cassava</td>
<td>tubers</td>
<td>c0,c1</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w.ácywá</td>
<td>uchungu (bitter)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Manihot esculenta CRANTZ.</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>sulá(=)</td>
<td>sukali</td>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>markets</td>
<td>r M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 27 *Ka.uko*, a small jug for drinking water. Diameter 18 cm. *Kidumu kidogo.*

**112. tangawizi (Swahili)**
1—ginger; 4—a small amount is cultivated in villages; 6—pounded and infused; not used as a condiment.

**113. j.ngunguliyá (má.)**
1—leaves of a herb; see H10; 6—infused for their sour taste and brown color resembling that of black tea.

**114. ka.ukyá (tu.)**
1—leaves of a tree in primary forests (Fig. 28); 6—infused for their sour taste and brown color resembling that of black tea.

**115. lu.Áminu (n.g)**
1—bark of a shrub in secondary forests; 4—the infusion tastes like that of I10; 7—has a Swahili name *muganga*, a doctor, and used for various medicinal purposes.

Fig. 28 I14 *ka.ukyá*. Leaf shape and foliage. *Muti ya ka.ukyá.*

**116. j.blá (ma.)**
1—palm wine of oil palm sap.

**117. j.bondo (ma.)**
1—palm wine of raffia palm sap.

**118. mu.fyngá (mi.)**
1—rice; one of the materials for the liquor distilled from the fermentation of rice and cassava flour.

**119. mo.kolokóto (me.)**
1—dry maize; one of the materials for the liquor distilled from the fermentation of rice, maize and cassava flour.

**120. mo.songû w.acywá (me.)**
1—bitter cassava; the same plant as A3; 6—cassava flour is mixed with the mash for the fermentation of liquor.

**121. sulá(=)**
1—sugar; see B30; 6—added to a variety of beverages.
IV **Cooking techniques and utensils**

A. Inventory of verbs for preparing food and beverages.

The Songola use a large number of words to characterize the process of preparation, cooking, and serving food. I found that about 50 different verbs are necessary to understand the outline of the traditional technology of food preparation among the Songola. A small number of qualifiers are also needed to indicate whether a foodstuff under processing has retained a desired character, soft, dry, or hot enough, etc.

I arranged the verbs for processing food in the following order: 1) Butchering, one verb, 2) process of dividing of edible and inedible parts, 21 verbs, 3) processing edible parts without the use of heat, 17 verbs of which three are in common with the former group, and 4) processing edible parts by heat, 13 verbs. Further classification of the verbs is shown only for the process of heating edible parts.

Table 4 shows these verbs with English equivalents, related tools if any, and the reference numbers for the tools. The reference number of a tool is put in a frame on its first appearance in the table. Many of the verbs will be provided with illustrations of the action itself and of related tools. The text will include a tentative definition (Def), explanations (Expl), example sentences (Example), and Zairian Swahili equivalents (Sw) when available.

Table 5 is an inventory of tools appearing in Table 4.

1. Butchering

V1. *cijn*. 

Def— to cut the neck of an animal or a bird when it is still alive (Fig. 29). 

Expl— *lu. bau* (Fig. 30), men's knife, larger than a

---

**Figure 29** V1. *cijn*. A Muslim is going to cut the neck of a blue duiker, *(D10, ka.sisj)* with a knife *(T1, lu. bau)*.

*Muisulamu anachinja mbuluku na kisu.*
### Table 4 (1) Inventory of principal verbs for preparing food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>English equivalents</th>
<th>English tool names</th>
<th>Tool no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Butchering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1.</td>
<td>cinj.</td>
<td>butcher</td>
<td>Knife</td>
<td>T1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Removal of inedible parts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2.</td>
<td>bél.</td>
<td>crush (shell/kernel)</td>
<td>Short pestle</td>
<td>T2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>crack (seed shell)</td>
<td>Broad spatula</td>
<td>T3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>crack (seed shell)</td>
<td>(Teeth and hand)</td>
<td>T4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>crush (shell)</td>
<td>(Teeth and hand)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3.</td>
<td>jb.</td>
<td>beat (turtle shell)</td>
<td>Short pestle</td>
<td>T2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V4.</td>
<td>át.</td>
<td>break/chop/divide</td>
<td>Axe</td>
<td>T5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>divide</td>
<td>Bush knife</td>
<td>T6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>divide(ripe plantains)</td>
<td>Small knife for women</td>
<td>T7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dismember big fish</td>
<td>Bush knife</td>
<td>T6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V5.</td>
<td>bák.</td>
<td>cut/dismember</td>
<td>Bush knife</td>
<td>T6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cut/dismember</td>
<td>Knife</td>
<td>T1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cut (rice ears)</td>
<td>Small knife for women</td>
<td>T7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pick (leaves)</td>
<td>(By hand)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V6.</td>
<td>el.</td>
<td>shave the surface</td>
<td>Small knife for women</td>
<td>T7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of larger animals</td>
<td>Bush knife</td>
<td>T6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V7.</td>
<td>ba.</td>
<td>remove intestines</td>
<td>Knives</td>
<td>T1/T7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of larger animals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>V8.</td>
<td>sal.</td>
<td>pierce to remove</td>
<td>Small stick</td>
<td>T8</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intestines of worms</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>squash (tomatoes)</td>
<td>Small mortar</td>
<td>T9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ Long spatula</td>
<td></td>
<td>T10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>squash (tomatoes)</td>
<td>Small square mortar</td>
<td>T11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ Long spatula</td>
<td></td>
<td>T10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>squash (tomatoes)</td>
<td>Medium mortar</td>
<td>T12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ Large spoon</td>
<td></td>
<td>T13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V9.</td>
<td>táky.</td>
<td>pick (feather &amp; spines)</td>
<td>Knives</td>
<td>T1/T7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>remove (hair &amp; scales)</td>
<td>(With fingers)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>remove contents of</td>
<td>(With fingers)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intestines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>get rid of/pour out</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V10.</td>
<td>kymun.</td>
<td>remove inedible parts</td>
<td>(By hand)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>remove inedible parts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V11.</td>
<td>óngol.</td>
<td>peel (tubers)</td>
<td>Bush knife</td>
<td>T6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>peel (tubers)</td>
<td>Bush knife</td>
<td>T6</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>peel (plantain)</td>
<td>Small knife for women</td>
<td>T7</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>peel (maize)</td>
<td>Spatula of raffia palm</td>
<td>T14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(By hand)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>V12.</td>
<td>bab.</td>
<td>burn the surface</td>
<td>(By hand)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V13.</td>
<td>pikjs.</td>
<td>thresh (cereals)</td>
<td>(With legs)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thresh (cereals)</td>
<td>Short pestle</td>
<td>T2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thresh (maize)</td>
<td>Knives</td>
<td>T1/T7</td>
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**Table 4 (2)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. Verbs</th>
<th>English equivalents</th>
<th>English tool names Tool no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V14 .tut.</td>
<td>thresh (oil palm)</td>
<td>Axe + Bush knife T5+T6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pound in mortar</td>
<td>Large mortar + T15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pound/bruise in mortar</td>
<td>Medium mortar + T12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V15 .lumb.</td>
<td>separate grain and chaff</td>
<td>Shallow basket T17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V16 .sön.</td>
<td>pick up (seeds, kernels)</td>
<td>(With fingers) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V17 .öy.</td>
<td>wash (materials)</td>
<td>Aluminum pan T18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V18 .tutik.</td>
<td>submerge in water/soak</td>
<td>Aluminum pan/ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V19 .is.</td>
<td>drain excessive water</td>
<td>Basket for foods T21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma.änji</td>
<td>(By a pond)</td>
<td>Basket for women T22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V20 .bík. ku ma.änji</td>
<td>put under dripping water</td>
<td>Basket for foods T21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V21 .in.</td>
<td>squeeze</td>
<td>(By hand) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V22 .is. mu ka. saulila</td>
<td>strain inedible parts</td>
<td>Strainer T25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Processing of edible parts without using heat**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. Verbs</th>
<th>English equivalents</th>
<th>English tool names Tool no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V4* .át.</td>
<td>divide</td>
<td>(By hand) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V5* .búk.</td>
<td>divide</td>
<td>Small knife for woman T7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut (leaves)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Knives/Bush knife T1/T7/T6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut (raw cassava tubers)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Digging spatula T26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slice (boiled cassava)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spatula of Marantaceae T27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut (boiled cassava)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Small knife for women T6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut (plantain cake)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Threads T28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V23 .ók.</td>
<td>mince</td>
<td>Knives T1/T7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V24 .piny.</td>
<td>rub (leaves)</td>
<td>(By hand) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V14* .tut.</td>
<td>pound in mortar</td>
<td>Large mortar T15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ Long pestle</td>
<td>T16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium mortar + T12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ Short pestle T2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V25 .sáky.</td>
<td>pound into flour</td>
<td>Medium mortar T12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V26 .søy.</td>
<td>mash</td>
<td>Broad spatula T4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make paste with water</td>
<td>Large spoon T13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make paste with water</td>
<td>Medium mortar T12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. Verbs</th>
<th>English equivalents</th>
<th>English tool names Tool no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V27 .is. mu</td>
<td>sieve</td>
<td>+ Short pestle T2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka.iungi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sieve T29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V28 .lęngy.</td>
<td>stir up</td>
<td>Broad spatula T4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stir up</td>
<td>Large spoon T13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stir up</td>
<td>(By hands) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V29 .cong.</td>
<td>knead cassava paste</td>
<td>Long spatula T10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ Aluminum pan T18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V30 .long.</td>
<td>mix (on leaves)</td>
<td>Broad leaves T30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V31 .bǐk.</td>
<td>put something in/on</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V32 .téél.</td>
<td>put something in a container</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V33 .it.</td>
<td>pour into</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V34 .tokéč.</td>
<td>make less</td>
<td>Pans T18/T20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V35 .lály.</td>
<td>leave as it is</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V36 .alul.</td>
<td>put upside-down</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mix upside-down</td>
<td>Broad spatula T4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mix upside-down</td>
<td>Large spoon T13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Processing of edible parts by heat

| V37 .ánjk. | expose to smoke                      | Smoking shelf T31          |
|            | expose to smoke                      | Smoking shelf for fish T32 |
|            | expose to sunlight                   | Shallow basket T17         |
| V38 .ámy. | desiccate                            | Smoking shelf T31          |
|            | desiccate                            | Shallow basket T17         |
| V39 .cōmb.| carbonize                            | Iron plate T33             |
| V40 .ekel.| roast                                | -                           |
| V41 .ekel. | roast in broad leaves                | Broad leaves T30           |
| né j.atóta |                                      |                            |
| V42 .kάng.| parch/sauté/fry                      | Aluminum pan T18           |
| V43 .kάng.| heat on iron plate                   | Iron plate T33             |
| né ki.átí | roast in a covered pan               | Aluminum pan T18           |
| V44 .lukus.| boil/steam                           | Covered earthen pan T34    |
| V45 .lukus.| boil/steam                           | Coverless earthen pan T20  |
| né j.atóta | boil/steam                           | Aluminum pan T18           |
| V46 .pes. | boil slightly                        | Pans T18/T20/T34           |
|            | in broad leaves                      | + Broad leaves T30          |
| V47 .tékec.| make fire larger                     | Pan/ - T35                 |
| V48 .tól. | make fire smaller                    | (By hand) -                |
| V49 .likul.| remove (from fire)                   | Pans T18/T20/T34           |

*: Verbs appearing for the second time. /: Alternative use of tools.
+: Combination of tools. -: No tool is needed.
A reference number is framed when the tool appears for the first time.
### Table 5. List of tool names appearing in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Songola tool names</th>
<th>Explanations</th>
<th>Related verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td><em>lu.bau</em></td>
<td>Men’s large knife</td>
<td>V1,5,5*,7,9,13,23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td><em>mu.titi wé tungu</em></td>
<td>Short pestle</td>
<td>V2,3,13,14,25,26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td><em>j.we</em></td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>V2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T4</td>
<td><em>mu.luwa wé tungu</em></td>
<td>Broad spatula</td>
<td>V2,26,28,36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T5</td>
<td><em>ke.londa</em></td>
<td>Axe</td>
<td>V4,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T6</td>
<td><em>bu.panga</em></td>
<td>Bush knife</td>
<td>V4,5,5*,6,10,11,13,14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T7</td>
<td><em>ka.bau</em></td>
<td>Women’s small knife</td>
<td>V4,4*,5,5*,6,7,9,11,13,23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T8</td>
<td><em>ka.tí</em></td>
<td>Small wooden stick</td>
<td>V8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T9</td>
<td><em>ki.lunga ké ka.bólé</em></td>
<td>Small mortar</td>
<td>V8,14*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T10</td>
<td><em>mu.luwa wé bu.kálj</em></td>
<td>Long spatula</td>
<td>V8,29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T11</td>
<td><em>ka.kilili ké ka.bólé</em></td>
<td>Small square mortar</td>
<td>V8,14*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T12</td>
<td><em>ki.lunga ké tungu</em></td>
<td>Medium mortar</td>
<td>V8,14,14*,25,26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T13</td>
<td><em>lu.pau</em></td>
<td>Large spoon</td>
<td>V8,26,28,36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T14</td>
<td><em>ki.úbú</em></td>
<td>Raffia palm spatula</td>
<td>V11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T15</td>
<td><em>ki.lunga ké mu.łyonga</em></td>
<td>Large mortar</td>
<td>V14,14*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T16</td>
<td><em>mu.tuti wé mu.łyonga</em></td>
<td>Long pestle</td>
<td>V14,14*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T17</td>
<td><em>lu.elj</em></td>
<td>Shallow basket</td>
<td>V15,37,38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T18</td>
<td><em>nyungú y.e bá.cungú</em></td>
<td>Aluminum pan</td>
<td>V17,18,34,42,43,44,45,46,49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T19</td>
<td><em>lo.pepe</em></td>
<td>Wash-basin</td>
<td>V17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T20</td>
<td><em>ki.bángálá ké nyungú</em></td>
<td>Coverless earthen pan</td>
<td>V18,34,44,46,49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T21</td>
<td><em>ki.tálu</em></td>
<td>Basket for foods</td>
<td>V19,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T22</td>
<td><em>ki.mpaka</em></td>
<td>Basket for women</td>
<td>V19,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T23</td>
<td><em>ka.lila</em></td>
<td>Palm oil squeezer</td>
<td>V21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T24</td>
<td><em>mu.nyonga</em></td>
<td>Apparatus for squeezing palm oil</td>
<td>V21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T25</td>
<td><em>ka.saulila</em></td>
<td>Palm juice strainer</td>
<td>V22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T26</td>
<td><em>ki.úbú</em></td>
<td>Digging spatula</td>
<td>V5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T27</td>
<td><em>lu.tiku</em></td>
<td>Spatula for slicing boiled cassava</td>
<td>V5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T28</td>
<td><em>ka.sóso</em></td>
<td>Threads</td>
<td>V5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T29</td>
<td><em>ka.ülú</em></td>
<td>Sieve</td>
<td>V27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T30</td>
<td><em>ka.ánj</em></td>
<td>Broad leaves</td>
<td>V30,41,45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T31</td>
<td><em>ki.liya</em></td>
<td>Smoking shelf</td>
<td>V37,38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T32</td>
<td><em>mo.pela</em></td>
<td>Fish smoking shelf</td>
<td>V37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T33</td>
<td><em>lu.bulu</em></td>
<td>Iron plate</td>
<td>V39,42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T34</td>
<td><em>j.búló</em></td>
<td>Covered earthen pan</td>
<td>V44,46,49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T35</td>
<td><em>ke.lobe</em></td>
<td>Fan</td>
<td>V47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>no tools used</strong></td>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>V4,4*,5,10,11,12,21,24,48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>no tools used</strong></td>
<td>Fingers</td>
<td>V9,16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>no tools used</strong></td>
<td>Teeth and hand</td>
<td>V2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>no tools used</strong></td>
<td>Legs</td>
<td>V13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>no tools used</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>V9,18,31,32,33,35,36,40,47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
women's knife (*ka.bau*, T6), is used since butchering is the task of men and boys. Muslims regard this operation carried out ceremonially by a Muslim as indispensable to make the animal or a bird edible. Otherwise they call the meat as *nyamafu* in Zairian Swahili and refuse to eat it. The verb, having the same pronunciation as the Swahili word, seems to have been introduced by the Arabs with the Islamic practices. Example—*c.cinj.l n.koko*. "Butcher the hen." *Sw—chinja*.

2. Removal of inedible parts

*V2. beł.*

Def— to make cracks on or to break something (Fig. 31). Expl—the action of removing hard shells or kernels. A short pestle (T2) and a large flat stone, grinding stone for example (T3), are used to crush hard shells of shellfish (G5 of Table 4G), hard kernels of oil palm fruit (B2) or wild fruit (B6). Fragile seed shells as of cucurbit (B4) are cracked with a broad spatula or with teeth. Intransitive form is *bélék.* Example—*Bél.l n.te.te*. "Crush cucurbit seeds." (see Fig. 116). *Sw—bunja* [*vunja* in Tanzanian Swahili].
A woman breaks a bunch of oil palm fruit (Bl m.bifla) with an axe (T5, ke.londa).

Muwanamuke anabunja kichwa ya ngasi.

V3. jib.
Def—to beat with a hard implement. Expl—the process of removing a turtle shell which is a little too strong to be as easily broken as in the case of V2. There is a synonym umb used in a broader context. Sw—piga.

V4. .át.
Def—to divide with force, or divide in longitudinal direction; split. Expl—to divide into two or more parts using hands or not very sharp cutting tools as axe (ke.londa, T5, Fig. 33) or bush knife (bu.panga, T6, Fig. 35). Cutting elephant (see Fig. 126) or crocodile meat (Fig. 127), dividing pumpkins, breaking a fresh and solid oil palm bunch (Fig. 32), and breaking firewood in long pieces are all covered by this verb. Use of sharp cutting tools generally corresponds to another verb .bük. (V5). These two verbs appear again under V22 in Table 4 to denote dividing boiled sweet cassava tubers, etc. The use of the verb .át. is also possible for making long pieces out of soft, ripe plantains with a sharp, small knife (ka.bau, T7, Fig. 84). Split pieces of boiled sweet cassava tubers are called ki.áti ke mo.songú, or what is split (Fig. 34). The term ki.áti is derived from the verb .át. This way I arrived at the latter half of the definition. Chopping firewood in small pieces is expressed by another verb .sáb. Sw—pasula [pasua], bunja [vunja].

V5. .bük.
Def—to divide transversely. Expl—the common usage is to cut with a sharp-edged instrument presumably because tearing some—
Fig. 34  A:  m.pó  (F1. larvae)  with  ki.áti  k.é  mo.songú  
(pieces  of  boiled  sweet  cassava, A2),  B:  tú.kuú  (F4. worms).  
A: Bipasulio ya muhogo na pose, B: bidudu ingine.

Fig. 35 Types of bush knives T6 bu.panga. Length  
of the upper, 55 cm and the lower, 68 cm.

Panga.

thing  in  transverse  direction  is  not  easy.  Felling  plantain  
trunks  by  bush  knife  (T6,  Fig. 35),  cutting  cassava  tubers  with  
a  digging  spatula  ki.úúsú  (T26,  Fig. 38),  cutting  up  (see Fig.  
125) animals  and  birds  (Fig. 36),  and  plucking  leaves  are  the  
example of this verb.  Crossing a  road  is  also  expressed  with  this  
verb.  Example—Mu.kálí  á.yíl.i  ku.búk.a  tungu.  "The  woman  has  
gone  to  'pluck  cassava  leaves  (C1)."  This  verb  appears  for  the  
second  time  under  V22  and  is  used  in  the  sense  of  making  slices  of  
boiled  bitter  cassava  with  a  special  spatula  (T27)  or  a  knife  
(see Fig. 96-97).  A thread  is  
used  to  cut  a  loaf  of  pounded  plantains  and  sweet  cassava  (see  
Fig. 91-92).  Sw—kata  (cut),  chuma  (pick),  chuna  (dismember).  

V6.  .el.

Def— to  remove  with  a  sharp  tool  the  thin  layer  of  useless  mater-

ial  existing  on  the  surface.  Expl— to  shave  smoked  cassava  
tubers  (see Fig. 103),  to  peel  a  pineapple  with  a  knife  (Fig. 39),  
and  also  to  shave  oneself  with  a  razor  (lo.béo).  Example—Elák  mu.

langa  w.é  ñ.kaj.  "Pare  the  sur-

face  of  the  handle  of  the  oar."  
Sw—pelula  [perura].

V7.  .ba.

Def— to  remove  intestines  of  ani-

mals;  to  gut  (Fig. 40b).  Expl—
An old Kuko man cuts the body of a snake (D62 n.joka), puff-adar with a bush knife (T6).

To open the abdomen and take out what is inside. Through this operation a game changes its name from nyama y.e me.soló y.andl e.ëse (an animal with all of its intestines) to nyama y.e ku.baik. a (an animal with its intestines removed). The stem .baik. is analyzed as a combination of the verb stem .ba. plus a passive suffix .ik. Example—Â.sj1.a ku.ba.â. "He has finished removing intestines." Sw—tosha butumbutumbu.

V8. .sal.

Def—to make a hole with a pointed instrument (and consequently let the contents out).

Expl—to remove intestines of small animals with a knife, to
Fig. 38. Two types of digging spatula for women T26 ki.úsù.
A: single-edged spatula, ki.úsù. k.é mu.mbu ó.monji, 30 cm long.
B: double edged spatula ki.úsù. k.é mi.mbu mi.bílí, 45 cm long.
Ki.úsù ya ng’ambo moyá [moja] na ki.úsù ya ng’ambo mbíli.

get rid of the intestines of worms with a small stick (T8), or
to squash tomatoes to let the juice out (Fig. 41) with large
spoon (Fig. 42), etc. Sw—tobola [toboa].

V9. túky.
Def— to make something to leave.
Expl— a general term to denote removal. To remove j.usá (hair),
lu.sálá (feather, see Fig. 128), ma.amba (scales, see Fig. 40a-c
and Fig. 129) and so on. Another term .tuc. is also used. Example
— Túky.á ka.búbú. "Wipe out ashes." Sw— tosha [toa],
nyonyola [nyonyoa] (pluck feather).

Fig. 39. V6 .el. An Enya woman paring a pineapple fruit (H3),
with a knife of European type on broad leaves (T30).
Muwanamuke ya Wagenia anamenya
nanasi na kisu ya kizungu.

V10. kymun.
Def— to divide edible and inedible parts by tearing. Expl—
to divide soft parts as leaves (Fig. 43), chilies, or mushrooms
(see Fig. 120), off the hard residue. There is a synonym
.konjol. The term .kymun. is
used also for unfastening a package. Sw— chambula [chambua].

V11. óngol.
Def— to take off the skin of something. Expl— generally used
for skinning fruit (see Fig. 89), tubers (Fig. 44), and stems (Fig.
43). Only a few animals (D46-D53
and D59) are skinned. Skin of an
animal and bark of a tree are
both called ke.koba, but peeled
and dried animal skin is ą.gubu.
Peeling bark of a tree is a different verb .băc. Sw—menya.
V12. ą.băb.
Def—to burn something until its surface is transformed or taken off. Expl—usually the inside is left more or less raw. Major purpose of this operation is to burn off the remaining hair and feathers (Fig. 45). Fly maggots on decomposing meat are removed by this technique. Sw—babula [babua].
V13. ą.pikis.
Def—to remove grains from ears. Expl—ears of rice are trodden with feet in a shallow basket (Fig. 46) or beaten with a pestle (see Fig. 108) until they are threshed. Sw—pukuchua.
V14. ą.tut.
Def—to pound something in a mortar with a pestle. Expl—mu.tuta (pestle) has the same stem as this verb. Songola have five mortars and three pestles. Round mortars are used in vil—
Fig. 41 V8 .sal. Squashing tomatoes (B25) in a medium-sized mortar (T12) with a large spoon (T13).
Kutobola tomati kwa lupao na kino ya sombe.

Fig. 42 T13 lu.pau. Large spoon. Length ca. 35 cm. 
Lupao kubwa.

Fig. 43 V10 .kum. A Kuko woman dividing cassava leaves (C1) from inedible stems.

Fig. 44 V15 lumb. Def—to shake many times in a shallow basket (T17) in order to blow away chaff from the grains.

lages, and square mortars (Fig. 47), much easier to make, are used in a hunting and fishing camps. Among three round mortars, small-sized mortar (T9, see Fig. 117) are used to pound salt and to mix chilies and salt. Medium-sized mortars (T12) are used to soften cassava leaves (Fig. 48) or mushrooms (see Fig. 121), and pound boiled plantains or cassava tubers (see Fig. 95). A short pestle (T2) is used with these two kinds of mortars. The largest mortar (T15) is used to pound dried cassava tubers (Fig. 104), to pound a sticky food, n.kili, made of cassava (see Fig. 99) and to hull and polish rice grains (Fig. 49). A long and heavy pestle (T16) is used with this type of mortar. I saw three girls pounding rice in a big mortar. This verb appears again under V24 in Table 4. Compare with .tut., "to lull a baby". Sw—twanga.

Sw—twanga.

V15. lumb. 
Def—to shake many times in a shallow basket (T17) in order to blow away chaff from the grains.
Fig. 44  V11. Songola. A Kuko woman peels cassava tubers (A3) with a bush knife (T6) in the field.

*Huwanamuke anamenya mihogo uchungu ku-shamba.*

Fig. 45  V12. Bab. A Kuko girl burns the outside of a monkey.

*Mutoto muwanamuke anababula [babua] makako ku-moto.*

Fig. 46  V13. Pikis. A Kuko woman threshes rice by treading paddy bundles (A7) on a shallow basket (T17).

*Muwanamuke anapukuchula mupunga ndani ya lungo.*
Fig. 47 T11 ka.kilili k.é ka. bólé. A small square mortar. Breadth 10 cm. Kino kidogo ya poli [pori].

Fig. 48 V14 .tut. A Kuko woman pounds cassava leaves (C1) in a medium mortar (T12) with a short pestle (T2). Muwanamuke anatwanga sombe.

Expl—A technique needed to prepare polished rice (Fig. 50). Also .pet., but this term seems to be Swahili because normally it means in Songola "to burn" or "to boil" something. There is a homonym .lumb. which means "to be famous". Sw— peta, pepeta.

V16. .son.

Def—to select one thing out of other things. Expl—a technique needed to choose edible grains of rice (Fig. 51), seeds like sesame, cucurbits, and oil palm kernels. Example—Són.á ñ.tete. "Pick out cucurbit seeds (out of rotten pulp)." Sw—chagua.

V17. .ôy.

Def—to wash with water. Expl—washing and bathing (Fig. 52). There are other words .pjut. for scrubbing, and .sul. for cleaning dirty things. Washing clothes is .fûl., probably of Swahili origin. Example—Nyungú ikí né m.blú. Òy.À né ÿ.sé. "The pan is covered with soot. Cleanse (it) with sand." Sw—safisha na mayi,
Fig. 50 V15 lumb. A woman separates rice grains and chaff using a shallow basket (T17).
Muwanamuke anapeta muchele.
sukula ku-mayi [sugua majini].

Fig. 51 V16 son. Two boys remove sand and other inedible things from pounded rice (A7) in a shallow basket (T17).
Watoto wanaume wanachagua buchafu ya muchele.

Fig. 52 V17 oy. A woman cleanses aluminum pans (T18) by a stream.
Muwanamuke anasukula sufulia ku-bahali.
Fig. 53 V18 .tutik. Peeled bitter cassava tubers (A3) soaked in a pond to remove the toxic materials.
Mihogo uchungu ya kulalishwa ku-mayi.

Fig. 54 V19 .is. maˌanjj. Soaked bitter cassava tubers (A3) are drained on plantain leaves by the pond in which they have been soaked.
Mihogo uchungu inawekwa pembeni ya mayi kupunguza mayi yake.

V18. .tutik.
Def— to put something in water to soak. Expl— to submerge food and clothes. Smoked, dry food may be submerged to make them absorb water, and poisonous materials of bitter cassava tubers (Fig. 53), for example, will dissolve in water if they are allowed to remain there for some days. Another verb .fn. is also used as for submerging bitter cassava tubers. Antonyms are .totol. and .inun. Sw— lobeka [loweka].

V19. .is. maˌanjj
Def— to let water go out to drain. Expl— soaked materials taken out of water will need to stand for a time to reduce their water content. For example, soaked cassava tubers are put on plantain leaves beside the pond in which they have been soaked (Fig. 54). A basket for food (T21, Fig. 55) may also be used. .Is. is a general term to denote "passing." Intransitive form is .it. Example— Mu.īs.Ā. "Let him pass." Sw— pitisha mayi [pisha maji].

V20. .bik. ku maˌanjj
Def— to put something under dripping water. Expl— some food need to have toxic materials removed by dripping water on them for one night (Fig. 56). Sw— weka ku-mayi [majini].

V21. .in.
Def— to twist something to get
its contents completely out. 
Expl—literally, to let (palm juice) pass through a filter (T25, Fig. 59) for it. To remove fibers from oil palm juice, and to separate dirt from ash extract, ma.kálj, a seasoning (Fig. 58). Sw—pitisha kaiungio ya kisuku [pisha kajungio].

3. Processing of edible parts without using heat

V23. ūk. 
Def—to cut something into very small pieces. Expl—different from ūk. "to cover." Example—ūk.á ma.tembéle. "Mince leaves of sweet potatoes." (Fig. 60). Sw—katakata.

V24. pjny.
Def—to rub with fingers or hands. Expl—mu.nyingili leaves (B21 and B23) are rubbed well before use to make their garlic-like scent stronger. A term also used to rub tired muscles or to press out a swell. Sw—fikinya.

V25. sáky.
Def—to pound or grind until the contents are powdered. Expl—chilies are reduced to powder by pounding in a mortar, whereas dry tobacco leaves are ground on a stone. There are three different words for powdery materials: ground chili flour is bu.kungú, cassava flour is lo.poto, and tobacco flour is bunga. Sw—sakya [saga].

V26. soy.
Def—to mash soft materials with or without addition of water. Expl—mash boiled sweet potatoes, make thick paste with pounded groundnuts or cucurbit seeds and water. Mash boiled eggplants with broad spatula (Fig. 61-62). For the preparation of a hot beverage called jaly, boiled eggplants and chilies are mashed before putting them in water. Sw—ponda.

V27. kaiungí
Def—to make homogeneous flour
Fig. 57 V21 A Kuko man squeezes palm oil (B1) in a traditional squeezer (T23).
Muwanaume anakamu/ [anakamua] mawese.

Fig. 58 V22 Is. mu ka saulila A woman makes to pass the extract of ashes (B10-B13) through a strainer (T25) on cassava leaves (C1).
Muwanamuke anapitisha makali ku-sombe.
materials to make a thin, homogeneous mixture. Expl—to stir rice porridge or boiled rice with the addition of oil and salt. Intransitive form is .leng. Sw—koloka [koroga].

V29. cong.
Def—to knead flour with boiling water (Fig. 64). Expl—the last step for the preparation of bu.kålì, hot paste of cassava flour with long spatula (Fig. 65). There is a trap for birds named cong.a-bu.kålì, denoting that this trap catches game in a short time as the preparation of bu.kålì. Maybe Songolaized Swahili. Sw—songa bukali [ugali].
Fig. 62  T4  mu. luwa w. é  tungu. Broad spatulas.
A: length 39 cm, B: length 28.5 cm.
Aina mbili ya muiko ya sombe.

Fig. 63  V27  .is. mu ka. iungi. A
Kuko woman sieves flour of bitter cassava (A3) with a sieve (T29).
Muwanamuke anapitisha bunga ya bukali [unga ya ugali] ku-kayungio.

Fig. 64  V29  .cong. A Kuko woman kneads hot paste of cassava flour (A3) in a pan (T18) with a long spatula (T10).
Muwanamuke anasonga bukali.

Fig. 65  T10  mu. luwa w. é  bu. káli, A long spatula for kneading cassava paste. Length 78 cm
Muiko ya bukali.
V30. **.long.**
Def— to bring different things together; to combine. Expl— to add the mixture of salt and chilies in a pan in cooking a hen, and mix materials on leaves before wrapping them. This word also means arranging things in a line, and hence, building a village. A word **.sambik.** (assemble) is used to refer to mixing food. Sw— **tia, unganisha.**

V31. **.bik.**
Def— to put something in or on another thing. Expl— the same verb as the former half of V20 (see Fig. 56). To put a butchered hen in boiling water before removing its feathers, etc. Sw— **weka.**

V32. **.telél.**
Def— to let one thing to go into another thing; to mix in or add. Expl— to put food materials in a container. Putting chilies in a mortar while pounding cassava leaves. Putting in the same thing will be expressed by the verb **.ongesel.** (add). Sw— **tia.**

V33. **.it.**
Def— to pour liquid material or small granules out of a container. Expl— to reduce water from a pan before boiling, and pour out palm oil on a pan (Fig. 66). Also sowing small grains in a field. Different from **.it.** "to leak". Sw— **pungusa [punguza], mimea, mwanga [mwaga].**

V34. **.tokéc.**
Def— to reduce the amount of something. Expl— to reduce water from a pan. Example— **Tokéc.á ma.ánji.** "Reduce water." Sw— **pungusa [punguza].**

V35. **.lály.**
Def— to leave something as it is; let it sit. Expl— literally "to let sleep." This seemingly negative procedure plays crucial roles in a variety of dishes. A bunch of plantains (A1), papaya and other fruit is preserved in a dark room until it becomes ripe.

**Fig. 66 V33 .it.** Pouring water in a pan (T18). 
*Kumimea mayi ku-chungu.*

**Fig. 67 V35 .lály.** To leave as it is. Smoked meat soaked for hours in water in a pan (T18) covered with plantain leaves. 
*Nyama kabu [kavu] inalalishwa ku-chungu.*
and sweet. Bitter cassava tubers are left in standing water until they soften and lose their toxic materials (see Fig. 53). Smoked elephant meat must be soaked in cold water for a long time until it softens (Fig. 67). Cucurbit fruits (B4. n.tete, see Fig. 17), collected in a field, are left with leaves covering them for about a week until the pulp is decomposed. Edible seeds are then collected. Fermentation of alcoholic beverages will take place when the mash is left for more than a week as it is in a covered container. Its intransitive form is .lál., and means to sleep, to lie down, or for palm oil to settle in a cool place. Sw—lalisha. V36. .alul.

Def—to put something upside-down. Expl—after boiling rice for some time when there is little water left, the pan is removed from fire and is put on plantain leaves upside-down (see Fig. 109). This process keeps steam from leaking out of the pan and makes rice grains to become soft with remaining steam. Otherwise, cooked rice is mixed upside-down with a broad spatula to reduce the difference of water content between the rice on the bottom and at the surface; Sw—pindusa [pinduza], geusha [geuza].

4. Processing of edible parts by heat (.lamb., to cook)

All types of cooking by the use of heat is included in one Songola term .lamb. I found 13 verbs (and idioms) which will represent an emic differentiation of meaning of the verb .lamb. Chart 2 shows the relationship

Fig. 68 V37 .ánjk. To smoke. An Enya woman arranges pieces of fish on a smoking shelf (T32).

Muwanamuke ya Wagenia anaanika samaki.
Chart 2. Vocabulary for processing of edible parts by heat.

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between these 13 verbs. I delineated the verbs using Songola terms as criteria for classification.

V37. .ánik.
Def—to expose something to smoke or to sunlight. Expl—reduction of water content of foods is an important technique to preserve them. Every Songola house has a shelf designed to smoke food (T31, see Fig. 3 and 4). Fishermen smoke their catch rapidly on a small grid (T32) hung over a fire (Fig. 68). Soaked slices of bitter cassava, .kili, are dried in the sun (see Fig. 98). Some leaves and mushrooms are dried under the sun before cooking. Fish, prawns, and crabs are smoked if caught in abundance. Smoking raw fish not only preserves it a long time but also gives it a special flavor. A kind of worm mo.sóko (F2) is dried after it has been rubbed with salt and chilies. Small fish are skewered (.songel.) with a rattan string to handle them more easily while smoking (see Fig. 135). Sw—anika ku-jua (dry in the sun), anika ku-kahala (smoke on a shelf).

V38. .úmy.
Def—to dry completely. Expl—detoxicated cassava tubers and chilies are made to lose all their water content on a smoking shelf or in the sun (Fig. 69). Different from plant materials, fish or meat is scarcely completely dried. Compare with V37. Sw—anika ku-moto (dry on fire), kausha.

V39. .cúmb.
Def—to put in fire and burn. Expl—vegetable salt is extracted from carbonized residue of some plants (Fig. 70). Sw—washa, lungusa [lunguza].

V40. .ekel.
Def—to prepare food by fire

Fig. 69 V38 .úmy. To dry. A Kuko woman arranges soaked bitter cassava tubers (A3) on a shelf (T31) to dry it in the sun.

Huwanamuke anapanga mihogo ya kulobeka yulu [juu] ya kahala.
A Kuko woman carbonizes oil palm bracts (B11) on an iron plate (T33).

\[ \text{Mwanamuke analungusa miiba ya ngasi.} \]

without using pots or pans.
Expl—thin layer of muscle on the back of a blush-tailed porcupine are heated by direct fire. Maize, yautia, oil palm fruit, prawns, and crabs are put in hot ashes for quick snacks (Fig. 71). The following two expressions are distinguished from this verb because they seem rather particular as cooking techniques. Sw-

\[ \text{choma.} \]

V41. \[ \text{ekel. nē j. kéta} \]
Def—to wrap food in broad leaves and put the package on hot charcoal (Fig. 72). Expl—a variety of cooking without using pots or pans. This results in the special flavor of Marantaceae leaves (T30) permeating the food heated in it. Small quantities of food having \[ \text{mu.suna (muscle)} \]

\[ \text{Ngasi ya kuchoma.} \]

**Fig. 70 V39. cumb.** A Kuko woman carbonizes oil palm bracts (B11) on an iron plate (T33).

**Fig. 71 V40. ekel.** Oil palm fruits (B1) roasted on cinders.
Fig. 72  *ekel. né i.kéta.* To roast in leaves. Wraps of cassava food (A2, C1) roasted on cinders among three large logs of firewood (*me.konda*).

*Ginsi ya kuchoma fulushi.*

Fig. 73  *kum.* Method of wrapping a small amount of food as salt or chilies with broad leaves (T30).

*Ginsi ya kufunga chumbi au pilipili ku-fulushi [furushi].*

Fig. 74  Wrapping cassava leaves in broad leaves. Both hands are needed to make up a wrap of food (a Songola proverb telling you to help each other).

*Fulushi ya sombe. Hauezi kufunga fulushi na mukono moya (fumbo).*
are usually cooked this way. This operation prevents cooked cassava leaves from going bad. Leaves having garlic-like smell (B21 and B23) are roasted in leaves to preserve the aroma (Fig. 73). A leftover dish can be saved overnight by this treatment (Fig. 75, see also Fig. 72). The verb, *kwm.* (to wrap), always preceding the process of heating, is omitted from the list because it is regarded as a dependent process of V41 and V45. Figures 72-74 show the procedure of wrapping a small amount of food. See

Fig. 75  A wrap of food *j.kéta* (T30). *Fulushi.*

Fig. 76  V42 *kág.* A Kuko woman parches cassava leaves (C1) on an iron plate (T33). Nylon threads (T28) are used to dress up her hair. *Mwanamuke anakalanga [anakaanga] sombe.*
Fig. 80 for the method of wrapping a large amount. Sw—choma na fulushi. 

V42. .káng.
Def—to prepare food by dry heat in pots or pans. Expl—no water is added. The verb is applied whether or not oil is used, and the Table 4 provides a variety of equivalent English words. Raw cassava leaves are roasted on an iron plate without oil while turning continuously (Fig. 76). Leaves thus softened are easily pounded in a mortar. Oily seeds in the B group of Table 3B such as groundnuts, sesame, and cucurbits are gently roasted before consumption. In case of food sautéed in a small amount of oil, some food in B and C group are eaten with the oil whereas fried bananas and buns leave excess oil behind. The word is also used to refer to the hot sun. Example—


V43. .ekel. né ki.úkí
Def—to put pieces of red charcoal on and underneath a pan containing oil and dough. Expl—the pan serves as a small oven. Sw—pika mukate (bake bread).

V44. .lukus.
Def—to prepare food by wet heat in pots or pans. Expl—to steam or boil in water. This is the most frequent technique used in the cooking of the Songola. Different from V45, this verb denotes boiling (1jul.) for a long time and/or boiling on a strong fire (1jul. né lú.kulu). In most cases a cook covers (1jib.) pots and pans with a cover made of aluminum, earthenware, or plantain leaves (Fig. 78). Some food, wrapped rolls of cassava tubers, for example, are "steamed" on pieces of wooden board which prevents the food from coming into direct contact

Fig. 77 V43 .káng. né ki.úkí.
A cassava cake (A3) is baked in a covered pan (T18) having red charcoal on it. Baked cakes are put in a washbasin (T19).

Ginsi ya kupika mikate ya kizungu.

Fig. 78 V44 .lukus. Food (plantains or cassava tubers) boiled in a pan (T18).

Ginsi ya kupika chakula.
with the boiling water (Fig. 79). As a name for dishes, this verb is often replaced by another verb .lamb. In fact, this word includes all processes represented by the verbs V37-V46. Therefore, .lamb. is the most compatible Songola word for the English verb "cook". Sw— tokosha, tokotesha.

V45. .lukus. né j.kéta

Def— to wrap food in broad leaves and put the package in boiling water. Expl— some food need this process to be preserved for a long time, either at home or outside the village. Wraps of food made from bitter cassava tubers as ki.kwángá (see Fig. 100-102), ñ.kili, and ki.búli, and from cassava leaves are carried by travelers and given as simple gifts (Fig. 80-81). Paste of groundnuts, sesame, and cucurbit seeds is often treated by this method. Sw— tokosha na fulushi, tokotesha na fulushi.

V46. .pes.

Def— to heat until the contents begin to boil gently. Expl— preparation of hot beverages does not need boiling a long time. Simmering is enough. Cold dishes can be better served and preserved through this process. Intransitive form is .pet. There is another verb .úl. to denote the outcome of vapor (mu. jnaminu). Example— Pes. á ma. ánji. "Boil water." Sw— chemusha, chamusha.

V47. .tékec.

Def— to make a fire larger. Expl— a fan made of leaves of a big tree (A5, see Fig. 9) is used to fan a fire (Fig. 82-83). One can also make a fire larger by

Fig. 79 V44 .lukus. Steaming ki.kwángá, wraps of pounded bitter cassava (A3). Another pan (T18) is used as a cover during steaming.

Ginsi ya kutokosha bikwanga.

Fig. 80 V45 .lukus. né j.kéta (boil in wraps, T30). Method of wrapping cassava slices (A3) before boiling.

Kufunga lumata na fulushi.

Ginsi ya kufunga chakula mingi.
Fig. 81 Two forms of i.kéta wrapped cassava food (A3, T30). Fulushi ya lumata na fulushi ya mitewe.

Fig. 82 V47 tékece. An old Kuko woman fans to make fire larger with a fan, ke.lobe (T35). Muzee muwanamuke anapulisa [anapuliza] moto na kipepeo.

arranging (.sámbik.) firewood. Some food having mu.suna (muscle) are heated in a small amount of oil (.káng.), and then boiled with abundant water. The verb applies to such dishes. Sw—chochea moto.

V48.tól. Def—to make a fire smaller. Expl—to draw firewood from a furnace in order to reduce the fire. To boil rice, firewood is take out as soon as the water boils well. After a while the pot itself is removed (V49) from the fire. Sw—salula moto.

V49.likul. Def—to remove a container from a fire. Expl—palm oil is sometimes heated well until it smokes a little Then the pan is removed from the fire. This operation reduces the smell and color of palm oil. Then follows the latter half of cooking. When the contents are well boiled, the cook removes the pan from fire and puts it out (.lýmy.) if she no longer needs it. She will then dish out (.ákul.) the food before it cools down (.ól.). Sw—Iopola ku-moto.

Fig. 83 T35 ke.lobe. A fan made of mu.lyli leaves (A5 ). Length 50 cm. Kipepeo ya mayani [majani] ya limbalu.
B. Techniques to prevent decomposition of cooked food.

In the climate of humid tropics cooked food rots very soon. A person in possession of cooked and uncooked food must be acquainted with the techniques to prevent them from going bad before consumption. There is a verb **.bikil.** for this process. This verb means to put something aside (**.bik.,** V31) for someone. The Songola call an environment dangerous for food preservation as being "cold" (**.é molaj.**). It means a humid place where molds spoil the food soon. On the contrary, hot and dry places such as the smoking shelf are suited for preserving food. For example, raw fish and meat will keep well and become smoked fish or meat only when you continue to smoke them at least twice a day. Once smoked you will smoke once a day. Preservation of materials for food will not be described here because it deserves an independent paper.

Food of all sorts reserved until the next morning have a special Songola name **mu.nánga.** The following techniques are therefore concerned with the preparation of this category of food.

Boiled cassava and plantains are roasted (**.ekel.**) on cinders the next morning.

Food having broth such as boiled fish and meat are slightly boiled (**.pes.**) in the pan. If you wish to eat them in the afternoon of the following day, you must take care to boil them first in the evening, secondly early the next morning, and again in the afternoon.

Food lacking broth such as boiled rice, boiled cassava leaves, or boiled termites are wrapped (**.kum.**) in broad leaves (see Fig. 73, 74 and 80). The packages are either boiled (**.lukus.**) or roasted (**.ekel.**) (see Fig. 72). Some are first boiled and then roasted again.

A kind of wrapped cassava food, **ki.kwanga** (see Fig. 100), is regularly put in the sunshine (**.anjik.**) to prevent molding.

C. Qualifying words for the condition of materials in preparation.

Recipes are composed of ordered steps of operations. In order to be able to decide whether it is time to proceed from one step to the next, you must know the condition of materials in preparation.

Songola women used the following qualifying words to denote conditions of materials during cooking. They are described in the same manner as for the verbs of preparation.

**Q1 .temb.**
Def— to soften, or become soft.
Expl— in most cases this verb is used to demonstrate a point in which you can stop boiling or simmering. Also used for ripening fruits. Example— **lo.poto lw.á temb.á.** "soft cassava paste." **m.bíla lì.tembi lì.kiné komókomó.** "Another bunch of oil palm has become soft (and the fruit has fallen off)." **Sw— legëa.**

**Q2 .bímb.**
Def— to swell, become larger.
Expl— when you soak dried materials in water as smoked fish or meat, you can use them for cooking once they have absorbed a sufficient amount of water (see Fig. 67). Bitter cassava tubers swell and become soft (**.temb.**) when they have lost their toxic materials in water (see Fig. 53). **Sw— bimba, nenepa.**

**Q3 .úm.**
Def— to dry, or lose broth. Expl
—drying such as smoking and exposing to sunshine. Also to make food lose its excess liquid by boiling for a long time. Intransitive form of the verb ąmy. (V38). Sw—kauka.

Q4 ąisy. musábíj
Def—to leave broth. Expl—in cooking fish and meat some amount of broth should be left. This verb indicates the point at which you should stop boiling. Sw—bakia supu.

D. Some notes on the utensils used.
I must add some more words to outline the tools used for cooking (Table 5): their acquisition or fabrication, frequency of usage in a village, and historical changes in their use. Explanations of the materials used for their fabrication will be reported elsewhere (T. Ankei, in preparation).

T1, lu.bau (Fig. 30) and T7, ka.bau (Fig. 84) are traditional sharp-edged instruments. There are blacksmiths in certain villages, and they make implements as T1, T5, ke.londa, (see Fig. 33), T7, and T26, ki.úsú (see Fig. 38) to order. The prefix ka. for T1 refers to its small size compared with T7. The Songola use no cutting boards on which they cut or mince food materials (see Fig. 60).

T2 and T16 are mu.tuti or pestles (Fig. 85), T9 (see Fig. 116), T12 (see Fig. 48), and T16 (see Fig. 49) are ki.lunga or round mortars, whereas T11 is ki.killi or a square mortar (see Fig. 47). T16 is longer and heavier than T2, and has a name meaning a "pestle for paddy." T2 means a "pestle for cassava leaves." When a woman pound soft materials as cassava leaves, she will seat herself on a small chair, and handle the pestle with only one hand. Square mortars can be more easily made than round ones, and are more frequently seen in fishing and hunting camps than in villages. A

Q5 ąund.
Def—to become thick or sticky. Expl—soup or broth becomes thick and sticky when it has been simmered for a long time. This verb is used in the evaporation and crystallization of vegetable salt. Sw—kamatana, nata.

Q6 ątabang.
Def—to separate and form a layer. Expl—a verb used to indicate the end of palm oil fabrication. Sw—jikata.

Fig. 84 T7 ka.bau. Small knives for women.
A: new, length 12 cm, and B: used, length 14 cm.
Bisu ya wanamuke [visu vya wanawake].
medium-sized square mortar *ki. k1111 k.é tungu*, used in the same way as T12 was omitted from Table 5 because I saw one only in camps. Some women use a very small pestle having the name *mu. tutti w.é ka.bólé* (pestle for chilies) but it is usually replaced with the handle of a spatula unless fine grinding is needed (see Fig. 65 and Fig. 86).

When pounding materials other than food such as medicinal leaves and fruits, they never use mortars used for food. Making pestles and mortars is the task of husbands.

T3 is a stone to break hard shells (see Fig. 31). In the Zaire basin it is not always easy to find stones.

T4 *mu.luwa* (Fig. 62 and 86). A short broad spatula to take rice and other food having little or no broth from a pan to dishes. Used also for mashing boiled eggplants or tubers. Swahili name is *muiko ya sombe* or a "spatula for cooked cassava leaves."

T5 *ke.londa* is an axe (see Fig. 33). There is a traditional type of axe for which a triangular piece of iron is inserted in the handle. Nowadays industrialized axes having larger edges are replacing the old type.

T6 *bu.panga* is a bush knife bought at stores. Maybe its name is derived from a Swahili word, *panga* (see Fig. 35). Bush knives are replacing almost all of the traditional cutting tools: T1, T5, T7, and T26. When they become small through use and through grinding, they can be used in place of smaller cutting tools.

T7. See under T1.

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Fig. 85 Two types of pestles. 
T2 *mu.tuti w.é tungu*. Length 66 cm. 
T16 *mu.tuti w.é mu.funga*. Length 122 cm. 
Aina mbili ya mutwangio.

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Fig. 86 T4 *mu.luwa w.é tungu*. Broad spatula for rice and boiled cassava leaves. Length 42 cm 
*Muiko ya sombe.*
T8 is a small twig.

T9. See under T2.

T10 is a 60-cm long spatula for kneading hot paste of cassava flour (see Fig. 65).

T11. See under T2.

T12. See under T2.

T13 is a stainless or aluminum spoon bought at stores. Wooden spoons (see Fig. 42) are also in use.

T14 is a spatula to peel immature, hard plantains (see Fig. 88). Originally the opposite side of the sharp edge was carved like a spoon and used to serve boiled cassava leaves. Today Songola women prefer to use broad spatulas which are made by men, or sold in villages and markets.

T15. See under T2.

T16. See under T2.

T17 is a shallow basket woven from a plant of the family Marantaceae (Fig. 87). There are men whose speciality is to make baskets of this type. Lungo in Swahili.

T18 is an aluminum pan bought at stores. The name means "pans of Europeans." Most women have T18 of at least three different sizes. It is replacing earthenware (T20 and T34, Figs. 118 and 136) except when a long period of simmering is needed. There are women who make earthenware to order. Large pots of aluminium are also used to carry water from a source to the village. Swahili name is sufulia.

T19. Washing basin used to put materials before and after heating. See Figs. 77 and 116.

T20. See under T18.

T21 is a deep basket for holding wet food as drenched slices of bitter cassava tubers (see Fig. 55).

T22 is a large round basket for women (see Fig. 7 and 56). It has a carrying belt that attaches on the front of a women and supports the basket on the back. One day I recorded that a woman carried about 70 kg of firewood in a basket for women (see Fig. 7). This basket is used to transport basket like T21, soaked tubers of bitter cassava, or oil palm fruits. Men make T21 and T22 from a species of rattan.

T23 is a basket type squeezer for palm oil (see Fig. 57). It is made from the same species of rattan as T21 and T22.

T24 is a newly introduced apparatus as squeezer for palm oil (see Fig. 115).

T25 is a strainer for palm fruit juice (see Fig. 59). An old man made and sold T25 from the same plant as for T21 and fiber taken from young raffia palm leaves.

T26 is a traditional women's tool for cultivating (see Fig. 38). Women make small holes in the soil to plant seeds and cassava stems with this digging tool. It is less sharp than a bush knife, and women can sometimes better divide and peel cassava tubers with this tool.

T27 is a 25-cm stem of a species of Marantaceae divided in half (see Fig. 97). This tool is used in the peculiar method of removing toxic materials from bitter cassava tubers and from

Fig. 87 T17 lu.elj. Shallow basket containing cassava flour (A3) Diameter ca. 60 cm. Lungo.
Songola Cookbook

bitter cassava tubers and from bitter yam bulbils.

T28 is a strong nylon thread to dress up the hair of women (see Fig. 76). Fiber of raffia palm seems to be strong enough to have been used to cut sweet cassava loaves before the introduction of nylon threads (see Fig. 91).

T29 is a sieve for cassava flour made of boards and fine iron mesh (see Fig. 63). They used the fiber of raffia leaves when iron mesh was not available.

T30 is a broad leaf of the family Marantaceae. It plays an essential role in the methods of boiling and roasting without pans (see Fig. 72-75 and 80-81). There are more than four species utilized according to the vegetation types of the forest surrounding a village. These leaves are also used to thatch the roofs. Plantain leaves called in the same name have the same usage as the Marantaceae leaves (see Fig. 78).

T31 is a shelf for smoking and conserving food. Every woman has a shelf of her own in her veranda (see Fig. 3), but a common shelf for drying cassava tubers is constructed in the courtyard (see Fig. 4 and 69).

T32 is a portable shelf for drying fish (see Fig. 4 and 68).

T33 is an iron plate made from drum cans (see Fig. 70). The Songola may have used earthenware before these became available, T34. See under T18.

T35 is a fan made of leaves of a big tree (A5, see Fig. 9 and 83). It is used to fan a fire. Bark and tin plates are also used for this purpose.
Inventory of recipes

I will describe all of the Songola dishes that I was able to observe or have information about from interviews during my survey. A dish is the result of a combination of materials used, techniques applied to the materials, tools used during processing of these techniques, and the order of the steps comprising a recipe. The flow charts (Charts 3A-3J) provide the outline of the recipes and the technological relationship among them. Each entity in the inventory of the recipes is delineated under reference numbers prefixed with R. There are some intermediate products that are not eaten as they are. Since many of these intermediates have proper Songola names, each of them is described under a reference number preceded by an R with an asterisk (R*).

The text will provide readers with supplementary information on 1) the identification of the recipes, 2) literal meaning of names for the recipes and intermediate products and their etymology, 3) details for the process of preparation, namely, the amount of water, the duration of a treatment, and the strength of fire, etc., special knacks needed for the success of the dish as explained by Songola women, and the technological significance of certain processes discovered during my discussions with Songola women, 4) taste and evaluation by the Songola, 5) other miscellaneous information, and 6) names of the dish in Zairian Swahili.

The recipes are presented in the order of principal materials used for preparation. Recipes sharing the same to together in the order of complexity from simple to complex as determined by the number of steps in the process represented by Songola verbs.

A. Recipes for principal starchy food.

R1-R*17 are recipes for plantains (A1 of Table 4A), and are regarded as traditional recipes of the Songola.

**R1—R2. Lw.eke l.é j.omá**

1. A light snack often prepared by a hungry man.
2. *Lw.eke* can be analyzed as *lu+ek+e*; *ek* is the intransitive form of the verb *ekel* (V40); therefore R1-R2 means "roast of plantains"; usually in singular form because only one finger is roasted at a time.
3. Roast a plantain in its skin on cinders (R1); it may be roasted again after peeling its skin (R2); roasting with the skin prevents scorching.

**R3. Ki.unda k.é j.omá**

1. Boiled plantains; the most frequent way of cooking plantains.
2. Also called *ki.linda k.é j.omá*, or fingers of plantains.
3. Use a special spatula *ki.úbú* (T14, Fig. 88); it helps removing hard peel without damaging the pulp (Fig. 89).
4. Families fond of plantains eat this dish frequently (Fig. 90).
5. *Ndisi* ya kupika.

**R4. Mo.kóké**

1. The preceding pounded in a mortar.
3. Songola women use a nylon thread for dressing up their hair (T28, see Fig. 76) to cut the sticky batter to bite-size pieces (Fig. 91); the remaining can be
Chart 3A. Recipes for principal starchy food.

A1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V40</th>
<th>V11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.ekel.</td>
<td>.ôngol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roast</td>
<td>peel with fingers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V40</th>
<th>V11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.ekel.</td>
<td>.ôngol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roast</td>
<td>peel with fingers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V40</th>
<th>V11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.ekel.</td>
<td>.ôngol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mixed with boiled cassava leaves tungu to make 
mu.canáta (R331)

Mixed with fish to make 
mu.canáta (R332, R333)

R3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V44/T34</th>
<th>Q1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.lukus.</td>
<td>.temb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peel with a spatula</td>
<td>boil in a pan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V14/T2+T12</th>
<th>V5/T28</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.tut.</td>
<td>.búk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pound in cut with a mortar a thread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V14/T2+T12</th>
<th>V5/T28</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.tut.</td>
<td>.búk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pound in cut with a mortar a thread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V27/T29</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.buk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pound in cut with a thread</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V29/T10+T18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.cong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knead paste with hot water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.lály.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put in a dark room for 3-5 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V40</th>
<th>V11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.ekel.</td>
<td>.ôngol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roast</td>
<td>peel with fingers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. EKEL.

1. Roast

2. Twice roasted ripe plantain

3. Peel with fingers

4. Twice roasted ripe plantain

5. Fried ripe plantain

6. Pounded ripe plantain

7. Pounded ripe plantain

8. Pounded ripe plantain

9. Pounded raw ripe plantain

10. Mixed with food made of bitter cassava (R34, R39, R42)

A2.

1. Sweet cassava

2. Mixed with boiled cassava leaves to make mu-canáta (R331)

3. Mixed with fish to make mu-canáta (R332, R333)

R10.

mu-kek 1.é

Twice roasted ripe plantain

R11.

mu-tekki w.é

Peeled ripe plantain

R12.

mu-tekki w.é

Fried ripe plantain

R13.

mu-tekki

Pounded ripe plantain

R14.

lu-kambj

Porridge of ripe plantain flour

R15.

lu-kambj

Stir up with boiling water

R16.

lo-poto 1.é

Kneaded ripe plantain flour

R17.

mu-tekki w.é

Pounded raw ripe plantain

R18.

bj.yuku

Peeled sweet cassava

V40.

.ekel.

Roast

V11.

.ongol.

Peel with fingers

V4/V7

.át.

Divide

V42/T18

.káng.

Fry in palm oil

V44/T18

.lukus.

Boil in a pan

V14/T2+T12

.tut.

Become soft

V27/T29

.Q1

Divide

V14/T2+T14

.is. mu

Pound in a mortar

V28/T4

.tut.

Soft

V29/T4

. tungi

Sieve

V38/T31

.ómy.

Desiccate

V14/T2+T15

.tut.

Pound in a mortar

V28/T4

. tony.

Stir up with boiling water

V38/T31

.ómy.

Desiccate

V14/T2+T12

.tut.

Pound in a mortar
- submerge in standing water for 2-3 days

- soak bitter cassava

- drain excessive water

- roast of soaked bitter cassava

- Used to ferment distilled liquor

- roast of soaked bitter cassava

- wrapped cake of bitter cassava

- desiccate on shelf

- ripe plantain

- desiccate on shelf

- dried bitter cassava

- boil in water

- shave the surface

- add water

- add plantain/rice

- stir well

- leave for a while

- large buns of bitter cassava flour, rice, and plantain

- roast in a covered pan
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q2</th>
<th>V49</th>
<th>R51</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.bjamb.</td>
<td>.likul.</td>
<td>bu.sabó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grains swell and fire remove from add sugar, salt & palm oil to taste

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V14/T15+ V27/T29</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V18/T18 V38/T17 T16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Submerge in desic- pound sieve water for cate in 4-5 hours the sun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V33 V28/T13 V46/T18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R52 - V38/T17 T16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pour stir boil water slightly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R53</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bu.j wé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thin porridge of rice flour

Mixed with food made of bitter cassava (R39, R40)

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j.sángú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Maize

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V44/T18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.lukus.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Boil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.ekel.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V13/T7 V14/T2+T12 V45/T18+T30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.pikjs. .tut. .lukus. ně j.kétá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thresh pound roughly boil in leaves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R54</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma.sángú m.é</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bij.usu

Boiled ear of maize

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R55</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma.sángú m.é</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ku.lamb.a

Boiled maize

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R56</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma.sángú m.é</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kw.ekel.a

Roasted maize

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R57</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lu.cucú 1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ma.sángú

Wrap of pounded maize

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R58</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma.sángú m.é</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J.kétá

Maize pounded with plantain

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo.kolokoto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ripe maize

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V13/T7 V44/T18 Q1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.pikjs. .lukus. .temb.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thresh boil for a soften long time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R59</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma.sángú m.é</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Mo.kolokoto

Boiled ripe maize

Used for fermenting distilled liquor

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka.ndoló</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sweet potato

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V11/T7 V5/T6 V44/T18 Q1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.sángol. .búk. .lukus. .temb.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Peel cut boil soften

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ton.dolo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Boiled sweet potato
roasted for breakfast the next morning.

4. Soft and rather sticky; fills
the belly sooner than R3; pre-
pared to welcome important guests
among the Songola (Fig. 92).

5. Basic dishes for Langa people
inhabiting the forest to the west
of the Songola.


R5. Mo.kóké
1. Boiled plantains and sweet
cassava pounded together.
2. Has the same name as R4 both
in Songola and Swahili.
3. Lituma ya ndisi na muhogo
utamu.

R* 6. lopoto l.é m.omá
1. Flour
made of dried plan-
tains; an intermediate product
having its Songola name; its re-
ference number is given an as-
terisk to show that it is not
eaten as it is.
3. Divide each finger of plan-
tains in four longitudinal
pieces, and dry them in the sun-
shine for 3-4 days; desiccated
plantains are pounded in a
mortar.
5. This is a foodstuff for re-
serve, and former generations of
the Songola made and stored it
more frequently than they do to-
day when there is no more famine.

Fig. 88 T14 ki.úbú. A spatula
to peel (V10 .kumun.) plan-
tains. The opposite side of
the edge was used as a spoon to
serve boiled cassava leaves
(C1).

Kitu ya kumenya ndisi.

Fig. 89 How to handle ki.úbú, a
plantain peeler.

Ginsi ya kumenya ndisi.

Fig. 90 R3 ki.línda k.é momá.
Boiled plantains (A1) with a
boiled egg of a duck (G9).

Ndisi ya kupika na liyai
[yai] ya bata.
6. *Unga ya ndisi.*

**R7. Lo.poto l.é m.omá**

1. Hot paste made of the preceding.

4. Plantain flour rapidly kneaded in boiling water with a spatula; this process is the same as that of *bu.kálj*, cassava paste (*R38*).

5. Rare among today's Songola.


**R*8. Mu.títí**

1. Plantains made to ripen several days in a dark room.

2. Different from the case of unripe maize (*A8*) and ripe maize (*A9*), *R*8 is not treated as an independent entity. This is because ripening of plantains is an artificial process represented by the verb *l.la1y* (*V35*, make to "sleep"); ripening of maize takes place in fields, but this is not possible for plantains mainly because of the damage by chimpanzees.

4. Soft and sweet.


**R9–R10. Lw.eke l.é mu.títí**

1. Roasted ripe plantains (*R*8).

3. May be roasted once or twice just like *R1–R2*.

4. Sweet and much tastier than *R1 or R2*.


**R11. Mu.títí w.é bu.bísi**

1. Peeled ripe plantains (*R*8)

---

Fig. 91  **V5* .búk.** An Enya woman cuts *mo.koké* (*R4*), a loaf of pounded plantains (*A1*) with a thread (*T28*). *Muwanamuke ya Wagenia anakata lituma na uzi.*
Fig. 92 R4  *mo.koké*, pounded plantains (A1) and fish boiled with palm oil (R268).

*Lituma ya ndizi na samaki.*

eaten raw.

4. Not as sweet as bananas (H1).

R12. *Mu.títi w.é ku.káng.a*
1. Fried ripe plantains (R*8).
3. Peel R*8; then divide each finger in two long pieces; fry the pieces in abundant palm oil.
5. Women fry and sell this food at markets; rarely cooked for consumption within a village.
6. Njelu ya kukalanga.

R13. *Mu.títi*
1. Boiled and pounded ripe plantains (R*8).
3. Can be boiled and pounded more easily than R3 or R4.
4. A combination of soft and sweet mash and jajú, (R323, chili soup), is a favorite lunch for the Songola; eaten with a spoon (Fig. 93).
5. The most popular way of cooking ripe plantains.

R*14. *Lu.kámbj*
1. Dried ripe plantains (R*8).
2. *Lu.kámbj* is Kuko dialect; *ka.bábj* in Binja dialect.
3. Divide fingers longitudinally into two to four pieces each; put them in the sun for three to four days.
5. A traditional reserve food replaced by dried cassava tubers.

R15. *Lu.kámbj*
1. Thin paste made from dried ripe plantains (R*14).
3. Pound dried plantains; sieve it; then stir the flour with abundant hot water to make a porridge.
4. The Songola say that this flour is as sweet as sugar.
5. Had been used as baby food before cassava flour replaced it.
6. Uji ya njelu.

R16. *Lo.poto j.é mu.títi*
1. Thick paste made from dried ripe plantains (R*14).
3. Knead with more flour than...
the preceding (R15).
6. Ugali ya njelu.
   R*17. Mu.titi w.e ku.tut.a
1. Pounded ripe plantains (R*8).
3. Add it to other food to give a sweet, pleasant taste.

R18-R29 are recipes for sweet cassava (A2).
R18. Bi.yuku
1. Peeled raw sweet cassava.
2. Bj.yuku means peeled raw cassava, sweet or bitter.
4. Has a slightly harsh taste, but is not harmful.
5. A quick food to satisfy hunger when there is no other food available.
R19. Ki.ati k.e mo.songy
1. Pieces of boiled sweet cassava tubers (R18).
2. Etymologically ki.ati means what is divided (.at. V4).
3. Put peeled tubers in a pan and wash; pour water to a third of the pan; boil on a large fire for about half an hour; spill excess water when the tubers are well steamed; total cooking time is about 1 hour, and one of the fastest meals; however, during the last stages of harvest seasons tubers must be boiled for a long time because tubers become hard and rather harsh in taste.
4. One must chew many times to swallow this food because it contains little moisture.
5. Regarded as the least troublesome for cooking; most frequently eaten through the seasons among all the dishes made from materials in the group A; eaten with chili soup, jalú (R323) shortly after a housewife returns from the fields (Fig. 94).

Fig. 94 Three men having a meal of boiled sweet cassava (R19) and meat boiled with palm oil (R254). The mug contains drinking water.
Wanaume wanakula bipasulio ya muhogo na nyama.

Fig. 95 Two Enya women pound boiled sweet cassava tubers (A2) to make ka.ombóomba (R20) in a medium-sized mortar using two short pestles (T12, T2).
Wanamuke wanatwanga bipasulio kutengenesa lituma.
R20. *Kaombomba*

1. Boiled sweet cassava tubers (R19) pounded in a mortar (Fig. 95); becomes R5 if mixed with plantains.
2. Cook's hand must be cooled occasionally in water to handle very hot cassava tubers; a cook makes sure to select juicy young tubers to make it soft and smooth; it is impossible to make it from hard and rather harsh tubers (see R19).
3. Much more flavorful and delici­ous than R19; old persons like it because of its softness; keeps one's stomach filled for a long time.
4. Prepared as a delicacy to welcome guests.
5. Lituma ya muhogo.

R*21. *Mungu lu.áci*

1. Sweet cassava tubers soaked in water.
2. Lu.áci means a stream.
3. In practice, pans are used to soak the tubers; once dug up, cassava tubers spoil in two to three days during rainy seasons; soaking sweet cassava tubers in water for one night or two prevents them from being covered with mold; it also gives a good scent to them; on the third day, they become too watery to be cooked properly.
4. Kifundi, kibundi [kivunde].

R22. *Ki.bundj*

1. Peeled and steamed sweet cassava tubers after soaking in water (R*21).
2. Has a good smell.

R*23-R42 are recipes for bitter cassava varieties.

R*23. *Ki.buli*

1. Boiled and sliced bitter cassava; its toxic material must be removed.
2. Boil a large quantity of tubers in a large pan; when the tubers have cooled down sufficiently, remove the skins; then slice the tubers (Fig. 96 and 97b) with a special spatula lu.tikú (T27, Fig. 97a) made from the stem of a plant having the same name; the varieties for this cooking method have sticky tubers and the slices, 2-3 mm in breadth, glue together on each end to form long bands resembling wrinkled ribbons (Fig. 97c); these are still poisonous (R*23); this technique is rather difficult to master, and not a small number of Songola women are unable to prepare this food; if you slice tubers while they are still hot, the taste may become sour and unpleasant; you may mix it with another material having harsh taste (see R44).
3. Among the 23 bitter cassava varieties of the Songola, five varieties are not suited to this...
cooking method because of their non-sticky tubers (Y. Ankei, 1981).

R24. Ki.búli
1. Boiled and sliced bitter cassava (R*23) with poisonous material removed.
3. Line a basket for food with broad leaves; arrange the ribbons of cassava tubers in it; carry the basket to a source for drinking water (see Figs. 5 and 56); put it under the place where water drips continuously; turbid sap comes out while the slices are rinsed; allow the basket to stay under dripping water for one night; bring back the basketful of slices to the village and eat them as a cold meal.

4. They are watery, and have no strong tastes; they go very well with a mixture of salt and chili (R114); excellent with pounded ground nuts seasoned with salt and chili (R93 and R94); old persons say that it is very good on a hot day, but there are young persons who complain of this; you will get hungry again if you urinate once or twice after having eaten this.

5. Traditional food; Ngengele people living on the west bank of the Lualaba regard this food as the most principal of all; I presume that this cooking method is an old tradition of the forest peoples of Africa before the introduction of cassava (T.

Fig. 97 A: T27 lu.tiku, a special spatula for slicing ki.búli (R*23); length ca. 30 cm, B: the technique for manipulating the spatula, C: a 5 cm wide strip of sliced cassava.

Kitu ya kukata lumata naye.
Fig. 98 R27, ŋ. kili being dried (V37. ānjk.) on the roof in a shallow basket (T17) lined with plantain leaves.

*Kukausha mitewe yulu ya paa.*

Fig. 99 A Kuko woman pounds ŋ. kili (R28) in a large mortar (T15) with a long pestle (T16). The material to be pounded is put in a shallow basket (T17).

*Mwamuke anatwanga mitewe.*

Ankei, in preparation).

6. **Lumata**.

R25. *Ki.búli*

1. The preceding (R24) boiled in leaves (see Fig. 81).
2. R24, taken back early in the morning must be boiled in the afternoon; boiling is a means of preserving this dish usually prepared in a large quantity; may be put on cinders the next day.
3. Once boiled, it becomes less watery and stays longer in the stomach; contains far less moisture after roasting in leaves.
4. Carried for lunch and given to guests.
5. **Lumata ya fulushi.**

R26. *Ŋ.kili y.e mélal.a*

1. Boiled, sliced, and detoxicated bitter cassava tubers.
2. The same as R24-R25 until the process of slicing; slice boiled cassava tubers with a knife into pieces having the breadth of some 5 mm; the slices contained in a basket must be kept longer under dripping water because the breadth of the slices delays the process of detoxication; taste it to see if the bitter substance is sufficiently removed; the same principle of removing toxic materials as R24 (see Fig. 56); applied for non-sticky varieties and tubers from later stages of harvest that cannot be made into R24; women and girls who have not mastered the slicing method of
R*23 prefer this method.
4. A cold meal; contains less moisture than R24.

**R27. N.kili y.e mé.lál.a**
1. The preceding drained in a basket.
3. Put in a shallow basket (T17) lined with broad leaves for a day in the sun; the basket is often placed on the roof (Fig. 98).

**R28. N.kili y.e kútut.a**
1. The precedent pounded in a mortar.
3. Pound well in a mortar to make a firm loaf (Fig. 99).

**R29. Ki.múndú / n.kili y.e ki.múndú**
1. The preceding boiled in broad leaves.
2. Has a different name than R26-R28.
4. Now it becomes a heavy food that stays long in the stomach like mo.kóké (R4 & R5) and ka.ombóomba (R20).
5. Can be preserved 4-5 days; may be sold at markets; carried on trips; one package weighs 1-1.5 kg each; I saw a Songola woman send a total of 6 packages (8.6 kg) to her child lodged near his school at a distance of 30 km from home (see Fig. 81).

**R*30. Bi.yuku**
1. Peeled bitter cassava.
2. The same name as R18.
3. Women often peel tubers at the spot of harvest to reduce the weight carried back to the village.

**R*31. Ki.bündj**
1. Soaked bitter cassava.
2. The same name as R22.
3. Put R*30 in standing water (ma.ánji m.é ku.lál.a) for 2-3 days; during the process of soaking small bubbles come out of tubers with a peculiar strong smell (see Fig. 53); when the tubers swell (.bímb.) and soften (.temb.), they are called mo.songú wá.temba, and contain no more toxic materials; examine the softness of tubers with fingers before taking them out of water; put the tubers on plantain leaves beside the pond, and let them drain (see Fig. 54); they become covered by numerous small flies.
6. I regard this process as fermentation because of bubbles, the peculiar smell, and the fact that standing water, not flowing water, is necessary for this process; anaerobic fermentation in the tubers possibly produces acids that detoxicate the hydrocyanic glucoside.

**R32. Ki.bündj**
1. Roast of soaked bitter cassava (R*31).
2. The same name as R*31.
3. A hungry person or a child takes a wet tuber off the smoking shelf, and roasts it on cinders for a quick snack.
4. Has the particular smell due to fermentation.

**R*33. Ki.munda k.é mo.songú**

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Fig. 100 R34 ki.kwángá, a slender wrap of pounded bitter cassava. Length 30-35 cm. *Kikwanga."
1. Soaked bitter cassava (R*31) pounded in a mortar.

3. Put the sodden tubers in a basket to drain excessive water; pound the content in a mortar the next day; remove mu.tima, or a fibrous part in the center of the tuber; make this paste into balls the size of two fists; put these balls on a smoking shelf to let them dry; they are stored for distilling liquor; the dry balls can be easily pounded to flour; this method is not used for human food because it is difficult to pare the smoked surface of dry balls.

R34. Ki.kwángá

1. A handful of the preceding wrapped in two broad leaves to form a slender shape (Fig. 100).

2. Ki.kwángá and related names are distributed all over the Zaïre basin.

3. Make a slender loaf on two broad leaves and wrap (Fig. 101-102); put the wraps on a grid made of bamboo to separate them from boiling water in the pan, and steam with a cover of plantain leaves or an aluminum cover (see Fig. 79); an addition of ripe plantains (R*17) improves the taste; hard to make with varieties for R24-R25.

4. Keeps well up to four days if exposed to the sun everyday; otherwise it will become molding.

5. A handy food for traveling; sold at markets and in villages.
on the Lualaba for those who travel by canoes.


**R35. Bu.kálí w.á umá**
1. Dried soaked bitter cassava (R*31).
2. The name means dry R38 (bu.kálí).
3. Bring back sodden cassava tubers to the village after excessive water has been drained; arrange them on a smoking shelf (see Fig. 69) and let them desiccate with both smoke and sunshine until the tubers become completely dry.
4. Songola women prepare R*35 in a large amount and sell them at markets; important cash resource for women.
5. Nyangi.

**R36. Ke.nkobóngó / ki. bundjí**
1. The preceding boiled in a pot.
2. Have two names.
3. Soak dry cassava tubers in water for a while, and then boil them like sweet cassava tubers.
4. As the odor of fermentation remains, this food is only rarely prepared.

**R37. Lo.poto 1.é mo.songó**
1. Flour made from dried tubers of soaked bitter cassava (R*35).
2. The name means lo.poto (R16) made of cassava.
3. First pare the soaked and dried bitter cassava tubers with a knife and remove the smoked surface (Fig. 103); pound them in a mortar (Fig. 104) and then sieve the contents of the mortar; the smoked part can be stored to prepare a glue to seal tins during distillation of liquor; smeared with soap on duck to remove its dirt (see R*241j).
4. Honey bees sometimes swarm to carry this flour.
5. Unga ya ugali.

**R38. Bu.kálí**
1. Hot paste made of cassava

---

**Fig. 103** Vé.él. Paring the smoked surface of a dry bitter cassava tuber, nyangi (R*35) with a knife of European type (T7).

*Kupelula nyangi.*
flour (R*37) (Fig. 105).
2. *Bu.kálj* seems to be a Son-golaized pronunciation of its Swahili equivalent, *ugali*.
3. Boil abundant water in a large pan; when the water begins to boil, you may sprinkle a little flour on its surface; then water will boil very well thanks to the layer of starch that prevents evaporation; put half of the flour into the water, stir the contents, and quickly knead it gradually adding the remaining flour (see Fig. 64, V29 cong.); when it is roughly kneaded, remove the pan from fire to knead it up into a homogeneous and firm paste; fix the hot pan between

the soles of feet with the aid of a cloth while you finish kneading *bu.kálj* that becomes increasingly difficult to work (Fig. 106); if the tubers are not completely dry, the result will often be rather disappointing; there are distinctive differences in the skill of women; one day little girls prepared this dishes in play, and the result was tepid, watery, and sandy; cooking time is 2 to 2.5 hours from paring smoked surface of the tubers.
4. Good *bu.kálj* must be very hot and firm.

**R 39. Ki.tumbúla**

1. Buns.
2. Songola name seems to derive from Swahili.
3. First prepare R*37; mix it with rice flour (R*52) and pounded ripe plantains (R*17); stir the mixture well with hot water; cover the pan and put it in the sun till evening; this process (.líly. V35) is needed to make the dough swell (.bimb.) without using baking powder (*dawa ya mu-kate* in Swahili); in the evening you put the dough in abundant boiling palm oil; a large spoonful of dough will be fried into a round brown bun (Fig. 107); ripe plantains give a sweet taste to the buns made; without rice flour the buns will not swell; this is the recipe of a woman famous for

![Fig. 104 A Kuko woman pounds (V14 tut.) dried bitter cassava tubers (R*35) in a large mortar (T15) and a long pestle (T16) and make cassava flour (R*37). A sieve (T29) and a shallow basket (T17) is prepared to sieve the content. Muwanamuke anatwanga nyangi.](image1)

![Fig. 105 Kneaded cassava flour (R38, bu.kálj) with small fish boiled in palm oil (R*82). Bukali na samaki.](image2)
making good buns.
4. There are some women who do not add rice flour, but clients at markets will not buy such sticky buns.
5. When the woman who showed me this recipe fries her buns for sale, her relatives and friends swarm around her and continue to beg until everybody gets one or two pieces; the Songola say that this is a new introduction during colonization.

**R40. Mu.káti m.é ba.cungú**
1. Large flat buns made from the same dough as R39.
2. Songola name means "bread for Europeans".
3. Heat a little palm oil in a small pan; put the liquid dough on the oil; cover the pan, move it on cinders, and put pieces of cinders on the aluminum cover; in this oven the dough is slowly heated until a flat round cake is baked (see Fig. 77).

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**Fig. 106** A Kuko woman serving (.ákul.) kneaded paste of cassava flour (R38, bu.kałj) from an aluminum pan (T18) into a dish (T19) using a long spatula (T10).
*Muwanamuke anapakula bukali.*

---

Fig. 107 R39, bj.tumbúla, fried buns.  *Bitumbula.*
(see Fig. 97b); usually cooked with R24 and mixed in it to weaken the bitter taste remaining even after one night's rinsing under dripping water.

4. Slightly bitter; the Songola say that slightly bitter food are very good for your health.

6. I presume that the cooking method for R43 (boil-slice-rinse) was applied to the detoxication of bitter cassava for the time it arrived in the forest zones of Africa.

R44. Ki.báli
1. The precedent boiled in broad leaves.
3. Boil in broad leaves the mixture of sliced yam bulbils and cassava tubers in order to preserve it.

R45. NSele
1. Sliced seeds of a wild tree (A5, see Fig. 9).
3. Boil seeds well; peel and slice them with a knife; first steps of cooking resemble that of sliced cassava tubers (R26), but leave the slices in flowing water for a longer time of 4-5 days.
4. Tastes bitter and no one eats this today.
5. An easily available famine food; during civil wars of 1960's some of the Songola families fled into the forest and were dependent on this food for some time.


R46. Mu.bálá
1. Sliced seeds of a wild tree (A6, Fig. 10).
3. The method of detoxication is the same as that of R45; pound the detoxicated slices; salt may be added to taste; roast it in broad leaves put on cinders.
4. Oily and tastes like ground-nuts.
5. Eaten as an independent snack during dry seasons.

R*47-R53. Food made of rice.

R*47. Mu.fyunga
1. Husked and polished rice.
3. Rice ears made into bundles (mu.kanda) are stored in a room after having been dried in the sun; take a desired amount of rice ears, and tread them in a shallow basket (see Fig. 46) or beat with a long pestle to thresh the grains (Fig. 108); pound the grains in a mortar to hull and polish them (see Fig. 49); blow away chaff from polished grains by shaking the mixture in a shallow basket (see Fig. 50); pick chaff, small stones, and other waste out of rice grains (see Fig. 51); children are often asked to help remove waste; then, wash rice; put polished rice in a pan and rinse several times; move the wet grains a handful at a time in another pan to ensure that no sand grains remain in the cooking pan.


R48. Mu.fyunga
1. Rice boiled until it is no longer damp.
3. Put washed rice in a pan; pour an exact amount of water needed to boil it sufficiently; cover the pan, and boil with strong fire for about 10 minutes; when no water remains (.ám.) in

R*47-R53. Food made of rice.

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R48. Mu.fyunga
1. Rice boiled until it is no longer damp.
3. Put washed rice in a pan; pour an exact amount of water needed to boil it sufficiently; cover the pan, and boil with strong fire for about 10 minutes; when no water remains (.ám.) in
the pan, remove firewood from the
furnace; let the pan stay over
cinders, and gently heat for half
an hour; spread plantain leaves
on the ground, and put the
covered pan upside-down on them
(Fig. 109); this method retains
starchy liquid and steams rice
very well; cooking time is 75
minutes from soaking; 2.5-3
hours including threshing rice
ears and polishing grains.

4. The method results in softer
and stickier rice than other
cooking methods; very good with
tungu or boiled cassava leaves
(R127 and R132, Fig. 110).
5. This method is identical with
current Japanese method for cook­
ing rice.
6. Wali.

**R49. Mu fyunga**

1. Rice seasoned with palm oil,
salt, and chili.
3. Boil rice until it is dry as

in R48 or R50; add palm oil,
salt, and chili and stir with a
broad spatula; remove firewood
and let the pan stay over cinders
for about half an hour.
4. Delicious; has yellow color
of palm oil.
5. Rare; the Songola prefer mix­
ing rice in cassava leaves cooked
with palm oil or palm juice (see
mu canáta, R334).

**R50. Mu fyunga**

1. Rice boiled by pouring out
excessive water.
3. Put washed rice (R47) in
abundant water; boil it on strong
fire until grains can be easily
mashed; then pour out excessive
starchy water; cover the pan with
plantain leaves; remove firewood
and let the pan stay over cinders
for half an hour; turn contents
upside-down with a broad spatula,
and serve; some women put rice
directly into boiling water;
other women continue to stir with
a spatula with the cover open
while boiling.

---

**Fig. 109 V36 alul.** An Enya
woman removes a pan (T18) of
cooked rice (R48) from fire
and puts it upside-down on
plantain leaves (T30).

**Fig. 110 Kuko women and girls**

eat rice (R48 or R50) and boil­
ed cassava leaves (R132) on
plantain leaves (T30).

**Wanamuke na watoto wanamuke**

**wanakula wali ya muaka na sombe.**
6. Wali.

**R51. Bu.sabú**
1. Rice porridge.
3. Boil washed rice in abundant water; stir now and then with a spatula; continue to boil until the grains swell (.bįmb.) very well; you may add salt, palm oil, or sugar.
5. A soft meal for a sick person; also prepared by Muslims during the month of Ramadan when they fast (.kuw.) for the day.
6. Uji ya muchele.

**R*52. Bunga w.é mu.funga**
1. Flour of rice.
3. Put washed rice in cold water for half a day; drain water and dry it in the sun; pound in a mortar and then sieve.
5. Often added to food made of cassava flour to improve their taste.
6. Unga ya muchele.

**R53. Bu.į w.é mu.funga**
1. Porridge made of rice flour.
2. Bu.į is etymologically related with its Swahili equivalent uji and not with a French word bouilli.
3. Put rice flour (R*52) in boiling water and simmer stirring gently until it becomes mushy; you may add sugar to taste.
5. A meal for babies and for Muslims during Ramadan.
6. Uji ya unga ya muchele.

R54-R59 are recipes for maize.

**R54. Ma.sángú m.é bi.usu**
1. Boiled maize ears.
3. Choose freshly harvested soft ears; boil ears with their husks on; put boiled ears upside-down to drain water.
5. Carried about for a trip and sold at markets because they are easily preserved in their husks.
6. Muhindi ya maganda.

**R55. Ma.sángú m.é ku. lámb.a**
1. Boiled maize.
3. Remove husks of maize ears (Fig. 111); boil in a pan; if you boil husked and unhusked maize together, put the former on the latter (Fig. 112).
4. Its taste changes in accordace with the degree of maturity of the grains; overripe grains are hard to chew.
5. Eaten as a simple lunch.
6. Muhindi ya kupika.

**R56. Ma.sángú m.é kw.ekel.a**
1. Roasted maize.
2. Different from roasted plantain (R1) this is usually called in plural form, probably because it is not a hurried snack for a hungry person.
3. Remove husks; roast on cinders.
6. Muhindi ya kuchoma.

**R57. Lu.ćyćy 1.é ma.sángú**
1. Wrap of pounded maize.
3. Thresh unripe maize kernels; pound in a mortar; wrap in broad
leaves; boil in a pan.
4. A soft delicacy suitable for old persons.
6. Muhindi ya kutwanga.

R58. Ma.sángú m.é j.kéta
1. Wrap of seasoned maize.
3. Add salt, ripe plantains (R*17), or chili to taste before wrapping in broad leaves; boil.
6. Muhindi ya fulushi.

R59. Ma.sángú m.é me.kolokoto
1. Boiled ripe maize kernels.
3. Thresh ripe maize kernels; boil them for a long time until kernels soften.
5. Rare; I heard of bu.kálj b.é me.kolokoto, or paste of flour made from ripe maize (with optional addition of cassava flour); but I never saw this dish during my stay among the Songola; ripe maize kernels are germinated to prepare the mash for distilling liquor (T. Ankei, 1987).
6. Muhindi ya kukomala.

R60-R63 are recipes for sweet potatoes.

R60. To.ndolo
1. Boiled sweet potato.
3. Peel roots of sweet potatoes; divide in two or three pieces; boil in a pan until they soften.
5. A snack.

R61. To.ndolo
1. Boiled sweet potato with palm oil.
3. Put a small amount of palm oil on R60.
4. Tastes better than R60.

R62. To.ndolo tw.é ma.kúta
1. Sauté of sweet potato.
3. Peel sweet potatoes; cut in small pieces; sauté in palm oil; add water and boil; add salt to taste; boil until little water is left.

R63. Futáli
1. Mash of sweet potatoes, sweet cassava, and ripe plantains.
2. Maybe a Swahili name.
3. Wash and peel sweet potatoes and sweet cassava; peel ripe plantains; cut them into very small pieces; boil them in a pan; add salt, turmeric (R*126), and paste of groundnuts (R*87); take the pan away from fire when there is little water left; mash the content with a broad spatula.
4. Sweet and soft.
5. This is a dish to prepare for Muslims during the month of Ramadan.
6. Futali [futari].

R64-R68. Ki.láli k.é j.tú, etc.
1. Boiled yam tubers and aerial bulbils.
2. May be called by the same name as the material itself; nevertheless all of the materials A11-A15 have an inclusive name ki.láli; aerial bulbils j.tú (A15, see Fig. 11) are also included in this category when they are boiled.
3. If a tuber is very large, cut it in several pieces; boil and cut to a handy size (Fig. 113 showing the yellow tubers of R65 ma.sángá).
4. May be eaten alone but often accompanied by salt and chilies (R114).
R69-R71 are recipes for corms and leaves of yautia.

**R69. Ki.láli k.é bj. kwámanga**
1. Roasted yautia.
3. Wash corms and put them on cinders; peel before eating.
5. A snack.

**R70. Ki.láli k.é bj. kwámanga**
1. Boiled yautia.
3. Wash corms and boil them in a pan; peel before eating.
4. Have less moisture than R64-R68; inside of the corm is white with a tint of violet.
5. Sold at markets.
6. Kihama ya maole [mahole].

**R71. Ki.láli k.é bj. kwámanga**
1. Peeled and boiled yautia.
3. Peel corms of boiled yautia, and boil them in pan.
5. Eaten as an independent dish.

**R72. I.sólá**
1. Boiled pumpkin (see Fig. 12).
3. Divide a fruit into 2-8 pieces; remove the seeds; boil the pieces until they soften; you may add salt, chili, and palm oil.
4. Soft pulp is eaten with a spoon; the shells are not edible.

**R73. Mu.tákultúmbá**
1. Boiled wild fruit (see Fig. 13).
3. Boil and peel before eating.
4. Tastes like chestnuts.

**R74. Me.kama**
1. Boiled bambara groundnuts (see Fig. 14).
3. Boil for a long time with their shells because the seeds are very hard.

**R75. Mambuluku**
1. Boiled breadfruit.
3. Divide into large pieces; boil; cut into small pieces before serving.
5. Rare; I saw this only in one village.

B. Recipes for condiments and seasoning food.

R76-R85 are recipes made from oil palm fruits.

**R76. Ma.bíla m.é kw.ekel.a**
1. Roasted oil palm fruit.
3. A firm bunch, mo.komokomo, cut off from a palm tree softens the next morning and the fruit can be easily taken off; a hungry man or child puts several pieces of fruit into hot ashes (see Fig. 71).
4. Has a good smell caused by roasting; kernels are taken off with a knife, and oily pulp is chewed.


**R77. Ma.bíla m.é ku.lámb.a**
1. Boiled oil palm fruit.
3. A cook will take out several fruit from a pan to appease her hunger, remove kernels with a knife and chew the pulp; she may distribute them to persons around her.


**R78. N.gunyá**
Chart 3B. Recipes for condiments and seasoning food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ingredient</th>
<th>Actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma.bila (oil palm bunch)</td>
<td>Divide fruit, roast in ash, rub off ash, remove the kernels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V4/T5,6, V40, V9, V9/V9, V9/T1,7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V44/T18, V9/V1,7, .lukus, .túky, mi.sa</td>
<td>Boil, remove kernel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V38/T17, .túky, mi.sa</td>
<td>Boiled and dried oil palm fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V14/T2, +T12, .lukus, .túky, mi.sa</td>
<td>Pound, boil, pour strain, water fibers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V33, .túky, mi.sa</td>
<td>Pick up kernels, fibers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V21/T23, V46/T18, Q6, .jín, .pes, .tábang</td>
<td>Squeeze in a squeezer, slightly separates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V44, V49/T18, .lukus, .likul</td>
<td>Boil, remove from fire, boiled oil palm fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2/T2+T3, .bél</td>
<td>Crush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V14/T2</td>
<td>Parch, pound, boil, oil layer, well water, separates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V42/T33, +T12, V33, V44/T18, Q6, .káng, .tut, .jín, .lukus, .tábang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **R76** ma.bila m.é kw.ekel.a roasted oil palm fruit
- **R77** ma.bila m.é ku.lám.b.a boiled oil palm fruit
- **R78** n.gunyá boiled and dried oil palm fruit
- **R79** bu.suku Used for seasoning of dry boiled oil palm fruit
- **R80** bu.suku Used for seasoning oil palm fruit
- **R81** ma.kéta m.é ma.bila palm oil Used for seasoning
- **R82** lu.mbilí palm oil boiled to reduce its smell
- **R83** bu.suku Used for seasoning and for sale
- **R84** mi.sa Used for seasoning and medicine
R*97

\[ n.tete \]

Used as a seasoning in meat (R221-R222) & fish (R249)

R*98

\[ lu.nkuma \]

Seasoining in cassava leaves (R132), meat (R221-R222) & fish (R249)

R*99

\[ lu.nkuma paste of \]

Used as a seasoning

R100

\[ lu.nkuma ly.é \]

j.kéta

roasted paste

R101-103

R101 lo.kóngó
R102 j.banda
R103 lu.acý

roasted nuts

R104-106

R104 lo.kóngó
R105 j.banda
R106 lu.acý

pounded nuts

R107-109

R107 lo.kóngó
R108 j.banda
R109 lu.acý

seasoned paste of wild nuts

R110

\[ bj.muka b.é \]

i.sola

boiled pumpkin seeds

R*111

\[ ma.kálj \]

Used for seasoning

R*112

\[ mu.sikj \]

Used for seasoning

R*113

\[ mu.sikj \]

roasted rock salt

R*114

\[ n.tete \]

R*114

\[ lu.nkuma paste of \]

Used as a seasoning

R101

\[ lu.nkuma ly.é \]

j.kéta

roasted paste

R104

\[ lu.nkuma ly.é \]

rouseth

R107

\[ lu.nkuma ly.é \]

rouseth

R110

\[ mu.muka b.é \]

i.sola

boiled pumpkin seeds

R*111

\[ ma.kálj \]

Used for seasoning

R*112

\[ mu.sikj \]

Used for seasoning

R*113

\[ mu.sikj \]

roasted rock salt

R*114

\[ n.tete \]

R*114

\[ lu.nkuma paste of \]

Used as a seasoning

R101

\[ lu.nkuma ly.é \]

j.kéta

roasted paste

R104

\[ lu.nkuma ly.é \]

rouseth

R107

\[ lu.nkuma ly.é \]

rouseth

R110

\[ mu.muka b.é \]

i.sola

boiled pumpkin seeds

R*111

\[ ma.kálj \]

Used for seasoning

R*112

\[ mu.sikj \]

Used for seasoning

R*113

\[ mu.sikj \]

roasted rock salt

R*114

\[ n.tete \]
1. The preceding dried in the sun.
3. Boil palm fruit in a pan; remove kernels with a knife; dry the fruit in the sun; can be stored up to one month.
5. Women carry R*78 for a journey; the weight is greatly reduced through this operation.

**R*79. Bu.suku**
1. Palm juice extracted from boiled and dried palm fruit (R*78).
3. Boil R*78 and pound it in a mortar; wash out oily juice using a strainer (T25).
4. Used in the same way as the following for cooking during a journey.

**R*80. Bu.suku**
1. Palm juice extracted from boiled palm fruit (R77).
3. Pound boiled fruit of palm oil in a mortar; kernels will be easily removed by pounding; wash the contents in a strainer (see Fig. 58-59); the orange upper layer contains palm oil and is used for cooking; the lower layer is thrown away.
4. A dish cooked with R*80 generally tastes much more delicious than those cooked with palm oil (R81 or R83).
5. One of the most important condiments (adding flavor to other food .luny.) for the Songola; only salt and chili are more frequently used than R*80; it is very difficult to preserve this for longer than two days; usually used on the day of preparation; the fibrous part remaining in the strainer may be rounded into a bite-sized ball and chewed; it is then dried and stored to help ignite fire.

**R*81. Ma.kúta m.é ma.bfla**
1. Palm oil.
2. *Ma.kúta* means oil in general; animal fat is *ma.nona.*
3. Boil fruit; pound in a mortar; put the contents in a traditional squeezer (T23, see Fig. 57) made of *lu.bóbj*, a kind of rattan (*Eremosphata hauille-villeana* DE WILD.); result is the same thing as R*80, but in a much larger quantity; simmer it until a layer of orange-colored palm oil separates (*tabang.*) on the surface; collect the oil and put it in bottles or calabash to store (see Fig. 114); can be preserved for a long time; used for cooking fresh meat and fish; palm oil is carried in a bottle for a journey, and its mixture with water is used as a substitute for palm juice, which is not readily available during a journey.

**R*82. Lu.mbjlij**
1. Palm oil heated to diminish its color and odor.
2. Has a name of its own.

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Fig. 114 Gourds to contain palm oil (R*81) and palm wine. Folded leaves are used to cork up them.

*Bibuyu ya kumimea mawese na pombe ya mayi.*
3. Put R*81 in an aluminum pan; heat until it smokes a little; remove from fire just before the oil boils; frequently used for sauté of raw fish or raw meat; this operation helps diminish the peculiar color and odor of palm oil; adding squashed tomatoes or sliced leeks in R*82 while it is still hot will greatly improve the taste of dishes.

R83. Ma.kyta m.é ma.βila

1. Palm oil squeezed with an apparatus made up of cans (Fig. 115).
2. My.nyonga derives from a Swa-

Fig. 115 T24 my.nyonga. An apparatus to manufacture palm oil.

Munyonga ya kukamula mawese.
hili word *nyonga*, to twist something.

3. Make a heap of bunches of oil palm fruit; cover with oil palm leaves; leave the heap for several days, when the fruit is easily taken off the bracts; some of the fruit may decay or become covered with mold, but different from R*80*, the product will not be much damaged; 200 to 300 liters of fruit are collected at a time and carried to the spot by a stream in the forest where the apparatus is kept; steam the fruit in a large drum can for more than a day; on the next day put steamed fruit in the crusher; at least two persons are needed to turn the lever; wash out the oily juice into another can; collect the layer of oil in a smaller can containing 52 bottles (39 liters).

4. The oil produced this way sometimes tastes a little harsh whereas R*81 was usually good; it is probably because of oxidized oil.

5. The most important source of cash income for most men of the Kuko subgroup.


R*84*. *Mi.sa*

1. Albumen of oil palm kernels.

2. *Mi.sa* means hard kernels of any kind.

3. Crush kernels of palm oil between stones (see Fig. 16 and 31); take out the albumen.

4. They are eaten raw.


R*85*. *Ma.kûta m.é mi.sa*

1. Palm kernel oil.

3. Parch R84 on a pan; pound very well in a mortar; add water and boil in a pan until the layer of kernel oil separates; collect the oil with a spoon in a small bottle.

4. Very good oil for food and cosmetics.

5. Only rarely prepared because of the task of crushing and abundant supply of palm oil.


R86-R94. Food made of groundnut.

R*86*. *N.jukû c.é me.mpumbû*

1. Unripenut groundnuts.

3. Wash groundnuts to remove the soil from them; boil them in a pan (see Fig. 112); break soft shells and serve.

4. Soft and has slightly sweet taste.

5. Eaten as a snack by all members of the same household.


R*87*. *N.jukû c.é ku.tut.a*

1. Ripe groundnuts.

3. Dry the shells in the sun, and the soil on the shells will disappear; crush shells and remove the skin on the seeds; pound for a long time until the contents becomes oily; add water and mash with a spatula; an addition of R87 will improve the taste of many a recipe, such as meat (R251-252) and fish (R266-267).


R*88*. *Ma.kûta m.é n.jukû*

1. Groundnut oil.

3. Make a plentiful supply of R87; put it in pan and simmer gently until oil layer is separated; if you like to prepare a meal of European style, you may add this oil when you boil rice.

5. May be used as cosmetic oil; the production is a later introduction than that of palm oil; it is only rarely prepared among the Songola, who usually have an abundant supply of palm oil.

R*89*. *Lu.tûba*

1. Dregs of groundnut oil.

2. Has a special name.

3. Collect the dregs; add salt and chili to it.

4. Very good with boiled rice, plantains, and sweet cassava tubers; will not go with *bu.kâlj* (cassava paste) probably because
R89 has no juice that allows the sticky paste to be swallowed.
5. Sold at the Central market of Kindu town.

**R90. Lu.túba**
1. Roast of the preceding in leaves.
3. Wrap seasoned R89 in broad leaves and roast the wrap on cinders.
5. Even rarer than R89 among the Songola.

**R91. N.jukú c.é ku.káng.a**
1. Roasted ripe groundnuts.
3. Crush shells and parch seeds in a pan.
5. A good snack during family chats; sold by a small handful in markets and villages.
6. **Kalanga** [karanga] ya kukalanga.

**R92. N.jukú c.é ku.tut.a**
1. Paste of the precedent.
3. Pound R91 for a long time until the content becomes oily; add a little water; add salt and chili; make soft mash with a spoon.
4. Very good with boiled rice.

**R93. Ki.kulu**
1. Roasted wrap of the preceding.
2. Has the synonym ka.makama.
3. Put R92 in broad leaves and roast on cinders.
4. Becomes firm and goes well with boiled plantains and watery slices of bitter cassava (R24).
6. **Kalanga ya fulushi** [furushi].

**R94. Ki.kulu**
1. Boiled wrap of the preceding.
3. Wrap in broad leaves and boil in a pan.
4. Matches boiled sweet cassava and slices of bitter cassava (R24).
6. **Kalanga ya fulushi**.

R95-R97 are recipes prepared from cucurbit seeds.

**R95. N.tete c.é ku.lámb.a**
1. Boiled cucurbit seeds (see Fig. 17).
3. Harvest fruits, divide the hard pulp and heap them up in the field; cover the heap with leaves and leave (lálý.) it for a week, when the fruits decompose well; collect seeds out of decomposed pulp, and wash them in a stream; dry the seeds in the sun; they can be preserved if stored in a dry place; boil the seeds in a pan; crack with your teeth and eat as a snack.
6. **Kokoliko ya kupika**.

**R96. N.tete c.é j.kéta**
1. Cucurbit seeds roasted in broad leaves.
3. Do the same thing as with the preceding until you get the washed dry seeds; crack shells with teeth making a sound pá pá; pound well; add salt and chili; wrap in broad leaves and boil in a pan until the content becomes

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**Fig. 116** A Kuko woman crushes (V4. ál.) cucurbit seeds (B4) on a wooden stool with the stem of a knife.

_Muwanamuke anabunj a mbek u ya kokoliko._
1. Roasted albumen of wild seeds (see Fig. 18).

**R*97. N.tete**
1. Paste of cucurbit seeds.
3. Parch cucurbit seeds gently over a weak fire; crack shells with a hard thing like the handle of a broad spatula (Fig. 116); pound until the contents become smooth; add water to make a mash; when you cook raw fish or meat, sauté the material, add R*97, salt and chili, and add half a cup of water to boil; in this way meat will become tender.
4. Addition of this paste makes soup and gravy thick, sticky, and very good.

**R*98-R100. Recipes for sesame.**

**R*98. Lu.nkuma**
1. Pounded sesame.
3. Dry in the sun; the whole plant harvested in fields; beat it in a shallow basket; blow away the waste in a shallow basket; parch seeds and pound them well until they become powdery; add to dishes to improve their taste (e.g. C1, *tungu*, see R132).
5. Seeds are preserved in broad leaves or in a gourd.
6. *Unga ya bufuto.*

**R*99. Lu.nkuma**
1. Paste of the preceding.
3. The same use as R*98.

**R100. Lu.nkuma ly.tut.a**
1. Sesame paste roasted in leaves.
3. Add salt and chili in R*99; wrap in broad leaves, and roast on cinders.
4. Eaten with boiled rice, plantains, and sweet cassava tubers.

**R101-R109. Recipes for wild seeds.**

**R101-R103. Lo.kóngó, j.banda, and lu.acú**
1. Roasted albumen of wild seeds (see Fig. 18).

**R* 112. Mu.sikj**
1. Vegetable salt; made from B14; B15-B17 may be added to B14.
2. Mu.sikj w.é ki.ungf.
3. Gather a large amount of Pistia (see Fig. 19) herbs to fill a canoe or more; dry them with other plant in the sun; burn them to ashes; put the ashes in a basket: pour water; collect the extract and simmer it to evaporate until crystallization (.bund., namely to become solid); white powdery lumps are obtained.
4. Tastes a little salty.
5. Prepared both in dry and rainy seasons; the Songola no longer use it for cooking; used to mix in medicinal plants; bought at markets or from peddlers of Shi people arriving from near the town of Bukavu, to the east of the Songola.

**R* 113. Mu.sikj**
1. Rock salt.
3. Purchase rock salt at a market or stores in villages; wrap in broad leaves and store it in dry places as smoking shelves; pound to powder and put it in a bottle or in broad leaves until use.
5. Essential element in food called m.bóka; regarded as a symbol of a good dish (see explanations in the section A. Food and beverages of the Songola, of the Chapter II).
6. Chumbi ya kizungu.

**R* 114. Mu.sikj w.é ka. bólé**
1. Mixture of pounded rock salt and chilies.
3. Pounded in a small mortar especially called as a "mortar for chilies" (Fig. 117); added to numerous recipes.
6. Chumbi na pilipili.

**R* 115. Ka.bólé k.é ku.tut.a**
1. Pounded raw chilies.
3. Varieties having large fruit as ba.monj are usually pounded; tiny fruit of ka.bólé varieties are often put in whole, and may be squashed when cooked; they are often pounded with cassava leaves in the same mortar.
6. Pilipili ya kutwanga.

**R* 116. Ka.bólé ká.umá**
1. Dried chilies.
3. Chilies are dried in the sun; they are stored in a small flat basket, ki.puku1u, in a gourd, ke.pómbó, or in broad leaves, ka.áñj fastened beneath the roof.
5. Chilies are used raw during harvest seasons (January to July).
6. Pilipili ya kukauka.

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*Fig. 117 T9 ki.lunga k.é ka.bólé. A small mortar for chilies. Height 14 cm.*

*Kino ya pilipili.*
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117. Ka.bólé k.é bu. kungó
1. Chili powder.
2. Bu.kungó is a special word for the powder of chilies.
3. Pound dry chilies to powder; store it in a small bottle.
4. Carried for a long journey.
5. Pilipili ya kusaga.

R*118-R121. Recipes for trees having the scent of garlic.
118. Mu.nyíngílí w.é bi.muka b.é ki.lúla
1. Seeds of a tree having a strong smell resembling that of garlic or onion.
2. Swahili name for R*118-R*121 means "onions of the forest".
3. Ask a man to collect these materials in the forest; pound the seeds in a mortar; add to some recipes of cassava leaves.
4. I very much appreciated their strong and impressive flavor during my stay among the Songola.
5. Matungulu ya poli [pori].

R*119. mu.nyíngílí w.é bi.sisí b.é ki.lúla
1. Leaves of the same tree as the preceding recipe.
3. Use only young, soft leaves of this tree; wrap them in broad leaves to make a small packet (see Fig. 73); put the packet on cinders; if it were not for this process, the strong smell would not last for a long time; keeps good up to two weeks in this package stored in dry places; tear the soft parts in small pieces with your hand and add to dishes made of cassava leaves or fish, and to jaló, a hot chili soup (R323).

R*120. Mu.nyíngílí w.é bi.sisí b.é ka.bácaamba
1. Leaves of ka.bácaamba tree; different from R*118 and R*119; has smaller leaves than the former.
3. Usage is the same as the preceding (R*119).

R*121. Mu.nyíngílí w.é bi.usu b.é ka.bácaamba
1. Bark of the same tree as the preceding.
3. Used when R*120 is not available; store the pieces of bark in a dry place; burn the surface of several pieces before putting them in a pan with other materials as cassava leaves.
5. These trees grow in the primary forest and are difficult to obtain; those living in villages on the Lualaba buy these materials at markets.

R*122. Ka.mátj
1. Squashed tomatoes.
3. Squash tomatoes in a mortar (see Fig. 41); many women remove peels and seeds, and use only the juice; you may add a little water for easier use; add this juice little by little during preparation of sauté of meat or fish.

R*123. Ma.ánji m.é n. dímu
1. Lemon juice.
3. Divide lemon in two; squeeze to get juice; it helps diminish troublesome foam when boiling palm oil that was not made from fresh palm fruit; use it when you fry buns; for recipes of meat and fish boiled in oil, it can also be used as a substitute for squashed tomatoes (R*122).
6. Mayi ya ndimu.

R*124. Matungulu(Sw)
1. Small onions.
3. Peel and mince; add during preparation of sauté of meat and fish to increase flavor (e.g., R251, fresh meat).
6. Matungulu [vitunguu].

R*125. Ki.muka k.é ma. dodóki
1. Angled loofah.
3. Peel and mince; add during preparation of dishes of raw meat.
and raw fish dishes to make the soup stick and tasty (e.g., R136, cassava leaves); not added in dishes for dried fish or meat.


**R*126. Kimanjano (Sw)**

C. Recipes for vegetables

**R127-R140. Tungu**

1. Dishes made from cassava leaves (C1).

3. Pick cassava leaves in the fields; you must cook them on the day of picking; divide soft edible leaves and stiff stems by hand (see Fig. 43); the peculiarity of the cooking methods of cassava leaves (and mushrooms) resides in the absence of sharp-edged tools during cooking; they are pounded, parched, rubbed by hand, or boiled for a long time to soften the hard fibers; cooking for a long time is an important method of reducing toxic materials in the leaves.


**R**128. Tungu *y.e m. pálýá*

1. Cassava leaves cooked without adding salt.

2. "cassava leaves of water", is the literal meaning of Songola and Swahili names; "water" means the absence of salt.

3. Pound raw cassava leaves and chilies in a medium mortar (see Fig. 48); simmer for about 2 hours; for this dish prefer an earthenware pot (Fig. 118) equipped with a cover to an aluminum pan; when there is little water left, add palm juice or palm oil; if you have *mu.nyili* leaves (*R*119 etc.), add them to give their flavor; boil again for a while; you can make this even if you are short of salt.

5. Songola women state that this dish, if it contains abundant chili, helps the movement of bowels; a combination with sliced bitter cassava (R24) is a traditional meal; with boiled sweet cassava (R19) it may seem rather humble (Fig. 119); good dishes of cassava leaves should contain no soup; they are preserved in broad leaves roasted on cinders; I often observed scenes of roasting packages of cassava leaves; may be packed for a trip in the same broad leaves with cassava food as R19, R25 and R29.


**R**129. *Lumbulu*

1. Cassava leaves dried for preservation.

2. Two Songola women, who taught me this name *lu.mbulu*, said that this is not an authentic Songola word; probably a borrowed word from a neighboring people.

3. Heat fresh leaves on an iron plate; dry them in the sun; you
### Chart 3C. Recipes for vegetables

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<tr>
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<td>with crabs</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooked with plantains, sweet cassava tubers, and rice to make mu.ca.nàta (R331,R334)</td>
<td>Cooked with plantains, sweet cassava tubers, and rice to make mu.ca.nàta (R331,R334)</td>
<td>Cooked with plantains, sweet cassava tubers, and rice to make mu.ca.nàta (R331,R334)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>with eggplants</td>
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<td>with eggplants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **C1**
  - **tungu**
  - **cassava leaves**

- **V10 .kumun.**
  - **remove stems**

- **V14/T2**
  - **+T12 Q1**
  - **V44/T34 (T18,T20)**

- **R*80**
  - **R*118-121**
  - **V44/T34 Q3**

- **.lukus.**
  - **.um.**

- **R127**
  - **tungu y.e**
  - **mb.ânji**
  - **cassava leaves**
  - **with no salt**

- **R128**
  - **tungu y.e**
  - **m.â.þâ.þâ.**
  - **cassava leaves**
  - **seasoned with salty extract**

- **V38/T17 .ñay.**
  - **dry in the sun**

- **R*129**
  - **lu.bulu**
  - **dried cassava leaves**

- **V18**
  - **V21**
  - **R*80**
  - **R*259**
  - **R*114**

- **V44/T34 (or T18)**
  - **.lukus.**

- **R130**
  - **tungu y.e k.**
  - **mb.â.mib.**
  - **cassava leaves**
  - **with dry fish**

- **R132**
  - **tungu y.e**
  - **m.â.þâ.þâ.**
  - **cassava leaves**
  - **cooked with salt**

- **R133**
  - **tungu y.e k.â.mâ.þâ.**
  - **cassava leaves**
  - **with elephant ear**

- **R134**
  - **tungu y.e k.â.mâ.þâ.**
  - **m.â.þâ.**
  - **cassava leaves**
  - **with crabs**

- **R135**
  - **tungu y.e**
  - **tâ.sulu**
  - **cassava leaves**
  - **with eggplants**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>R125</th>
<th>R44/T34</th>
<th>R44/T34</th>
<th>V26/T4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>V44/T34</td>
<td>R83/R113</td>
<td>V44/T34</td>
<td>R126</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>soy.</td>
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add angled boil with angled loofah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>R44/T34</th>
<th>R83/R113</th>
<th>V44/T34</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>V44/T34</td>
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<tr>
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<td>V44/T34</td>
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<tr>
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add larvae boil with palm oil & salt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>V30/T30</th>
<th>V45/T30+T18</th>
<th>V41/T30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>V80/R111</td>
<td>R118-121</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R80,R113</td>
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</table>

mix on leaves & roast in leaves the next morning

This process may be omitted.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>R44/T34</th>
<th>R83/R113</th>
<th>V44/T34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>R136</td>
<td>R137</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>R138</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>V44/T34</td>
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<td>R83</td>
<td>R142</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V14/T2+T12</td>
<td>V44/T34</td>
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<tr>
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<td>V14/T2</td>
<td>R83</td>
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<td>C15-C28</td>
<td>R143</td>
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<th>Step</th>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R146</td>
<td>V46/T18</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R80</td>
<td>V24/T18</td>
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<table>
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<th>R148</th>
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<td>V14/T2</td>
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<td>C15-C28</td>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V183</td>
<td>V26</td>
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</table>

Note: V46/T18, V28, V21, V44/T18, V26, V80, V44/T18, V26 are replaced with vegetables and spices as per the recipe.
This process may replace the early boiling (V44/T18) in recipes for R153-R156.

Pounded with cassava leaves to make R139
V44/V44/ 
R161
mi.lili y.e  
ňy.sólá 
add palm leaves boiled in palm juice
boiled

V44/V44/ 
R162
mi.lili y.e  
ňy.sólá 
ku.sámbík.a né  
bj.sóko (etc.) 
pumpkin leaves mixed with dried fish/meat
add dry meat or fish add salt boil & chili

R163
pinale y.e  
kú.sámbík.a né  
bj.sóko (etc.) 
Indian spinach leaves with dry fish/meat

R164
pinale leaves of Indian spinach boiled in palm oil

R165
pinale y.e  
kú.sámbík.a né  
bj.sóko (etc.) 
Indian spinach leaves mixed with dried fish or meat

R166
sinja y.e  
kú.sámbík.a né  
bj.sóko (etc.) 
wild leaves mixed with dried fish/meat

R167
sinja y.e  
kú.sámbík.a né  
alyú, etc. 
wild leaves mixed with mushrooms

---

C8
pinale  
leaves of Indian spinach
V10 V23/T17  
kúmún.  ýk.

R168

V42/ V33/T18  
R113  
R115  
T18  

R169

V44/ 
R114  
T18  

R170

R161

R162

R163

R164

R165

R166

R167

---

C10
sinja  
wild leaves
V10  V5  
kúmún.  bák.

R171

R172

---

remove inedible parts

add dried add palm juice add salt & boil chili

heated add sautéed palm oil tomato immediately

add dry meat or fish

add dried add palm juice add salt & boil chili

add dried add palm juice add salt & boil chili

Cut inedible parts

add dried add palm juice add salt & boil chili

add pounded mushrooms add chili add salt & boil

Mixed with dishes of ke.bolábóla, decomposing meat (R257).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C11</th>
<th>ki.śilāśilā fern leaves</th>
<th>V10</th>
<th>V5/T1, T7</th>
<th>R*80</th>
<th>V44/T18</th>
<th>R*115</th>
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<td>R168</td>
<td>ki.śilāśilā fern leaves boiled in palm juice</td>
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<th>V10</th>
<th>R*230</th>
<th>V44/T18</th>
<th>R<em>80/ R</em>83</th>
<th>V44/T18</th>
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<td>R169</td>
<td>j.śingu 1.ē tu.sulu wild leaves with egg plant</td>
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<th>mo.pone wild leaves</th>
<th>V10</th>
<th>R*242</th>
<th>R*259</th>
<th>R*80</th>
<th>V44/T18</th>
<th>R*113</th>
<th>V44/T18</th>
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<td>R170</td>
<td>mo.pone m.ē ku.śambika.nē bj.sokō (etc.) wild leaves mixed with dried fish/meat</td>
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<th>nyūmbū wild leaves</th>
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<th>V41/T30</th>
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<tr>
<td>R171</td>
<td>nyūmbū wild leaves wrapped and roasted in leaves</td>
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<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>s.īlyy</td>
<td>C16</td>
<td>j.ntōtō</td>
<td>C17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C18</td>
<td>ki.śingica</td>
<td>C19</td>
<td>ke.kały</td>
<td>C20</td>
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<tr>
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<td>j.śinguy</td>
<td>C22</td>
<td>ka.ōbō̄byā</td>
<td>C23</td>
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<tr>
<td>C24</td>
<td>ka.śaléyā</td>
<td>C25</td>
<td>j.tele</td>
<td>C26</td>
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<tr>
<td>C27</td>
<td>mu.śekele</td>
<td>C28</td>
<td>mu.śekele</td>
<td>C29</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V10</th>
<th>kymun.</th>
<th>remove inedible parts</th>
<th>R<em>80/ R</em>83+ma.śānjī</th>
<th>palm juice or palm oil+water</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>R172</td>
<td>1472</td>
<td>bo.bā bē</td>
<td>ku.tut.a</td>
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<tr>
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<td>T12+T2</td>
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| R173-184+86 | kā.kukū (etc.) mushroom boiled in palm juice or palm oil |
|             |                                                             |
| R187-8200  | j.ntōtō (etc.) ku.śambika.nē bj.sokō, etc. mushroom mixed with dried fish/meat |
| R201-8214  | mu.śekele (etc.) w.ē ku.śambika.nē bj.njele mushroom with amaranth |
Mixed with cassava leaves (R140)

Mixed with wild leaves sinja (R167)

desiccated put on smoking shelf

Mixed with cassava leaves, amaranth shoots, or wild isingu leaves (R135, R144, R169)

Dry mushroom boiled in palm juice

Mixed with dry meat or fish (R*250, R*269)

C30-31

C30 lu.sákú
C31 lu.bílí

Wild fruits

C32

lu.saba

boiled yam shoots

C33

lo.tóba

Pith of rattan shoots

C34

mo.léngé

Sugar-cane

C34-C35

bee hives

Pour water squeeze remove boil become sticky

C34 bu.úkj
C35 bu.úkí

Pour water squeeze remove boil become sticky

C34 bu.úkj
C35 bu.úkí

W.é ki.táwá

Knife mortar water fibers

C34-C35

W.é ki.táwá

Knife mortar water fibers
can carry them during your journey.


R130. Tungu y.e kũ.sám bik.a né b.j.sokó b.j.umá
1. The precedent cooked with
dried fish..
2. Put dried cassava leaves in
water; when the leaves have ab-
sorbed water, squeeze them by
hand; boil them with palm juice
(R*80), salt, and chilies; if you
add a small amount of smoked fish
the dish will taste very good.

R*131. Tungu
1. Boiled cassava leaves sea-
soned with salt and oil.
2. Heat fresh leaves on an iron
plate (see Fig. 76); pound them
in a mortar with fresh chilies;
add salt and palm juice or palm
oil; boil in an earthen pan for
more than an hour; mix with plant-
tains, sweet cassava tubers, or
rice to prepare mu.canáta (R331,
R334)

R132. Tungu y.e mú.sjkj
1. Cassava leaves cooked with
salt; cooked R*131.
2. Songola name means cassava
leaves of salt.
3. Boil R*131 gently for more
than an hour until there is no
broth left; if available, add
sesame paste (R*98) to improve
the taste (Tungu y.e lũ.nkuma).
4. Sesame paste makes the taste
very mellow.
5. Coupled with R127 (cassava
leaves cooked without salt) both
in cooking method and in name;
these dishes are most frequently
eaten among the Songola living in
the forest; rice goes best with
this dish.
6. Sombe, sombe ya chumbi, or
when sesame paste is used, sombe
ya bufuto.

R133. Tungu y.e kũ.sám
bik.a né h.øj
1. Cassava leaves mixed with
elephant ear (or meat); one of
the variations for the recipes
starting from R*131.
3. Boil R*131 gradually; add
shredded elephant ear or meat
boiled for a long time in a
separate pan (R*247).
4. Sombe ya kuchanga na tembo.

R134. Tungu y.e kũ.sám
bik.a né ma.kálá
1. Cassava leaves (R*131) mixed
with crab.
3. Wash dried crab; if they are
large, break them in two by hand;
mix with R*131 and boil for a
long time.
4. Such a dish will give a
pleasant accent to the monotonous
repetition of cassava leaves
(R127 and R132).

R135. Tungu y.e tů.sulu
1. Cassava leaves cooked with
eggplant (C29).
3. Heat fresh leaves on an iron
plate (see Fig. 76); pound the
leaves; boil together with egg-
plant with their calyces removed;
add salt and palm juice; after
boiling for a while, mash the
eggplant with a spatula and stir
(see Fig. 61).

R136. Tungu y.e má.dodókj
1. Cassava leaves and angled
loofah (B28).

Fig. 118 T34 nyungú, an
earthenware pot with a cover.

Diameter ca. 30 cm.

Chungu ya asili.
tubers (A2) and boiled cassava leaves (el, R127), served on broad leaves spread in a shallow basket.

Wanamuke wanakula bipasulio na sombe.

3. Replace eggplant with shredded angled loofah; it is only rarely cultivated.
4. Sticky and good.

R137. Tungu ye kų.sąmbik a né ù pó
1. Cassava leaves mixed with larvae (F1).
3. Parch cassava leaves (see Fig. 76); pound them with chilies; add larvae with their intestines removed; boil for a long time; add salt and chilies; the most popular way of cooking a small amount of ù pó larvae.

R138. Kį.mömbí
1. Cassava leaves cooked with vegetable salt.
3. Heat fresh leaves on an iron plate (see Fig. 76); pound the leaves with chilies (see Fig. 48); put the content of the mortar on broad leaves; add palm juice, salt, ma.kālį (salty extract, see Fig. 58), garlic tree; mix them on broad leaves; close the broad leaves (see Fig. 74) and put the packages in a pan and boil well; remaining packages are roasted on cinders for the next day (see Fig. 72).
4. Has a peculiar taste; I agree with the opinion of the Songola that this is a great delicacy of the Songola.
6. Sombe yenye kuchanganisha na makali, sombe ya makali, sombe ya kisenu.

R139. Tungu ye bį.sįį bį bi.kwámanda
1. Cassava leaves mixed with yautia leaves.
3. Pound parched cassava leaves and raw yautia leaves; boil in a pan for some time; add salt and chili and boil for a long time.
5. This is not a usual recipe for the Songola, but according to a woman, the result was very good.

R140. Tungu ye bó.bá (ke.kaly)
1. Cassava leaves mixed with mushrooms (such as ke.kaly).
3. Heat fresh leaves on an iron plate; pound the leaves of cassava, chilies and mushrooms; boil for a long time; add palm oil and salt.

R141-R146. Recipes for amaranth leaves

R*141. Bį.njele, etc.
1. Shredded leaves of amaranth varieties.
3. Remove hard parts such as roots, and wash well; bundle leaves in left hand, and cut them into one-centimeter slices (see Fig. 60); mixed with a variety of food as dried meat, dried fish, larvae, and eggplant.
5. Cannot be preserved by drying in the sun.

R142. Bį.njele, etc.
1. Varieties of amaranth (R*141) cooked with palm oil.
2. Called in singular form when
raw, but in plural when cooked.
3. Boil the shreds in a pan until they become soft; add salt and chilies; add palm oil and mix well; simmer until the content is no longer watery.

R143. Bj.njele bжу ku. sábbika né m.pombj, etc.
1. Varieties of amaranth cooked with smoked meat or smoked fish; cooked R*141.
2. Ku.sábbika means "to mix"; the noun that follows this verb is a mixed ingredient, usually smaller in amount than the material placed before this verb.
3. Take an example of a recipe with the meat of m.pombj, a medium-sized duiker (D39); soak a piece of smoked meat of this animal in abundant water for 30-60 minutes; wash and cut the softened meat into tiny cubes; boil shredded amaranth leaves in a pan; add palm juice or palm oil; simmer; add salt and chilies.

R144. Bj.njele bжу н. sóngó
1. Varieties of amaranth cooked with eggplant; cooked R*141.
3. Boil shredded amaranth leaves and eggplant without calyces, cut into pieces; add palm juice and continue to boil; when the mixture softens, add salt and chilies and continue to boil; mash eggplant, turn well with a spatula and serve.

R145. Bj.njele
1. Varieties of amaranth boiled in palm juice; cooked R*141.
3. Pour a little water in a pan; fill it with the shreds of leaves and begin heating the pan; turn the leaves continuously with hand until the leaves wither and their volume reduces; pour out excessive water; prepare another pan and boil palm juice in it; put the withered shreds of amaranth leaves; add salt and chilies; cover and simmer until the contents are no longer watery.

R146. Bj.njele bжу ku. sábbika né bijokó
1. Varieties of amaranth (R*141) cooked with smoked fish and tomato or leeks.
3. Soak smoked fish in water for 30-60 minutes; wash and cut the softened fish into tiny pieces; first steam shredded amaranth leaves in a pan as in the preceding recipe; heat a small amount of palm oil in another pan until it smokes (R*82); remove the pan from fire, and quickly add squashed tomatoes or shredded leeks; this time the oil will make a frizzling sound for which the Songola have an onomatopoeia cuwáh; add pieces of fish and steamed amaranth leaves; add water; boil; add salt and chilies; cover the pan and simmer.
4. This recipe produces a very tasty soup.

R147-R152. Recipes for sweet potato leaves.

R147. Ma.tembéle
1. Sweet potato leaves cooked with palm oil.
3. Peel stems and leafstalks; make a bundle in your left hand and shred it as with R*141 (see Fig. 60); make heated palm oil (R*82); add squashed tomatoes or onions if you have some; sauté shredded leaves and stems; add water, salt, and chilies; cover and simmer for 90 minutes; about 2 hours for preparation.

R148. Ma.tembéle m.é ku. sábbika né bijokó bj.úma
1. Sweet potato leaves mixed with fish.
3. Follow the same recipe as in the preceding until you sauté sweet potato leaves; mix smoked fish in after putting it in water for half an hour; add water, salt, and chilies; cover and simmer; take care to stop heating before it loses its sticky soup; this soup is necessary for a successful combination with brothless food such as kneaded cassava paste, boiled sweet cassava, and plantains.


**R149. Matembéle**
1. Sweet potato leaves cooked with palm oil.
3. Boil peeled and shredded stems and leaves until they soften; add palm oil, salt and chilies; simmer continuously to prevent scorching.


**R*150. Matembéle má. umá**
1. Dried sweet potato leaves.
3. Prepare the leaves as in R147; wash and dry the shreds in the sun for half a day or more; drying improves flavor; if you dry from morning until three o’clock in the afternoon, the leaves can be preserved for a week, much longer than the leaves of yautia (C4).


**R151. Matembéle**
1. Dried sweet potato leaves cooked with palm juice; cooked R*150.
3. Boil in water with palm juice, salt, and chilies; mixing with dried meat or dried fish is also practiced.


**R152. Matembéle**
1. Dried whole sweet potato leaves cooked with palm juice.
3. Rub peeled stems and leaves; dry them in the sun; cook either with palm oil or palm juice; add salt and chilies.
5. This method does not need a knife; a Lokele woman married to a Songola man taught me this recipe; presumably a method imported by the Songola from outside.


R153-R157 are recipes for yautia leaves.

**R153—R157. Bj.kwá manga**
1. Young leaves of yautia.
3. Remove the acrid taste by either of the following operations; a) boil and squeeze, b) heat on an iron plate (V42) until leaves wither well, c) dry in the sun (V37) for about 30 minutes, or d) continue to boil for more than an hour; c) drying unwashed leaves is also a means of preservation; if you dry them for 30 minutes everyday they will last up to 4 days.

5. The flow charts show the detailed processes of a) series; the later parts of other three series are identical with that of a) series, and are not repeated in the charts; may be pounded with cassava leaves to be cooked in broad leaves (R139); materials contained in yautia are raphides of calcium oxalate (Purseglove, 1972: 70).

6. Bipulupulu, mayani ya maole [majani ya mahole].

**R153. Bj.kwá manga**
1. Boiled young yautia leaves.
3. Remove the skin of the stalks; make a bundle in your left hand; shred it with a knife (see Fig. 60); wash the shreds in cold water, and squeeze them; heat palm oil until it smokes (R*82); add minced onions if you happen to have them; sauté the squeezed yautia leaves; add water, salt, and chilies; cover and boil.


**R154. Bj.kwá manga b.j ku .sámbik.a né m.pó**
1. Young yautia leaves cooked with meat, fish and other animal food; for example mix with lo.pó worms (F1).
3. The same operation as above until the addition of squeezed yautia leaves; add lo.pó worms; add water, salt, and chilies; cover and boil.
4. This dish is very good with boiled rice.

R155. Bj.kwámanga
1. Young yautia leaves boiled in palm juice.
3. Prepare squeezed leaves of R148; boil them in palm juice for a while; add salt and chilies; cover and boil.

R156. Bj.kwámanga b.ʃ ku.sámbik.a né bj.soko
1. Young yautia leaves boiled in palm juice with a mixture of dried fish.
3. Follow the same operation as above; when leaves become soft, add dried fish after soaking it for half an hour; add salt and chilies; cover and boil.

R157. Bj.sisʃ b.ʃ bj.kwá manga ku.sámbik.a né bj.soko
1. Young yautia leaves boiled a long time in palm juice.
3. Boil palm juice in a pan; fill the pan with shredded leaves; boil for 2-3 minutes and stir; the volume of leaves will speedily be reduced; add water and boil until the leaves soften; add washed and soaked dried fish, salt, and chilies; add water again and simmer for 1-1.5 hours.
6. Mabokamaboka ya kuchanga na samaki (or nyama).

R158. Mi.lili y.e mà.sólá
1. Boiled and squeezed pumpkin shoots.
3. Remove the skins; shred with a knife; boil in a pan and squeeze out excessive water.
4. Pumpkin shoots, having a very good aroma, are mixed with ke.bolábola, decomposing meat in order to veil their unpleasant smell.

R159. Mi.lili y.e mà.sólá
1. Pumpkin shoots (R*158) cooked with palm oil.
3. Prepare heated oil (R*82), and put shoots in it; boil until they soften; add salt and chilies.

R160. Mi.lili y.e mà.sólá ku.sámbik.a né bj.soko
1. Pumpkin shoots mixed with fish or meat; cooked R*158.
3. Prepare in the same way as the preceding (R159); wash and soak dried fish or meat in water; add fish or meat to the leaves; boil until they soften; add salt and chilies; leave the tasty soup; you can also sauté the shoots directly without boiling them before.
6. Mabokamaboka ya kuchanga na samaki (or nyama).

R161. Mi.lili y.e mà.sólá
1. Pumpkin shoots boiled in palm juice; cooked R*158.
3. Boil them in palm juice; add salt and chilies after the shoots have become soft.

R162. Mi.lili y.e mà.sólá ku.sámbik.a né bj.soko
1. Pumpkin shoots boiled in palm juice with dried fish or meat.
3. After having boiled the shoots in palm juice as in R161, you may mix dried fish or meat as with R160; add salt and chilies, and boil; leave the tasty soup.
6. Mabokamaboka ya kuchanga na samaki (or nyama).

R*158-R162. Recipes for pumpkin shoots.

R*158. Mi.lili y.e mà.sólá
1. Boiled and squeezed pumpkin shoots.
3. Remove the skins; shred with a knife; boil in a pan and squeeze out excessive water.
4. Pumpkin shoots, having a very good aroma, are mixed with ke.bolábola, decomposing meat in order to veil their unpleasant smell.

R163. Pinale y.e kù.sám bik.a né bj.soko
1. Indian spinach boiled with dried fish or meat.

R163-R166. Recipes for indian spinach.
3. Shred soft parts of the shoots; wash dried fish or meat and soak it in water until it becomes damp; put leaves and fish in palm juice and boil; add salt and chilies when the content softens.

**R164. Pinale**
1. Indian spinach boiled with palm oil.
3. Prepare heated palm oil; put minced onions or tomato juice when available; sauté leaves; add water and boil; add salt and chilies; boil.

**R165. Pinale y.e kù.sám bik.a né bj.soko**
1. Indian spinach boiled with oil and dried fish or meat.
3. Sauté soaked dried fish or meat with shredded leaves; add salt and chilies when the contents soften.

**R166. Sinja y.e kù.sám bik.a né bj.soko**
1. Wild leaves boiled with dried fish.
3. Remove hard parts with hands; afterwards do the same thing as R163.

**R167. Sinja y.e kù.sám bik.a né aly ly, etc.**
1. Wild leaves boiled with mushroom (as alyly).
3. Boil shredded leaves in palm juice with pounded mushroom (C15 a.ly ly, etc.).
4. Delicious.

**R168. Ki.silúsflú**
1. Fern leaves boiled in palm juice; add salt and chili; boil.
3. Cut undeveloped leaves; boil them in palm juice.

**R169. J.sinju l.e tu.sulu**
1. Wild leaves boiled with eggplant.
3. Collect young leaves; mince eggplant; boil these in palm juice or in a mixture of water and palm oil; add salt and chili; mash eggplant.
5. This was the sole recipe I could be informed of.

**R170. Mo.pone m.é ku.sám bik.a né bj.soko**
1. Wild leaves mixed with dried fish or meat.
3. Collect soft parts of shoots and leaves; wash; add soaked dried fish; boil them in oil palm juice; add salt and chilies.

**R171. Nyúmbú**
1. Wild leaves roasted in broad leaves.
3. Put young leaves in broad leaves; mix with palm oil, salt, and chilies; roast in broad leaves.

**R*172-R229. Recipes for mushrooms.**

**R*172. Bo.bá b.é ku.tut .a**
1. Pounded mushroom.
3. Remove hard stems with or without a knife (Fig. 120); wash and pound (Fig. 121); pounding is...

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**Fig. 120 V10. kymun. Removing hard parts of mushrooms with a small knife (T7).**

**Ginsi ya kuchambula buyoka [uyoga].**
the major way of softening mushrooms.

**R173-R186. Bo.bá**
1. Pounded mushrooms (R*172) boiled in palm juice or in palm oil.
2. Put the preceding in boiling palm juice or in a mixture of water and palm oil, and boil; add salt and chilies; different from dishes of cassava leaves take care to leave the broth; roast in broad leaves if left over.
3. Mushrooms may be mixed in cassava leaves (R140) and in a dish of wild leaves (R167); mushrooms are not mixed into dishes of sweet potato leaves.
4. Buyoka [uyoga].

**R187-R200. I.ntótó** (etc.) 1.e ku.sámbike ne bj. soko
1. Mushroom mixed with dried fish or dried meat; cooked R*172.
2. Put into boiling palm juice; add washed dried fish or meat; add salt and chilies when the contents soften; boil; leave the broth.
3. Buyoka ya kuchanga na samaki (or nyama).

**R201-R214. Mu.kúngú** (etc.) w.e ku.sámbi.k.a ne bj. njele
1. Mushrooms boiled with amaranth; cooked R*172.
2. The same as R187-R200, but add shredded amaranth.
3. Good with rice and paste of cassava flour.

**R*215. Ká.kukú** (etc.) ká.uma
1. Dried mushrooms.
2. Remove lower parts of hard stems; dry in the sun; spread on a smoking shelf; they will spoil soon if wrapped in broad leaves.
3. Some of the mushrooms are collected in abundance; I saw 5-10 liters of ká.kukú (C23) taken from large trunks of a felled tree in the fields; they are preserved for a day when people are bored with continual dishes of cassava leaves.

**R216-R229. A.lyly, etc.**
1. Boiled dry mushrooms; cooked R*215.
2. Wash and squeeze; boil in palm juice; add salt and chili.

**R*230. Tu.sulu**
1. Minced "sweet" eggplant (see Fig. 20).
2. Cut off hard calyxes; peel and mince to mix in cassava leaves (R135), amaranth leaves (R144), and wild leaves (R169).
3. R230-231 are always cooked with other food.

**R*231. Tu.sulu**
1. Pounded "sweet" eggplant.
2. Cut off hard calyxes; peel and pound in a mortar; mix in dried meat (R256) and dried fish (R269).

**R232-R233. N.sákú**

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Fig. 121 V14 .tut. A Kuko woman pounds mushrooms in a medium-sized mortar (T12) with a short pestle (T2).

*Mwanaamuke anatwanga buyoka.*
Boiled wild fruit.

1. Collect ripe fruit (see Fig. 21); wash it well; boil water and remove the pan from fire; put fruit in the pan for a while; peel and taste the thin layer of pulp around a big seed; boiling will spoil them; you can also hold a raw piece of fruit inside your cheek until its pulp softens by the warmth of your body.

3. The pulp has a slight salty taste.

4. May be eaten with boiled sweet cassava (R19), boiled plantains (R3), or slices of bitter cassava (R24-R25); a humble dish for hungry times, and not balanced with rice or paste of cassava flour; you can make this tastier if there is mixed salt and chilies at hand.

R234. *N. saba*

1. Boiled shoots of yams.

3. Collect some 30 cm of young, undeveloped yam shoots; put them in a pan when you boil plantains and sweet cassava tubers to be eaten together when the content is boiled.

3. Sticky and tastes slightly bitter.

5. The bitter taste (*bu.cuj*) is good for your health.

R235-R237. Recipes for the pith of rattan shoot.

R235. *N. tóba*

1. Roasted pith of rattan shoots.

3. Remove the spines; put on cinders; peel and eat the soft parts inside.

4. Slightly bitter but delicious.

R236. *N. tóba*

1. Boiled pith of rattan shoots.

3. Remove the spines; boil in a pan; peel and eat the soft parts inside.

R237. *N. tóba*

1. Pith of rattan shoots boiled in palm juice.

3. Boil in a pan; cut peeled shoots in small pieces; boil them in palm juice; add salt and chilies.

R238. *Ma. ánjj m. é mo. léngé*

1. Syrup of sugar-cane; peel stems of sugar-cane; cut and pound them; squeeze and wash out the sweet sap using some water; strain fibers; simmer until you get a heavy syrup.

4. Tastes like honey; very good on boiled plantains.


R239. *Bu. ákj*

1. Honey.

3. Collect beehives (*ń. dąbu y. á bu. ákj*); wrap them in broad leaves; squeeze and wash out honey in a pan; remove squeezed beehives; simmer until the contents are sticky and thick (*bundan.*); remove from fire and store it in a bottle.

4. May be licked for pleasure and as a cough medicine; excellent with boiled plantains; may be mixed with cooked rice.


R240. *Bu. ákj w. é ki. tławá*

1. Honey of stingless bees.

3. The same as R239.

4. Tastes a little sour.
D. Dishes of mammals, reptiles, and birds.

It will be appropriate to divide the cooking methods of D group materials in two successive stages: 1) from game to meat and 2) from meat to dish. Major differences in the process of preparation exist in the first stage than in the second stage. Once converted into pieces of meat, recipes differ little between the materials. In fact they vary according to the freshness and stiffness of the meat concerned rather than to their kind.

A game, if alive, has its neck cut with a sharp knife. Women refrain from this task of butchering (cínj.). An animal found dead in a trap is not regarded as food for Muslims.

R*241-R*247 are the recipes for the intermediate products of meat. Nyama y.e bútísí or raw meat has 8 different dishes. Raw meat is cooked in the same way regardless of the kind of animal or bird. It may be called nyama y.e mú.sífí if it is still bleeding. Nýama yá.tembá, tender meat and nyama yá.nuná, tough meat (classified into several grades of toughness) may have different recipes. Chart 3D shows the applicability of materials for each recipe.

R*241 a. Nyama y.e bútísí
1. Raw meat of large- and medium-sized mammals, D1-D45; called nyama y.e mú.sífí if it is still bloody.
2. These animals are generally caught in the forest; the carcass (kitúmbá) is carried beside a stream; the hunter cuts shoots of shrubs to spread them on the

Fig. 122 V5 bük. Dismembering ka.kúli (D7) with a bush knife (T7). The carcass of the animal removed from a trap is put on leafy branches.

Ginsi ya kuchuna nyama ya miteko [mitego].
Chart 3D. Recipes for materials having *mu.suna* (1): mammals, reptiles, and birds

From butchering to meat

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<th>Women's work in the village</th>
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<td><em>ma.buli</em>, etc.</td>
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<td>wash divide intestines</td>
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<td>R*242a</td>
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<td>D46-D53</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>cunga</em>, etc.</td>
<td>wild animals of Felidae or cat family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1/T1, V7/T1,6</td>
<td>V17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinj.</td>
<td>ba.</td>
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<tr>
<td>butcher gut</td>
<td>wash</td>
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<td>V1/T1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>V9/T6</td>
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<td>D55-D57</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ka.bāngā</em>, etc.</td>
<td>pangolins (having scales on their body)</td>
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<tr>
<td>V1/T1</td>
<td>ma.ānjj</td>
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<td>cinj.</td>
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<tr>
<td>butcher put in</td>
<td>remove gut</td>
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<tr>
<td>V9/T6</td>
<td>V17/T18</td>
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<td>elephant</td>
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<td>V7/T1,6</td>
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<tr>
<td>cinj.</td>
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<td>butcher gut</td>
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<td>V5/T6</td>
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<td>R*242e</td>
<td>nyama yā:umā</td>
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</table>
**From meat to dish**

**R*241 a–l**

Raw meat of larger birds and mammals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R*248</th>
<th>nyama y.e kū.λām.b.a meat cooked in palm oil 89 var.</th>
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**R*244**

Elephant skin

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**R*246**

Boiled smoked meat

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**R*248**

Meat cooked in palm oil

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**R*250**

Meat cooked with cucurbit seeds

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### R*241 i - j

**raw meat of domestic fowl**

- **R251**
  - *ka.myndele*
  - meat of fowl
  - sauté for a long time
  - 3 var.

- **R241**
  - *mr*
  - raw meat of tiny birds & mammals
  - 20 var.

- **R245**
  - *ke.koba k.kj.kó*
  - dorsal muscle of a porcupine
  - 20 var.

### R*241, R*242, R*246, R*247

**raw (89 var.), smoked (65 var.) meat and elephant skin (1 var.)**

- **R254**
  - *nyama y.e kú.lamb.a*
  - meat cooked in palm juice
  - 154 var.

- **R255**
  - *nyama y.e kú.lamb.a*
  - meat cooked with palm oil
  - 154 var.

- **R256**
  - *nyama y.e kú.lamb.a*
  - meat cooked with eggplant
  - 154 var.

### D1 - D89

**ke.bólábola**

- decomposing meat of any larger wild mammals & birds

- **R257**
  - *ke.bólábola*
  - *k.ké nyama*
  - boiled decomposing meat
  - 89 var.
ground; he puts the game on this carpet of leaves; he cuts off the skin of the belly and takes out (.bá.) intestines (me.sólo); he then cuts off the neck (n.kingó), the limbs (bj.keta), divides the body transversely (Fig. 122); he washes intestines in the stream (Fig. 123); he squeezes out the contents (tu.bí, namely excrement) from the intestines and washes them in the stream; the gall is carefully taken out and put aside; meat (mu.suna), heart (mu.tíma), liver (ka.limu), and other comestible parts are carried to the village in ke.kasamu kongo, a flat, deep basket for men; if the carcass is small enough, it may be brought back for dismembering in the village; goats and sheep are butchered in the door yard; now begins the work for women; first burn hair off (.bab. ma.usá) in the fire (see Fig. 45); remove burnt parts, remaining hair, and nails (lu.calá) with a bush knife; wash well; cut with a knife the meat, heart and liver of large animals or a gutted carcass of a medium-sized animal into bite-size pieces; put on a smoking shelf to drain water and prevent the precious flesh from flies.


R*241 b. Nyama y.e bu. bisi
1. Meat of animals of the cat family, Felidae; D46-D53.
3. The difference for cooking exists in the fact the skins (ke.koba) of these animals are used as dried skins (n.gubu) for traditional ritual garments of village chiefs; nobody has the right to burn off their hair; men peel the skin before dismembering

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Fig. 123 V17 .óy. A Kuko man washes intestines of an animal caught in the forest.
Mwanaume anasafisha butumbutumbu ya nyama ku-mutoni.
an animal in this category; afterwards there is no essential difference with R*241a.

5. One generation ago, the Songola prohibited women and children from eating the flesh of these animals; liver of leopard is believed to be a fatal poison.


**R*241 c. Nyama y.e bū. bisi**

1. Meat of the brush-tailed porcupine, *kj.µkú*.

3. Put in boiling water, remove spines with a knife (Fig. 124); after removing the layer of dorsal muscle (R*243), cut the rest into a convenient size, remove inedible parts, and wash.


**R*241 d. Nyama y.e bū. bisi**

1. Meat of pangolins; D55-D57.

3. Put in very hot water; remove scales (*ma.amba*) by hand and a bush knife (see Fig. 40); begin cutting off the long tail to make dismembering easy; afterwards it is treated like other meat.


**R*241 e. Nyama y.e nj.jov. w.ē bu. bisi**

1. Dishes prepared with elephant meat; treated independent of other recipes because it has many specialities.

3. Intestines are taken out on the ground as soon as an elephant is killed; the trunk and the tail are cut and put together beside the carcass; on arrival of the villagers, they set up to dismember the carcass; intestines are washed thoroughly.


**R*241 f. Nyama y.e bū. bisi**

1. Meat of crocodiles; may be killed accidentally.

3. Men put the carcass upside-down; they cut the belly longitudinally; axe and bush knife are used; they take out intestines; they peel the skin (Fig. 127) and it will be sent to the officer of the local govern-

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**Fig. 124 V9 .túky.** Removing spines of a brush-tailed porcupine (D54) with a knife of European type (T1).

*Ginsi ya kutosha miiba ya njiku.*
1. Raw meat of giant lizard and snakes.
3. Burn the scales off before dismembering if the game is small; dismember first if it is large; afterwards the same as other raw meat.

1. Meat of tortoise prepared by burning its shell.
3. Burn the shell over a fire; this operation makes a very strong smell and all the neighbors will realize that a tortoise is being cooked; beat (V3. ib.) the shell with a pestle to remove it; afterwards do as for other raw meat.

1. Meat of tortoise prepared by boiling its shell.
3. Boil the shell and remove it by beating; this method is preferred if you don't want to let others know that you are its skin may after dismembering like R*154; men cut it into smaller pieces having a length of 20 cm.
4. Tastes somewhat between fowl meat and fish; has a strong smell when raw; this smell will be reduced if it is sautéed in palm oil.
cooking a tortoise.


\[ R*241 j. Nyama y.e bù. bisi \]

1. Meat of a duck.
2. Make a shallow hole in the ground; hold wings of a duck under your feet; cut the neck with a sharp knife; wait until blood pours into the hole and the duck no longer moves; cover the hole with soil; these are the tasks of boys or men; put the butchered duck in very hot water; take off the feather; smear soap for laundering all over the skin; cover the body with flour made from smoked outside of dry cassava tubers (a by-product from R*35 to R*37); shave the layer of soap mixed with flour with a small knife; thus the surface of the skin will be also removed; wash well with warm water in a large bowl; remove remaining feather bulbs; burn the surface; check if the head, paws, and wings are well burnt; begin dismembering; open the belly, remove intestines, cut into small pieces, and remove inedible parts; wash thoroughly.
3. I observed that this preparation took more than 2 hours; women use soap in order to remove all the dirt a duck may have on its body because of their habit of feeding on dirt in the village; many women refuse to eat duck although it is not a taboo; they say "loho inakatala [roho inakataa]" (My heart refuses).
4. *Nyama ya bata.*

\[ R*241 k. Nyama y.e bù. bisi \]

1. Meat of a fowl (hen or rooster) and other wild birds of medium size.
2. Put the body in boiling water and take off the feathers by hands (Fig. 128); shave the remaining feathers with a knife; burn the surface of skin in a fire; dismember it on broad leaves; cut up, remove inedible parts, and wash; fowl meat is smoked only in exceptional case of an epidemic disease (called *shotoka* in Swahili), in which all the hens and roosters in a village may die or fall ill; they are butchered hurriedly and the meat is smoked; this happened in 1982-83 in Tongomacho village.
3. Head is eaten by boys; and men eat the heart; not dried usually.
4. *Nyama ya kuku na jogoo.*

\[ R*241 l. Nyama y.e bù. bisi \]

1. Meat of hens and roosters prepared without burning the surface.
2. The process of burning the skin in the preceding recipe can be omitted.
3. *Nyama ya kuku na jogoo.*

\[ R*241 m. Nyama y.e bù. bisi \]
An Enya woman removing feather of a hen (D64).

(Huwanamuke ya Wagenia ana nyonyola kuku.)

1. Meat of *ka.nyama* or small mammals.
3. Butcher; open the belly with a knife; remove intestines; burn off hair if needed; cut the body in two; remove inedible parts; wash.
6. *Nyama mbichi ya kanayama.*

*R*241*n.* *Nyama y.e ḅu.ḅísi* (*ka.nyonỵj ḳé bu.ḅísi*)
1. Meat of *ka.nyonỵj* or small birds.
3. Butcher; open the belly with a knife; remove intestines; burn off feather if needed; cut the body in two; remove inedible parts; wash.
6. *Nyama ya kandege.*

*R*242*a.* *Nyama yá.umá*
1. The meat of *R*241*a* dried by smoking.
3. Dismembered limbs are put on a smoking shelf or on a wire grid to smoke.
6. *Nyama kafu [kavu].*

*R*242*b.* *Nyama yá.umá*
1. Smoked meat of animals of the cat family.
3. Do as in other animals without burning their skins.

*R*242*c.* *Nyama yá.umá*
1. Smoked meat of *R*241*f*.
3. Smoke just like other meat.

*R*242*d.* *Nyama yá.umá*
1. Smoked meat of pangolins.
3. Smoke like other meat.
6. *Nyama kafu ya kabanga.*

*R*242*e.* *Nyama y.e n.jo yá.umá*
1. Smoked meat of an elephant.
3. Cut into pieces and smoke on the shelf in the forest (Fig. 125).

*R*242*f.* *Nyama yá.umá*
1. Smoked meat of *R*241*f*.
4. No longer smells when smoked.
6. *Nyama kafu ya mamba.*

*R*242*g.* *Nyama j.umá*
1. Smoked meat of *R*241*g*.

*R*242*h.* *Nyama yá.umá*
1. Smoked meat of *R*241*h*.

*R*242*i.* *Nyama yá.umá*
1. Smoked meat of *R*241*i*.

*R*243.* *Ke.koba ḳé ḳj̣kó*
1. Parts of the brush-tailed porcupine; layer of muscle on the back.
3. This small animal is brought to the village whole unless found decomposing in a trap; put in very hot water and remove spines on its back with a bush knife; remove hair on its belly and paws with a small knife (Fig. 124); dismember in a similar manner as *R*241*a*; carefully peel the layer of muscle (*ke.koba ḳé ḳj̣kó*) which was holding the spines; this is the only meat roasted directly on the fire.
6. *Ngozi ya njiku.*

*R*244.* *Ke.koba ḳé n.joy*
1. Elephant skin.
3. Stiff and does not go bad fast; bony legs have only a
little meat and are cooked as skin (Fig. 126).


R*245. Nyama ya uná

1. Smoked meat soaked in water.
3. Put smoked meat in water until it absorbs water; remove burnt and inedible parts with a knife; cut in small pieces; boil them on a strong fire for more than one hour until they soften; wash them in cold water; can be mixed in a variety of dishes: amaranth (R143), sweet potato leaves (R148), yautia leaves (R154, R156, R157), pumpkin shoots (R160, R162), Indian spinach (R163, R165), wild leaves (R166, R170), and mushrooms (R187).

4. Has less smell than raw meat.
5. If there are maggots on the dried meat, put the meat in boiling water to kill the maggots; old men advise smoking all the meat during a cholera epidemic.


R*246. Nyama y.a.uná y.e

1. Smoked elephant meat soaked in water and then boiled.
3. Choose pieces which do not contain skin or bones; put into cold water overnight to let the meat swell and to remove sand; the next morning, begin to boil it in a pan until evening (abundant firewood is prepared and some women are asked to take care of fire before men go to their field); throw away excess water; wash twice carefully because sand grains may still remain; mixed with vegetables of the C group.


R*247. Ke.koba k.e

1. Boiled elephant skin.
3. Divide with an axe (Fig. 126) a part of the elephant having little meat but a lot of skin (a leg, for example); soak pieces in cold water overnight; the next morning begin to boil; add dry leaves of plantains called lu.cucu 1.6 j. sili (nembembe in Swahili) to soften the tough skin; boil for a day; wash softened skin twice or more to remove sand; remove with a knife the outer layer of the double-layered skin; boiled in palm juice or mixed with vegetables of the C group (see R*247).

5. A village chief receives one leg of an elephant killed in his territory; the leg is made up of bones, skin and nails, contains very little meat, and is cooked this way; dry plantain leaves, generally used to shorten cooking hours of elephant skin, are not used for elephant meat.

6. Ngozi ya tembo ya kulegea.

Recipes R248-R256 correspond to the process from meat to dish.

In R248-R251 raw meat is sautéed first; this method is never applied for dried meat; the Songola say "Nyama ya kafu haiwezekani kukalanga tena (It is impossible to sauté dried meat)."

R248. Nyama y.e kú. lámb.a

1. Sautéd and boiled raw meat.
3. Put raw meat into very hot palm oil (R*82); return the pan to the fire; add salt immediately so as to let it flavor the meat; add chili; pour water and boil to leave a good amount of broth; tough meat must be boiled for a long time; the soup will be very much improved if you mix pounded cucurbit seeds, groundnuts, sesame, or mince of angled loofah.

4. Good with bu.kálj which cannot be swallowed without some broth.

R249. Nyama y.e kú. lámb.a

1. Raw meat boiled after sautéing in onion flavored oil.
3. First add salt and onion to preheated palm oil; sauté gradually adding tomato juice as
in R248; add chili and water; add pounded groundnuts through a sieve to strain remaining skins; simmer well; groundnuts can be replaced by sesame or cucurbit seeds; it takes about an hour to cook a duck (R*241j) this way.

4. Its thick soup is very tasty.

R250. Nyama y.e kū.lámb.a

1. Sauté of raw meat seasoned with the paste of cucurbit seeds.
3. Put raw meat in preheated palm oil (R*82); sauté; add pounded cucurbit paste; add salt and chili; pour water; boil and leave the tasty broth.
4. Cucurbit paste makes the broth extremely mellow.

R251. Ka.mundele

1. Sauté of raw meat in preheated palm oil (R*82).
3. Put raw meat into very hot palm oil (R*82); return the pan to the fire; add salt immediately so as to let it flavor the meat; continue to sauté on a very gentle fire; pour in a small amount of tomato juice occasionally; stay beside the pan for 1-2 hours and continue to add tomato juice; add pounded chili; little or no broth remains when cooked.
4. Delicious with tender meat of a hen.
5. This dish is only rarely made because you need soft and flesh fowl meat, and probably because this recipe leaves no broth behind.

R252. Ki.síndí k.é kw.ekela né j.kéta

1. Raw meat of a squirrel roasted in leaves; an example of typical recipes for tiny mammals and birds.
2. I never heard of such a general expression as ka.nyama k.é j.kéta or ka.nyama k.é kw.ekela né j.kéta; a dish is usually called by its specific material used.
3. Follow this recipe when there is only a small amount of meat; wrap pieces of the meat of one squirrel in broad leaves; add salt, chilies, and palm oil or palm juice; put the package on cinders.

R253. Ke.koba k.é kj.iku

1. Dorsal muscle of a porcupine grilled on an open fire.
2. Nyama y.e ba.kúngú, or meat for seniors.
3. Prepare the dorsal muscles of a brush-tailed porcupine (R*243); grill on an open fire turning occasionally by hand; cut into bite-size pieces.
4. Only one example of meat burnt on an open fire; it was eaten as a privileged relish for old men; today it is no longer prohibited for women and children.

R254. Nyama y.e kū.lámb.a

1. Raw and smoked meat cooked in palm juice.
3. Boil palm juice (R*80) in a pan; put pieces of raw or smoked meat; boil a long time; leave the tasty broth; chilies can be spared for smoked meat and elephant skin because they do not smell like raw meat; the ear of an elephant may be treated like its skin; I observed this recipe but do not know the procedure for certain.
5. This recipe can be applied to any kind of meat except that of small animals or an elephant; boiling tough meat in palm juice for a long time makes it tender; however, according to the taste of the Songola, raw meat will be best cooked in palm oil (R254 and R255) than in palm juice; this recipe is suited for smoked or decomposing meat.

R255. Nyama y.e kū.lámb.a
1. Raw meat and smoked meat boiled with palm oil.
3. Mix tomato juice in hot pre-heated palm oil and heat a little; add meat, and pour in water immediately; add salt and chili; boil and leave broth.
5. This recipe omits the process of sautéing in R248-R250; the mixture of R*82 and water plays the role of a substitute for palm juice; this method is indispensable for cooking dried or decomposing meat.
   R256. Nyama y.e kū.lāmb.a
1. The preceding mixed with eggplant.
3. Add meat in pre-heated palm oil; heat and add pounded eggplant; add salt and chili; cover and boil.
5. Also used for soaked dried meat.
6. Nyama ya kupika na nyanya.
   R257. Ke.bolábola k.ē nyama
1. Decomposing meat of water chevrotain etc. boiled for a long time.

E. Dishes of fish.

Roughly speaking, the Songola have four different methods of preparation of larger fish. These methods correspond precisely to the four categories of fish in Enya's folk classification systems. 1) fish with large scales to be removed before cooking, 2) fish with small scales that do not need removing, 3) fish without scales but having three large poisonous spines, and 4) fish having neither scales nor large poisonous spines. After this stage of preparation, there is no essential difference among the cooking methods. Small fish having a length shorter than 20 cm are cooked with their intestines (and scales if any). There are some scaleless fish which need skinning and special cooking methods. If the catch is abundant, it is smoked and preserved. Smoked fish, ŋ.ffi cā.umā/ŋ.ŋ.ŋ. b.š.š. b.ž.umá, is often mixed with leaves and other vegetables. Fish in the special category of ŋ.ffi c.ē ba.enyá, favorite fish for fishermen, are rarely sold at markets.

R*258-R*261.
These are the methods for pre-cooking preparation delineated in accordance with the folk categories and size of the fish. The flesh of raw or smoked fish is not distinguished as a material for cooking even if the pre-
cooking methods are different. So, I will distinguish each recipe for preparation only by an italicized alphabet following a reference number.

**R*258 a. N.fii c.é ma.amba ma.kúlu c.é bu.bísi**
1. Pieces of raw fish having large scales (E1-E48).
3. Scale them with a dull edge of a bush knife (Fig. 129); open the belly, and remove intestines and eggs; cut into large pieces weighing about one kilogram each (Fig. 130); for immediate cooking, cut the large pieces smaller and wash.
5. Large pieces of fish smoked overnight; tastes better than raw or completely smoked fish.

**R*258 b. N.fii c.é ma.amba ma.kúlu c.é bu.bísi**
1. The same as the preceding but with its scales removed with fire.

**R*258 c. N.fii c.é ma.amba ma.sálí c.é bu.bísi**
1. Raw fish with small scales (E49-E82).
3. The same as raw fish with large scales except that you don't have to remove their scales.

**R*258 d. N.fii c.é mi.kúa c.é bu.bísi**
1. Raw fish having three poisonous spines, but no scales (E83-E106).
3. Break the spines with a bush knife (Fig. 131); cut off the head and take out the intestines and eggs; cut into small pieces, and wash.

**R*258 e. N.fii c.é bo.sélo c.é bu.bísi**
1. Raw fish having neither

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Fig. 129 V9.túky. An Enya woman scaling fish (E1-E48) with a knife (T7).

*Muwanamuke ya Wagenia ana tosha magamba ya samaki.*
scales nor poisonous spines (E 107-E124).
3. Cut off the head; remove intestines and eggs; cut into pieces and wash.

R*258 f. N.fii c.é bu. bisi
1. Raw small fish, 15-25 cm in length.
3. Remove intestines but some of them can be cooked with all their scales and intestines. Some woman makes scars on the fish, and cut it into two pieces if it is relatively large (Fig. 132).

R*258 g. N.fii c.é bu. bisi
1. Raw tiny fish, less than 15 cm in length.
3. Wash and cook with all their scales and intestines; cut into two pieces if they are relatively large.

R*258 h. Nyinki c.é bu. bisi
1. Electric catfish, nyinki (E122).
3. An electric catfish has a thick, soft skin; first remove the skin; remove intestines; cut off the head; cut into pieces.

R*258 i. N.tuty c.é bu. bisi
1. Raw globe fish (E125).
3. Peel the stiff skin off; remove intestines; take care to remove inedible liver.

R*259 a-b. N.fii c.é ma.amba ma.kálû c.á.umá
1. Smoked fish having large scales.
3. Smoke pieces of raw fish (R*258a-b) on a smoking shelf (see Figs. 68, 134); mu.bundó (E41) should always be smoked because its raw flesh is too watery.
4. Large pieces of fish having large scales may not dry completely in a day (see Fig. 68); such half-smoked pieces of fish taste better than the same fish in raw or completely dried condition.

R*259 c. N.fii c.é ma.amba ma.úsâlî c.á.umá
1. Smoked fish with small scales.
4. Lungfish (E50) is usually smoked because its flesh is very soft.

R*259 d. N.fii c.é mi.kúa c.á.umá
1. Smoked fish having three poisonous spines.
3. Smoke on a shelf.
5. Rarely smoked; large scaleless fish shrink when smoked because they lose their fat; fishermen must smoke these fish if their fishing camps are far from markets.

R*259 e. N.fii c.é bo. sólo c.á.umá
1. Smoked fish having neither scales nor poisonous spines (Fig. 133).
3. Smoke the pieces on a shelf.
5. Never smoke a larger catfish that loses its fat and shrinks enormously by smoking.
A fish of the family Distichodontidae cut before smoking. Body length, ca. 25 cm.

Mokasa.

R*259f. *N.fili cá.uma*
1. Smoked small fish.
3. Smoke them on a shelf (Fig. 134).

R*259g. *N.fili cá.uma*
1. Smoked tiny fish.
3. Skewer with a rattan string (Fig. 135) and smoke.

R*259h. *N.fili cá.uma*
1. Smoked electric catfish.
4. It tastes very good after 1-2 days of smoking.

R*260. *Nyinkj cé bu. bisi*  
1. Electric catfish with its skin.
2. Remove only the intestines, but rete the skin as it is.

R*261. *N.fili cá.uma*
1. Smoked fish soaked in water.
3. Wash smoked fish and remove inedible parts; soak in water for about an hour; you can put it in hot water if you are in a hurry; you can add this to a variety of dishes: cassava leaves (R130), amaranth (R143, R146), sweet potato leaves (R148), yautia leaves (R154, R156, R157), pumpkin shoots (R160, R162), Indian spinach (R165), wild leaves (C10, R166 and C13, R170), and mushrooms (C15-28, R187).

**From cleaned fish to dish**

R262–R271.
1. Dishes made from raw fish (R*258).
3. Cooking methods can be divided into i) boiling in water, ii) boiling after sautéing in oil, and iii) wrapping in broad leaves; cook head, gills, and eggs with flesh to improve the taste of broth; you can cook fatty fish with very little (or without) palm oil or palm juice, but *mo.lônge* (E27), having very good taste, may cause diarrhea because of its excessive fat; raw fish demands abundant chili to reduce its smell.

R262. *Pepe supu* (Sw)  
1. African carp, *â.belely* (E28, an example of R*258a) boiled with its fat.
3. Put pieces of raw fish in a pan filled with water; add fat taken from inside of the belly; add squashed tomatoes and sliced onions, abundant chili, and salt; boil.
5. In order to conceal the fishy smell of fat, add tomatoes and onions, or abundant chilies.

R263. *N.fili cá. kú. lámba*  
1. Bagrid catfish, *kí.bwá* (E83, an example of R*258d) boiled with palm juice.
3. Cook in the same way as the preceding, but add palm juice and boil when the fish is well cooked.
5. A cooking method for fish
having little fat.

**R264. N. fili c.é ku. láfamb.a**
1. Fish boiled with palm juice.
3. Boil palm juice; put in the fish; add salt and chili; add onion if available; leave sufficient broth.
5. The same recipe as soaked smoked fish (R*261).

**R265. N. fili c.é ku. láfamb.a**
1. Raw fish sautéed in preheated palm oil.
3. Prepare lu. mbjilj (preheated palm oil); add fish; sauté for a long time on a gentle fire, adding tomato juice now and then.
5. This cooking method is primarily for meat and is rarely applied to fish.

**R266. N. fili c.é ku. láfamb.a**
1. Raw fish sautéed as in the preceding recipe and boiled in water.
3. After having sautéed raw fish with salt, chili, and tomatoes; add water and boil.

**R267. N. fili c.é ku. láfamb.a**
3. Add tomato, pounded raw chili, and salt to preheated oil; add raw fish and sauté; boil; leave the tasty broth.
5. Adding salt at an early stage of cooking makes it easily penetrate the flesh.

**R268. N. fili c.é ku. láfamb.a**
1. Boiled raw fish with the addition of seasoned palm oil.
3. Add tomato and sliced onions to preheated palm oil; add raw fish but do not sauté; pour water
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Fig. 135 A boy skewers small fish caught by bailing streams.
Mutoto mwanume anatunga samaki ya kusenga.

R269. N.fii c.é ku.lámb.a
1. Raw fish boiled with eggplant.
3. Add raw fish in preheated palm oil; add eggplant; pour water; add salt and chili; boil.

R270. N.fii c.é j.kéta
1. African carp, h.síla y.e ló. cómbú (E30) roasted in leaves.
3. Put washed pieces of fish on broad leaves; add also head, eggs, and fat; mix with salt and chili; make a wrap and roast it on cinders for more than one hour; add a small palm oil if the fish is not fatty.
4. Very tasty

R271. N.fii c.é j.kéta
1. Roast of tiny fish caught by bailing in broad leaves.
3. Wash fish; put on broad leaves with salt and chili; put

Fig. 136 T20 ki.bángálá k.é nyungú, coverless earthen pan.
Diameter ca. 25 cm.
Chungu ya asili.

the packet on cinders.
4. Very tasty.
5. Such a wrap may contain crab and frogs caught together; not prepared frequently because this dish does not have broth which helps swallowing some cassava food.

R272. Nyjnkji c.é ku.lámb.a
1. Electric catfish boiled in earthenware with its skin (R*260).
3. Line an earthenware pot (Fig. 136) with broad leaves; pour a small amount of water and palm oil; put pieces of the electric catfish cut with its skin on; add salt and chili; boil slowly over a gentle fire.
4. The skin is completely melted and forms a very sticky substance; it is impossible to cook this dish with an aluminum pan.

R273. Ka.mbulukutu k.é ku.lámb.a
1. An African carp (ka.mbuluku tu, E33) boiled with its scales.
3. This fish was famous as a great delicacy; cut the body with its scales on; line an earthenware pot with leaves of sugar-cane; put in water and fish; boil and add salt and chili; add palm oil or palm juice just before
Chart 3E. Recipes for materials having *u.suna* (2): fish.

From raw fish to cleaned fish

- **E1-E48**
  - *i.nifi c.e ma.*
  - *amba ma.kalú*
  - Fish with large scales
  - V9/T6 V4/T6 V9/T6 V5/T6 V17/T18
    - át. tóky. bük. óy.
    - Remove tear remove cut wash scales belly intestines
  - V37/T32 ánik.
  - *bu.bisi*
  - Raw fish
  - 48 var.
  - R*258a

- **E49-E82**
  - *i.nifi c.e ma.*
  - *amba ma.sali*
  - Fish with small scales
  - V4/T6 V9/T6 V5/T6 V17/T18
    - át. tóky. bük. óy.
    - Tear remove the cut in wash belly intestines pieces
  - V37/T32 ánik.
  - *bu.bisi*
  - Raw fish
  - 34 var.
  - R*258b

- **E83-E106**
  - *i.nifi c.e mi.koa*
  - Fish with poisonous spines
    - bük. át. tóky. bük. óy.
    - Cut cut tear remove cut in wash spines head belly intestines pieces
  - V37/T32 ánik.
  - *bu.bisi*
  - Raw fish
  - 24 var.
  - R*258c

- **E107-E124**
  - *i.nifi c.e bo.selio*
  - Fish without scales nor spines
    - bük. át. tóky. bük. óy.
    - Cut tear remove cut in wash head belly intestines pieces
  - V37/T32 ánik.
  - *bu.bisi*
  - Raw fish
  - 16 var.
  - R*258d

- **E125-E148**
  - *i.nifi c.e bi.katú*
  - Fish between 15 and 25 cm caught in a small-meshed net
  - V4/T6 V5/T6 V17/T18
    - át. bük. óy.
    - Tear cut in pieces wash belly if needed
  - V37/T32 ánik.
  - *bu.bisi*
  - Raw small fish
  - 124 var.
  - R*258e

- **E149-E172**
  - *i.nifi c.e ba.na*
  - Fish with scales
  - V4/T6 V5/T6 V17/T18
    - át. bük. óy.
    - Tear cut in pieces wash belly if needed
  - V37/T32 ánik.
  - *bu.bisi*
  - Raw small fish
  - 104 var.
  - R*258f

- **E173-E196**
  - *i.nifi c.e mug.o*
  - Fish between 15 and 25 cm caught in a small-meshed net
  - V4/T6 V5/T6 V17/T18
    - át. bük. óy.
    - Tear cut in pieces wash belly if needed
  - V37/T32 ánik.
  - *bu.bisi*
  - Raw small fish
  - 124 var.
  - R*258g

- **E197-E220**
  - *i.nifi c.e ma.kalú*
  - Fish with scales
  - V4/T6 V5/T6 V17/T18
    - át. bük. óy.
    - Tear cut in pieces wash belly if needed
  - V37/T32 ánik.
  - *bu.bisi*
  - Raw small fish
  - 104 var.
  - R*258h
Raw fish or smoked fish soaked in water put in hot palm juice

\[ \text{R*258a-f,h-i} \]
\[ \text{R*261} \]
\[ \text{R*264} \]
\[ \text{Q4} \]

\[ \text{R*80} \]

\[ \text{boil add salt} \]
\[ \text{boil leave} \]
\[ \text{chili broth} \]

Repeat this process

\[ \text{R*258a-d} \]
\[ \text{R*261} \]

\[ \text{R*265} \]

\[ \text{V42/ V42/} \]
\[ \text{T18 T18} \]

\[ \text{ka.myndele} \]

\[ \text{fish sautéd repeatedly} \]

\[ \text{R*82} \]

\[ \text{sauté add sauté} \]
\[ \text{add sauté} \]
\[ \text{sauté add slightly salt tomato juice} \]

\[ \text{R*87/R*97/} \]
\[ \text{R*98/R*125} \]

\[ \text{add groundnut paste, etc., if available} \]

\[ \text{R*266} \]
\[ \text{R*267} \]

\[ \text{R*82} \]

\[ \text{saute} \]
\[ \text{add saute} \]
\[ \text{saute} \]

\[ \text{R*87/R*97/} \]
\[ \text{R*98/R*125} \]

\[ \text{add groundnut paste, etc., if available} \]

\[ \text{R*268} \]

\[ \text{R*258,R*261} \]
Chart 3F. Recipes for materials having *nu.suna* (3); bugs and worms.

**R*241a (E33)**

*ka.bulukutu*
a species of African carp with its scales

- Put broad leaves in earthenware pan.
- Boil for a long time.
- Add salt & chili.
- Soften add palm juice or palm oil.

**R*258**

*nyinki*
electric catfish with its skin

- Put on broad leaves.
- Add palm juice.
- Add salt.
- Boil for a long time.
- Mix roast in broad leaves.

**R*260**

*nyinki y.e*
electric catfish boiled with its skin

- Electric catfish boiled with its scales.
- Boiled add salt & chili.
- Boil for a long time.
- Add palm juice or palm oil.

**R*269**

*nu.fil c.e*

Fish cooked with eggplant

- Fish roasted in broad leaves.
- Add palm juice or palm oil.
- Add salt & chili.
- Boil for a long time.

**R*270**

*nu.fil c.e*

Fish roasted in broad leaves.

- Fish roasted in broad leaves.
- Add palm juice or palm oil.
- Add salt & chili.
- Boil for a long time.

**R*271**

*nu.fil c.e*

Fish roasted in broad leaves.

- Fish roasted in broad leaves.
- Add palm juice or palm oil.
- Add salt & chili.
- Boil for a long time.

**R*272**

*nu.fil c.e*

Fish roasted in broad leaves.

- Fish roasted in broad leaves.
- Add palm juice or palm oil.
- Add salt & chili.
- Boil for a long time.

**R*273**

*ka.bulukutu*

African carp with its scales

- African carp boiled with its scales.
- Boiled add salt & chili.
- Boil for a long time.
- Add palm juice or palm oil.

**R*274**

*nu.fil c.e*

Fish cooked with eggplant

- Fish roasted in broad leaves.
- Add palm juice or palm oil.
- Add salt & chili.
- Boil for a long time.

**R*275**

*nu.fil c.e*

Fish cooked with eggplant

- Fish roasted in broad leaves.
- Add palm juice or palm oil.
- Add salt & chili.
- Boil for a long time.

**R*276**

*nu.fil c.e*

Fish cooked with eggplant

- Fish roasted in broad leaves.
- Add palm juice or palm oil.
- Add salt & chili.
- Boil for a long time.
Mixed with cassava leaves, R137, amaranth, R143.

Mixed with yautia leaves, R154, R156.

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<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>R278</td>
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<tr>
<td>V9</td>
<td>.tūky.</td>
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<tr>
<td>V8</td>
<td>.sal.</td>
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<td>V17</td>
<td>.őy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>R278</td>
<td>me. sóko</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>larva</td>
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<td></td>
<td>remove hair</td>
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<td>with fingers</td>
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<td>pierce and remove</td>
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<td>head and intestines</td>
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<td>with fingers</td>
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<td>wash</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku. lāmb.a</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>larva boiled</td>
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<td>T8</td>
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<td>pierce and remove</td>
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<td>wash head and intestines</td>
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<td>with a twig</td>
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<td>wash</td>
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<td>put on</td>
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<td>add salt</td>
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<td>broad &amp; chili leaves</td>
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<td>add palm</td>
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<td>mix on</td>
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<td>roast in</td>
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<td>lu. kúlunyú</td>
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<td>roast</td>
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<td>boil</td>
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<td>dessicate on shallow basket</td>
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removing the pan from fire; it was called "king of all fish"; there is an episode that a man gave this dish to his father, and was rewarded with a slave.

F. Dishes of bugs and worms.

R*274-R288 are recipes for ki. limu or bugs and worms. Some worms have spines or hair to be removed before cooking.

R*274-R264 are recipes for m.pó larvae (F1).

R*274. Lo.pó
1. Larvae in palm trunks.
3. Pull head off the body with fingers; intestines will be removed with head; wash; you may add them to cassava leaves (R137), amaranth (R143), and yautia leaves (R154, R156); the most frequent usage of these larvae is to mix with cassava leaves.
4. Have the size of a thumb; soft and very fatty; never smoked because they shrink enormously.
5. Have only a little flesh.
6. Pose.

R275. Ś.pó
1. Larvae in palm trunks boiled with palm oil.
3. Put the preceding in preheated palm oil (R*82); add salt and chili; pour water and boil; you don't have to boil for a long time as meat or fish.
6. Pose.

R276. Ś.pó
1. Larvae in palm trunks boiled in palm juice.
3. Boil larvae (R*274) in palm juice; add salt and chili.

R277. Ś.pó l.é kw.ekel.a
1. Larvae in palm trunks roasted in broad leaves.
3. Put larvae (R*274) on broad leaves with salt and chili; put the packet on cinders.
4. Palm oil or palm juice is not added because of their extreme fattiness; the Songola state that this dish has a very pleasant taste.

R*278-R282 are recipes for me. sóko.

R*278. Me.sóko
1. Worms having soft hair (F2).
3. Rub off the hair with fingers; pull away head and intestines; wash; cut in two.
4. Not as fat as the one above; its better to add some palm oil or palm juice.
5. Bidudu ya muti.

R279. Me.sóko m.é ku.
1. Worms boiled in palm juice.
3. Put the preceding in palm juice; boil; add salt and chili.

R280. Me.sóko m.é kw. ekel.a
1. Worms roasted in broad leaves.
3. Put worms on broad leaves with salt, chili and palm juice; put the packet on cinder.

R*281. Me.sóko m.é uma
1. Dried worms.
3. If collected in abundance, you can dry them; mix with salt and chili with worms (R*278) on broad leaves; wrap them and boil the packet in a pan; dry the contents in the sun; they last for about a week.

R282. Me.sóko m.é ku.
1. Dried worms boiled in palm juice.
3. Wash the preceding; boil them in palm juice.

R*283, R*284.
1. Ke.kélélé, ká.kuú
1. Worms having tiny spines (F3, F4).
3. Take off head and intestines with a small stick; burn off the
spines on a hot iron plate turning continuously to prevent scorching (Fig. 137); cooked in exactly the same way as the previous four recipes (R279-R282).

**R285.** **Kampanda** k.é kw. ekel.a
1. Unidentified worms.
2. Rub in water; wash; mix with salt, chili, and palm oil (or juice) on broad leaves; put the packet on cinders.
3. Cooked in T. ANKEI exactly the same way as the previous four recipes (R279-R282).

**R286.** **Kanyumbu** k.é kw. ekel.a
1. Beetles.
2. Remove limbs; put on cinders; remove wing covers.
3. A relish for children; adults regard them as tasteless poor food.

**R287.** **Lukulungunyú**
1. Water beetles.
2. Remove limbs; put on cinders; removing covers.
3. Has a very strong smell; a relish for children.
4. Eaten as a relish.
5. May be also cooked like other insects, but information is not sufficient.

**G. Dishes of amphibians, crustaceans and molluscs.**

**R289-R294** are recipes for frog.

**R289.** **Kilimbá**
1. Cleaned frog.
2. Remove intestines and wash.
3. Boil; dry on a shallow basket.

**R290.** **Bilimbá b.ij uma**
1. Dried frogs.
2. You may dry them on a shelf if caught in abundance with fish; remove intestines and smoke on a shelf with other fish caught by bailing.
3. Chula ya kukuoka.

**R291.** **Bilimbá b.ij bu. bisi**
1. Frogs boiled in palm juice.
2. Put frogs in palm juice; boil; add salt and chili.
3. Chula ya mbichi.

**R292.** **Bilimbá b.ij j.kéta**
1. Frogs roasted in broad leaves.
2. Roast in broad leaves instead of boiling in a pan if you have got only one frog or two.
3. Chula ya fulushi.

**R293.** **Bilimbá b.ij bu. bisi**
1. Frogs boiled with palm oil.
2. Put prepared frog meat in preheated palm oil flavored with squashed tomato; add water and boil; add salt and chili.
Chart 3G. Recipes for materials having mu.suna (4): others.

G1

ki.limbá
frog

V8/T1,7 V9/T1,7 V17
.sal. .túky. .óy.
pierce remove wash intestines

R+289

ki.limbá
cleaned frog

R*289 V37/T31
.bj.limbá
b.j uma
smoked frog

V37/T31
.sánjk.
expose to smoke

R*290

R*80 V44/T18
ki.11.blt
V8/T1,7 V9/T1,7 VI7
ki.11.blt
frog cleaned frog

R*291

R*289 V18/T18 V44/T18 V44/T18
R*113 R*115 R*80 R*83
V41/T30
V31/T30
.ekel. .bik.
add palm juice boil add salt boil & chili

R*292

R*113 R*115 R*80 R*83
R*291
V18/T18 V44/T18 V44/T18
R*113
V41/T30
V31/T30
.j. .lukus.
put on add salt add palm juice roast in broad leaves & chili or palm oil leaves

R*293

R*83 R*122
R*290
V18/T18 V17/T18 V44/T18 V44/T18
R*113 R*115
R*80 R*83
R*292
V18/T18
V44/T18
V44/T18
.ekel.
.tutik. .óy.
add palm juice boil add salt boil & chili in water

R*294

R*113 R*115 R*80 R*83
R*293
V18/T18 V44/T18 V44/T18
R*113
V41/T30
V31/T30
.ku.kala
.j. .lukus.
soak wash add palm juice boil add salt boil in water & chili

R*295

R*83 R*122
R*291
V18/T18 V17/T18 V44/T18 V44/T18
R*113 R*115
R*80 R*83
R*293
V18/T18
V44/T18
V44/T18
.j. .lukus.
add palm juice boil add salt boil & chili

G2

j.bóló
tadpole

V17 V31/T30
.óy. .bik.
wash put on add salt add palm juice roast in broad leaves & chili or palm oil leaves

R*296

R*113 R*115 R*80 R*83
R*295
V18/T18 V44/T18 V44/T18
R*113
V41/T30
V31/T30
.j. .lukus.
remove wash entrails roast

R*297

R*80 R*113 R*115 R*80 R*83
R*296
V18/T18 V44/T18 V44/T18
R*113
V41/T30
V31/T30
.j. .lukus.
add palm juice boil add salt boil & chili

G3

j.kála
crab

V9 .túky. V17
Tu. Bj .óy.
remove wash entrails

R*298

R*113 R*115 R*80 R*83
R*296
V18/T18 V44/T18 V44/T18
R*113
V41/T30
V31/T30
.j. .lukus.
roasted crab

R*299

R*80 R*113 R*115 R*80 R*83
R*297
V18/T18 V44/T18 V44/T18
R*113
V41/T30
V31/T30
.j. .lukus.
roasted crab

R*290

bj.limbá b.j
bu.bisi
raw frog boiled in palm juice

R*291

bj.limbá b.j
bu.bisi
raw frog boiled in palm juice

R*292

bj.limbá b.j
bu.bisi
roasted frog

R*293

bj.limbá b.j
bu.bisi
dried frog boiled in palm oil
### Songola Cookbook

#### Raw Molluscs Boiled in Palm Juice

- **Cleaned Molluscs**
  - Add palm juice, boil, add salt, & chili
  - Put on broad leaves, add salt, palm juice, roast in leaves

- **Smoked Molluscs**
  - Soak, wash, add palm juice, boil, add salt, boil, palm juice
  - Roast in leaves, add salt, boil, palm juice

#### Bivalve Crush Wash Add Palm Boil Roast

- **Crush with Stone**
  - Add palm juice, boil, add salt, boil, palm juice
  - Roast in leaves, add salt, palm juice

- **Dried Bivalve Desiccated on Shelf**
  - Wash, add palm juice, boil, add salt, boil, palm juice

- **Boiled Egg**
  - Break, add salt, chili, stir up, fry, turn slightly
  - Cassava flour, gently upside-down

---

### Reference Codes

- `R*307-8`
- `R*309-10`
- `G7`
- `G8, G9`
- `R*311-12`
- `R*313-14`
- `R*315-16`
- `G7`
- `G8, G9`
- `R*320`
- `R*321`
- `R*322`
6. Chula ya mbichi.

**R*294.** Bi.límá b.í ku. lámb.a
1. Dried frogs boiled in palm juice.
3. Soak in cold water for 30-60 minutes; boil in palm juice; add salt and chili; you may replace palm juice with a mixture of palm oil and water.

**R*295.** Ma.bólo m.é j.kéta
1. Tadpoles roasted in leaves.
3. Wash; mix with salt, chili, and palm juice (or palm oil) on broad leaves; put the packet on cinders; usually put in the same packet with other small fish caught by bailing.
6. Mutoto wa chula.

**R296-R300** are recipes for crab.

**R*296.** I.kála l.é kw. ekel.a
1. Roasted crab.
3. Wash and put in cinders.
4. Eaten with boiled rice or boiled cassava tubers; limbs are also comestible.

**R*297.** Ma.kála m.é ku. lámb.a
1. Crab boiled in palm juice.
3. Remove tu.bí (intestines, namely excrement); wash; boil in palm juice; add salt and chili.
5. Crab are not cooked in broad leaves; but they may have their limbs removed and mixed together in a package with fish.

**R*298.** Ma.kála má.umá
1. Smoked crab.
3. Wash and spread on a smoking shelf for preservation.

**R*299.** Ma.kála má.umá
1. Smoked crab soaked in water.
3. Soak the preceding in water for a short time; remove soot well; mixed in cassava leaves (R134), they greatly improve the taste.

**R300.** Ma.kála m.é ku. lámb.a
1. Smoked crab boiled in palm juice; cooked R*298.
3. Boil the preceding in palm juice; add salt and chili.
5. A rare dish.

R*301-R306 are recipes for prawn.

**R*301.** Me.palj
1. Cleaned prawn.
3. Take off heads of prawns if they are longer than 10 cm; wash.

**R*302.** Me.palj má.umá
1. Smoked prawns.
3. Spread on a shelf if caught in abundance.
5. Dries in a day and can be saved for more than a month.

**R303.** Me.palj m.é bu.bísi
1. Prawns boiled in palm juice; cooked R*301.
3. Boil in palm juice; add salt and chili.

**R304.** Me.palj m.é j.kéta
1. Prawns roasted in broad leaves; cooked R*301.
3. Put on broad leaves; mix with salt, chili, and palm oil or palm juice; put the packet on cinders.
4. Delicious.

**R305.** Me.palj m.é bu.bísi
1. Prawns boiled with palm oil; cooked R*301.
3. Put in preheated palm oil; sauté; pour water; add salt and chili.

**R306.** Me.palj m.é ku. lámb.a
1. Smoked prawns boiled in palm juice; cooked R*302.
3. Soak the above in water; washed and remove soot; boil in palm juice; add salt and chili.
4. Eaten with boiled rice, plantains, and cassava tubers.

**R307-R316** are recipes for moluscs.
\textbf{R*307, R*308.} \textit{N.kokú, ŋ.kóla}  
1. Land and aquatic molluscs prepared for cooking (G5 and G6).  
3. Boil or put on cinders; crush shells with a pestle; remove intestines; cut in small pieces; wash.

\textbf{R*309, R*310.} \textit{N.kokú cá.uma, ŋ.kóla cá.uma}  
1. Molluscs dried and smoked.  
3. Spread R*307, R*308 on a smoking shelf and dried.

\textbf{R311, R312.} \textit{N.kokú c.é bu.bísi/ŋ.kóla c.é bu.bísi}  
1. Molluscs boiled in palm juice; cooked R*307, R*308.  
3. Put R*307, R*308 in palm juice; add salt and chili; let the broth remain; roast in broad leaves to preserve overnight.

\textbf{R313, R314.} \textit{N.kokú c.é kw.ekel.a/ŋ.kóla c.é kw.ekel.a}  
1. Molluscs roasted in broad leaves; cooked R*307, R*308.  
3. Put on broad leaves; mix with salt, chili, and palm oil or palm juice; put the packet on cinders.

\textbf{R315, R316.} \textit{N.kokú c.é ku.lámb.a / ŋ.kóla c.é ku.lámb.a}  
1. Smoked molluscs boiled in palm juice; cooked R*309, R*310.  
3. Soaked and washed; put in palm juice and boil; add salt and chili.

\textbf{R317-R320 are recipes for aquatic bivalves.}  
\textbf{R317.} \textit{Ma.késé m.é bu.bísi}  
1. Aquatic bivalves boiled in palm juice.  
3. Crush shells on the riverside; remove intestines; wash the flesh; cut into pieces; put in palm juice; add salt and chili; boil.

\textbf{R318.} \textit{Ma.késé m.é kw.ekel.a}  
1. Aquatic bivalves roasted in broad leaves.  
3. Put washed bivalves on broad leaves; mix with salt, chili, and palm oil or palm juice; put the packet on cinders.

\textbf{R319.} \textit{Ma.késé m.é uma / ŋ.késé c.é uma}  
1. Smoked bivalves.  
3. Skewer washed flesh if caught in abundance; smoke on a shelf.  
5. Can be preserved for more than a month.

\textbf{R320.} \textit{Ma.késé m.é ku.lámb.a}  
1. Smoked bivalves boiled in palm juice.  
3. Soak the preceding in water; remove soot; boil in palm juice; add salt and chili.

R321 and R322 are recipes for eggs of fowl.  
\textbf{R321.} \textit{J.yé l.é ku.lámb.a}  
1. Boiled eggs of hens and ducks (G8, G9).  
3. Coddle eggs in a pan until they are hard-boiled; crack shells with a knife; cut in halves or quarters; serve with a mixture of salt and chili.  
4. May be eaten with boiled plantain and sweet cassava.

\textbf{R322.} \textit{J.yé l.é ku.káng.a}  
1. Omelette.  
3. Break eggs in a pan; add salt, chili, and half a teaspoonful of cassava flour per egg; stir; fry gently with palm oil in a pan; turn upside-down with a spoon.  
5. Addition of cassava flour makes the omelette swell well.

H. Food eaten raw. (No recipes).

I. Beverages

\textbf{R323.} \textit{Jalú}  
1. Hot beverage made of chili
and other plants.  
3. Take two pieces of eggplant and five pods of bird pepper (or two pods of larger varieties); wrap them in broad leaves; boil the small packet with plantains or sweet cassava tubers for about half an hour (Fig. 138); open the packet and pound softened eggplant and chilies in a clean, small-sized mortar; pour fresh drinking water into the mortar; move the contents to a pan; add leaves or seeds of garlic trees if available; boil slightly.  
4. Drink with a spoon-like container made of a broad leaf; a combination with boiled cassava tubers or plantains makes a quick lunch to allay hunger after a field work; the addition of wild leaves (18) gives a sour taste to this beverage; can be made solely from chili and water when you are short or other materials.  
5. Very frequent in Kuko villages; rare in Enya villages where they usually have some remaining dishes of fish.  

R324. Kaawa  
3. Roast on an iron plate; pound in a mortar; simmer in a pan; add sugar or pounded pepper grains if available.  

R325. Jalý  
1. Infusion of wild pepper.  
3. Pound in a mortar; simmer in a pan; drink with some sugar.  
6. Chai.  

R326. Jalý  
1. Lemongrass tea.  
3. Pound fresh leaves; add to black tea made from dry leaves bought in the town of Kindu.  
6. Chai.  

R327. Jalý  
1. Infusion of ginger.  
3. Pound in a mortar; simmer in a pan; drink with some sugar.  
6. Chai.  

R328. Jalý  
1. Infusion of begonia leaves.  
3. Pound in a mortar; simmer in a pan; drink with some sugar or salt.  
4. Tastes sour.  
6. Chai.  

R329. Jalý  
1. Infusion of wild leaves.  
3. Simmer in a pan to get brownish, sour beverage; drink with some sugar or salt.  
6. Chai.  

R330. Jalý  
1. Infusion of the bark of a wild tree.  
3. Pound the bark; simmer in a pan; drink with some sugar.  
4. Taste like an infusion of wild pepper.  
6. Chai.

Fig. 138 Boiling materials for jalý, chili soup, with plantains and sweet cassava tubers. Ginsi ya kuchamusha lisongo.

J. Mu.canáta or mixture of principal starchy food (A) and other food (C or E).
Chart 31. Recipes for ke.sola, beverages.

12–14

ka.bólé, etc.
ka.sulu
varieties of chili and eggplant

boil in
mash
pour
add wild
leaves
broad
water
leaves if
available
garlic
slightly

19
kaáwa
Congo coffee

parch
pound
boil
add pepper
or sugar

110
nkécy
pepper

pound
boil slightly
add sugar

111
ka.ngaulímbu
lemon grass

pound
boil slightly
add sugar

112
tangausi
ginger

pound
boil slightly
add sugar

113
j.ngunguljíya
begonia leaves

pound
boil slightly
add salt or sugar

114
ka.ukýá
leaves of a forest tree

pound
boil slightly
add salt or sugar

115
lu.ukínu
leaves of a shrub

pound
boil slightly
add sugar
I observed only a limited combination of materials mixed together: i) plantains (A1) and sweet cassava tubers (A2) are cooked with cassava leaves and raw fish, ii) boiled rice (A7) is mixed with cassava leaves; and iii) sweet potatoes (A10) are mixed with raw and half-smoked fish.

R331. Mu.canáta wé mo.má (etc.) né tungu wé mu.sjkj
1. Mu.canáta of plantains (or sweet cassava tubers) and cassava leaves.
3. Boil cassava leaves in palm juice, salt, and chili (R*131); add plantain fingers or sweet cassava tubers cut in 3-4 pieces; boil until plantains are cooked.
5. Ripe plantains are not used.
6. Muchanato ya ndizi na sombe.

R332. Mu.canáta wé mo.má (etc.) né ń.fií
1. Mu.canáta of plantains (or sweet cassava tubers) and raw fish.
3. Peel plantains; put in a pan; add fillets of raw fish, salt, and palm oil (Fig. 139); pour water to the top of the contents; boil for 30-40 minutes; leave abundant broth; may be prepared with sweet cassava.
5. A hurried, but delicious lunch.
6. Muchanato ya ndizi na samaki.

R333. Mu.canáta wé to. ndolo né ń.fií
1. Mu.canáta of sweet potatoes and fish.
3. Peel sweet potatoes; cut into small cubes; sauté well in a pan until the surface becomes brownish; add fillets of raw fish and continue to sauté; add squashed tomatoes; pour water; boil until the contents soften; add salt and chili; boil again; half-smoked fish (R*241) may also be used.
4. Very tasty; an old man told me that sweet potatoes are best cooked in mu.canáta with fish.
6. Muchanato ya biazi ya kishenzi.

R334. Mu.canáta wé mu.funga né tungu
1. Mu.canáta of rice and cassava leaves.
3. Boil cassava leaves in palm juice, salt, and chili (R*131); leave more water than is usual; add washed rice; boil over a strong fire until rice grains soften; turn with a spatula when there is little water left; cover well to enclose the steam for about half an hour.
5. One woman insisted that rice mixed with palm oil (R49) is also a kind of mu.canáta.
6. Muchanato ya wali na sombe.

Fig. 139 Preparation of mu.canáta, a mixture of fish and sweet cassava.
Ginsi ya kutayalisha mu.chanato (kutayarisha mchanyato).
Chart 3J. Recipes for *mu.canáta*, a mixture of principal starchy food and other food.

- **A1**
  - Plantains
  - Peel with a spatula
  - Cut
  - Boil

- **A2**
  - Sweet Cassava
  - Peel with a knife
  - Put in raw
  - Add salt
  - Make add
  - Boil

- **R331**
  - Plantains
  - Mix with
  - Boil

- **R332**
  - Sweet Cassava
  - Mix with
  - Boil

- **R333**
  - Plantains
  - Mix with
  - Boil

- **R334**
  - Sweet Cassava
  - Mix with
  - Boil

- **A11**
  - Sweet Potato
  - Peel
  - Cut
  - Put in
  - Preheated oil
  - Sauté
  - Add salt
  - Make add
  - Boil
  - Add salt
  - Boil
  - Larger & Cassava

- **R47**
  - Polished Rice
  - Wash
  - Boil
  - Lose
  - Stir
  - Reduce
  - Fire

- **R335**
  - Sweet Potato & Fish
  - Mix with
  - Boil
  - Larger & Cassava
VI Conclusion

This paper, being the first part of my study on the food and diet of the Songola, revealed the overwhelming affluence of the variety of both food materials and their cooking methods.

I discovered the folk categories for food materials the boundaries of which are determined by Songola words and concepts. Major criteria for these categories were whether or not a food is called bu.saku ("pity") when there is no dish to accompany it, and whether or not it has mu.suna ("muscles", or flesh of animals). The Songola also recognize the existence of food materials which make other food tastier (condiments).

The Songola utilize more than three hundred different materials for their food. This number does not include numerous (two hundred or more after Y. ANKEI, 1981) varieties for cultivated plants. This affluence in the variety of food is striking when we are acquainted with their extremely high degree of self-sufficiency in food. Only two of these materials, salt and sugar, are provided actually from outside of their territory. Even for these two materials they retain the knowledge of preparation from materials available in their land: vegetable salt (R*112) and sugar-cane syrup (R*238). We should not, however, overestimate the self-sufficiency of each village or household. Ngoli village of the Kuko subgroup, for example, enrich their supply of fish at nearby barter market, which in turn is indispensable for fishing families of Tongomacho village of Enya subgroup (Y. ANKEI, 1984).

Chart 3 contains 335 different recipes of which 75 are for intermediate products used to prepare dishes. For simplicity I grouped many of the recipes having identical cooking methods but having different Songola names. Thus many of the recipes made from meat and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of the materials</th>
<th>Mat. Inter. Dish</th>
<th>Dish/Mat.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Principal starchy food</td>
<td>20 13 62</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. &quot;Condiments&quot;</td>
<td>29 36 22</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Vegetables</td>
<td>35 24 157</td>
<td>4.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Mammals, reptiles &amp; birds</td>
<td>109 267 842</td>
<td>7.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Fish</td>
<td>124 944 942</td>
<td>7.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Bugs and worms</td>
<td>9 5 10</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Other animals</td>
<td>10 11 23</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Food eaten raw</td>
<td>25 0 25</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Non alcoholic beverages</td>
<td>16 0 8</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Mixture of A &amp; C or A &amp; E</td>
<td>0 8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>(R=260,R*=75)</td>
<td>377 1300 2099 5.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mat. : Number of the materials in a certain category.
Inter. : Number of intermediate products.
Dish : Number of dishes and non alcoholic beverages.
Dish/Mat.: Number of dishes per material.
fish are labeled only with their inclusive names. On the contrary, a small number of materials, cassava tubers and leaves, for instance, had by far the most complicated and the largest number of recipes.

Table 6 shows the enumeration of the materials, intermediate products, and dishes reported in this paper. By applying 335 recipes to a total of 377 materials, the Songola of the villages Ngoli (a representative of cultivator village) and Tongomacho (fishing village) can prepare 1300 intermediate products and make 2099 different dishes (including 8 non alcoholic beverages). Numbers for intermediate products and dishes are obtained by summing up the number of different possible variation of each recipe determined by the difference of principal materials used. All of these varieties are shown in Chart 3. The last column of the table shows the number of dishes per material. According to this table we can know that on an average a material gives birth to 5-6 different dishes. Fish (E) and mammals, reptiles and birds (D) have larger number of dishes per material, whereas two of the categories, B and I, have less than a dish per material. It is because plant salt and salty extract are made from plural materials of B-group, and chili soup is made of several ingredients which belong to I-group.

The technology of food preparation is described using 49 basic Songola verbs. Every verb was defined, given an illustration, and etymologically analyzed. Six words were used to delimit steps in the cooking process expressed by a combination of these verbs. Such an analytical method of constructing operational definitions will make it possible, if not easy, to figure out the technology of different people as a whole. The art of cooking among the Songola described in this paper will help readers to realize the original affluence of the livelihood of peoples living in African tropical rain forests.

The study of food and diet of the Songola is, so to speak, an encounter with a certain language unknown to us, and I have only presented a vocabulary and some sample sentences in this part of my work. It must be completed by the discovery of the rules ("grammar") underlying these examples. The problem of difference and comparison among the Songola subgroups and among the Songola and neighboring peoples will be treated in the following paper.

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Author's Name and Address:  A N K E I   T a k a k o , Yamaguchi University, 1677-1, Yoshida, Yamaguchi, 753, Japan.