

Abstract.....	1
I Introduction	
A. Purpose of research and the study method.....	2
B. The Songola.....	3
1. Location.....	3
2. Language.....	3
3. Life styles and identity of the Songola.....	5
II Materials and their folk classification	
A. Food and beverages among the Songola.....	6
B. Environments and seasons for the acquisition of materials.....	7
1. Environments as seen by the Songola.....	7
2. Seasonal changes.....	12
C. Folk categories of the materials for food and beverages.....	12
III Inventory of the materials for food and beverages	
A. Materials to be eaten with other food: principal starchy food..	15
B. Materials that make food tastier: condiments and seasoning food.....	20
C. Materials having no <i>mu.suna</i> (muscles): vegetables.....	25
D. Materials having <i>mu.suna</i> (1): mammals, reptiles, and birds.....	28
E. Materials having <i>mu.suna</i> (2): fish.....	35
F. Materials having <i>mu.suna</i> (3): bugs and worms.....	42
G. Materials having <i>mu.suna</i> (4): other animals.....	43
H. Materials for food eaten raw: fruit and flower.....	44
I. Materials for beverages.....	48
IV Cooking techniques and utensils	
A. Inventory of verbs for preparing food and beverages.....	51
1. Butchering.....	51
2. Removal of inedible parts.....	56
3. Processing of edible parts without using heat.....	67
4. Processing of edible parts by heat.....	72
B. Techniques to prevent decomposition of cooked food.....	81
C. Qualifying words for the condition of materials in preparation.....	81
D. Some notes on the utensils used.....	82
V Inventory of the recipes	
A. Recipes for principal starchy food.....	86
B. Recipes for condiments and seasoning food.....	110
C. Recipes for vegetables.....	122
D. Recipes for mammals, reptiles, and birds.....	138
E. Recipes for fish.....	150
F. Recipes for bugs and worms.....	161
G. Recipes for other animals.....	162
H. Recipes for fruit and flower.....	167
I. Recipes for beverages.....	168
J. Recipes for <i>mu.canáta</i> : a mixture of principal starchy food and other food.....	168
VI Conclusion.....	172
Acknowledgments.....	173
References.....	174

List of the Tables

Table 1.	Livelihood of the Songola.....	5
Table 2.	Folk categories of the habitats.....	11
Table 3.	Materials for cooking	
	A. Principal starchy food.....	16
	B. Condiments and seasoning food.....	21
	C. Vegetables.....	26
	D. Mammals, reptiles, and birds.....	29
	E. Fish.....	36
	F. Bugs and worms.....	43
	G. Other animals.....	44
	H. Materials for food eaten raw: fruit and flower.....	45
	I. Beverages.....	49
Table 4.	Inventory of principal verbs for preparing food.....	52
Table 5.	List of tool names appearing in Table 4.....	55
Table 6.	Enumeration of the materials and dishes.....	172

List of the Charts

Chart 1.	Grouping of the materials for food and beverages.....	13
Chart 2.	Vocabulary for processing of edible parts by heat.....	73
Chart 3.	Recipes for the materials	
	A. Principal starchy food.....	87
	B. Condiments and seasoning food.....	111
	C. Vegetables.....	123
	D. Mammals, reptiles, and birds.....	139
	E. Fish.....	156
	F. Bugs and worms.....	159
	G. Other animals.....	163
	I. Beverages.....	169
	J. A mixture of principal starchy food and other food.....	171

List of the Figures

Fig. 1	The location of the study area.....	4
Fig. 2	A household of the Songola.....	7
Fig. 3	A Songola house.....	7
Fig. 4	A large smoking shelf.....	8
Fig. 5	A spring flowing out of a bamboo grove.....	9
Fig. 6	An Enya woman draws water from the Lualaba.....	9
Fig. 7	A woman carrying firewood in a basket.....	10
Fig. 8	Aerial tubers of bitter yam.....	17
Fig. 9	Edible seeds and leaves of a wild tree.....	17
Fig. 10	Congo acacia.....	18

Fig. 11	Aerial tubers of sweet yam.....	18
Fig. 12	Two varieties of pumpkin.....	19
Fig. 13	A shrub bearing edible fruits.....	19
Fig. 14	Bambara groundnuts.....	20
Fig. 15	A male flower and fruit of oil palm.....	20
Fig. 16	Three varieties of oil palm,.....	20
Fig. 17	A cultivated cucurbit.....	23
Fig. 18	Fruit and seeds of a wild tree, <i>boé</i>	23
Fig. 19	A floating plant used to make vegetable salt.....	24
Fig. 20	A "sweet" variety of eggplant.....	28
Fig. 21	Edible fruit covered with pink skin.....	28
Fig. 22	A kind of rattan of which the pith is edible.....	28
Fig. 23	A kind of Cape gooseberry.....	46
Fig. 24	Wild fruit of ginger family.....	46
Fig. 25	A wild fruit, <i>mu.ambú</i>	47
Fig. 26	A jar for drinking water.....	48
Fig. 27	A small jug for drinking water.....	50
Fig. 28	A wild shrub bearing leaves for infusion.....	50
Fig. 29	Cutting the neck (Verb 1) of a blue duiker.....	51
Fig. 30	Men's knife and its sheath.....	56
Fig. 31	Crushing (V2) oil palm kernels.....	56
Fig. 32	A woman breaks a bunch of oil palm fruits (V4).....	57
Fig. 33	Two types of axes.....	57
Fig. 34	Larvae and worms.....	58
Fig. 35	Types of bush knives.....	58
Fig. 36	Cutting (V5) the body of a puff-adar.....	59
Fig. 37	Cutting (V5) bitter cassava tubers.....	59
Fig. 38	Two types of digging spatula for women.....	60
Fig. 39	Paring (V6) a pineapple fruit.....	60
Fig. 40	Removing (V9) scales of a tree pangolin.....	61
Fig. 41	Squashing (V8) tomatoes.....	62
Fig. 42	A large spoon.....	62
Fig. 43	Dividing (V10) cassava leaves and stems.....	62
Fig. 44	Peeling (V11) cassava tubers.....	63
Fig. 45	Burning the outside (V12) of a monkey.....	63
Fig. 46	Threshing (V13) rice.....	63
Fig. 47	A small square mortar.....	64
Fig. 48	Pounding (V14) cassava leaves.....	64
Fig. 49	Pounding (V14) rice.....	64
Fig. 50	Separating (V15) rice grains and chaff.....	65
Fig. 51	Removing inedible things (V16) from rice.....	65
Fig. 52	Cleansing aluminum pans (V17).....	65
Fig. 53	Soaking (V18) peeled bitter cassava tubers.....	66
Fig. 54	Draining (V19) soaked bitter cassava tubers.....	66
Fig. 55	A basket for food.....	66

Fig. 56	Dripping water (V20) on sliced bitter cassava.....	67
Fig. 57	Squeezing (V21) palm oil in a traditional squeezer.....	68
Fig. 58	Passing (V22) ash extract through a strainer.....	68
Fig. 59	A strainer for oil palm juice.....	69
Fig. 60	Shredding (V23) sweet potato leaves.....	69
Fig. 61	Mashing (V26) eggplant with boiled cassava leaves.....	69
Fig. 62	Broad spatulas for food.....	70
Fig. 63	Sieving (V27) flour of bitter cassava.....	70
Fig. 64	Kneading (V29) hot paste of cassava flour.....	70
Fig. 65	A long spatula for kneading cassava paste.....	70
Fig. 66	Pouring (V33) water in a pan.....	71
Fig. 67	Leaving as it is (V35) soaked meat.....	71
Fig. 68	Smoking (V37) fish on a shelf.....	72
Fig. 69	Drying (V38) soaked bitter cassava tubers.....	74
Fig. 70	Carbonizing (V39) oil palm bracts.....	75
Fig. 71	Roasting (V40) oil palm fruit.....	75
Fig. 72	Roasting food in leaves (V41).....	76
Fig. 73	Method of wrapping food in broad leaves.....	76
Fig. 74	Wrapping cassava leaves in broad leaves.....	76
Fig. 75	A wrap of food.....	77
Fig. 76	Parching (V42) cassava leaves.....	77
Fig. 77	Baking (V43) cassava cake.....	78
Fig. 78	Boiling (V44) food.....	78
Fig. 79	Steaming (V44) wraps of pounded bitter cassava.....	79
Fig. 80	Boiling in leaves (V45).....	79
Fig. 81	Two forms of wraps of cassava food.....	80
Fig. 82	Fanning (V47) a fire.....	80
Fig. 83	A fan made of wild leaves.....	80
Fig. 84	Small knives for women.....	82
Fig. 85	Two types of pestles.....	83
Fig. 86	A broad spatula for serving food.....	83
Fig. 87	A shallow basket containing cassava flour.....	84
Fig. 88	A spatula for peeling plantains.....	94
Fig. 89	How to handle a plantain peeler.....	94
Fig. 90	Boiled plantains with a boiled egg.....	94
Fig. 91	Cutting (V5) a loaf of plantains with a thread.....	95
Fig. 92	Pounded plantains and boiled fish.....	96
Fig. 93	Paste of boiled ripe plantains.....	96
Fig. 94	A meal of boiled sweet cassava and meat.....	97
Fig. 95	Pounding boiled sweet cassava tubers.....	97
Fig. 96	Slicing (V5) boiled bitter cassava.....	98
Fig. 97	Technology for slicing bitter cassava.....	99
Fig. 98	Drying (V37) cassava food on the roof.....	100
Fig. 99	Pounds cassava food in a large mortar.....	100
Fig. 100	A slender wrap of pounded bitter cassava.....	101

Fig. 101	The technique for making a wrap of cassava.....	102
Fig. 102	A scheme for the method of wrapping cassava.....	102
Fig. 103	Paring (V6) a dry bitter cassava tubers.....	103
Fig. 104	Pounding (V14) dried bitter cassava tubers.....	104
Fig. 105	Serving kneaded paste of cassava flour.....	104
Fig. 106	Kneaded cassava flour with small fish.....	105
Fig. 107	Fried buns.....	105
Fig. 108	Beating (V13) rice bundles.....	106
Fig. 109	Putting upside-down (V36) a pan of cooked rice.....	107
Fig. 110	Women and girls eat rice and boiled cassava leaves.....	107
Fig. 111	Peeling (V11) maize ears.....	108
Fig. 112	Boiling maize cobs and unripe ground nuts.....	109
Fig. 113	Boiled yam served with salt and chili.....	110
Fig. 114	Gourds to contain palm oil and palm wine.....	115
Fig. 115	An apparatus to manufacture palm oil.....	116
Fig. 116	Crushing (V4) cucurbit seeds.....	118
Fig. 117	A small mortar for chilies.....	120
Fig. 118	An earthenware pot with a cover.....	130
Fig. 119	Boiled sweet cassava and cassava leaves.....	131
Fig. 120	Removing hard parts of mushrooms.....	135
Fig. 121	Pounding mushrooms.....	136
Fig. 122	Dismembering (V5) a medium-sized duiker.....	138
Fig. 123	Washing (V17) intestines of an animal.....	143
Fig. 124	Removing (V9) spines of a brush-tailed porcupine.....	144
Fig. 125	Chopping elephant legs.....	145
Fig. 126	A hen pecking maggots on smoked elephant meat.....	145
Fig. 127	Dismembering (V5) a crocodile.....	146
Fig. 128	Removing (V9) feather of a hen.....	147
Fig. 129	Scaling (V9) fish.....	151
Fig. 130	A scheme for cutting a large fish.....	152
Fig. 131	Three poisonous spines of bagrid catfish.....	152
Fig. 132	Smoked catfish skewered with a string.....	153
Fig. 133	A fish of the family Distichodontidae.....	154
Fig. 134	An apparatus for smoking fish.....	154
Fig. 135	A boy skewers small fish.....	155
Fig. 136	A coverless earthen pan.....	155
Fig. 137	Burning off spines of worms.....	162
Fig. 138	Boiling materials for chili soup with other food.....	168
Fig. 139	Preparation of a mixture of fish and sweet cassava.....	170

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

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*"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

A B S T R A C T

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 Zaïre 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 Zaïre. They live not very far from Kindu, the capital town of the *Région du Maniéma* (formerly *Sous-Région du Maniéma* in *Région du Kivu*). Kindu is located at 2700 kilometers upstream on the Zaïre-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 Zaïre 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).

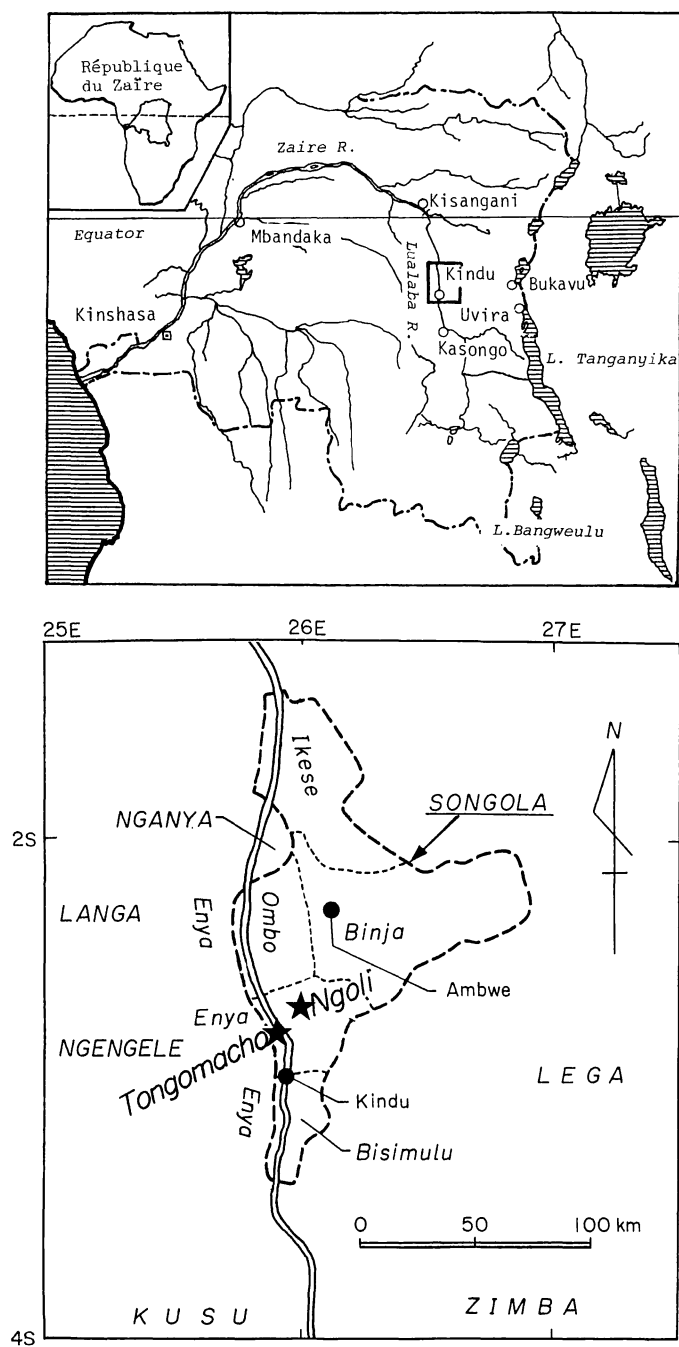


Fig. 1 The location of the study area.
Inchi [Nchi] ya Wasongola.

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.tém.j b.é ma.sju*, namely people who cultivate fields, and fishermen are called *ba.lóbji b.é n.fii*, namely people who catch fish. Fisherman are also called *ba.enyá*. Hunters may be called *ba.lúmba b.é 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.

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

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, *.líl.*, applied to the feeding action of animals. Biting by a dog is *.lás./dás.* Examples: *Ma.báta má. líl.í ñ.fif.* "Ducks are feeding on fish." *Ñ.gwá é.ñ.dás.i.* "A dog has bitten him."

There are two Songola words to refer to food or what is eaten. One is *i.cá*, and the other is *bí.kucá*. Both words are derivatives of a verb stem *.c.* (eat), and have no difference in singular or plural forms. The latter word *bí.kucá* is analysed as *bí+ku+c+á*, 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.í ku.c.á*, or "things to eat."

The Songola use these two words in slightly different senses according to context. An informant says that *i.cá* is a small amount of food consumed only by the members of a single family, and that *bí.kucá* is a large amount of food enough for all the villagers. In this context, foodstuffs carried to a barter market are *bí.kucá*, and are not *i.cá*. Another informant says that *bí.kucá* is a cooked food whereas *i.cá* is uncooked material for cooking. However, there are exceptions to this. Papaya, always eaten raw, is *bí.kucá*, whereas three sorts of cooked food made of bitter cassava are *i.cá*, and are usually eaten as cold snacks. I would conclude that *bí.kucá* is a food (or its material) to share among families and *i.cá* 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 *kj.íamá (bj.)* 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 *bj.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 *bj.soko*. An informant holds that *bj.soko* is a luxurious dish flavored with salt, and that cassava leaves make a mundane dish often cooked without salt. Another term *ñ.bóka* (probably deriving from a Swahili word *mboga*) is a synonym for *bj.soko* in this sense. An Enya informant told me that fish and meat give out *mu.sábí* or broth, whereas cassava leaves don't. In short, we could reconstruct that Kuko people have replaced the original Bantu term *ñ.fíí* (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.cá*, of the Kuko subgroup of the Songola is composed of two rows of houses on both sides of a road, *ñ.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 home-stead, *lu.kumbu*, is a combination of several huts, *ñ.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

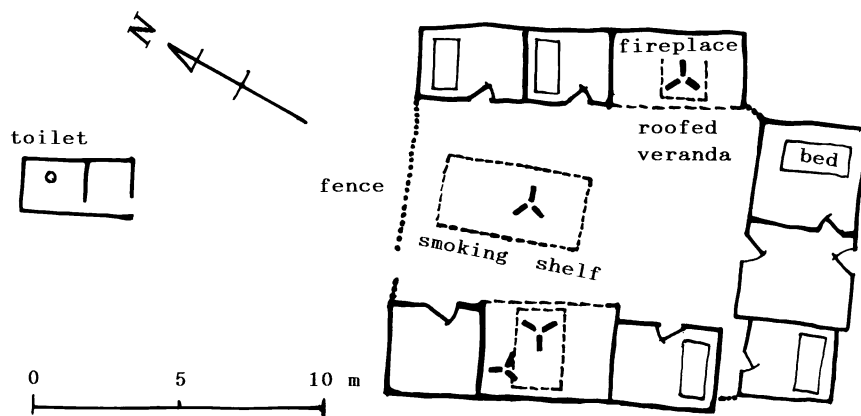


Fig. 2 A household, *lu.kumbu*, of the Songola.
Lupango ya Wasongola.

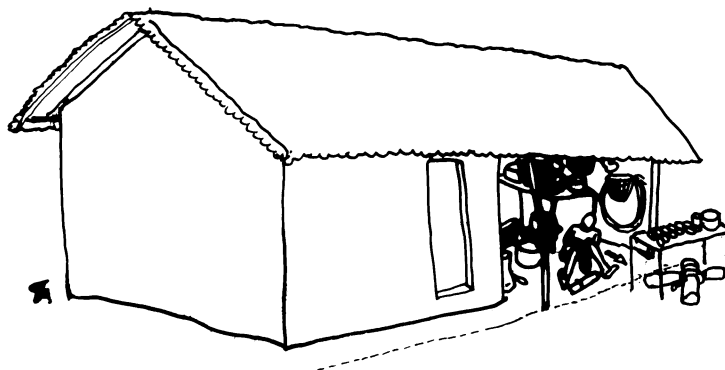


Fig. 3 A Songola house, *ñ.dábu*, composed of
a sleeping room and a veranda.
Nyumba ya Wasongola.

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 *ñ.dábu*, 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-ilinga*, and serves as a

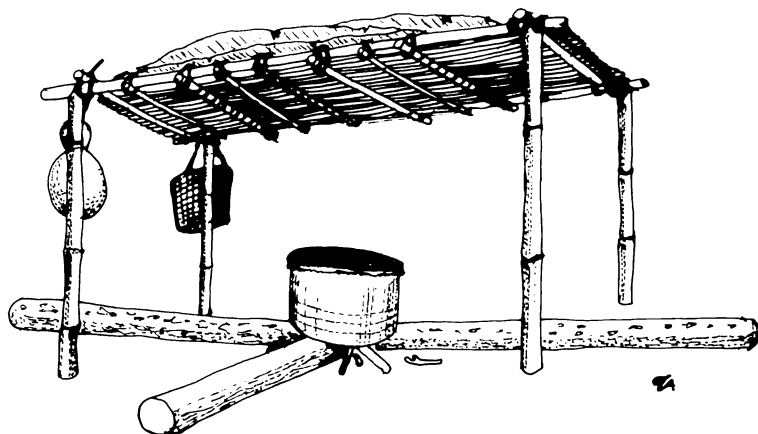


Fig. 4 A large smoking shelf *ki.liya*, a smoking grill for fish, *mo.pela* and *me.konda*, a triplet of large logs for firewood. Man's basket, *ke.sakamukongo* and a gourd *ke.pombo* are hung at the corner of the shelf. Height 110 cm.

Kahala ya mihogo na kahala ya samaki.

dooryard garden. 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.címá*, 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.



Fig. 5 A spring (*ku ma.ánji*)
flowing out of a bamboo grove.
Kisima ya matete.



Fig. 6 An Enya woman draws
water from the Lualaba.
*Muwanamuke ya Tongomacho
anateka mayi ku-bahali [bahari].*

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, chilies, 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. Fallows provide fallen trees for firewood (both for *lu.kúnj* 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.súbí*, 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.kúngá*, 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



Fig. 7 A woman carrying firewood in a basket, T23, *ki.mpaka*.
Muwanamuke anabebe kuni na sombe ndani ya kitunga.

Table 2. Folk categories of the habitats.

Ref.	Songola	English
a	<i>mu.kunda (mi.)</i>	Primary forest in general
a1	<i>ki.bám̃ba (b̃i.)</i>	Primary forest of <i>Gilbertiodendron dewevrei</i>
a2	<i>lu.anja (n.ganja)</i>	Primary forest having no dominant species
a3	<i>lo.ményé (m.)</i>	Primary forest near rivers and swamps
a4	<i>lo.senga (ñ.)</i>	Swamp forest
b1	<i>ku lu.új̃i</i>	Land along rivers
b2	<i>ku lu.alaba</i>	Land along the Lualaba
c0	<i>ñ.s̃ju (ma.)</i>	Cultivated fields and fallow
c1	<i>ki.kúngá ki.tángí</i>	Young secondary forest
c2	<i>ki.kúngá ké lu.bisi</i>	Secondary forest
d0	<i>ke.banga (b̃i.)</i>	Land degraded by repeated cultivation
d1	<i>ka.cá (tu.)</i>	Village
d2	<i>ñ.jilá (ñ.)</i>	Road and roadsides
e	<i>bu.subi (ma.)</i>	Grassland covered by ferns
A	<i>ki.liba (b̃i.)</i>	Swamps
B	<i>lu.úci (ñ.gúci)</i>	The Elila and other larger rivers
C	<i>ka.áci (tu.)</i>	Streams in general
C1	<i>ñ.kúngú-y.é-ka.áci</i>	Headwaters of streams
C2	<i>mu.súlu (mi.)</i>	Estuaries of streams
D	<i>ku.sí-y.é-lu.alaba</i>	Slopes of the banks of the Lualaba
D1	<i>ma.kanga</i>	Grass foliage (<i>Echinochloa</i> & <i>Vossia</i> spp.)
D2	<i>ĩ.séngo (ma.)</i>	Shades of shrubs stretching over water
E	<i>mu.úgi-w.é-lu.alaba</i>	In the Lualaba River
F	<i>.boma (.)</i>	Hydroelectric dam lake of the Ambwe River

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 *i.lúka*, 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 *n.joó*, 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 *.lám*b. (prepare food by heating, or to cook in a narrow sense), and what is not cooked and eaten *bu.bísi* (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.

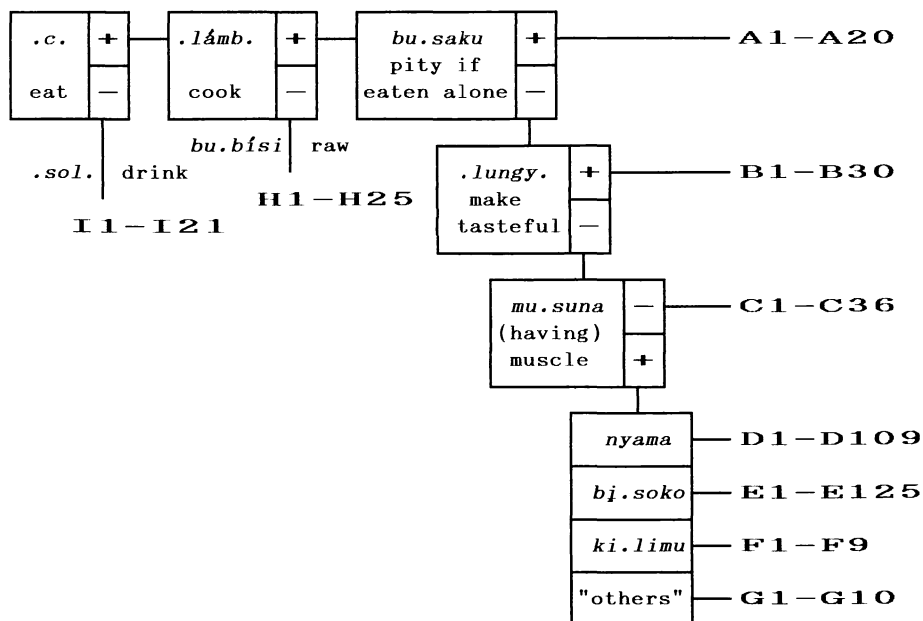
The cooking materials for food other than the above A group are never eaten alone. Among these materials, there is a group that corresponds to the Songola verb *.lungy.*, namely "make (something) tasty", and regarded as having the ability of making other food tasty. Salt, chilies, and oil, for example, 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 *mu.suna* or not". *Mu.suna* 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 *mu.suna*. This category can be translated as "animals" in its widest sense. The Songola distinguish several more divisions in this folk category: *nyama* (D group), *bj.sokó* (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 cat-

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



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 *bj.soko* in Kuko dialect (*ñ.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 *mu.suna* (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.ánji*, water, 2) *malu*, 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" (*.lungy*).

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. *Bj.soko/ñ.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. *i.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.títí*; 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.ání* 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.ácicimá* (*me.songú y.ácicimá*)

1— "sweet" cassava, or a group of varieties having little poisonous

Table 3A. Materials to eat with other food: principal starchy food

No.	Songola names Latin names	Swahili	English	Parts eaten	Loca- lity	Availa- bility	Activi- ties
A1	<i>ĩ.omá(m.omá)</i> <i>Musa</i> sp.	<i>ndisi</i>	plantain	fruit	c0,d1	c	C
A2	<i>mo.songú</i> <i>w.ácjicimá</i> <i>Manihot esculenta</i> CRANTZ.	<i>muhogo</i> <i>utamu</i>	cassava (sweet)	tubers	c0,d1	c	C
A3	<i>mo.songú</i> <i>w.ácwá</i> <i>Manihot esculenta</i> CRANTZ.	<i>muhogo</i> <i>uchungu</i>	cassava (bitter)	tubers	c0,c1	c	C
A4*	<i>ĩ.liya(ma.)</i> <i>Dioscorea cayenensis</i> LAM.	<i>kihama</i>	yellow Guinea yam	aerial bulbil	c1,c2	c	G
A5*	<i>lo.sele(ñ.)</i> <i>limbalu</i> <i>Gilbertiodendron dewevrei</i> (DE WILD.) J. LÉONARD	<i>mbeku ya</i>	—	seeds	a1	s	G
A6*	<i>mu.bálá(mi.)</i> <i>Pentaclethra macrophylla</i> BENTH.	—	Congo acasia	seeds	a1,a2,a3	c	G
A7	<i>mu.funga(mi.)</i> <i>Oryza sativa</i> L.	<i>mupunga</i>	rice	seeds	c0	c	C
A8	<i>ĩ.sángú(ma.)</i> <i>Zea mays</i> L.	<i>muhindi</i>	maize	seeds	c0	c	C
A9	<i>mo.kolokoto(me.)</i> <i>Zea mays</i> L.	<i>muhindi</i>	ripe maize	seeds	c0	c	C
A10	<i>ka.ndolo(to.)</i> <i>Ipomoea batatas</i> L.	<i>biazi ya</i> <i>kishenzi</i>	sweet potato	tubers	c0,d1	s	C
A11	<i>ĩ.kaca(ma.)</i> <i>Dioscorea</i> sp.	<i>kihama</i>	yam	tubers	c0,c1	r	C
A12	<i>ĩ.súngá(ma.)</i> <i>Dioscorea dumetorum</i> (KUNTH) PAX.	<i>kihama</i>	African bit- ter yam	tubers	c0,c1	r	C
A13	<i>lu.ngúma(ñ.)</i> <i>Dioscorea alata</i> L.	<i>kihama</i>	greater yam	tubers	c0,c1	r	C
A14	<i>ki.sulí(bj.)</i> <i>Dioscorea cayenensis</i> LAM.	<i>kihama</i>	yellow Guinea yam	tubers	c0,c1	r	C
A15	<i>ĩ.tú(ma.)</i> <i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i> L.	<i>kihama</i>	aerial yam	aerial bulbils	c0,c1	r	C
A16	<i>ki.lálĩ k.é</i> <i>bj.kwámanga/</i> <i>ĩ.káká(ma.)</i> <i>Xanthosoma sagittifolium</i> (L.) SCHOTT	<i>kihama ya</i> <i>maole</i>	yautia/ tannia	tubers	c0,c1,d1	c	C
A17	<i>ĩ.sólá (ma.)</i> <i>Cucurbita</i> sp.	<i>maboka</i>	pumpkin	fruit	c0	s	C
A18*	<i>mu.túkulutúmbá</i> (<i>mi.</i>) <i>Chytranthus carneus</i> RADLK. ex MILDBR. var. <i>secundiflorus</i> HAUMAN	—	—	seeds	a1,a2,c2	r	G
A19	<i>mo.kama(me.)</i> <i>Voandzeia subterranea</i> (L.) THONARS.	<i>njukumawe</i>	bambara groundnuts	seeds	c0	r	C
A20	— <i>Artocarpus communis</i> FROST.	<i>mambuluku</i>	seedless breadfruit	fruit	d1	r	C

material in their tubers; young leaves (C1) are also consumed; 2—*mo.songú* means cassava in general; *w.ácicimá* 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.ácúwá* (*me.songú y.ácúwá*)

1— "bitter" varieties of cassava; their tubers contain hydrocyanic glucoside, a fatal poison unless it is sufficiently removed; young leaves (C1) are also consumed; 2— *w.ácúwá* 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.tú* (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.

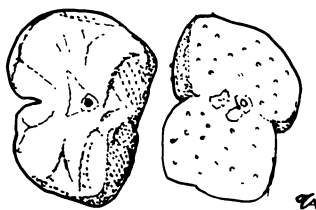


Fig. 8 Aerial tubers of bitter yam, *j.liya* (A4). Length 10 cm. Mbeku [mbegu] ya kihama, *j.liya*.

A5. *lo.sele* (*n.*)

1— seeds of *mu.lyli* tree, one of dominant trees of the subfamily Caesalpinioidae 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.funga* (*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.

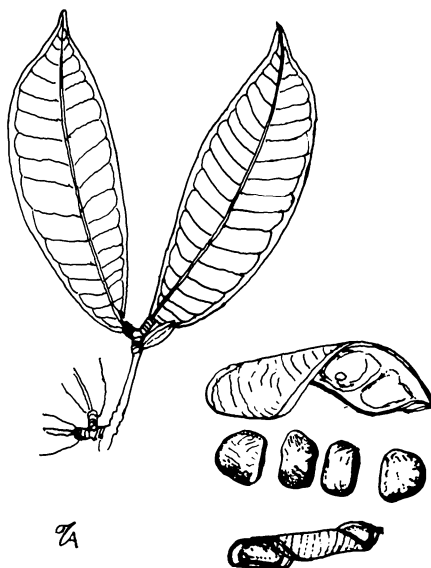


Fig. 9 *N.sele*, seeds of a wild tree *mu.lyli* (A5) and its leaves. Seed length 3cm. Mbeku ya limbalu na mayani yake.



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. *i.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. *i.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. *i.súngá* (ma.)

1— African bitter yam; 3— has yellow flesh.

A13. *lu.ngúma* (ñ.)

1— greater yam; 3— has white flesh and slightly bitter taste.

A14. *ki.sulí* (bj.)

1— yellow Guinea yam; 3— has watery yellow flesh.

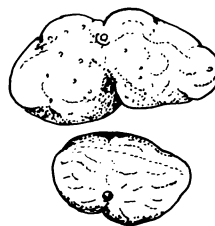


Fig. 11 Aerial tubers of sweet yam, *i.tú* (A15). Length up to 7cm.

Mbeku ya kihama, i.tú.

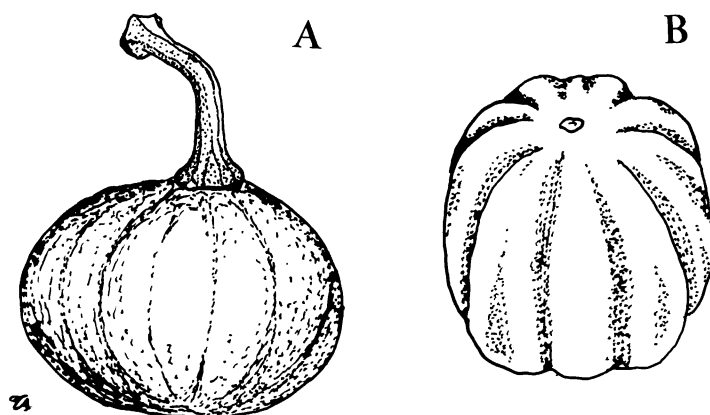


Fig. 12 Two varieties of pumpkin (A17).

A: *j.sólá* and B: *ki.lúba*.

Aina mbili ya madodoki. A: j.sólá na B: ki.lúba.

A15. *j.tú (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.lálí k.é bi.kwámanga (bi.lálí b.í bi.)/i.káká (ma.)*

1— yautia, cocoyam, or American taro; 2— *ki.lálí* is a term for any edible tubers; another name *i.káká* 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.sólá (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.túkulutúmbá (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.

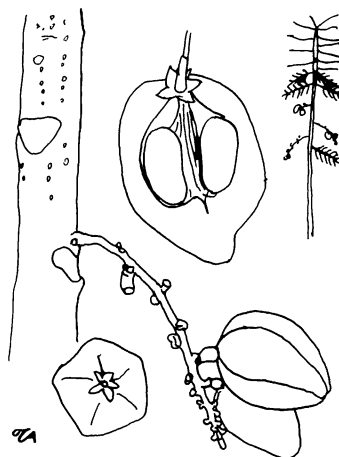


Fig. 13 *Mu.túkulutúmbá*, (A18).

A shrub bearing edible fruits.

Mbeku ya muti ya poli [pori].

B. Materials for condiments and seasoning food (Table 3B).

B1. *i.bíla* (*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.bíla*; more than three varieties are recognized (Fig. 16); 3—three varieties are cultivated among the Songola; the most common variety is *i.bíla*; *i.boé* has thicker pulp (mesocarp) and yields more oil than *m.bíla*; *i.kúngúbílá* has relatively pale, fibrous pulp and foams when squeezing its juice; this is why the Songola add at least the same volume of *i.bíla* to *i.kúngúbílá*; 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.kúta* 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 B1; 2—*mu.sa* means kernels of any seeds; 6—gives excellent oil for food; the Songola rarely use kernel oil for cooking because

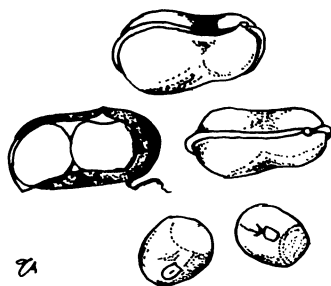


Fig. 14 Bambara groundnuts, *mo. kama* (A19). Shell length 2.5–3 cm.
Njukumawe [njugumawe].



Fig. 15 A male flower, *mu. túbúlá*, (B10) and fruit (B1) surrounded by oil palm bracts (B11).
Maua ya ngasi [ngazi] na mbegu yake.

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. *ñ.jukú* (*ñ.*)

1—groundnuts; 2—Songola name is related with its Swahili name *njuku*; 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. *ñ.tete* (*ñ.*)

1—a cultivated cucurbit of

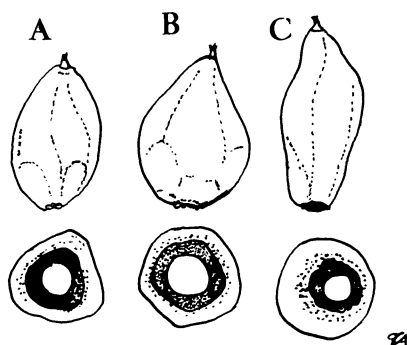


Fig. 16 Three varieties of oil palm (B1). A: *i.kúngúbílá*, B: *i.bíla*, C: *i.boé*.
Namuna tatu ya ngasi.

Table 3B (1) Materials that make food tastier: condiments

No.	Songola names Latin names	Swahili	English	Parts eaten	Loca- lity	Availa- bility	Activi- ties
B1	<i>i.bíla</i> (ma.) <i>Elaeis guineensis</i> JACQ.	<i>ngasi</i>	oil palm	fruit	c1,c2,d1	c	C
B2	<i>mu.sa</i> (mi.) <i>Elaeis guineensis</i> JACQ.	<i>misa ya ngasi</i>	oil palm	kernels	c1,c2,d1	c	C
B3	<i>ñ.jukú</i> (ñ.) <i>Arachis hypogea</i> L.	<i>kalanga</i>	groundnut	seeds	c0	s	C
B4	<i>ñ.tete</i> (ñ.) <i>Cucumeropsis mannii</i> (NAUD.)	<i>kokoliko</i>		seeds	c0	c	C
B5	<i>lu.nkuma</i> (ñ.) <i>Sesamum indicum</i> L.	<i>bufuto</i>	sesame	seeds	c0	r	C
B6*	<i>lo.kongo</i> (ñ.) <i>Panda oleosa</i> PIERRE	<i>mbeku ya boe</i>	—	seeds	a1,a2,c2	r	G
B7	<i>i.bandá</i> (ma.) <i>Irvingia smithii</i> PIERRE ex ENGL.	—	—	seeds	b2	r	G
B8*	<i>lu.acú</i> (m.pacú) unidentified (cf. <i>Irvingia</i> sp.)	—	—	seeds	a1,a2,c2	r	G
B9	<i>ki.muka k.é</i> <i>i.sola</i> <i>Cucurbita</i> sp.	<i>mbeku ya liboka</i>	pumpkin	seeds	c0	r	C
B10	<i>ma.kálí</i> m.é <i>mu.túbúlá</i> <i>Elaeis guineensis</i> JACQ.	<i>maua ya ngasi</i>	oil palm	flowers	c1,c2,d1	c	C
B11	<i>ma.kálí</i> m.é <i>ñ.bíla</i> <i>Elaeis guineensis</i> JACQ.	<i>miiba ya ngasi</i>	oil palm	bracts	c1,c2,d1	c	C
B12	<i>ma.kálí</i> m.é <i>m.omá</i> <i>Musa</i> spp.	<i>maganda ya ndisi</i>	plantain skins	fruit	c0,d1	c	C
B13	<i>ma.kálí</i> m.é <i>mu.funga</i> <i>Oryza sativa</i> L.	<i>miti ya mupunga</i>	rice	culums	c0	r	C
B14*	<i>ki.ungí</i> (bj.) <i>Pistia stratiotes</i> L.	<i>chumbi ya asili</i>	water lettuce	leaves	b2	r	G
B15*	<i>i.léngélénge</i> <i>c.é lo.béle</i> <i>Echinochloa pyramidalis</i> HITC et CHASE/? <i>Panicum</i> sp.	—	—	leaves	b2	r	G
B16*	<i>lo.kolókósj</i> <i>l.é mu.lúmi</i> <i>Cyathula prostrata</i> (L.) BLUME	—		shoots	c1	r	G
B17	<i>i.ánga</i> (ma.) <i>Elaeis guineensis</i> JACQ.	<i>mangalala</i>	oil palm	leaves	c1,c2,d1	r	C
B18	<i>mu.sikí</i> (mi.) <i>Capsicum ?frutescens</i> L.	<i>chumbi</i>	rock salt	—	markets	c	M
B19	<i>ka.bólé</i> (to.) <i>Capsicum ?frutescens</i> L.	<i>pilipili</i>	chillies	fruit	c0,d1	c	C

Table 3B (2)

No.	Songola names Latin names	Swahili	English	Parts eaten	Loca- lity	Availa- bility	Activi- ties
B20	<i>.moní(ba.)</i> etc. <i>pilipili</i> <i>Capsicum annuum</i> L. <i>mbuzi</i>		chillies	fruit	c0,d1	c	C
B21*	<i>mu.nyíngílí</i> <i>bufili</i> <i>w.é bí.sisí b.í ki.lúla</i> <i>Hua gabonii</i> PIERRE ex DE WILD.		—	leaves	a1,a2	c	G
B22*	<i>mu.nyíngílí</i> <i>bufili</i> <i>w.é bí.muka b.í ki.lúla</i> <i>Hua gabonii</i> PIERRE ex DE WILD.		—	seeds	a1,a2,a3	c	G
B23*	<i>mu.nyíngílí</i> <i>matungulu</i> <i>w.é bí.sisí b.í ká.bácamba</i> <i>Scorodophloeus zenkeri</i> HARMS.		—	leaves	a1,a2,a3	c	G
B24*	<i>mu.nyíngílí</i> <i>bufili</i> <i>w.é bí.usu b.í ká.bácamba</i> <i>Scorodophloeus zenkeri</i> HARMS.		—	barks	a1,a2,a3	c	G
B25*	<i>ka.mátí(to.)</i> <i>tomati</i> <i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i> MILL.		tomato	fruit	c0,d1	s	C
B26	— <i>ndimu</i> <i>Citrus limon</i> (L.) BURUM. F.		lemon	fruit	d1	c	C
B27	— <i>matungulu</i> <i>Allium</i> sp.		—	leaves	d1	r	C
B28	<i>ki.muka k.é</i> <i>mbeku ya</i> <i>.dodóki</i> <i>madodoki</i> <i>Luffa acutangula</i> (L.) ROXB.		angled loofah	fruit	c0,d1	r	C
B29	— <i>kimanjano</i> <i>Curcuma domestica</i> VAL.		turmeric	roots	d1	r	C
B30	<i>sulá(=)</i> <i>sukali</i>		sugar	—	markets	r	M

A*4, B*6 etc. mean wild or semi-wild plants.

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

B5. *lu.nkuma* (ñ.)

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

B6. *lo.kongo* (ñ.)

1—seed of a tree of the primary forest (Fig. 18); 2—the tree itself is called *.boé*; 4—fruit contains three seeds; 6—kernels are taken out of decomposed fruit, and are broken with a bush knife to eat the albumen re-

sembling 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.

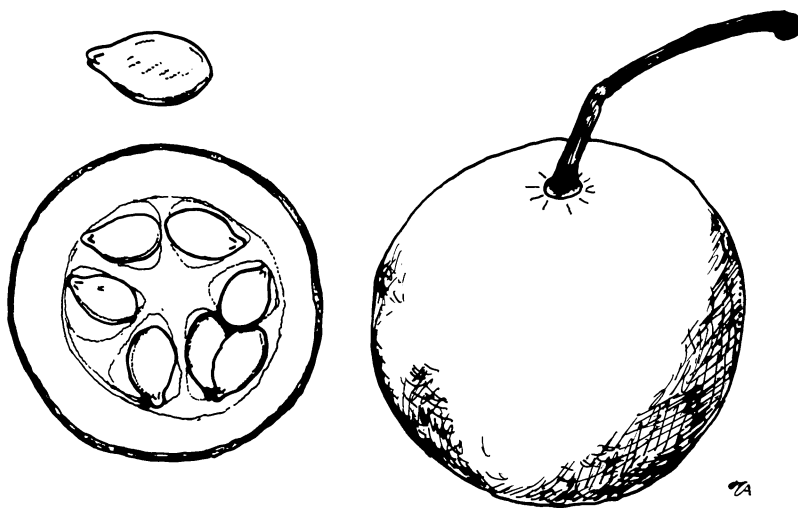


Fig. 17 A cultivated cucurbit, ñ.tete (B4). Diameter 10 cm. Seed width, 1.2 cm.
Kokoliko.

B10. *ma.kálì 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.kálì m.é ñ.bíla*
1— bracts of an oil palm bunch (see Fig. 15b); 6— used just like B10.

B12. *ma.kálì m.é m.omá*
1— peeled skins of plantains;
6— usage as B10.

B13. *ma.kálì m.é mu.funga*
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 (bì.)*
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.sikí w.é ki.ungí* namely salt made from this plant.

B15. *i.léngéléngé c.é lo.béle*
1— tall grasses of family Gramineae growing along the

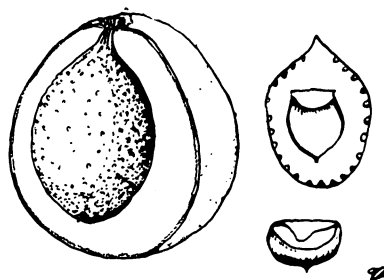


Fig. 18 *N.kongo* (B6), seeds of boé tree. Diameter of a fruit, 6 cm.

Mbeku ya muti ya boé.

riverside; 6-used like B14, but not so well-known as B14.

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

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

B18. *mu.sikí (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-malíngá búní* (what happened in the trap?); the fisherman will answer *ka.bólé* when fishing was unsuccessful (a positive reply will be *mu.sikí*, 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.

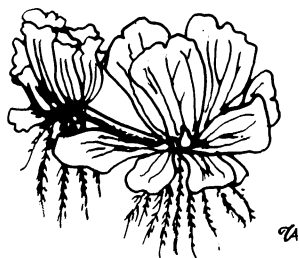


Fig. 19 *Ki.ungi* (B14), a floating plant of Araceae used to make vegetable salt.

*Mayani [majani] ya
chumbi ya asili.*

B20. *.moní (ba.)*

1- chili; red pepper; there are several varieties having different shape, color, and degrees of hotness; 11- the plural form *ba.moní* 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.nyíngilí*

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.mátí (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.mátí*, 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 .dodókí*

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- turmeric; 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.njele* (*bj.*)

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.sóko* (*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.lúlú* (*tu.*)

1— another species of amaranth; cultivated and also grows spontaneously in fields of Enya subgroup; 6— has a slightly bitter taste.

C5. *ma.tembéle* (*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.sisí k.é 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.lílí 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.sílusílu* (*bj.*)

1— a wild fern growing in open grasslands; 6— undeveloped leaves are eaten.

C12. *j.singu* (*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.lulú* (*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

No.	Songola names Latin names	Swahili	English	Parts eaten	Locality	Availa- bility	Activi- ties
C1	<i>tungu</i> (=) <i>Manihot esculenta</i> CRANTZ.	<i>sombe</i>	cassava	shoots/ leaves	c0	c	C
C2	<i>ke.njele</i> (<i>bi.</i>) <i>Amaranthus hybridus</i> L.	<i>michicha</i> / <i>lengalenga</i>	amaranth	shoots/ leaves	c0	s	C
C3	<i>mo.sóko</i> (<i>me.</i>) <i>Amaranthus</i> sp.	<i>michicha</i> / <i>lengalenga</i>	amaranth	shoots/ leaves	c0	s	C
C4	<i>ka.lúlú</i> (<i>tu.</i>) <i>Amaranthus</i> sp.	<i>michicha</i> / <i>lengalenga</i>	amaranth	shoots/ leaves	c0	s	R
C5	<i>ma.tembéle</i> (<i>ma.</i>) <i>Ipomoea batatas</i> (L.) LAM.	<i>matembele</i>	sweet- potato	shoots/ leaves	c0,d1	c	C
C6	<i>ki.sisí</i> <i>k.é</i> <i>bi.kwámanga</i> <i>Xanthosoma</i> sp.	<i>bipulupulu</i>	yautia	leaves	c0,d1	c	C
C7	<i>mu.lílí</i> <i>w.é</i> <i>i.sólá</i> <i>Cucurbita</i> sp.	<i>maboka</i> - <i>maboka</i>	pumpkin	shoots/ leaves	c0	s	C
C8	— <i>Basella alba</i> L.	<i>pinale</i>	indian spinach	shoots/ leaves	d1	r	C
C9	— <i>Brassica</i> sp.	<i>suu</i>	chinese cabbage	leaves	d1	r	C
C10*	<i>sinja</i> (=) <i>Hillieria latifolia</i> (LAM.) H. WALT.	—	—	shoots/ leaves	c1,c2,d1	c	G,C
C11*	<i>ki.sílúsílú</i> (<i>bi.</i>)— <i>Pteridium</i> sp.	—	brake(fern)	leaves	c0,c1,d1,d2	r	G
C12*	<i>i.singu</i> (<i>ma.</i>) <i>Phytolacca dodecandra</i> L'HÉRIT.	—	—	shoots/ leaves	c1,c2	r	G
C13*	<i>mo.pone</i> (<i>me.</i>) unidentified	—	—	shoots/ leaves	c1,c2	r	G
C14*	<i>nyumbú</i> (=) <i>Momordica foetida</i> SCHUM. et THONN.	—	—	shoots/ leaves	c0,c1,c2,d1	r	G
C15*	<i>a.lýlú</i> (<i>ba.</i>)/ <i>ýlýlú</i> (=) unidentified	<i>buyoka ya</i> <i>udongo</i>	fungus on the ground		a2,c2	s	G
C16*	<i>i.ntótó</i> (<i>ma.</i>) unidentified	do.	do.		c1	r	G
C17*	<i>ka.sékelecá</i> (<i>to.</i>)do. unidentified	do.	do.		a1,a2,a3,c1	s	G
C18*	<i>ki.lingíca</i> (<i>bi.</i>) do. <i>i.mbúliká</i> (<i>ma.</i>) unidentified	do.	do.		c0,c1	s	G
C19*	<i>ke.kaly</i> (<i>bi.</i>) unidentified	do.	do.		a1	r	G
C20*	<i>námikílí</i> (=) unidentified	do.	do.		a1	r	G
C21*	<i>i.kimú</i> (<i>ma.</i>) unidentified	<i>buyoka ya</i> <i>miti</i>	fungus on rotten trees		c1,c2	r	G

Table 3C (2)

No.	Songola names Latin names	Swahili	English	Parts eaten	Locality	Availa- bility	Activi- ties
C22*	<i>ka.óbóóbyá(to.)</i> unidentified	do.	do.		c1,c2	r	G
C23*	<i>ká.kokó(tó.)</i> unidentified	<i>bukoko</i>	do.		c0,c1	r	G
C24*	<i>ka.maléyá(to.)</i> unidentified	<i>buyoka ya miti</i>	do.		c1	r	G
C25*	<i>i.tele(ma.)</i> unidentified	do.	do.		a1,a2,a3, c1,c2	r	G
C26*	<i>.kulungú(ma.)</i> unidentified	do.	do.		a1	r	G
C27*	<i>mu.kungu(mi.)</i> unidentified	do.	do.		a1,a2,a3	r	G
C28*	<i>mu.pukípukí(mi)</i> unidentified	<i>buyoka ya misa</i>	fungus on palm kernels		b1,d1	r	G
C29	<i>ka.sulu(tu.)</i> <i>Solanum</i> sp.	<i>nyanya utamu</i>	eggplant	fruit	c0	s	C
C30*	<i>lu.sákú(ñ.)</i> <i>Pachylobus</i> sp.(<i>Dacryodes</i>)	<i>saku</i>	—	fruit	c2	s	G
C31*	<i>lu.bílí(ñ.)</i> <i>Canarium schweinfurthii</i> ENGL.	<i>mbeku ya miti ya kasuku</i>	—	fruit	a1,a2	s	G
C32	<i>lu.saba(ñ.)</i> <i>Dioscorea</i> spp.	—	yam	shoots	c0	s	C
C33*	<i>lo.tóba(ñ.)</i> <i>Ancistrophyllum</i> sp.	<i>mukaukau</i>	—	shoots	a3,a4	r	G
C34	<i>mo.léngé(me.)</i> <i>Saccharum officinarum</i> L.	<i>muwa</i>	sugar-cane	sap	d1	r	C
C35*	<i>bu.úkí(bu.)</i> <i>Apis</i> sp.	<i>asali</i>	bee	honey		s	G
C36*	<i>bu.úkí w.é ki.táwá</i>	<i>asali</i>	stingless bee	honey		r	G
APIDAE							

trees; 6— see the preceding.

C28. *mu.pukípukí (mi)*

1— a mushroom growing on a heap of palm oil kernels; 6— has a very good smell.

C29. *ka.sulu (tu.)*

1— eggplant having red peels (Fig. 20); 4— cultivated in fields.

C30. *lu.sákú (ñ.)*

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

C31. *lu.bílí (ñ.)*

1— wild, but sometimes planted in villages; the fruit resembles that of C30.

C32. *lu.saba (ñ.)*

1— young shoots of A11-A15; 6— tastes bitter.

C33. *lo.tóba(ñ.)*

1— young shoots of a species of rattan growing in marshes (Fig. 22); 2— the liana itself has a Songola name *mo.koló*.

C34. *mo.léngé (me.)*

1— sugar-cane; 4— cultivated only in villages because of damage by

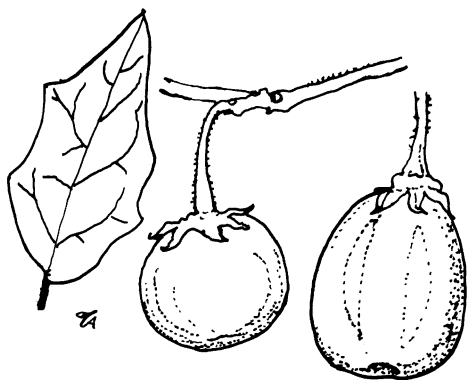


Fig. 20 *Ka.sulu* (C29), fruits and a leaf of "sweet" variety of eggplant.

Nyanya utamu.

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 m̃í.íso* (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.bísi* (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 i.úamá* (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.úkí (bu.)*

1—honey; 4—collected January to February and May to June.

C36. *bu.úkí 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.



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.

Although there are food animals which some individuals are advised to refrain from for religious reasons or other, only a few numbers of species of mammals and birds are excluded from the food repertory of the Songola. Here are the examples: *m.bwá*

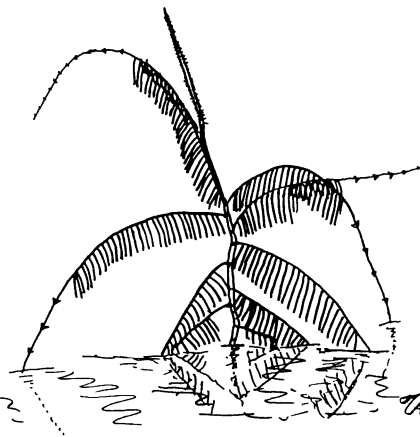


Fig. 22 *Mu.kau*, a kind of rattan, growing in marshes, of which the pith *n.tóbá* (C33) is edible.

Mukaukau.

Table 3D (1) Materials having *mu.suna* (1): mammals, reptiles and birds

No.	Songola names Latin names	INCLUSIVE LEXEMES	Swahili	English names	Ref.no. Ankei, 1988
D1	<i>m.búli</i> (m.) <i>Capra hircus</i>		<i>mbuzi</i>	goat	—
D2	<i>mo.koko</i> (me.) <i>Ovis longipes</i>		<i>kondoo</i>	sheep	—
D3	<i>i.múndu</i> (ma.) <i>Aonyx sp.</i>		—	otter	32
D4	<i>i.umbú</i> (ma.)/ <i>nyíma</i> (=) <i>Viverra civetta</i>		<i>yobo</i>	African civet	34
D5	<i>ka.búé</i> (to.) <i>Neotragus batesi</i>		—	Bate's dwarf antelope	11
D6	<i>ka.kelejenye</i> (to.) <i>Lutra maculicollis</i>		—	spotted-necked otter	33
D7	<i>ka.kúli</i> (tu.) <i>Cephalophus (Cephalophus) nigrifrons</i>		—	black-fronted duiker	10
D8	<i>ka.kwema</i> (to.) <i>Kobus (Kobus) ellipsiprymnus</i> ♀		—	waterbuck (female)	14b
D9	<i>ka.síbili</i> (tu.) <i>Thryonomys sp.</i>		<i>senji</i>	cane rat	29
D10	<i>ka.sísí</i> (tu.) <i>Cephalophus (Cephalophus) monticola</i>		<i>mbuluku</i>	blue duiker	05
D11	<i>ki.bilikila</i> (bí.) <i>Dendrohyrax arboreus</i>		—	tree hyrax	16
D12	<i>ke.lebé</i> (bí.) <i>Hyemoschus aquaticus</i>		<i>elebe</i>	water chevrotain	04
D13	<i>kí.líkumbí</i> (bí.) <i>Kobus (Kobus) ellipsiprymnus</i> ♂		—	waterbuck (male)	14a
D14	<i>ki.mpupí</i> (bí.) <i>Perodicticus potto</i>		—	potto	46
D15	<i>lo.ngombé</i> (ñ.) <i>? Herpestes (Atilax) paludinosus</i>		—	? marsh mongoose	40
D16	<i>lu.ucú</i> (ng.) <i>Anomalurus sp.</i>		—	flying squirrel	26
D17	<i>mu.áli</i> (mi.) <i>? Funisciurus pyrrhopus</i>		—	red-footed squirrel	22
D18	<i>mu.kala</i> (mi.) <i>? Mungos alexandri</i>		—	? long-snouted mongoose	42
D19	<i>mo.kéngé</i> (me.) <i>Herpestes ichneumon</i>		—	Egyptian mongoose	41
D20	<i>mu.súmba</i> (mi.) <i>Cricetomys sp.</i>		<i>chimba- udongo</i>	giant rat	28
D21	<i>m.bokó mw.ílu</i> <i>Syncerus caffer</i>		<i>mbogo</i>	African buffalo (dark skin)	15b
D22	<i>m.bokó y.e sángangulubi</i> <i>Syncerus caffer</i>		<i>mbogo</i>	African buffalo (orange skin)	15a
D23	<i>ñ.gulubisiki</i> (ñ.) <i>Hylochoerus meinertzhageni</i>	<i>Ñ.GULUBI</i>	—	forest hog	02
D24	<i>sangangulubi</i> (=) <i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	<i>Ñ.GULUBI</i>	<i>nguluwe</i>	bush pig	01

Table 3D (2)

No.	Songola names Latin names	INCLUSIVE LEXEMES	Swahili	English names	Ref.no. Ankei, 1988
D25	<i>ñ.kábi(ñ.)</i> <i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> ♂		<i>bulimasua/</i> <i>bulimayi</i>	sitatunga (male)	13a
D26	<i>ĩ.buká(ma.)</i> <i>Colobus (Colobus) polykomos</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	king colobus	57
D27	<i>ka.noko(to.)</i> <i>Cercopithecus neglectus</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	Brazza's monkey	54
D28	<i>ka.pĩsí(tu.)</i> <i>Cercopithecus ascanius</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	black-cheeked white-nosed monkey	51
D29	<i>ke.námbolelá(bj.)</i> CERCOPITHECIDAE	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	small monkey resembling talapoin	59
D30	<i>ki.súla(bj.)</i> <i>Papio (Papio) cynocephalus</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	<i>abula</i>	baboon	49
D31	<i>lu.búlú(ñ.)</i> <i>Cercopithecus mona</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	mona monkey	53
D32	<i>mu.cúpú(mi.)</i> <i>Cercopithecus hamlyni</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	owl-faced guenon	56
D33	<i>mo.sabĩlá(me.)</i> <i>Cercopithecus l'hoesti</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	l'Hoest's monkey	55
D34	<i>asabá(=)</i> <i>Cercopithecus mitis</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	diademmed guenon	52
D35	<i>n.embo(n.)</i> <i>Colobus (Pilicolobus) badius</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	colobus	58
D36	<i>ñ.kamba(ñ.)</i> <i>Cercocebus albigena</i>	<i>Ñ.KIMA</i>	—	cloaked mangabey	50
D37	<i>cúmba(=)</i> <i>Orycteropus afer</i>		—	aadvark	18
D38	<i>mangala(=)</i> <i>Tragelaphus euryceros</i>		<i>kenge</i>	bongo	12
D39	<i>ñ.pombĩ(ñ.)</i> <i>Cephalophus (Cephalophus) dorsalis</i>		<i>koto</i>	Bay duiker	08
D40	<i>ñ.pukutu(ñ.)</i> <i>Mellivora capensis</i>		—	ratel	31
D41	<i>ñ.séké(ñ.)</i> <i>Cephalophus (Cephalophus) leucogaster</i>		<i>sekepombi</i>	Gaboon duiker	06
D42	<i>ñ.sokó(ñ.)</i> <i>Pan troglodytes</i>		<i>sokomutu</i>	chimpanzee	60
D43	<i>ñ.sónge(ñ.)</i> <i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> ♀		<i>bulimasua/</i> <i>bulimayi</i>	sitatunga (female)	13b
D44	<i>symbi(=)</i> <i>Cephalophus (Cephalophus) callipygus</i>		—	Peter's duiker	09
D45	<i>ñ.túndú(ñ.)</i> <i>Cephalophus (Cephalophus) sylvicultor</i>		<i>kananda</i>	yellow-backed duiker	07
D46	<i>cunga(=)</i> ? FELIDAE		—	?	45
D47	<i>ĩ.bembé(ma.)</i> ?Genetta victoriae		—	? giant genet	38
D48	<i>ka.ĩni(tu.)</i> <i>Poiana richardsoni</i>		—	African linsang	39

Table 3D (3)

No.	Songola names Latin names	INCLUSIVE LEXEMES	Swahili	English names	Ref.no. Ankei,1988
D49	<i>mo.lendé(me.)</i> <i>Genetta tigrina</i>		—	large-spotted genet	36
D50	<i>mu.sĩmbá(mi.)</i> <i>Genetta servalina</i>		—	small-spotted genet	37
D51	<i>ĩ.biĩbu(ĩ.)</i> <i>Nandinia binotata</i>		—	African palm civet	35
D52	<i>ĩ.gwe(ĩ.)</i> <i>Panthera pardus</i>		<i>chui</i>	leopard	44
D53	<i>m.paka y.e cá.ání</i> <i>? Profelis aurata</i>		<i>paka ya</i> <i>poli</i>	? golden cat	43
D54	<i>ki.ĩkú(bi.)</i> <i>Atherurus africanus</i>		<i>njiku</i>	African brush-tailed porcupine	27
D55	<i>ka.bánga(tu.)</i> <i>Manis tetradactyla</i>		<i>banga</i>	long-tailed pangolin	19
D56	<i>ka.bánga(tu.)</i> <i>Manis tricuspis</i>		<i>banga</i>	tree pangolin	20
D57	<i>ĩ.káká(ĩ.)</i> <i>Manis gigantea</i>		—	giant pangolin	21
D58	<i>ĩ.joy(ĩ.)</i> <i>Loxodonta africana</i>		<i>tembo</i>	African elephant	17
D59	<i>mo.nkondekonde(me.)</i> <i>Crocodylus cataphractus</i>		<i>mamba ya</i> <i>kinwya murefu</i>	crocodile	
D60	<i>ĩ.jwena(ĩ.)</i> <i>Crocodylus niloticus</i>		<i>mamba ya</i> <i>kinya mufupi</i>	crocodile	—
D61	<i>ĩ.gwelema(ĩ.)</i> REPTILIA		<i>lombe</i>	giant lizard	—
D62	<i>n.sátu(n.)</i> <i>Python sebae</i>	<i>Ñ.JOKA</i>	<i>chato</i>	common African python	—
D63	— REPTILIA	<i>Ñ.JOKA</i>	<i>nyoka</i>	snakes in general	—
D64	<i>ki.kúlu(bi.)</i> <i>Testudo sp.</i>		<i>kobe</i>	land turtle	—
D65	<i>ĩ.báta(ma.)</i> <i>Anas domestica</i>		<i>bata</i>	duck	
D66	<i>ĩ.kókó(ĩ.)</i> <i>Gallus gallus domesticus</i>		<i>kuku</i>	hen	
D67	<i>ka.mbíká(tu.)</i> <i>Gallus gallus domesticus</i>		<i>jogoo</i>	rooster	
D68	<i>ĩ.langĩ(ma.)</i> <i>Guttera edouardi</i>		<i>kanga</i>	crested Guinea fowl	
D69	<i>ĩ.tundú(ma.)</i> <i>Francolinus sp.</i>		—	francolin	
D70	<i>ki.cúngú(bi.)</i> <i>Gypohierax angolensis</i>		<i>mombo</i>	vulturine fish eagle	
D71	<i>ky.elela(by.)</i> ANATIDAE		<i>bata ya</i> <i>mayi</i>	wild duck	
D72	<i>ki.lingá(bi.)</i> COLUMBIDAE		<i>jiwa</i>	pigeon	

Table 3D (4)

No.	Songola names Latin names	INCLUSIVE LEXEMES	Swahili	English names	Ref.no. Ankei, 1988
D73	<i>ki.masíkí(bj.)</i> <i>Lophaetus occipitalis</i>		—	long-crested eagle	
D74	<i>ki.numbinumbi(bj.)</i> COLUMBIDAE		—	pigeon	
D75	<i>ki.lúngula(bj.)</i> MUSOPHAGIDAE		—	turaco	
D76	<i>lo.kólí(ñ.)/ka.kólíkáólí(to.)</i> ACCIPITRIDAE		<i>kabemba</i>	eagle	
D77	<i>lu.ntíngá(ñ.)</i> <i>Ephipriorhynchus senegalensis</i>		—	saddle-bill stork	
D78	<i>mw.imbi(mi.)</i> <i>Phalacrocorax africanus</i>		—	long-tailed cormorant	
D79	<i>mo.lóba(me.)</i> <i>Scopus umbretta bonnermant</i>		—	hammerkop	
D80	<i>mo.lombola(me.)</i> BUCEROTIDAE		—	small hornbill	
D81	<i>mu.mbulí(mi.)</i> unidentified		—	a bird of the size of a small hen	
D82	<i>ñ.gambu(ñ.)</i> <i>Urolestes melanoleucus</i>		—	magpie shrike	
D83	<i>ñ.jíjba(ñ.)</i> COLUMBIDAE		<i>jiwa</i>	pigeon	
D84	<i>n.juú(n.)</i> <i>Polemaetus bellicosus</i>		—	martial eagle	
D85	<i>ñ.kókómangá(ñ.)</i> PICIDAE		—	small woodpecker	
D86	<i>ñ.kolongú(ñ.)</i> <i>Corythaeola cristata</i>		<i>bulukoko</i>	great blue turaco	
D87	<i>ñ.kusu(ñ.)</i> <i>Psittacus erithacus</i>		<i>kasuku</i>	grey parrot	
D88	<i>m.púa(m.)</i> <i>Bycanistes albotibialis</i>		—	white-thighed hornbill	
D89	<i>sóngólóló(=)</i> <i>?Halcyon sp.</i>		—	larger kingfisher	
D90	<i>ka.nungá(tu.)</i> <i>Rhynchochyon cirnei</i>	<i>KA.NYAMA</i>	—	giant elephant shrew	61
D91	<i>ka.sílili(tu.)</i> <i>Galago demidovii</i>	<i>KA.NYAMA</i>	—	dwarf galago	48
D92	<i>ki.síndí(bj.)</i> SCIURIDAE	<i>KA.NYAMA</i>	<i>esendi</i>	small squirrel	24
D93	<i>ki.síndí k.é mo.ntelú</i> SCIURIDAE	<i>KA.NYAMA</i>	—	small squirrel	25
D94	<i>ñ.késé(ñ.)</i> SCIURIDAE	<i>KA.NYAMA</i>	—	small squirrel	23
D95	<i>mu.líma(mi.)</i> MEGACHIROPTERA	<i>KA.NYAMA</i>	<i>popo</i>	giant bat	63
D96	<i>j.lúngúmántinga(ma.)</i> PASSERIFORMES	<i>KA.NYONI</i>	—	a small bird with a long tail	

Table 3D (5)

No.	Songola names Latin names	INCLUSIVE LEXEMES	Swahili	English names
D97	<i>ka.ngakusu(tu.)</i> PSITTACIDAE	KA.NYONI	—	small parrot
D98	<i>ka.kúkú(tu.)</i> unidentified	KA.NYONI	—	small-sized bird
D99	<i>ka.nteté(to.)</i> unidentified	KA.NYONI	—	? bee eater
D100	<i>ka.nteté k.é lu.alaba</i> unidentified	KA.NYONI	—	? bee eater
D101	<i>ka.mpúngúbulumbá(tu.)</i> ALCEDINIDAE	KA.NYONI	—	small kingfisher
D102	<i>ka.támba(tu.)</i> <i>Hirundo</i> sp.	KA.NYONI	—	swallow
D103	<i>ka.tembo(to.)</i> PLOCEIDAE	KA.NYONI	—	weaver
D104	<i>ka.yuúlu(tu.)</i> CAPITONIDAE	KA.NYONI	—	tinker bird
D105	<i>ke.poóndo(bj.)</i> unidentified	KA.NYONI	—	? barbet
D106	<i>ki.tungula(bj.)</i> unidentified	KA.NYONI	—	? barbet
D107	<i>mu.sikalumbu(mi.)</i> unidentified	KA.NYONI	—	? barbet
D108	<i>lo.cekeleke(ñ.j)</i> PLOCEIDAE	KA.NYONI	—	weaver
D109	<i>suúkulu(=)</i> ?PASSERIFORMES	KA.NYONI	—	small bird

(dogs), *m.páka* (cats), *j.lukí* (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, *ñ.gubú* 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).

D1. *m.búli (m.)*

1—goat; a domestic animal;

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.

D2. *mo.koko (me.)*

1—sheep; a domestic animal introduced by the Arabs in the 19th century; 4—less resistant to

illness and fewer than goats (D1); 6—cooked as D1; 10—indispensable for a ceremony among the Muslims.

D3-D45. *i.múndu (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.KÍMA* 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 *nyamafu [nyamavu]* (Swahili), and do not regard it as food.

D37. *cúmba (=)*

1—badger; 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. *cunga (=)*, etc.

1—wild furry animals of the cat family Felidae; 2—called *nyama y.á 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. *kj.íkú (b.)*

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 y.á 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. *ñ.jou (ñ.)*

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 á*.

sónj, 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.)*, *ñ.gwena (ñ.)*

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. *ñ.gwelema (ñ.)*

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.kúlu (bj.)*

1— land turtle; 6— a cook must first beat the shell before dismembering to loosen it.

D65. *ñ.kókó (ñ.)*

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 sev-

eral 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 crows (*.mbík.*)"; 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.langi (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.nungá (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.nyonj*; 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 *ñ.fif-c.é-ma.mba* (fish covered with scales) and *ñ.fif-c.é-bo.sélo* (fish without scales, or fish with slimy skin). *ñ.fif-c.é-ma.mba* is further divided into *ñ.fif-c.é-ma.mba-ma.kúlú* (fish with large scales) and *ñ.fif-c.é-ma.mba-ma.sálj* (literally fish with small scales, explained

as fish with soft, edible scales). Further, *ñ.fif-c.é-mi.kúwa* (fish with poisonous spines) are divided from *ñ.fif-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

Ref. no.	Songola names (Enya dialect) Latin names	Folk category	Locality	Fishing methods	CLOFFA No.	Ref.no Ankei'89
E1	2 <i>mu.kúngá(mi.)</i> <i>Polypterus endlicheri</i> HECKEL	1.1.1	A C D	20 30 40 50	5. 2. 4	S3
E2	1 <i>ka.pandamúkonge/mo.kombe(me.)</i> <i>Polypterus</i> sp.	1.1.1	A C D	40 50	5. 2	S4
E3	<i>mw.éngé</i> <i>Hepsetus odoe</i> (BLOCH)	1.1.1	C	20 40 50	25. 1. 1	S29
E4	<i>MANDA(=)</i> <i>Hydrocynus</i> spp. in general	1.1.1		30 50	26.10	S37
E5	<i>manda-y.e-úw.éngé</i> <i>Hydrocynus goliath</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.1	E	50	26.10. 3	S38
E6	3 <i>m.binga(m.)</i> <i>Hydrocynus</i> sp.	1.1.1	D	30 50	26.10	S39
E7	2 <i>manda-y.e-mú.ápúngú</i> <i>Hydrocynus forskalii</i> (CUVIER)	1.1.1	D	—	26.10. 2	S40
E8	1 <i>ka.mangámanga(tu.)</i> <i>Hydrocynus</i> sp. juv.	1.1.1	D	50	26.10	S41
E9	<i>manda-y.e-kí.bíla/i.úca(ma.)</i> <i>Alestes macrophthalmus</i> GÜNTHER	1.1.1	D F	—	26. 1.28	S32
E10	<i>MO.KASA(ME.)</i> <i>Distichodus</i> spp.	1.1.1	D E	30 40 50	27. 3	S43
E11	2 <i>n.cuna(n.)/mo.kasá-w.é-n.cuna</i> <i>Distichodus</i> sp.	1.1.1	D1	40 50	27. 3	S44
E12	1 <i>ki.mpukusu(bj.)</i> <i>Distichodus antonii</i> SCHILTHUIS	1.1.1	A D1 E	20 40 50	27. 3. 4	S45
E13	3 <i>ka.kwembe/mo.kasá-w.é-ka.síí</i> <i>Distichodus atroventralis</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	E3	30 50	27. 3. 5	S46
E14	2 <i>ka.búmbwá(tu.)</i> <i>Distichodus</i> sp.	1.1.1	—	—	27. 3	S47
E15	1 <i>mo.kasá-mo.élo</i> <i>Distichodus fasciolatus</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	D	30 50	27. 3. 9	S48
E16	<i>mánci(=)/mo.kasá-w.é-ka.lomo</i> <i>Distichodus langi</i> NICHOLS & GRISCOM	1.1.1	D	50	27. 3.12	S49
E17	<i>mu.kupi(mi.)</i> <i>Distichodus lusosso</i> SCHILTHUIS	1.1.1	D1	50	27. 3.13	S50
E18	<i>mu.lungusijiba/mu.lungucuma(mi.)</i> <i>Distichodus maculatus</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	D1	40 50	27. 3.14	S51
E19	<i>gembe(gembe)</i> <i>Distichodus sexfasciatus</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	A D1	20 40 50	27. 3.22	S52
E20	<i>mu.nkwánkwa(mi.)</i> <i>Eugnathichthys eetveldii</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	D1 E	40 50	27. 5. 1	S53
E21	2 <i>m.bulí(m.)/lu.búku-l.é-m.bulí</i> <i>Citharinus</i> sp.	1.1.1	E	50	28. 3	S56
E22	1 <i>lu.búku(m.)</i> <i>Citharinus gibbosus</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	A C	20 53	28. 3. 4	S57
E23	2 <i>j.tulu(ma.)</i> <i>Barbus</i> sp.	1.1.1	E	30 50	29. 4	S59
E24	1 <i>ka.poépoé(to.)</i> <i>Barbus</i> sp.	1.1.1	C C2	30	29. 4	S60

Table 3E (2)

Ref. no.	Songola names (Enya dialect) Latin names	Folk category	Locality	Fishing methods	CLOFFA No.	Ref.no Ankei'89
E25	<i>mu.tándá(mi.)</i> <i>Labeo barbatus</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	E	50	29.10. 6	S61
E26	<i>ṁ.polóyóni(ṁ.)</i> <i>Labeo</i> sp. 1	1.1.1	C E	50	29.10	S62
E27	<i>mo.lónge(me.)</i> <i>Labeo cyclopinnis</i> NICHOLS & GRISCOM	1.1.1	E	50	29.10.19	S63
E28	<i>2 ṁ.bélélý(ṁ.)</i> <i>Labeo falcipinnis</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	E	30 50	29.10.25	S64
E29	<i>1 mu.nkúncy(mi.)</i> <i>Labeo falcipinnis</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	D	40 50	29.10.25	S65
E30	<i>ṁ.síla-y.e-ló.cómbú</i> <i>Labeo lineatus</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	A C D	30 40 50	29.10.38	S66
E31	<i>ṁ.síla-y.e-lú.ngúla</i> <i>Labeo</i> sp. 2	1.1.1	C E	50	29.10	S67
E32	<i>mo.langancala(me.)</i> <i>Labeo</i> sp. 3	1.1.1	E	50	29.10	S68
E33	<i>ka.mbulukutu(tu.)</i> <i>Labeo sorex</i> NICHOLS & GRISCOM	1.1.1	E	50	29.10.68	S69
E34	<i>2 ki.kungula(bi.)</i> <i>Labeo</i> sp.	1.1.1	D	40	29.10	S70
E35	<i>1 ke.mbelama(bi.)</i> <i>Labeo verifer</i> BOULENGER	1.1.1	D	30 40 50	29.10.77	S71
E36	<i>mo.sombo(me.)</i> <i>Labeo</i> sp. 4	1.1.1	A C D	20 30 40	29.10	S72
E37	<i>mu.úlí(mi.)</i> <i>Labeo</i> sp. 5	1.1.1	E	50	29.10	S73
E38	<i>ṁ.kulungú(ṁ.)</i> <i>Labeo</i> sp.	1.1.1	E	50	29.10	S74
E39	<i>mu.lubí(mi.)</i> <i>Raiamas lujae</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.1	D	50	29.19. 7	S75
E40	<i>2 ke.mpongo(bi.)</i> <i>Parachanna obscura</i> (GÜNTHER)	1.1.1	—	—	44. 1. 3	S120
E41	<i>1 mu.búndú(mi.)</i> <i>Parachanna obscura</i> (GÜNTHER)	1.1.1	A D	20 30 40 50	44. 1. 3	S121
E42	<i>2 ṁ.papá(ṁ.)</i> <i>Lates (Lates) niloticus</i> (LINNAEUS)	1.1.1	D1 E	30 40 50	46. 1. 1	S122
E43	<i>1 ṁ.palala-gembe</i> <i>Lates (Lates) niloticus</i> (LINNAEUS)	1.1.1	D	40 50	46. 1. 1	S123
E44	<i>ke.nkelele(bi.)</i> <i>Hemichromis fasciatus</i> PETERS	1.1.1	C	20	61	S124
E45	<i>2 ṁ.palala-y.e-máñkólí</i> <i>Tylochromis lateralis</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.1	D	50	61	S126
E46	<i>1 ṁ.palala(m.)</i> <i>Tylochromis lateralis</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.1	D1 E	30 40 50	61	S127
E47	<i>ki.túndú-m.palala</i> <i>Tylochromis</i> sp.	1.1.1	D	30 40	61	S128
E48	<i>ki.túndú(bi.)</i> CICHLIDAE	1.1.1	D	—	61	S129

Table 3E (3)

Ref. no.	Songola names (Enya dialect) Latin names	Folk category	Locality	Fishing methods	CLOFFA Ref.no No. Ankei'89
E49	2 <i>ki.búba(bj.)</i> <i>Protopterus</i> sp.	1.1.2	—	—	4. 1 S1
E50	1 <i>ñ.sémbé(ñ.)</i> <i>Protopterus aethiopicus</i> HECKEL	1.1.2	A D1	20 30 40 50	4. 1. 2 S2
E51	<i>lu.ndakála(ñ.)</i> <i>Potamotheirus obtusirostris</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.2	D	50	11.14. 2 S7
E52	<i>lu.kumbi(ñ.)/mu.kumbi(mi.)</i> <i>Xenomystus nigri</i> (GÜNTHER)	1.1.2	C	20 50	15. 2. 1 S10
E53	<i>ñ.PÓTO(ñ.)</i> MORMYRIDAE in general	1.1.2	—	30 40 50	16
E54	<i>lu.kúú(ñ.)</i> <i>Campylomormyrus elephas</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.2	D	40	16. 3. 6 S11
E55	<i>lu.kúú(ñ.)</i> <i>Campylomormyrus numenius</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.2	D	40	16. 3. 9 S12
E56	<i>lu.kúú(ñ.)</i> <i>Campylomormyrus tamandua</i> (GÜNTHER)	1.1.2	D	40	16. 3.13 S13
E57	<i>lo.bébé(ñ.)</i> <i>Gnathonemus petersii</i> (GÜNTHER)	1.1.2	C	—	16. 5. 5 S14
E58	<i>lo.sese(ñ.)</i> <i>Hippopotamys wilverthi</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.2	D	40 50	16. 7.16 S15
E59	<i>lo.sese-l.é-lu.alaba</i> <i>Marcusenius greshoffi</i> (SCHILTHUIS)	1.1.2	D E3	40	16.11.16 S16
E60	<i>lo.sese(ñ.)</i> <i>Marcusenius macrolepidotus</i> (PETERS)	1.1.2	D	40	16.11.22 S17
E61	<i>lo.sese(ñ.)</i> <i>Marcusenius stanleyanus</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.2	D	40	16.11.34 S18
E62	2 <i>ñ.tá(ñ.)</i> <i>Mormyrops (Mormyrops)</i> sp.	1.1.2	D1 D2 E	30 50	16.12 S19
E63	1 <i>mo.mete(me.)</i> <i>Mormyrops (Mormyrops)</i> <i>deliciosus</i> (LEACH)	1.1.2	D	30 40 50	16.12.12 S20
E64	<i>mu.nkumba-w.á-ljla</i> <i>Mormyrops (Mormyrops)</i> <i>masuianus</i> BOULENGER	1.1.2	A B D1	30 40	16.12.20 S21
E65	<i>mo.mete-w.é-ka.ácj</i> <i>Mormyrops (Mormyrops)</i> <i>nigricans</i> BOULENGER	1.1.2	C	—	16.12.22 S22
E66	<i>mu.cjmasúngú(mi.)</i> <i>Mormyrops (Mormyrops)</i> sp.	1.1.2	C D	—	16.12 S23
E67	<i>i.bjo(ma.)</i> <i>Mormyrus</i> sp.	1.1.2	D E	30 40 50	16.13 S24
E68	<i>lo.sese-l.é-ki.bungi</i> <i>/mu.sikalubungi(mi.)</i> <i>Petrocephalus catastoma</i> GÜNTHER	1.1.2	D E3	40 50	16.16. 6 S25
E69	<i>lo.sese-l.é-ki.sibili</i> <i>Petrocephalus sauvagii</i> BOULENGER	1.1.2	C D	20 40	16.16.16 S26
E70	<i>lo.sese(ñ.)</i> ?Pollimyrus sp.	1.1.2	D	40	16.17 S27
E71	<i>lo.sese-l.é-ki.sibili</i> <i>Stomatorhinus microps</i> BOULENGER	1.1.2	C D	20 40	16.18. 6 S28

Table 3E (4)

Ref. no.	Songola names (Enya dialect) Latin names	Folk category	Locality	Fishing methods	CLOFFA Ref.no No.	Ref.no Ankei'89
E72	<i>ki.bíla(bj.)</i> <i>Alestes imberi</i> PETERS	1.1.2	D	30 40 50	26. 1.18	S30
E73	<i>mu.mpúngú(mi.)</i> <i>Alestes macrolepidotus</i> (VALENCIENNES)	1.1.2	D F	30 50	26. 1.27	S31
E74	<i>ki.bíla(bj.)</i> <i>Alestes poptae</i> PELLEGRIN	1.1.2	D	30 40 50	26. 1.33	S33
E75	<i>ki.bíla(bj.)</i> <i>Alestopetersius ?leopoldianus</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.2	D	30 40 50	26. 2. 5	S35
E76	<i>lu.ndakála(ñ.)</i> <i>Alestopetersius</i> sp.	1.1.2	—	—	26. 2	S36
E77	<i>lu.salísali(ñ.)</i> <i>Micralestes</i> sp.	1.1.2	C	20	26.13	S42
E78	<i>lu.úndí(ñ.púndí)</i> <i>Barbus holotaenia</i> BOULENGER	1.1.2	C	20 30 40	29. 4.14	S58
E79	<i>mo.tóngónyinkí(me.)</i> <i>Epiplatys multifasciatus</i> (BOULENGER)	1.1.2	C	20	40.16.22	S119
E70	<i>ki.silý(bj.)</i> <i>Ctenopoma nigropannosus</i> REICHENOW	1.1.2	C D	20 30 40	69. 1.19	S131
E81	<i>mu.íngilí(mi.)</i> unidentified	1.1.2	D1	30 40	?	S134
E82	<i>ka.seko(to.)</i> unidentified	1.1.2	C	20	?	S135
E83	3 <i>ki.buwá(bj.)</i> <i>Auchenoglanis occidentalis</i> (VALENCIENNES)	1.2.1	E3	30 50	31. 2.14	S76
E84	2 <i>ka.mpété(to.)</i> <i>Auchenoglanis occidentalis</i> (VALENCIENNES)	1.2.1	D	30 40 50	31. 2.14	S77
E85	1 <i>í.kómbé(ma.)</i> <i>?Auchenoglanis occidentalis</i> (VALENCIENNES)	1.2.1	A C	20 30	31. 2.14	S78
E86	<i>í.kómbé-c.é-mi.súlu</i> <i>?Auchenoglanis</i> sp.	1.2.1	C2	—	31. 2	S79
E87	<i>Ñ.PENGELE(Ñ.)</i> <i>Chrysichthys</i> spp.	1.2.1			31. 6	S81
E88	2 <i>ñ.kamba(ñ.)</i> <i>Chrysichthys cranchii</i> (LEACH)	1.2.1	E	10 30 50	31. 6. 7	S82
E89	1 <i>ke.kolú(bj.)</i> <i>Chrysichthys cranchii</i> (LEACH)	1.2.1	D E	10 30 40 50	31. 6. 7	S83
E90	1 <i>í.bolá(ma.)</i> <i>Chrysichthys</i> sp.	1.2.1	D E	10 30 40 50	31. 6	S84
E91	1 <i>ñ.pengele(ñ.)</i> <i>Chrysichthys</i> sp.	1.2.1	D E	10 30 40 50	31. 6	S85
E92	<i>mu.ungúlu(mi.)</i> <i>Chrysichthys</i> sp.	1.2.1	D E	10 30 40 50	31. 6	S86
E93	<i>mu.ungúlu(mi.)</i> <i>Chrysichthys brevibarbis</i> (BOULENGER)	1.2.1	D E	10 30 40 50	31. 6. 6	S87
E94	<i>mu.ungúlu(mi.)</i> <i>Chrysichthys longipinnis</i> (BOULENGER)	1.2.1	—	—	31. 6.21	S88
E95	<i>Ñ.CII(Ñ.)</i> <i>Synodontis</i> spp. of smaller size	1.2.1	A D F	30 40 50	36.10.	S107

Table 3E (5)

Ref. no.	Songola names (Enya dialect) Latin names	Folk category	Locality	Fishing methods	CLOFFA Ref.no No.	Ref.no Ankei '89
E99	<i>ñ.cif-y.e-má.ñtónđi</i> <i>Synodontis congicus</i> POLL	1.2.1	D A	30 40 50	36.10.20	S111
E100	<i>ñ.cif-y.e-mí.sytáli</i> <i>Synodontis decorus</i> BOULENGER	1.2.1	D A	30 40 50	36.10.24	S112
E101	<i>ñ.cif-y.e-í.toke</i> <i>Synodontis dorsomaculatus</i> POLL	1.2.1	D A	30 40 50	36.10.27	S113
E102	<i>n.ganga-mo.élo</i> <i>Synodontis greshoffi</i> SCHILTHUIS	1.2.1	D A	30 40 50	36.10.39	S114
E103	<i>n.ganga-mw.flu</i> <i>Synodontis greshoffi</i> SCHILTHUIS	1.2.1	D A	30 40 50	36.10.39	S115
E104	<i>mo.gembá(mi.)/ke.tongétonge(bi.)</i> <i>Synodontis</i> sp.	1.2.1	D A	10 30 50	36.10	S116
E105	<i>ñ.cif(ñ.)</i> <i>Synodontis pleurops</i> BOULENGER	1.2.1	D A	30 40 50	36.10.76	S117
E106	<i>ka.nkulunkulu(tu.)</i> <i>Synodontis smiti</i> BOULENGER	1.2.1	D A	30 40 50	36.10.93	S118
E107	<i>mu.nungúngola(mi.)</i> <i>Bagrus ubangensis</i> BOULENGER	1.2.2	D	30 40	31. 4. 9	S80
E108	2 <i>ka.bíli(tu.)</i> <i>Schilbe (Eutropius)</i> sp.	1.2.2	E1	30 50	32. 4.12	S89
E109	1 <i>ka.ngélé(to.)</i> <i>Schilbe (Eutropius)</i> sp.	1.2.2	D	30 50	32. 4.12	S90
E110	1 <i>ka.ngélé(to.)</i> <i>Schilbe (Eutropius) grenfelli</i> (BOULENGER)	1.2.2	D	30 50	32. 4.12	S91
E111	<i>i.pépélé(ma.)</i> <i>Schilbe (Schilbe) mystus</i> (LINNAEUS)	1.2.2	C D	30 50	32. 4. 2	S92
E112	<i>i.pépélé-c.é-ka.áci</i> <i>Schilbe (Schilbe)</i> sp.	1.2.2	C	20	32. 4	S93
E113	<i>ñ.kámbángola(ñ.)</i> CLARIIDAE	1.2.2	C	20 40	34	S95
E114	<i>ñ.kéngé(ñ.)</i> <i>Channallabes apus</i> (GÜNTHER)	1.2.2	C	20 30 40	34. 1. 1	S96
E115	<i>ki.búli(bi.)</i> <i>Clarias buthupogon</i> SAUVAGE	1.2.2	C D E	20 30 40	34. 3. 7	S97
E116	2 <i>mu.búmbi(mi.)</i> <i>Clarias platycephalus</i> BOULENGER	1.2.2	C	30 40 50	34. 3.27	S98
E117	1 <i>ñ.gola(ñ.)</i> <i>Clarias</i> sp.	1.2.2	A C	20 30 40	34. 3.	S99
E118	4 <i>ñ.samba(ñ.)</i> ?	1.2.2	A D1	30 40	34.	S101
E119	3 <i>mo.sambaola(me.)</i> <i>Heterobranchus longifilis</i> VALENCIENNES	1.2.2	A D1	30 40 50	34. 7. 3	S102
E120	2 <i>ñ.gola</i> <i>Heterobranchus longifilis</i> VALENCIENNES	1.2.2	—	—	34. 7. 3	S103
E121	1 <i>ka.olakancíi(to.)</i> <i>Heterobranchus longifilis</i> VALENCIENNES	1.2.2	—	—	34. 7. 3	S104
E122	<i>nyĩnkĩ(=)</i> <i>Malapterurus electricus</i> (GMELIN)	1.2.2	D2 F	30 40 50	35	S105

Table 3E (6)

Ref. no.	Songola names (Enya dialect) Latin names	Folk category	Locality	Fishing methods	CLOFFA Ref.no No. Ankei '89
E96	<i>ṁ.pukúsú(ṁ.)</i> <i>Synodontis acanthomias</i> BOULENGER	1.2.1	D E	30 50	36.10. 2 S108
E97	<i>ká.ombél.á-n.samba-u.kumbí</i> <i>/i.lungamandely</i> <i>Synodontis alberti</i> SCHILTHUIS	1.2.1	D A	30 40 50	36.10. 4 S109
E98	<i>mo.pílí(me.)/ṁ.cíí-y.e-mó.pílí</i> <i>Synodontis angelicus</i> SCHILTHUIS	1.2.1	D A	30 40 50	36.10. 6 S110
E123	<i>ṁ.kóto(ṁ.)</i> <i>Euchilichthys guentheri</i> (SCHILTHUIS)	1.2.2	E	10 50	36. 5. 4 S106
E124	<i>mu.nkumba(mi.)</i> <i>Caecomastacembelus sclateri</i> (BOULENGER)	1.2.2	D	30	70. 2.25 S132
E125	<i>ṁ.tutú(ṁ.)</i> <i>Tetraodon mbu</i> BOULENGER	1.2.2	D	30 40 50	74. 1 S133

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.nyonyinfii* (*Panthodon buchholzi* PETERS, a small fish which jumps over the water), *mu.ntítinfii* (*Belonoglanis tenuis* BOULENGER, a twig-like tiny fish) and *lu.kumbi* (*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. *ṁ.bulí(ṁ.)*, 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. *ṁ.papá (ṁ.)*

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. *M.PÓTO* (M.)

1—fishes of the family Mormyridae; 2—an inclusive name for fishes E54-E71; 6—larger fishes of this group have stiff skin.

E83-E106. *ki.buwá* (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.pílfí* (me.)/ñ.cif-y.e-

F. Bugs and worms (Table 3F).

F1. *lo.pó* (m.)

1—larvae of F7; 2—grow out of palm trunks felled for palm wine production; found in either of two palm species, *i.bondo* (raffia palm) and *m.bíla* (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.sóbú* tree, *Petersianthus macrocarpus* (P. BEAUV.) LIBEN. (Lecythidaceae), on rainy days; 10—the same name as a vegetable C3.

mó.pílfí

7—taboo for nursing women.

E107-E125. *mu.nungúngola*

(mi.), etc.

1—fish having neither scales nor large poisonous spines; 6—large fishes of this group are rarely smoked for fear of losing their fat.

E122. *nyinkí* (=)

1—electric catfish; 6—its thick skin is usually removed before cooking.

E123. *ñ.kóto* (ñ.)

6—fish for fishermen; the most delicious of all; has red flesh resembling beef.

E125. *ñ.tútú* (ñ.)

1—globe fish; 6—its hard skin must be peeled off before cooking; 7—its liver is not eaten for fear of becoming *mu.pitu* or unsuccessful in fishing and other daily activities.

F3. *ke.kelekéle* (bj.)

2—spiny worms.

F4. *ká.kuú* (tú.)

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.séngélé w.é tú.kuú*, *Bridelia micrantha* BAILL. (Euphorbiaceae); a cocoon contains up to half a liter of these worms; 6—they are called *i.cá l.é 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.lumbú-lumbu* trees, either or both of *Caloncoba welwitschii* (OLIV.) GÜRKE and *Buchnerodendron speciosum* GÜRKE (Flacurtiaceae).

F6. *ki.nkúcu* (bj.)

2—worms on oil palm trees; 6—stiff but comestible.

F7. *ka.nyúbú* (tu.)

1—adult insects of F1; 2—at-

Table 3F Materials having *mu.suna* (3): bugs and worms

No.	Songola names Latin names	Swahili	English	Parts eaten	Locality	Availability	Activities
F1	<i>lo.pó(ñ.)</i> <i>Rhynchoophorus</i> sp.	<i>pose</i>	larva of F7	whole	c0-1,d	c	G
F2	<i>mo.sóko(me.)</i> unidentified	—	—	whole	a c	s	G
F3	<i>ke.kelekéle(bj.)</i> unidentified	—	—	whole	a c	r	G
F4	<i>ká.kuú(tú.)</i> <i>Anaphe</i> sp.	—	—	whole	c1-2	c	G
F5	<i>ka.mpanda(tu.)</i> unidentified	—	—	whole	a c	r	G
F6	<i>ki.nkúcu(bj.)</i> unidentified	—	—	whole	a c	r	G
F7	<i>ka.nyúmbú(tu.)</i> <i>Rhynchoophorus</i> sp.	—	weevil	whole	c0-1,d	c	G
F8	<i>lu.kúlunḡunyú(ñ.)</i> DYTISCIDAE	—	diving beetle	whole	A B	s	G
F9	<i>lu.swá(ñ.)</i> <i>Macrotermes</i> sp.	<i>inchwa</i>	termite	whole	c	c	G

tracted 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.

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. *ĩ.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.

F8. *lu.kúlunḡunyú (ñ.)*

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 (ñ.)*

1— larvae of termites; 4— collected from termite hills in the forest.

G4. *mo.palf (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 (ñ.)*

1— a bivalve in the Lualaba; very much resembles an oyster; 2— regarded as a "younger brother" of G4.

G6. *lo.kóla (ñ.)*

Table 3G Materials having *mu.suna* (4): other animals

No.	Songola names Latin names	Swahili	English	Parts eaten	Loca- lity	Availa- bility	Activi- ties
G1	<i>ki.límbá(bj.)</i> SALIENTIA	<i>chula</i>	frog	whole	A	r	G
G2	<i>í.bólo(ma.)</i> SALIENTIA	<i>mutoto ya chula</i>	tadpole	whole	A	r	G
G3	<i>í.kálá(ma.)</i> CRUSTACEA	<i>kala</i>	crab	whole	A	r	G
G4	<i>mo.palí(me.)</i> CRUSTACEA	<i>kosakosa</i>	prawn	whole	A	r	G
G5	<i>lo.kokú(ñ.)</i> PELECYPODA	—	oyster-like bivalve	flesh	D	r	G
G6	<i>lo.kóla(ñ.)</i> <i>Achatina fulica</i>	—	giant snail	flesh	c,d	r	G
G7	<i>lo.késé(ñ.)</i> PELECYPODA	—	bivalve	flesh	D	r	G
G8	<i>í.ye l.é n.koko</i> <i>Gallus gallus domesticus</i>	<i>mayai ya kuku</i>	eggs of hen	inside	dl	r	D
G9	<i>í.ye l.é í.báta</i> <i>Anas domesticus</i>	<i>mayai ya bata</i>	eggs of duck	inside	dl	r	D
G10	<i>í.ye l.é ñ.joka</i> OPHIDA	<i>mayai ya nyoka</i>	snake eggs	inside	c,d	r	H

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 (ñ.)*

1— bivalves in the Lualaba; 2— there are *lo.késé*, *í.késé*, and *ki.kúlunkesé*; 4— the flesh will

be skewered with a string and smoked if there is an abundant catch.

G8. *í.ye l.é n.kókó*

1— eggs of hen; 4— found in the cage or a room for the hen; often given as gifts to the guest.

G9. *í.ye l.é í.báta*

1— eggs of ducks; 4— collected in a cage or a room for ducks.

G10. *í.ye l.é ñ.joka*

1— eggs of snakes; 6— boiled and eaten like eggs of fowl.

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

H1. *ki.kúmbí (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 in-

formant 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. *í.papáiu (ma.)*

1— papayas; 2— cultivated in villages for the same reason as H1;

Table 3H Materials eaten raw: fruit and flower

No.	Songola names Latin names	Swahili	English	Parts eaten	Loca- lity	Availa- bility	Activi- ties
H1	<i>ki.kúmbí(bj.)</i> <i>Musa</i> sp.	<i>kitika</i>	banana	fruit	d1	c	C
H2	<i>j.papáiu(ma.)</i> <i>Carica papaya</i> L.	<i>papai</i>	papaya	fruit	d1	c	C
H3	<i>ki.nanásj(bj.)</i> <i>Ananas comosus</i> (L.) MERR.	<i>nanasi</i>	pineapple	fruit	d1	r	C
H4	<i>mo.mbélé(me.)</i> <i>Physalis</i> sp.	—	Cape goose- berry	fruit	d1	r	G
H5	<i>j.pela(ma.)</i> <i>Psidium guajava</i> L.	<i>mapela</i>	guava	fruit	d1	r	C
H6	— <i>Persea americana</i> MILL.	<i>aboka</i>	avocado	fruit	d1	r	C
H7	— <i>Mangifera indica</i> L.	<i>mahembe</i>	mango	fruit	d1	r	C
H8	— <i>Citrus</i> sp.	<i>mandelena</i>	orange	fruit	d1	r	C
H9	— <i>Anona muricata</i> L.	<i>musitafeli</i>	soursap	fruit	d1	r	C
H10*	<i>j.ngunguliyá(má.)</i> <i>Begonia eminii</i> WARB.	—	—	flower	c1,c2	r	G
H11*	<i>ka.kongaci(to.)</i> <i>Oldfieldia africana</i> BENTH. & HOOK. f.	—	—	fruit	a1,a2,a3	r	G
H12*	<i>ka.mungumungu</i> <i>k.é mu.kálí</i> <i>Poggea alata</i> GÜRKE	—	—	fruit	c1,c2	s	G
H13*	<i>ka.sombó na</i> <i>ba.cwá</i> <i>Aframomum stipulatum</i> (GOGN.) K. SCHUM.	<i>matungulu</i> <i>ya poli</i>	wild ginger	fruit	a4,b1,c1	c	G
H14*	<i>jéngélécá(=)</i> <i>Thaumatococcus daniellii</i> (BENN.) BENTH.	—	—	fruit	c1,c2	s	G
H15*	<i>lo.bélé(ñ.)</i> <i>Aframomum laurentii</i> DE WILD.	<i>matungulu ya poli</i>	—	fruit	c1,c2	c	G
H16*	<i>m.bombombo(m.)</i> <i>Passiflora foetida</i> L.	—	—	fruit	b2,d2	r	G
H17*	<i>mu.ambú(mi.)</i> <i>Chrysophyllum delevoiyi</i> DE WILD.	—	African star apple	fruit	a1,a2,c2	r	G
H18*	<i>mu.sikiliki(mi.)</i> <i>Myrianthus arboreus</i> P. BEAUV.	—	—	fruit	a1,a2	r	G
H19*	<i>mu.silikindi(mi.)</i> <i>Pancovia laurentii</i> (DE WILD.) GILG ex DE WILD.	—	—	fruit	a1,a2	r	G
H20*	<i>ka.angangulubi(tu.)</i> <i>Loudetia simplex</i> C. E. HUBB.	—	—	ground part	c0,c1	r	G
H21*	<i>tonga(=)</i> <i>Grewia pinnatifida</i> MAST.	<i>tongatonga</i>	—	fruit	b1	r	G
H22*	<i>ka.pamí(tu.)</i> <i>Pennisetum purpureum</i> SCHUM.	<i>kamuwa</i>	elephant grass	sap	b2	r	G
H23*	<i>j.banda(ma.)</i> <i>Irvingia smithii</i> PIERRE ex ENGL.	—	—	fruit	b2	r	G
H24*	<i>j.tekeke(ma.)</i> <i>Dichaetanthera strigosa</i> (COGN.) JACQ.-FÉL.	<i>bonbon ya poli</i>	—	fruit	c1	c	G
H25*	— <i>Sherbournia calycina</i> (G.DON) HUA	—	—	fruit	c1,c2	r	G

6—a snack and a gift; some woman refrain from eating papaya in the evening because it cools down your body.

H3. *ki.nanási* (*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. *i.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 med-

icinal 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. *i.ngunguliyá* (*má.*)

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 (I13).



Fig. 23 *Mo.mbélé* (H4) plant and its fruits. Diameter of a fruit 1-2 cm. Flower color is yellow.
Mbeku ya mo.bélé.

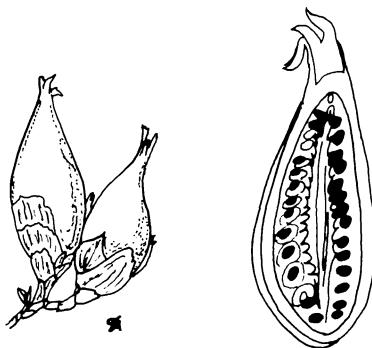


Fig. 24 Wild ginger fruits (H15) having reddish purple outside, white pulp and black seeds. Diameter 3-3.5 cm.
Matungulu ya poli.

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.é mu.kálí*

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.cwá*

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. *yéngéléká* (=)

1— triangular fruit of a herb of the family Marantaceae; 2— the herb itself has another name *ke.éngesá*; 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.

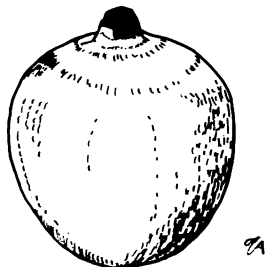


Fig. 25 *Mu.ambú* (H17) fruit having vermilion peel, orange pulp and milky white sap. Diameter 8 cm.

Matunda ya mu.ambú.

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.silíkindi* (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.pamí* (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. *i.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 3I).

11. *ma.ánji*

1—water; either hot or cool;
2—hot water is *ma.ánji 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. *.moní* (ba.), etc.

1—chilies; varieties of red pepper; the same as B20.

14. *ki.sulúsulú* (b.).

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 bī.muka b.í ki.lúla*

1—seeds of a tree; see B22;
6—gives garlic-like flavor.

16. *mu.nyingili w.é bī.sisí b.í ka.bácamba*

1—leaves of a tree; see B23;
6—gives garlic-like flavor.

17. *mu.nyingili w.é bī.usu b.í ka.bácamba*

1—bark of a tree; see B24;
6—gives garlic-like flavor.

18. *lu.andula* (ñ.)

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 *malu m.é ba.poló*, or "alcohol for the Protestants."

110. *ñ.kecú* (ñ.)

1—grains of a wild species of the same genus as pepper;
6—pounded grains are infused.

111. *ka.ngaulĩmbu*

1—lemon grass; 4—cultivated in villages; 6—leaves are infused to make lemon grass tea.

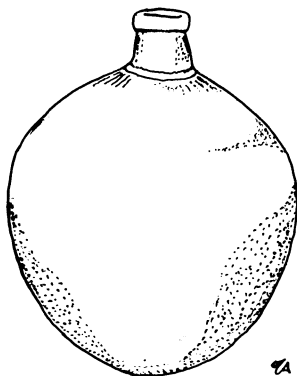


Fig. 26 *M.paka*, a jar for drinking water. Diameter ca. 35 cm. *Kidumu ya mayi*.

Table 3I Materials for beverages

No.	Songola names Latin names	Swahili	English	Parts eaten	Loca- -lity	Availa- bility	Activi- ties
I1	<i>ma.ánji</i>	<i>mayi</i>	water	—	C1	c	C
I2	<i>ka.bólé(to.)</i> <i>Capsicum frutescens</i> L.	<i>pilipili</i>	chilies	fruit	c0,d1	c	C
I3	<i>.moní(ba.) etc.</i> <i>Capsicum</i> spp.	<i>pilipili</i> <i>mbuzi</i>	chilies	fruit	c0,d1	c	C
I4	<i>ki.sulúsulú(bj.)nyanya</i> <i>Solanum</i> sp.	<i>nyanya</i> <i>uchungu</i>	eggplant	fruit	c0	s	C
I5*	<i>mu.nyingili</i> <i>w.é bj.muka b.í ki.lúla</i> <i>Hua gabonii</i> PIERRE ex DE WILD.	<i>bufili</i>	—	leaves	a1,a2	c	G
I6*	<i>mu.nyingili</i> <i>w.é bj.sisí b.í ka.bácamba</i> <i>Scorodophloeus zenkeri</i> HARMS.	<i>bufili</i>	—	leaves	a1,a2	c	G
I7*	<i>mu.nyingili</i> <i>w.é bj.usu b.í ka.bácamba</i> <i>Scorodophloeus zenkeri</i> HARMS.	<i>bufili</i>	—	barks	a1,a2	c	G
I8*	<i>lu.andula(n.ŋ)</i> <i>Cissus adenocaulis</i> STUD. ex A. RICH.	—	—	leaves	c0,c1,d1	r	G
I9	<i>kaáwa(=)</i> <i>Coffea robusta</i> HORT.	<i>kahawa</i>	Congo coffee	seeds	d1	c	C
I10*	<i>n.kecú(n.)</i> <i>Piper guineense</i> SCHUM. & THONN.	<i>pilipili manga</i>	Benin pepper	fruit	c1,c2	r	G
I11	<i>ka.ngaulímbu</i> <i>Cymbopogon citratus</i> (D.C.) STAFF.	<i>chaichai</i>	lemon grass	leaves	d1	r	C
I12	— <i>Zingiber officinale</i> ROSC.	<i>tangawusi</i>	ginger	roots	d1	r	C
I13*	<i>í.ngunguliyá(má.)</i> <i>Begonia eminii</i> WARB.	—	—	leaves	c1,c2	r	G
I14*	<i>ka.ukyá(tu.)</i> <i>Leonardoxa romii</i> (DE WILD.) AUBREV.	—	—	leaves	a1,a2,a3	r	G
I15*	<i>lu.áminu(n.ŋ)</i> <i>Croton mubango</i> MÜLL. ARG.	—	—	bark	c1,c2	r	G
I16	<i>i.bondo(ma.)</i> <i>Raphia</i> sp.	<i>libondo</i>	raffia palm	sap	c0,c1, c2,d1	c	C,G
I17	<i>i.bíla(ma.)</i> <i>Elaeis guineensis</i> JACQ.	<i>ngasi</i>	oil palm	sap	c1,c2,d1	c	C
I18	<i>mu.funga(mi.)</i> <i>Oryza sativa</i> L.	<i>mupunga</i>	rice	seeds	c0	c	C
I19	<i>mo.kolokoto(me.)muhindi</i> <i>Zea mays</i> L.	<i>muhindi</i>	maize	seeds	c0	c	C
I20	<i>mo.songú</i> <i>w.ácwá</i> <i>Manihot esculenta</i> CRANTZ.	<i>muhogo</i> <i>uchungu</i>	cassava (bitter)	tubers	c0,c1	c	C
I21	<i>sulá(=)</i>	<i>sukali</i>	sugar	—	markets	r	M

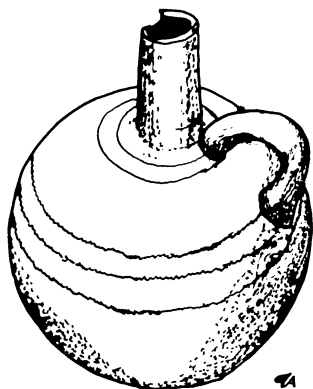


Fig. 27 *Ka.yko*, a small jug for drinking water. Diameter 18 cm. *Kidumu kidogo*.

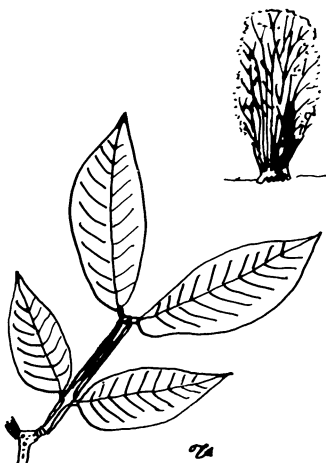


Fig. 28 I14 *ka.ukyá*. Leaf shape and foliage. *Muti ya ka.ukyá*.

I12. *tangawizi* (Swahili)

1— ginger; 4— a small amount is cultivated in villages; 6— pounded and infused; not used as a condiment.

I13. *í.ngunguliyá* (má.)

1— leaves of a herb; see H10; 6— infused for their sour taste and the brown color resembling that of black tea.

I14. *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.

I15. *lu.áminu* (ñ.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.

I16. *í.bíla* (ma.)

1— palm wine of oil palm sap.

I17. *í.bondo* (ma.)

1— palm wine of raffia palm sap.

I18. *mu.funga* (mi.)

1— rice; one of the materials for the liquor distilled from the fermentation of rice and cassava flour.

I19. *mo.kolokoto* (me.)

1— dry maize; one of the materials for the liquor distilled from the fermentation of rice, maize and cassava flour.

I20. *mo.songú w.ácwá* (me.)

1— bitter cassava; the same plant as A3; 6— cassava flour is mixed with the mash for the fermentation of liquor.

I21. *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. *.cɪnj.*

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



Fig. 29 V1 *.cɪnj.* A Muslim is going to cut the neck of a blue duiker, (D10, *ka.sɪsɪ*) with a knife (T1, *lu.bau*).
Muisulamu anachinja mbuluku na kisu.

Table 4 (1) Inventory of principal verbs for preparing food

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

Table 4 (2)

No. Verbs	English equivalents	English tool names	Tool no.
V14 . <i>tut.</i>	thresh (oil palm)	Axe + Bush knife	T5+T6
	pound in mortar	Large mortar +	<u>T15</u>
		Long pestle	<u>T16</u>
	pound/bruise in mortar	Medium mortar +	T12
V15 . <i>lumb.</i>		Short pestle	T2
	separate grain and chaff	Shallow basket	<u>T17</u>
V16 . <i>son.</i>	pick up (seeds, kernels)	(With fingers)	-
V17 . <i>óy.</i>	wash (materials)	Aluminum pan	<u>T18</u>
	wash (materials)	Wash basin	<u>T19</u>
	wash (intestines)	(In a stream)	-
V18 . <i>tutik.</i>	submerge in water/soak	Aluminum pan/	-
		Coverless earthen pan	<u>T20</u>
		(In a pond)	-
V19 . <i>ís.</i> <i>ma.ánji</i>	drain excessive water	Basket for foods	<u>T21</u>
		Basket for women	<u>T22</u>
		(By a pond)	-
V20 . <i>bík. ku</i> <i>ma.ánji</i>	put under dripping water	Basket for foods	T21
		+ Basket for women	T22
V21 . <i>ín.</i>	squeeze	(By hand)	-
	squeeze (oil)	Squeezer for palm oil	<u>T23</u>
	squeeze (oil)	Apparatus for manu-	
		facturing palm oil	<u>T24</u>
V22 . <i>ís. mu</i> <i>ka.saulila</i>	strain inedible parts	Strainer	<u>T25</u>
Processing of edible parts without using heat			
V4* . <i>át.</i>	divide	(By hand)	-
	divide	Small knife for woman	T7
V5* . <i>búk.</i>	cut(leaves)	Knives/Bush knife	T1/T7/T6
	cut (raw cassava tubers)	Digging spatula	<u>T26</u>
	slice (boiled cassava)	Spatula of Marantaceae	<u>T27</u>
	cut (boiled cassava)	Small knife for women	T6
	cut (plantain cake)	Threads	<u>T28</u>
V23 . <i>úk.</i>	mince	Knives	T1/T7
V24 . <i>píny.</i>	rub (leaves)	(By hand)	-
V14* . <i>tut.</i>	pound in mortar	Large mortar	T15
		+ Long pestle	T16
	pound/bruise in mortar	Medium mortar	T12
		+ Short pestle	T2
	pound/bruise in mortar	Small mortar	T9
		+ Short pestle	T2
	pound/bruise in mortar	Small square mortar	T11
		+ Short pestle	T2
V25 . <i>sáky.</i>	pound into flour	Medium mortar	T12
		+ Short pestle	T2
V26 . <i>soy.</i>	mash	Broad spatula	T4
	make paste with water	Large spoon	T13
	make paste with water	Medium mortar	T12

Table 4 (3)

No. Verbs	English equivalents	English tool names	Tool no.
V27 .ís. mu ka.iungí	sieve	+ Short pestle Sieve	T2 <u>T29</u>
V28 .léngy.	stir up	Broad spatula	T4
	stir up	Large spoon	T13
	stir up	(By hands)	-
V29 .cong.	knead cassava paste	Long spatula	T10
		+ Aluminum pan	T18
V30 .long.	mix (on leaves)	Broad leaves	<u>T30</u>
V31 .bík.	put something in/on	-	-
V32 .télél.	put something in a container	-	-
V33 .ít.	pour into	-	-
V34 .tokéc.	make less	Pans	T18/T20
V35 .lály.	leave as it is	-	-
V36 .alul.	put upside-down	-	-
	mix upside-down	Broad spatula	T4
	mix upside-down	Large spoon	T13
Processing of edible parts by heat			
V37 .áník.	expose to smoke	Smoking shelf	<u>T31</u>
	expose to smoke	Smoking shelf for fish	<u>T32</u>
	expose to sunlight	Shallow basket	T17
V38 .úmy.	desiccate	Smoking shelf	T31
	desiccate	Shallow basket	T17
V39 .cúmb.	carbonize	Iron plate	<u>T33</u>
V40 .ekel.	roast	-	-
V41 .ekel. né j.kéta	roast in broad leaves	Broad leaves	T30
V42 .káng.	parch/sauté/fry	Aluminum pan	T18
	heat on iron plate	Iron plate	T33
V43 .káng. né ki.úkí	roast in a covered pan	Aluminum pan	T18
V44 .lukus.	boil/steam	Covered earthen pan	<u>T34</u>
	boil/steam	Coverless earthen pan	T20
	boil/steam	Aluminum pan	T18
V45 .lukus. né j.kéta	boil/steam	Pans	T18
	in broad leaves	+ Broad leaves	T30
V46 .pes.	boil slightly	Pans	T18/T20/T34
		Aluminum pan	T18
V47 .tékec.	make fire larger	Fan/-	<u>T35</u>
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.

No.	Songola tool names	Explanations	Related verbs
T1	<i>lu.bau</i>	Men's large knife	V1,5,5*,7,9,13,23
T2	<i>mu.titi w.é tungu</i>	Short pestle	V2,3,13,14,25,26
T3	<i>j.we</i>	Stone	V2
T4	<i>mu.luwa w.é tungu</i>	Broad spatula	V2,26,28,36
T5	<i>ke.londa</i>	Axe	V4,13
T6	<i>bu.panga</i>	Bush knife	V4,5,5*,6,10,11, 13,14
T7	<i>ka.bau</i>	Women's small knife	V4,4*,5,5*,6,7, 9,11,13,23
T8	<i>ka.tí</i>	Small wooden stick	V8
T9	<i>ki.lunga k.é ka.bólé</i>	Small mortar	V8,14*
T10	<i>mu.luwa w.é bu.kálí</i>	Long spatula	V8,29
T11	<i>ka.kílílí k.é ka.bólé</i>	Small square mortar	V8,14*
T12	<i>ki.lunga k.é tungu</i>	Medium mortar	V8,14,14*,25,26
T13	<i>lu.pau</i>	Large spoon	V8,26,28,36
T14	<i>ki.úbú</i>	Raffia palm spatula	V11
T15	<i>ki.lunga k.é mu.funga</i>	Large mortar	V14,14*
T16	<i>mu.tuti w.é mu.funga</i>	Long pestle	V14,14*
T17	<i>lu.elí</i>	Shallow basket	V15,37,38
T18	<i>nyungú y.e bá.cungú</i>	Aluminum pan	V17,18,34,42,43, 44,45,46,49
T19	<i>lo.pepe</i>	Wash-basin	V17
T20	<i>ki.bángálá k.é nyungú</i>	Coverless earthen pan	V18,34,44,46,49
T21	<i>ki.tútú</i>	Basket for foods	V19,20
T22	<i>ki.mpaka</i>	Basket for women	V19,20
T23	<i>ka.lila</i>	Palm oil squeezer	V21
T24	<i>mụ.nyonga</i>	Apparatus for squeezing palm oil	V21
T25	<i>ka.saulila</i>	Palm juice strainer	V22
T26	<i>ki.úsú</i>	Digging spatula	V5*
T27	<i>lu.tiku</i>	Spatula for slicing boiled cassava	V5*
T28	<i>ka.sóso</i>	Threads	V5*
T29	<i>ka.iungí</i>	Sieve	V27
T30	<i>ka.ánj</i>	Broad leaves	V30,41,45
T31	<i>ki.liya</i>	Smoking shelf	V37,38
T32	<i>mo.pela</i>	Fish smoking shelf	V37
T33	<i>lu.bulu</i>	Iron plate	V39,42
T34	<i>j.búlú</i>	Covered earthen pan	V44,46,49
T35	<i>ke.lobe</i>	Fan	V47
—	no tools used	Hand	V4,4*,5,10,11, 12,21,24,48
—	no tools used	Fingers	V9,16
—	no tools used	Teeth and hand	V2
—	no tools used	Legs	V13
—	no tools used	—	V9,18,31,32,33, 35,36,40,47

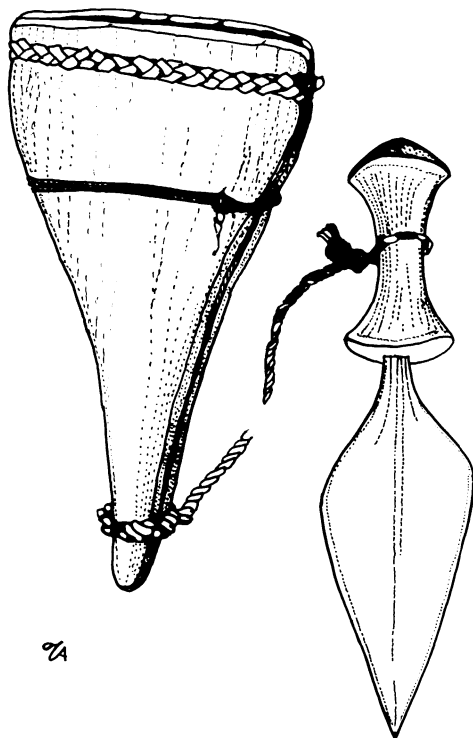


Fig. 30 *Lu.bau* (T1). Men's knife with its sheath *lu.pupá*. Length 23.5 cm. Sheath length, 24 cm.
Kisu ya wanaume na ndaha yake.

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—*Ū.cinj.í n.kókó*. "Butcher the hen." Sw—*chinja*.

2. Removal of inedible parts
V2. *.bél*.



Fig. 31 V2 *.bél*. Crushing oil palm kernels (B2 *mj.sa*) between two stones (T3 *j.we*).

Kubunja [kuvunja] misa kati ya majiwe [mawe] mbili.

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 *.bélek*. Example—*Bél.á n.tete*. "Crush cucurbit seeds." (see Fig. 116). Sw—*bunja [vunja in Tanzanian Swahili]*.



Fig. 32 V4 .*át*. A woman breaks a bunch of oil palm fruit (B1 *m.bíla*) with an axe (T5, *ke.londa*).

Muwanamuke anabunja kichwa ya ngasi.

V3. .*ib*.

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 .*búk*. (V5). These two verbs appear again under V22 in Table 4 to denote dividing

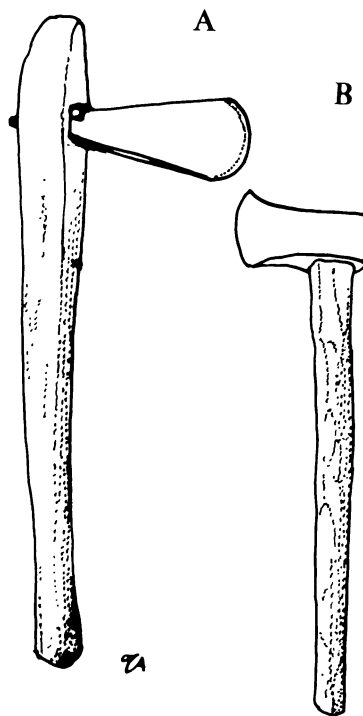


Fig. 33 Two types of axes (T5, *ke.londa*). A: traditional type, 83 cm long. B: introduced type, 70 cm long.

Shoka ya asili na ya kizungu.

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 k.é 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. .*búk*.

Def—to divide transversely. Expl—the common usage is to cut with a sharp-edged instrument presumably because tearing some-

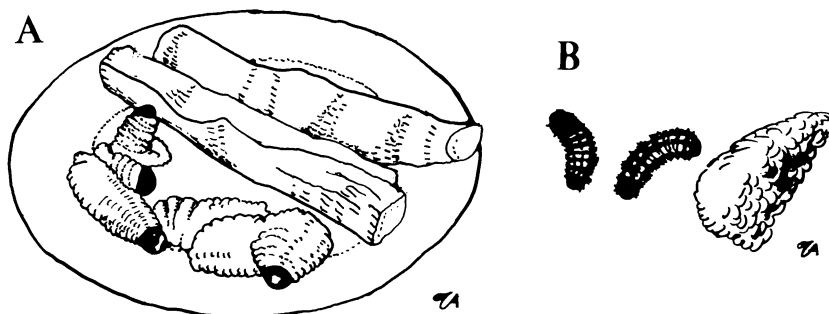


Fig. 34 A: *m.pó* (F1. larvae) with *ki.áti k.é mo.songú* (pieces of boiled sweet cassava, A2), B: *tú.kuú* (F4. worms).
A: *Bipasulio ya muhogo na pose*, B: *bidudu ingine*.

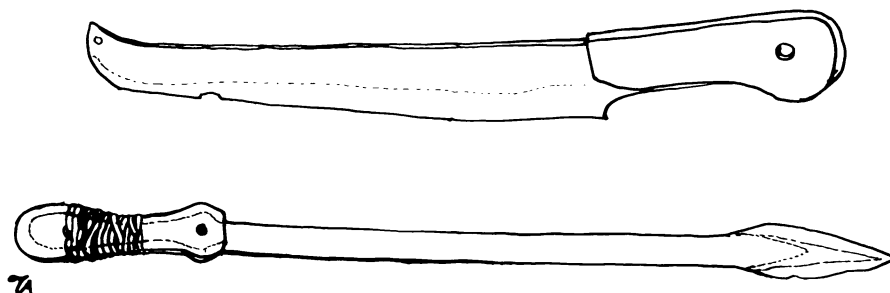


Fig. 35 Types of bush knives T6 *bu.panga*. Length of the upper, 55 cm and the lower, 68 cm.
Panga.

thing in transverse direction is not easy. Felling plantain trunks by bush knife (T6, Fig. 35), cutting cassava tubers with a digging spatula *ki.úsú* (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.yil.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 material 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—*Elá mu. langa w.é ñ.kaj*. "Pare the surface of the handle of the oar." Sw—*pelula* [*perura*].

V7. *.ba*.

Def—to remove intestines of animals; to gut (Fig. 40b). Expl—



Fig. 36 V5 .búk. An old Kuko man cuts the body of a snake (D62 ñ.joka), puff-adar with a bush knife (T6).
Muzee mwanaume anakata nyoka na panga.



Fig. 37 V5 .búk. Cutting bitter cassava tubers (A3) with women's digging spatula T26 ki.úsú.
Kukata muhogo uchungu na ki.úsú (fulukombe).

to open the abdomen and take out what is inside. Through this operation a game changes its name from *nyama y.e mé.soló y.andí e.ése* (an animal with all of its intestines) to *nyama y.e kú.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—*Á.síl.a ku.ba.á.* "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

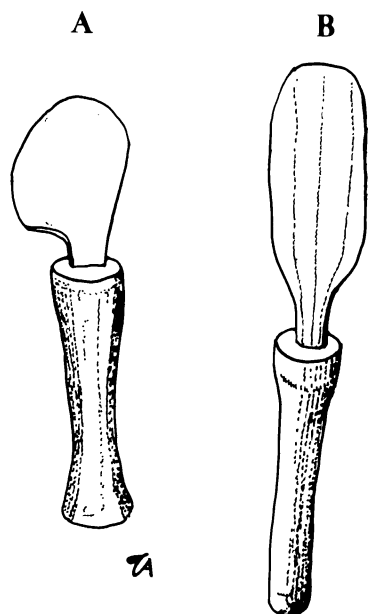


Fig. 38 Two types of digging spatula for women T26 *ki.úsú*.
 A: single-edged spatula, *ki.úsú*.
k.é mu.mbu ó.monji, 30 cm long.
 B: double edged spatula *ki.úsú*.
k.é mi.mbu mi.bílí, 45 cm long.
Ki.úsú ya ng'ambo moya [moja]
na ki.úsú ya ng'ambo mbili.

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 *i.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. *.kūmun*.

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 *.kūmun* 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

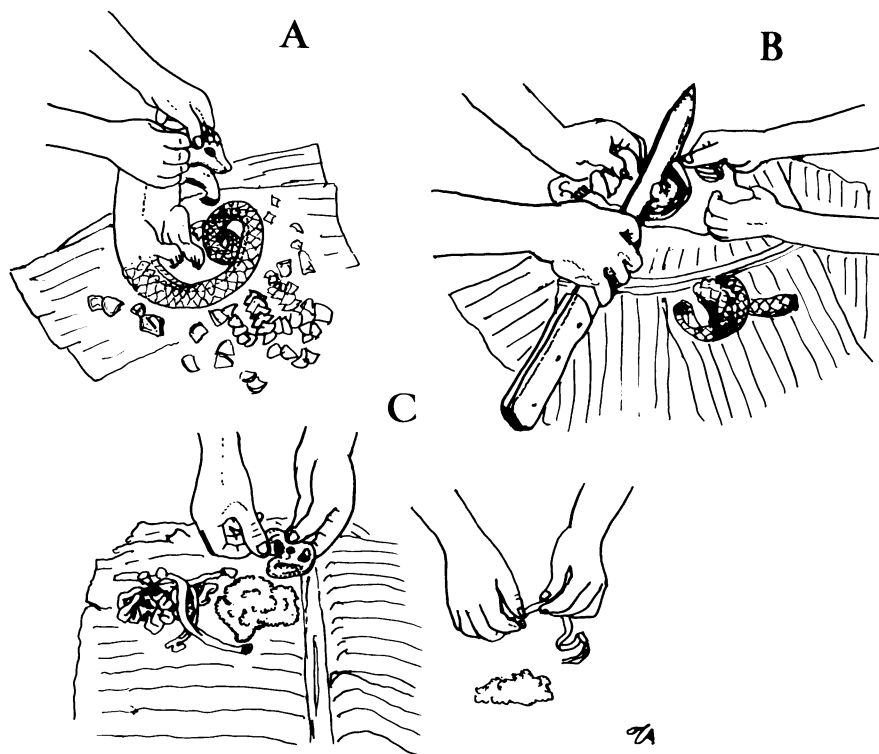


Fig. 40 A: V9 .túky. Removing scales of a tree pangolin (D56) with hand on broad leaves (T30). B: V7 .ba. Removing intestines with a bush knife (T6). C: V9 .túky. Emptying stomach and intestines with hand.

Kutengenesa nyama ya kabanga. A: Kutosha magamba ya kabanga na mukono, B: Kutosha butumbutumbu na panga, C: Kutosha mabi [mavi] ya butumbutumbu.

and dried animal skin is ñ.gubu. Peeling bark of a tree is a different verb .bác. Sw—menya.

V12. .báb.

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. .pikjs.

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. .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.

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.



Fig. 43 V10 .kymún. A Kuko woman dividing cassava leaves (C1) from inedible stems. *Muwanamuke ya mungini [muji] ya Ngoli anachambula [anachambua] sombe.*

104), to pound a sticky food, ñ.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 .tút., "to lull a baby". Sw— *twanga*.

V15. .lumb.

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

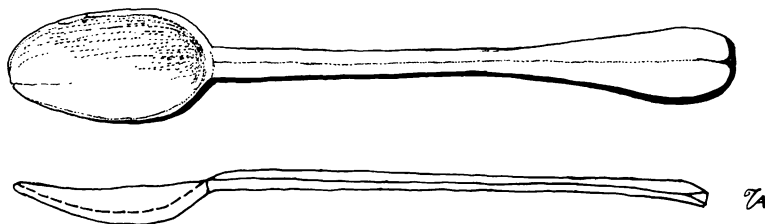


Fig. 42 T13 lu.pau. Large spoon. Length ca. 35 cm. *Lupao kubwa.*



← Fig. 44 V11 .*óngol*. A Kuko woman peels cassava tubers (A3) with a bush knife (T6) in the field.

Muwanamuke anamenya mihogo uchungu ku-shamba.



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

Muwanamuke anapukuchula mupunga ndani ya lungu.



← Fig. 45 V12 .*báb*. A Kuko girl burns the outside of a monkey.

Mutoto muwanamuke anababula [babua] makako ku-moto.

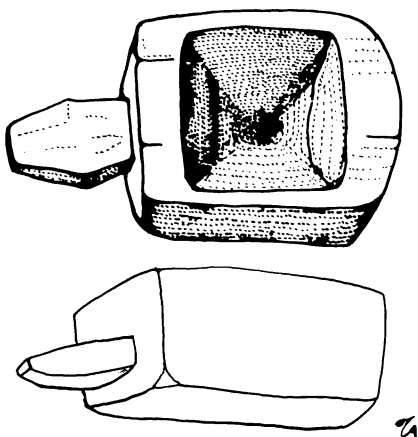


Fig. 47 T11 *ka.kílfí k.é ka. bólé*. A small square mortar. Breadth 10 cm.
Kino kidogo ya poli [pori].



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

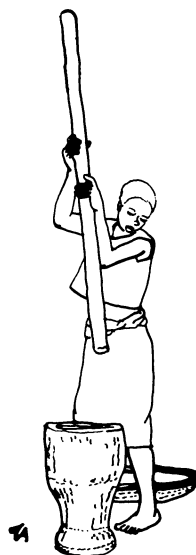


Fig. 49 V14 *.tut.* An Enya girl pounds rice (A7) to husk and polish it in a large mortar (T15, height 38 cm, diameter 32 cm) with a long pestle (T16, length 131 cm)
Mutoto muwanamuke anawanga mupunga.

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. *.óy.*

Def— to wash with water. Expl— washing and bathing (Fig. 52). There are other words *.pílut.* for scrubbing, and *.sul.* for cleaning dirty things. Washing clothes is *.fúl.*, probably of Swahili origin. Example— *Nyungú íkí né m.bílu. Óy.á né í.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. 52 V17 .óy. A woman cleanses aluminum pans (T18) by a stream.
Muwanamuke anasukula sufulia ku-bahali.

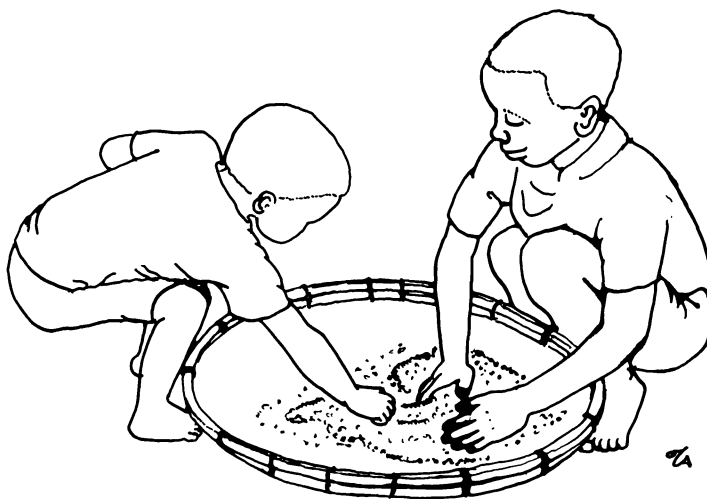


Fig. 51 V16 .son. Two boys remove sand and other inedible things from pounded rice (A7) in a shallow basket (T17).
Watoto wanaume wanachagua buchafu ya muchele.



Fig. 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. ma.ánji*. 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

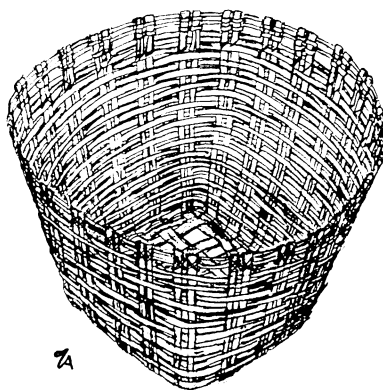


Fig. 55 T21 *ki.tútú*. Basket for food. Diameter ca. 40 cm.
Kitunga ya kuweka chakula.

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 .*ín*. is also used as for submerging bitter cassava tubers. Antonyms are .*total*. and .*ínun*. Sw— *lobeka* [loweka].

V19. .*is. ma.ánji*

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.is.á*. "Let him pass." Sw— *pitisha mayi* [pisha maji].

V20. .*bík. ku ma.ánji*

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. .*ín*.

Def— to twist something to get

its contents completely out. Expl— to squeeze *bu.súkú*, palm juice, out of boiled and pounded oil palm fruits in a rattan basket (Fig. 57). Boiled pumpkin leaves and yautia leaves are squeezed before seasoning. Example — *In.á bu.súkú nú.bulá*. "Squeeze that palm juice." Sw— *kamula [kamua]*.

V22. *.ís. mu ka.saulila*
Def— to strain, to remove inedible parts through a strainer.

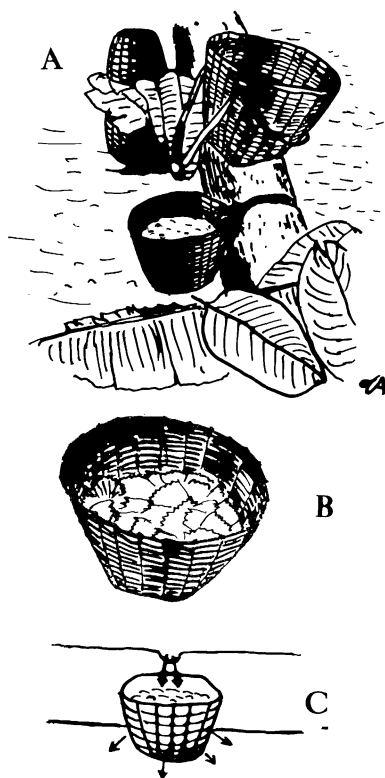


Fig. 56 V20. *.bík. ku ma.ánjĩ*.

A: a basketful of sliced bitter cassava (A3) put under dripping water, B: slices of bitter cassava in a food basket (T21), C: a scheme of the flow of water through the basket.

Ginsi [jinsi] ya kutengenasa lu.mata.

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

V24. *.piny*.
Def— to rub with fingers or hands. Expl— *mu.nyíngilí* 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 egg plants with broad spatula (Fig. 61-62). For the preparation of a hot beverage called *jalú*, boiled eggplants and chilies are mashed before putting them in water. Sw— *ponda*.

V27. *.ís. mu ka.iungí*
Def— to make homogeneous flour



Fig. 57 V21 .jn. A Kuko man squeezes palm oil (B1) in a traditional squeezer (T23).

Muwanaume anakamula [anakamua] mawese.

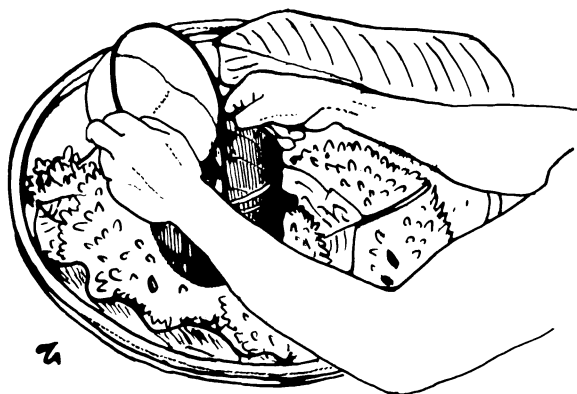


Fig. 58 V22 .ís. mu ka.saulila A woman makes to pass the extract of ashes (B10-B13) through a strainer (T25) on cassava leaves (C1).

Muwanamuke anapitisha makali ku-sombe.

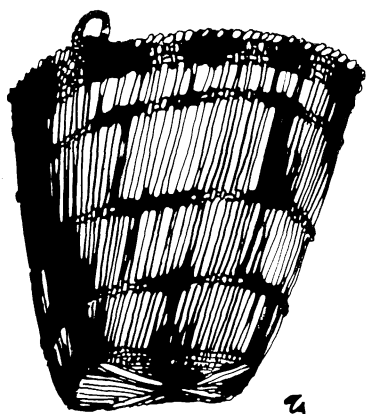


Fig. 59 T25 *ka.saulila*.
A strainer for oil palm
juice.
Kayungio [kajungio].

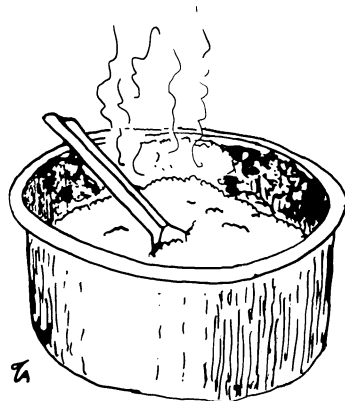


Fig. 61 V26 *.soy*. Mashing egg-
plant (C29) in boiled cassava
leaves (C1) with a broad spatula
(T4).

Kuponda nyanya na muiko
[mwiko].

with a sieve. Expl— a special
sieve (T29) is used to prepare
cassava flour (Fig. 63). Sw—
pitisha ku-kaiungio [pisha
kajungio].

V28. *.léngy*.

Def— to stir solid and liquid



Fig. 60 V23 *.úk*. A Kuko girl
shreds sweet potato leaves (C5)
with a knife (T7) over a wash-
basin (T18).

Mutoto mwanamuke anakatakata
[anachanyata] mayani ya
matembele.

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.káli, hot paste of cassava
flour with long spatula (Fig.
65). There is a trap for birds
named *cong.a-bu.káli*, denoting
that this trap catches game in a
short time as the preparation of
bu.káli. Maybe Songolaized
Swahili. Sw— *songa bukali*
[ugali].

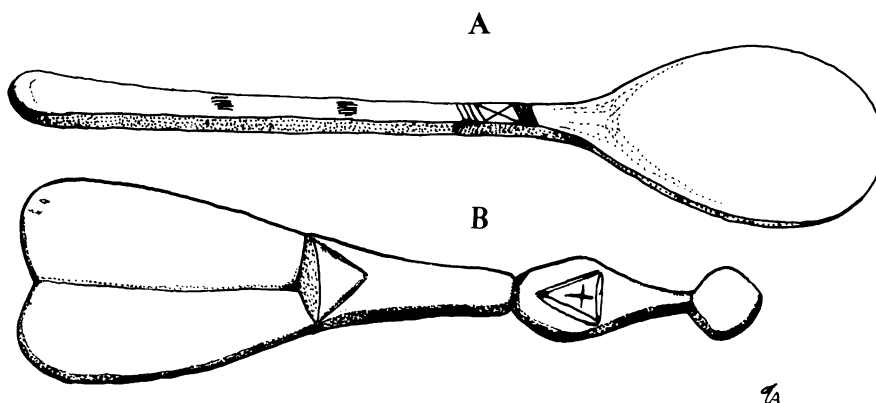


Fig. 62 T4 *mu.luwa w.é tungu*. Broad spatulas.
A: length 39 cm, B: length 28.5 cm.
Aina mbili ya muiko ya sombe.



Fig. 63 V27 *.ís. mu ka.iungí*. 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 *.sámbik.* (assemble) is used to refer to mixing food. Sw—*tia, unganisha.*

V31. *.bík.*

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. *.télél.*

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. *.ít.*

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—*Tókéc.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

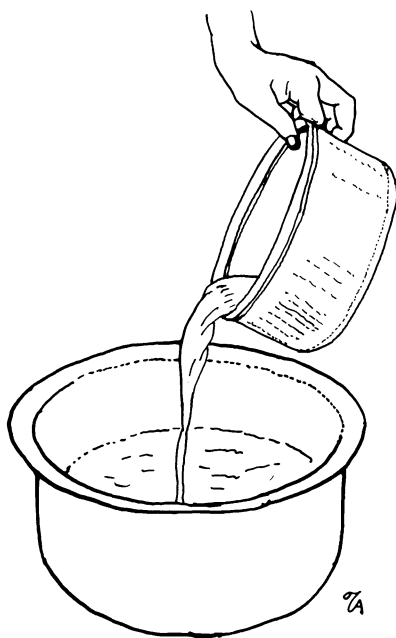


Fig. 66 V33 *.ít.* Pouring water in a pan (T18).
Kumimea mayi ku-chungu.

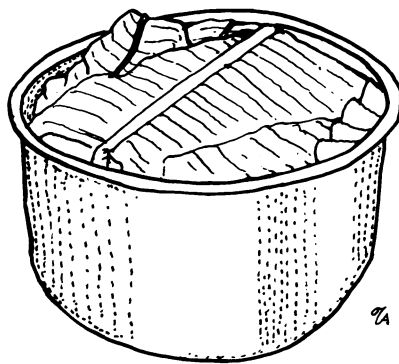


Fig. 67 V35 *.lály.* To leave as it is. Smoked meat soaked for hours in water in a pan (T18) covered with plantain leaves.
Nyama kabu [kavu] inalalishwa ku-chungu.

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. *ñ.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

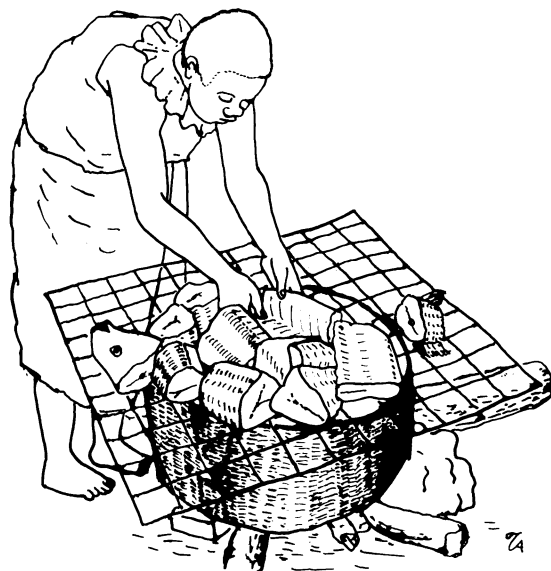


Fig. 68 V37 *.Áñk.* To smoke. An Enya woman arranges pieces of fish on a smoking shelf (T32).

Mwanamuke ya Wagenia ananika samaki.

Chart 2. Vocabulary for processing of edible parts by heat.

				Verb stems	Reference numbers
<i>ki.liya</i> smoking shelf	+	<i>kokoto</i> completely dry	—	<i>.ánik.</i>	V37
	—		+	<i>.úmy.</i>	V38
<i>nyungú</i> pots or pans	—	<i>ka.búbú</i> (burn to) ashes	+	<i>.cúmb.</i>	V39
	+		—		
		<i>ì.kéta</i> wrap	—	<i>.ekel.</i>	V40
			+	<i>.ekel. né ì.kéta</i>	V41
<i>ma.ánji</i> water	—	<i>ki.úkí</i> cover	—	<i>.káng.</i>	V42
	+		+	<i>.káng. né ki.úkí</i>	V43
		<i>ì.kéta</i> wrap	—	<i>.lukus.</i>	V44
			+	<i>.lukus. né ì.kéta</i>	V45
<i>.lukul.</i> boil	+				
	—			<i>.pes.</i>	V46

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

V37. *.ánjk.*

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, *n.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

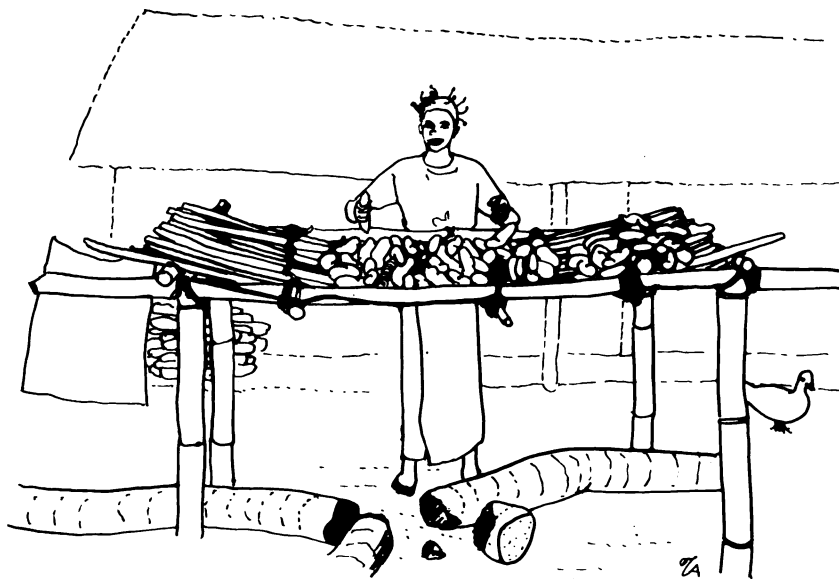


Fig. 69 V38. *.úmy.* To dry. A Kuko woman arranges soaked bitter cassava tubers (A3) on a shelf (T31) to dry it in the sun.
Muwanamuke anapanga mihogo ya kulobeka yulu [juu] ya kahala.



Fig. 70 V39 .cúmb. A Kuko woman carbonizes oil palm bracts (B11) on an iron plate (T33).
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—choma.

V41. .ekel. né i.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 *mu.suna* (muscle)

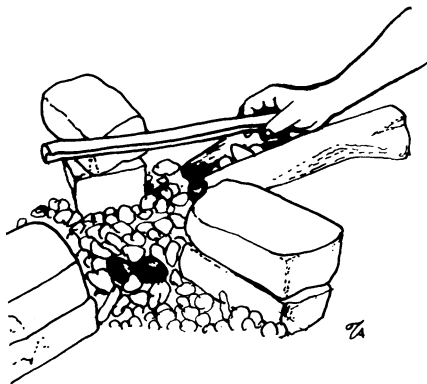


Fig. 71 V40 .ekel. Oil palm fruits (B1) roasted on cinders.
Ngasi ya kuchoma.

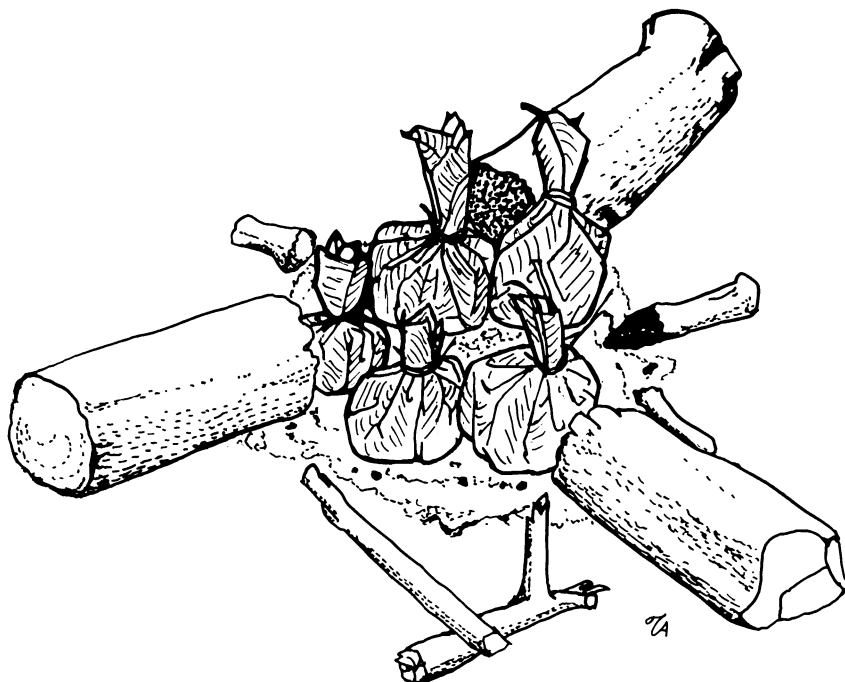
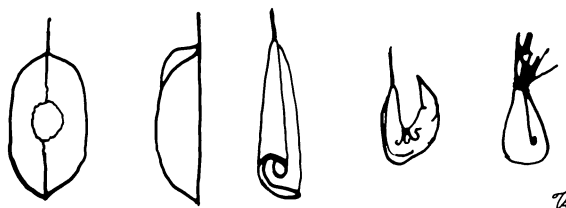


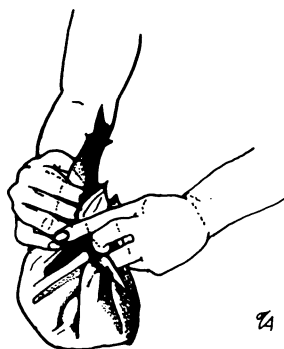
Fig. 72 V41 .ekel. né i.kéta. To roast in leaves. Wraps of cassava food (A2, C1) roasted on cinders among three large logs of firewood (me.konda).

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).*



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

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, *.kum.* (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

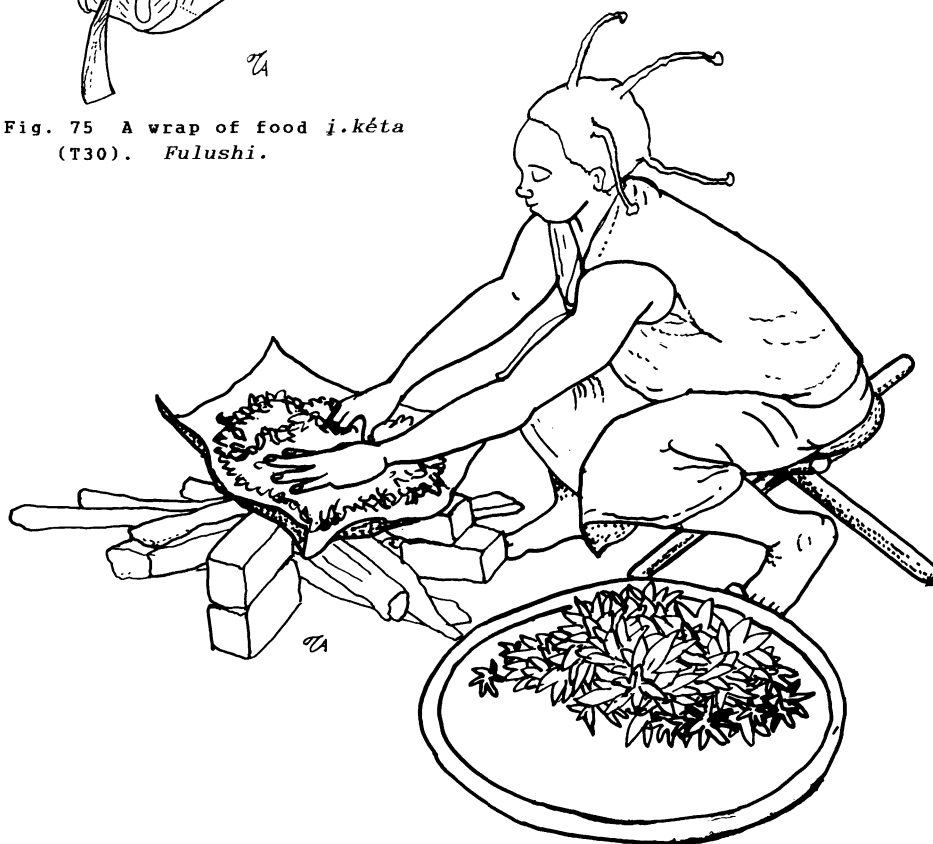


Fig. 76 V42 *.káng*. A Kuko woman parches cassava leaves (C1) on an iron plate (T33). Nylon threads (T28) are used to dress up her hair. *Mwanamuke anakalanga [anakaanga] sombe*.

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—

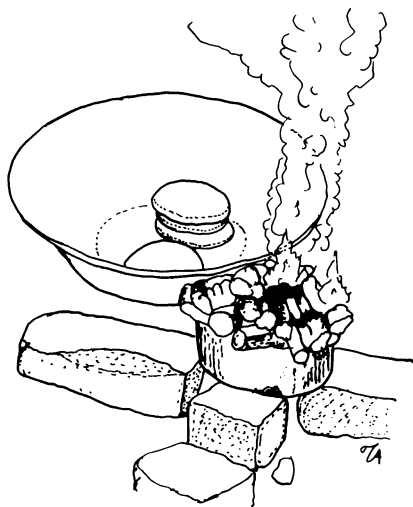


Fig. 77 V43 *.káng. né ki.úkí*.

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.

Cu.úba lí.káng.j. "The sun glares." Sw— *kalanga*.

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, and a big swollen bun is obtained by this process (Fig. 77). The Songola call this bun as *mu.káti w.é ba.cungú* or European bread. 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 (*.lul.*) for a long time and/or boiling on a strong fire (*.lul. né lú.kulu*). In most cases a cook covers (*.lib.*) 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

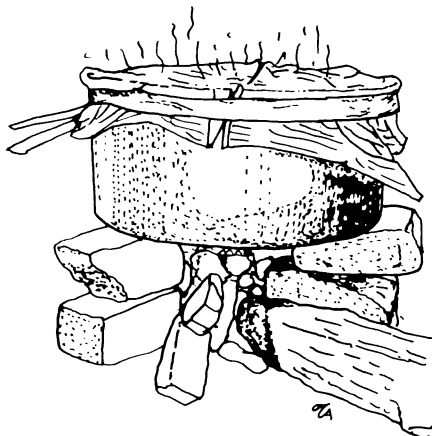


Fig. 78 V44 *.lukus*. Food (plantains or cassava tubers) boiled in a pan (T18).

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 i.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



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.

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.ínaminu*). 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

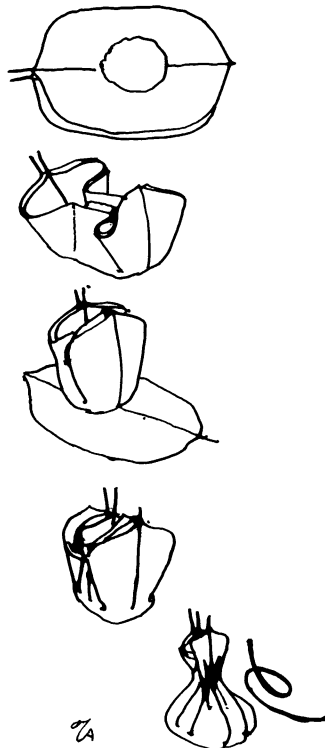


Fig. 80 V45 *.lukus. né i.kéta* (boil in wraps, T30). Method of wrapping cassava slices (A3) before boiling.
Kufunga lumata na fulushi.
Ginsi ya kufunga chakula mingi.



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

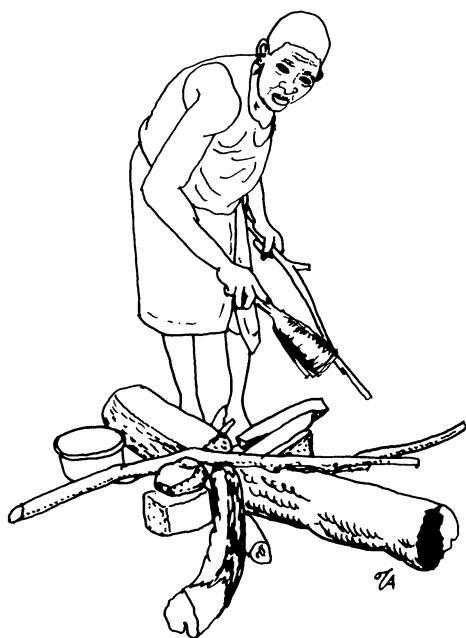


Fig. 82 V47 *.tékec.* An old Kuko woman fans to make fire larger with a fan, *ke.lobe* (T35).
Muzee muwanamuke anapulisa [anapuliza] moto na kipepeo.

arranging (*.sámbik.*) firewood. Some food having *mu.suna* (muscle) are heated in a small amount of

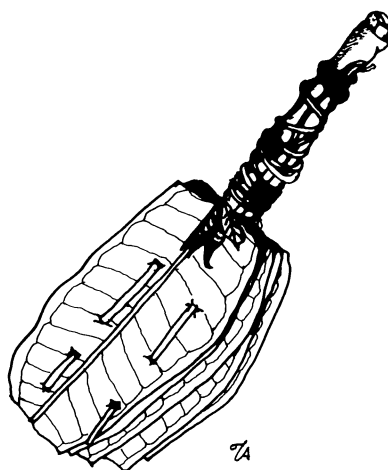


Fig. 83 T35 *ke.lobe.* A fan made of *mu.lyli* leaves (A5).
 Length 50 cm.
Kipepeo ya mayani [majani] ya limbalu.

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 (*.límy.*) if she no longer needs it. She will then dish out (*.ákul.*) the food before it cools down (*.ól.*). Sw—*lopola ku-moto.*

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 (*.bík.*, V31) for someone. The Songola call an environment dangerous for food preservation as being "cold" (*.é molaí*). 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 (*.ánjk.*) 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." *ñ.bíla lí.temb.í lí.kíné komókomó.* "Another bunch of oil palm has become soft (and the fruit has fallen off). "Sw— *legea.*

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 *.úmy*. (V38). Sw— *kauka*.

Q4 *.sŷy. mu.sábĭ*
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*.

Q5 *.bund*.
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 *.tabang*.
Def— to separate and form a layer. Expl— a verb used to indicate the end of palm oil fabrication. Sw— *jikata*.

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* (see 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.kílílí* 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

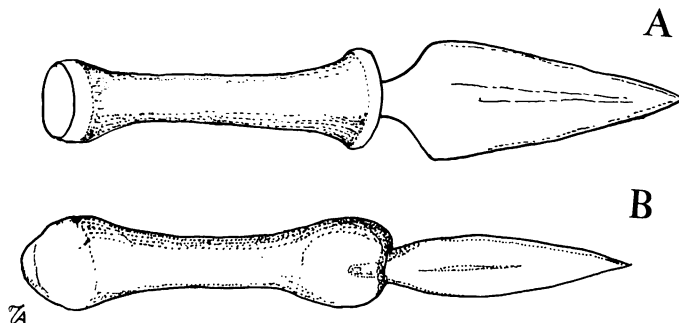


Fig. 84 T7 *ka.bau*. Small knives for women.

A: new, length 12 cm, and B: used, length 14 cm.

Bisu ya wanamuke [visu vya wanawake].

medium-sized square mortar *ki. kílílí 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. tuti 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).

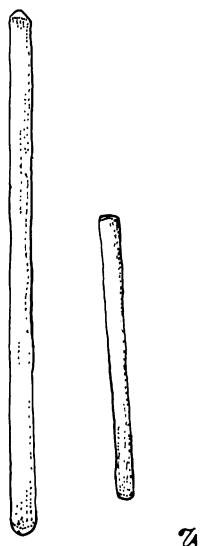


Fig. 85 Two types of pestles,
T2 *mu.tuti w.é tungu*. Length
66 cm. T16 *mu.tuti w.é
mu.funga*. Length 122 cm.
Aina mbili ya mutwangio.

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 Zaïre 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.

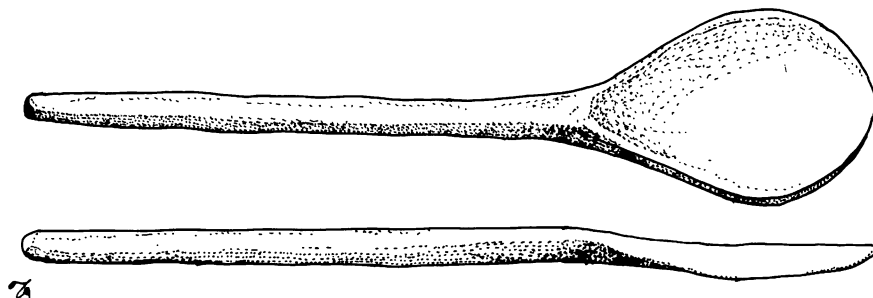


Fig. 86 T4 *mu.luwa w.é tungu*. Broad spatula for rice
and boiled cassava leaves. Length 42 cm
Muiko ya sombe.

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

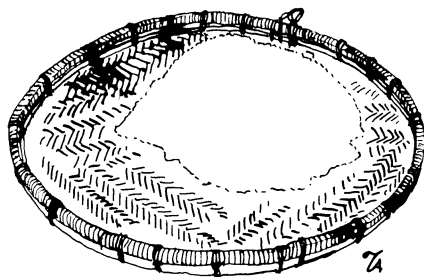


Fig. 87 T17 *lu.elj*. Shallow basket containing cassava flour (A3) Diameter ca. 60 cm. *Lungo*.

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 woman 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

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 loafs 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.

V 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 material are described 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.

6. *Ndisi [ndizi] ya kuchoma.*

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).

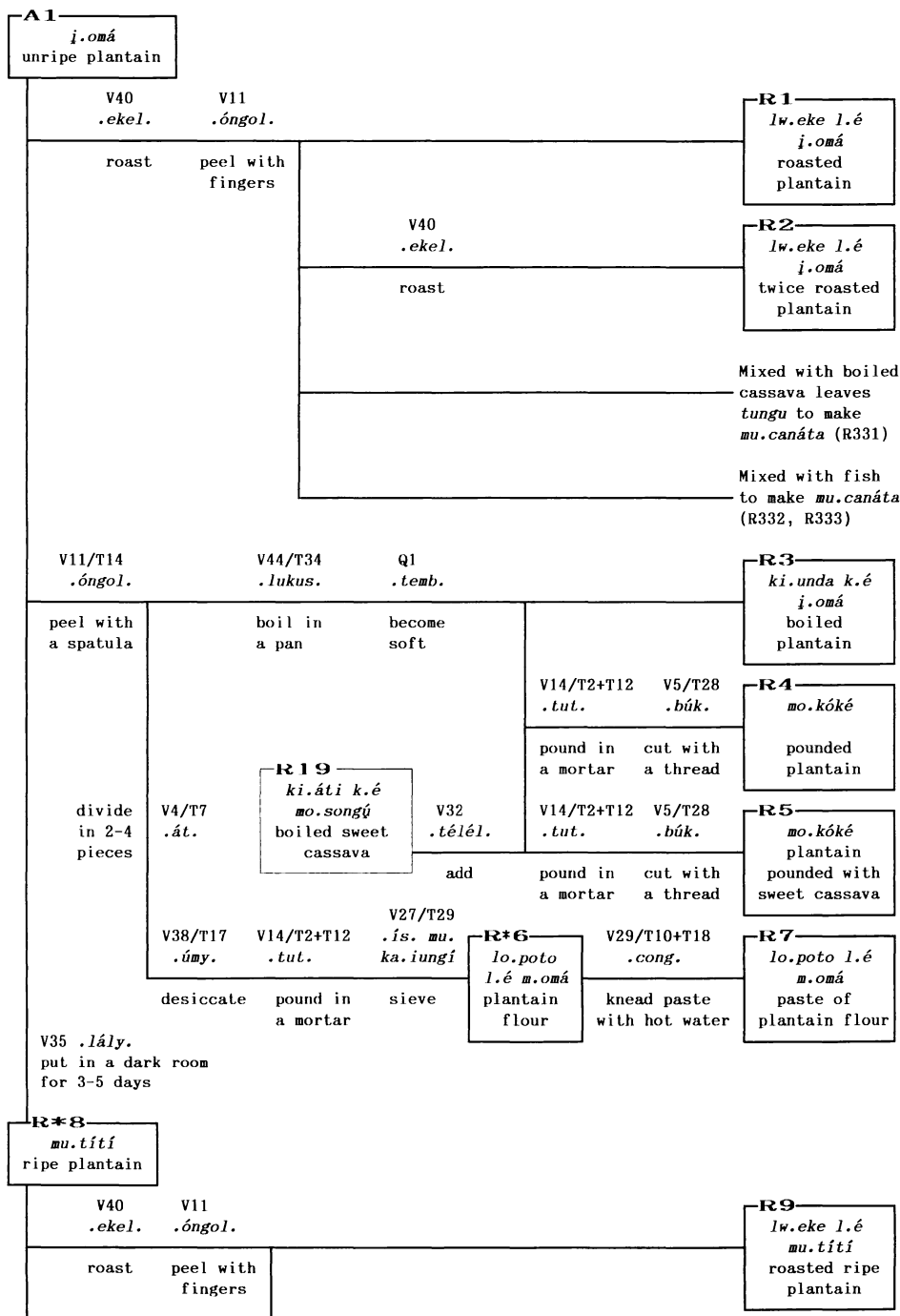
6. *Ndisi ya kupika.*

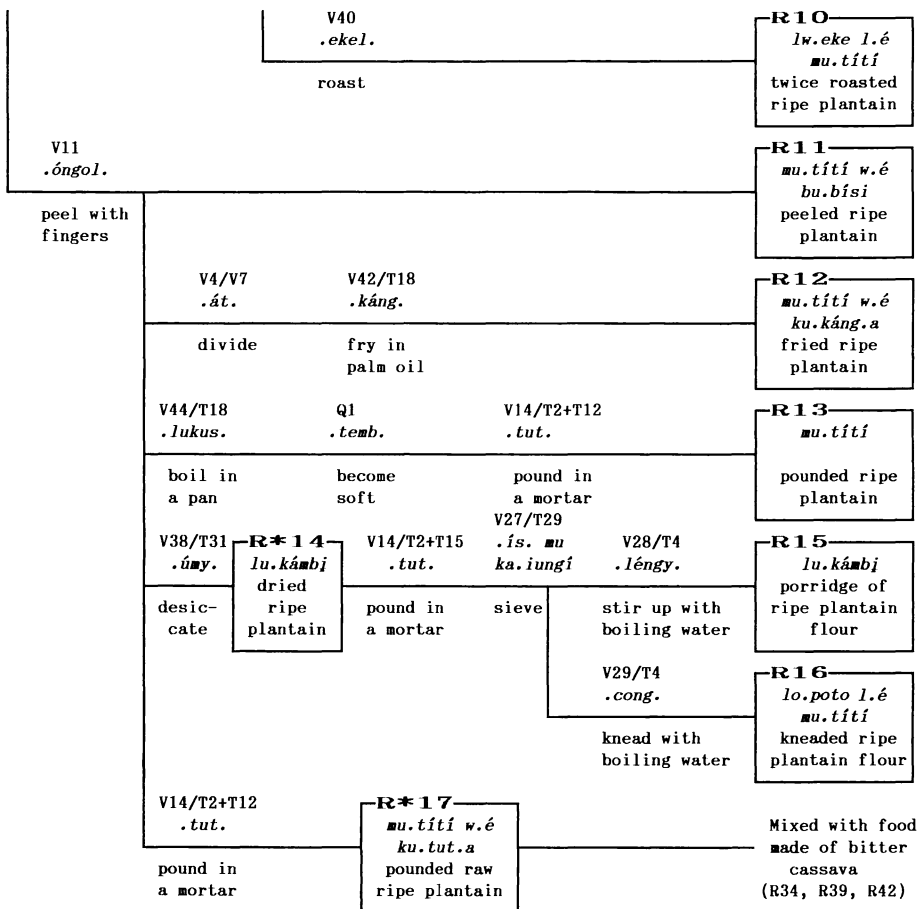
R4. *Mo.kóké*

1. The preceding pounded in a mortar.

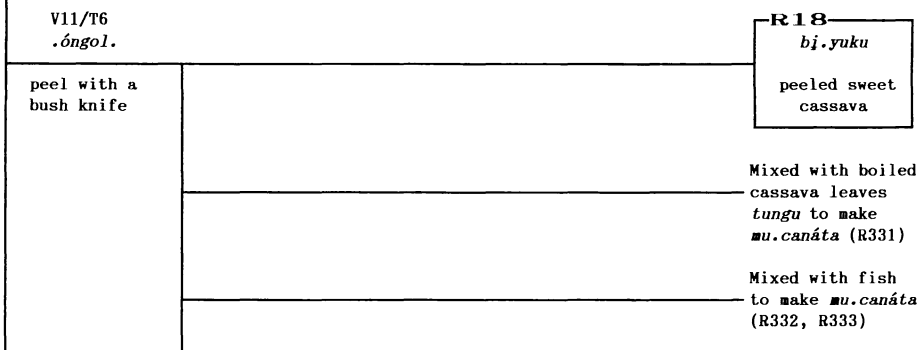
3. Songola women use a nylon thread for dressing up their hair (T28, see Fig. 76) to cut the sticky batter to bite-size pieces (Fig. 91); the remaining can be

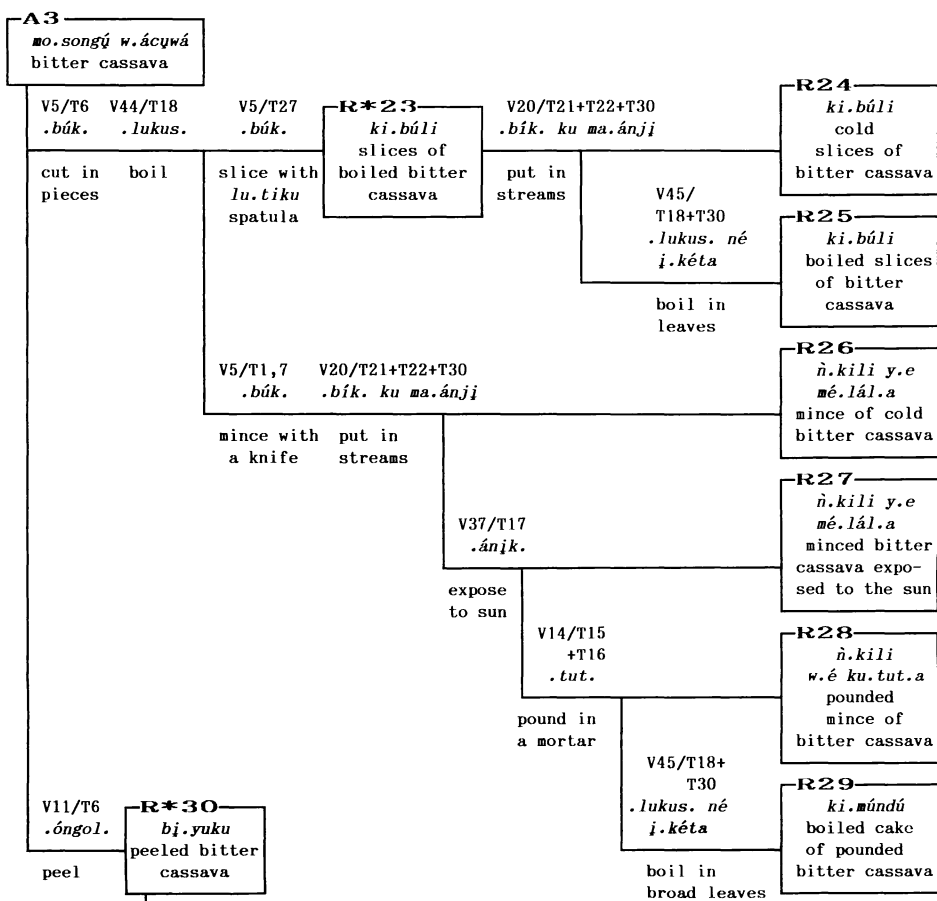
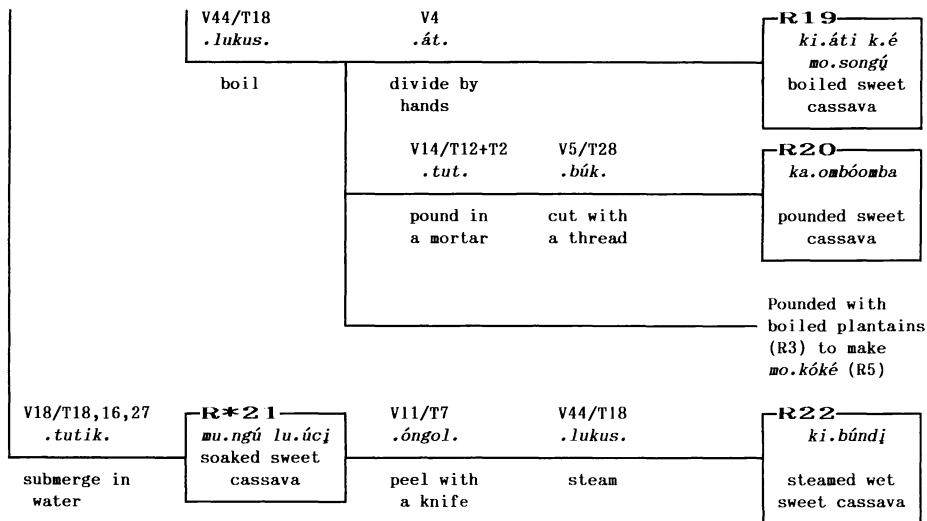
Chart 3A. Recipes for principal starchy food.

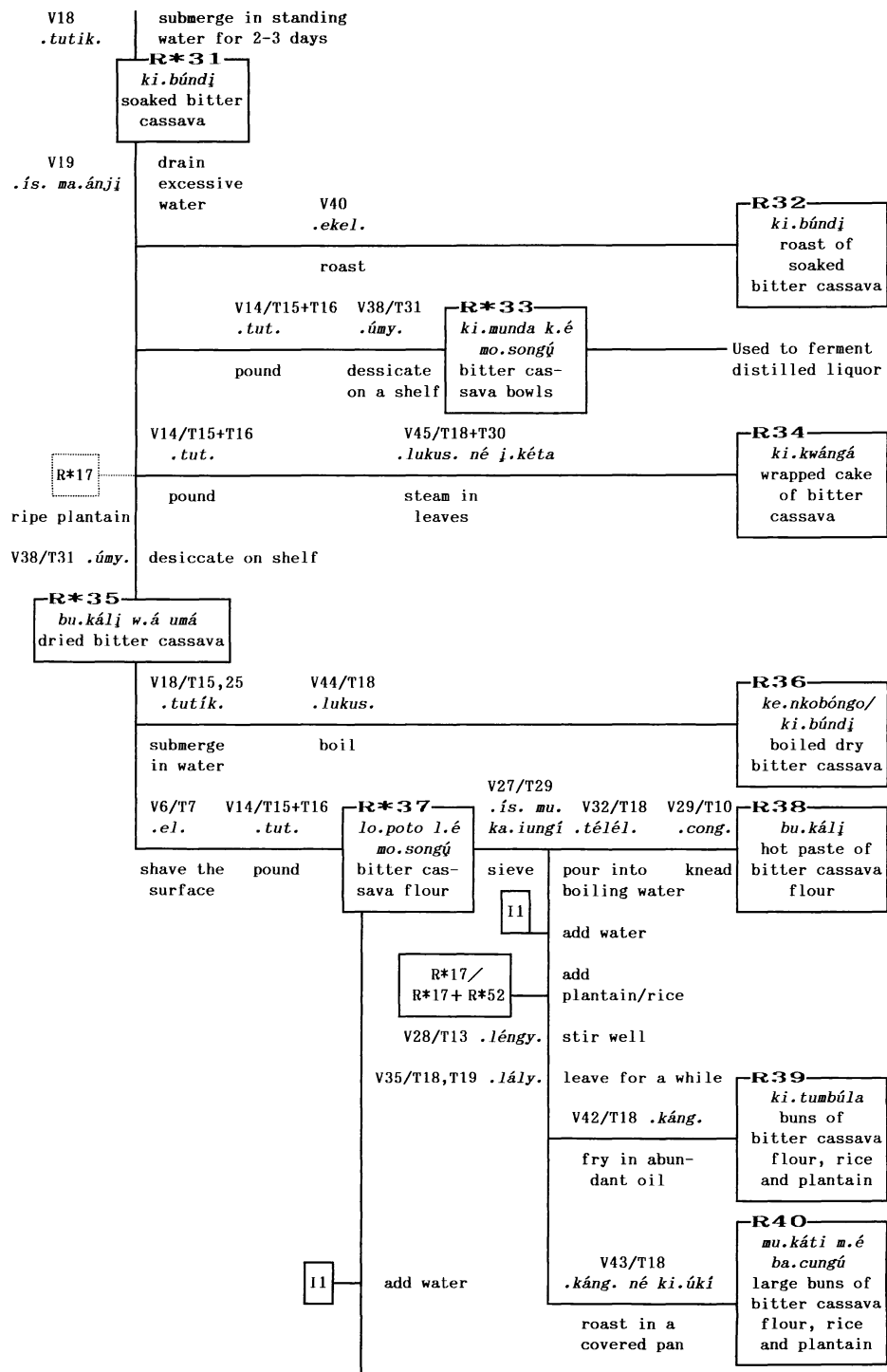




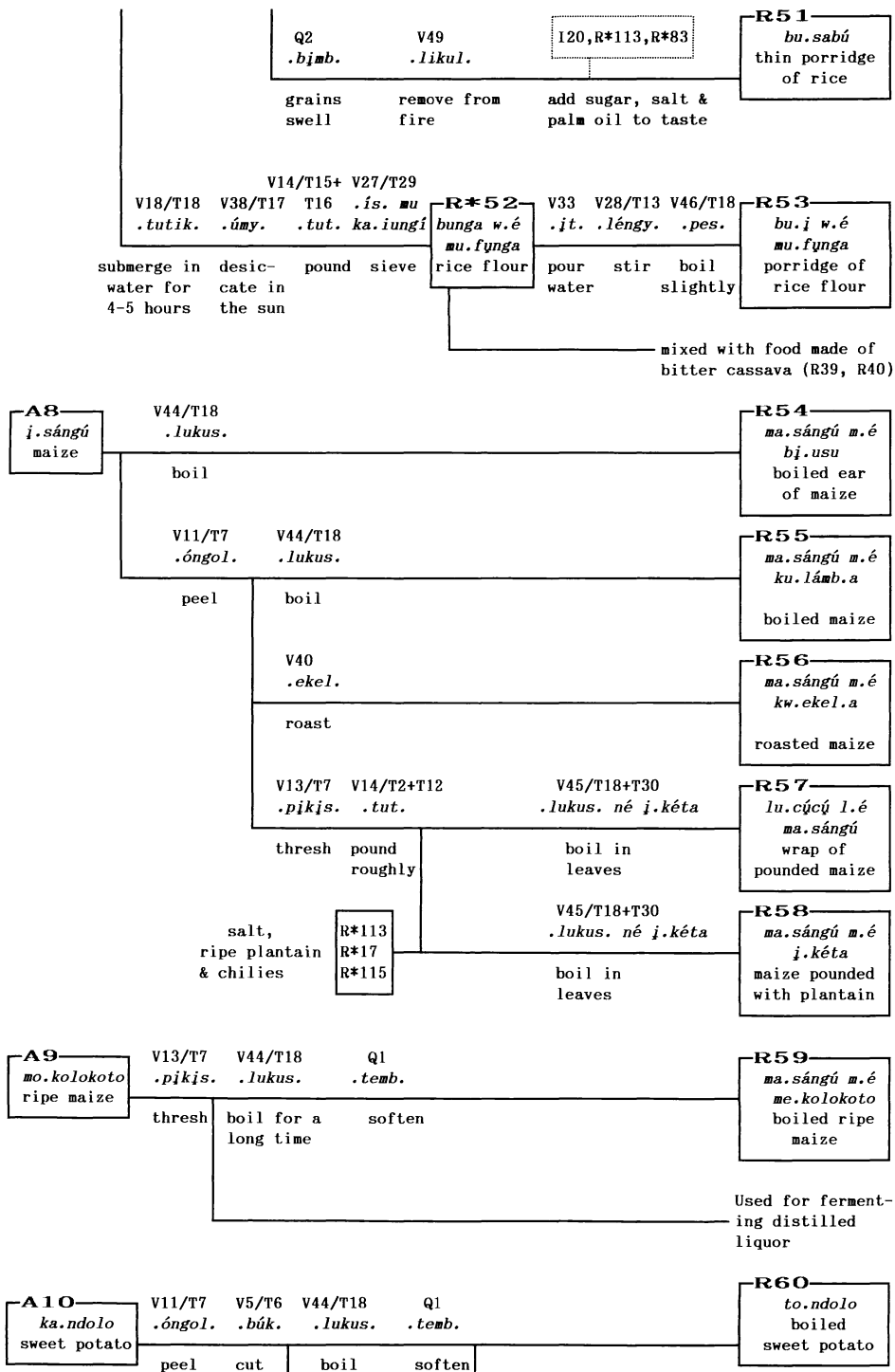
A2
mo.songú w.ácjcmá
sweet cassava







				V28/T4,11 .léngy.	V46/T18 .pes.	R*17	R41 bu.sabú thin porridge of bitter cassava flour		
				stir well	boil slightly	add ripe plantains if available			
				V28/T4,11 .léngy.	V46/T18 .pes.		R42 m̄.ngwete porridge of plantain and cassava flour		
		R*17+ R*115		stir well	boil slightly				
		ripe plantain & chili							
A4 i.liya bitter yam (cf.A3 → R24/R25)	V44/T18 .lukus.	V11 .óngol.	V5/T27 .búk.	V20/T21+T22 .bík. ku ma.ánji			R43 ki.búli cold slices of bitter yam and bitter cassava		
	boil	peel	slice with a lu.tiku	put in streams					
		slices of bitter cassava	R*23		V45/T18+T30 .lukus. né j.kéta		R44 ki.búli boiled slices of bitter yam and cassava		
					boil in leaves				
A5 ñ.sele wild nut (cf.A3 → R26)	V44/T18 .lukus.	V11/T1,7 .óngol.	V5/T1,7 .búk.	V20/T21+T30 .bík. ku ma.ánji			R45 ñ.sele cold mince of wild nuts		
	boil	peel	mince with a knife	put in streams					
A6 mu.bálá Congo acacia nut	V44/T18 .lukus.	V11/ T1,7 .óngol.	V5/T1,7 .búk.	V20/T21+T30 .bík. ku ma.ánji	V14/ T15+T16 .tut.	V41/T30 .ekel. né j.kéta	R46 mu.bálá roasted cake of pounded Congo acacia nuts		
	boil	peel	mince with a knife	put in streams	pound in a mortar	roast in leaves			
A7 mu.funga paddy	V13 .pikjs.	V14/T15+T16 .tut.	V15/T17 .lumb.	V16 .son.	R*47 mu.funga polished rice				
	thresh	pound in a mortar	remove chaff	pick up inedible parts					
R*47	V17/T18,19 .óy.	ma.ánji ma.sálí	V44/T18 .lukus.	Q3 .úm.	V48 .tól. ka.yá	V49 .likul.	V36/T18 .alul.	V28/T4 .léngy.	R48 mu.funga rice boiled until it is no more damp
	wash	a little water	boil	be dry	reduce fire	remove from fire	put the pan upside-down	stir	
		salt + palm oil	R*113 R*83		V28/T4 .léngy.	V48 .tól. ka.yá	V49 .likul.		R49 mu.funga w.é ma.kúta rice seasoned with palm oil
					stir	reduce fire	remove from fire		
	ma.ánji kiíngí	V44/T18 .lukus.	V34 .tokéc.	Q3 .úm.	V48 .tól. ka.yá	V49 .likul.	V28/T4 .léngy.		R50 mu.funga rice boiled by pouring out excess water
	abundant water	boil	reduce water	be dry	reduce fire	remove from fire	stir		



				V28/T4 .léngy.		R61 to.ndolo boiled sweet potato kneaded with palm oil
	palm oil	R*83		stir up		
	V42/T18 .káng. na ma.kúta	V33 .ít. ma.ánji	V44/T18 .lukus.	R*113	Q3 .úm.	R62 to.ndolo tw.é ma.kúta sweet potato sauté & salted
	sauté	pour water	boil	put salt	dry	
					Mixed with raw fish to make	my.canáta (R335)
ripe plantain & sweet cassava	R11 R18	V23/T1 .ók.	V44/T18 .lukus.	R*87, R*113, R*29	V26/T4 .soy.	R63 futálj mash of sweet potato, cassava & plantain
	chip	boil	add peanut paste, salt & turmeric	mash		
A11-A15 ki.láli species of yam that need no detoxication	V17/T18,19 .óy.	V4/T6 .át.	V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V5/T7 .búk.	R64-68 ki.láli k.é j.tú, etc. boiled yam varieties
	wash	divide if necessary	boil	soften	cut	
A16 ki.láli k.é bj.kwámanga yautia	V17/T18,19 .óy.		V40 .ekel.	V5/T7 .búk.		R69 ki.láli k.é bj.kwámanga roasted yautia
	wash		roast	cut		
			V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V5/T7 .búk.	R70 ki.láli k.é bj.kwámanga boiled yautia
			boil	soften	cut	
	V11/T7 .óngol.	V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V5/T7 .búk.		R71 ki.láli k.é bj.kwámanga boiled and peeled yautia
	peel	boil	soften	cut		
A17 j.sóla pumpkin	V4/T6 .át.	V9 .túky. bj.muka	V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V5/T7 .búk.	R72 j.sóla boiled pumpkin
	cut in half	get rid of the seeds	boil	soften	cut	
A18 mu.túkulutumbá wild fruit		V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V5/T7 .búk.		R73 mu.túkulutumbá boiled wild fruit
		boil	soften	cut		
A19 mo.kama bambara groundnut		V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V2 .bél.		R74 me.kama boiled bambara nut
		boil for a long time	soften	crack		
A20 mambuluku breadfruit	V4/T6 .át.	V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V5/T7 .búk.		R75 mambuluku boiled breadfruit
	cut	boil	soften	cut		

roasted for breakfast the next morning.

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

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

6. *Lituma ya ndisi*.

R5. Mo.kóké

1. Boiled plantains and sweet cassava pounded together.

2. Has the same name as R4 both in Songola and Swahili.

6. *Lituma ya ndisi na muhogo utamu*.

R*6. lopoto l.é m.omá

1. Flour made of dried plantains; an intermediate product having its Songola name; its re-

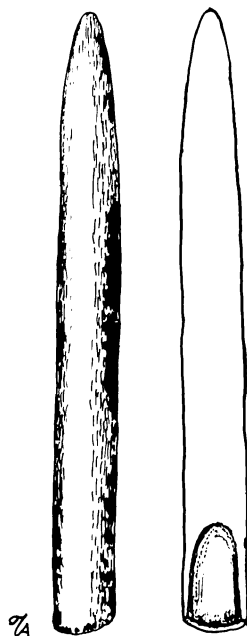


Fig. 88 T14 *ki.úbú*. A spatula to peel (V10 .*kumun.*) plantains. The opposite side of the edge was used as a spoon to serve boiled cassava leaves (C1).

Kitu ya kumenya ndisi.

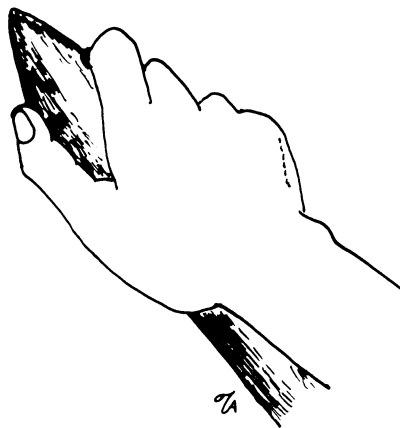


Fig. 89 How to handle *ki.úbú*, a plantain peeler.

Ginsi ya kumenya ndisi.

ference number is given an asterisk to show that it is not eaten as it is.

3. Divide each finger of plantains in four longitudinal pieces, and dry them in the sunshine for 3-4 days; desiccated plantains are pounded in a mortar.

5. This is a foodstuff for reserve, and former generations of the Songola made and stored it more frequently than they do today when there is no more famine.

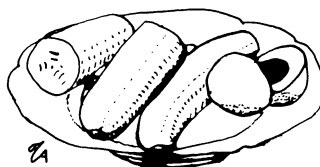


Fig. 90 R3 *ki.linda k.é momá*.

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.

6. *Ugali ya ndisi.***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 *.laly*. (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.

6. *Njelu.***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.

6. *Njelu ya kuchoma.***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.

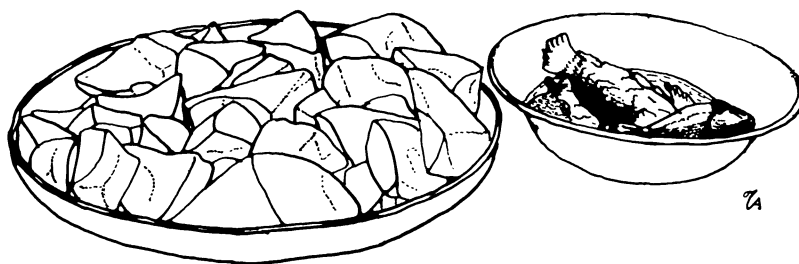


Fig. 92 R4 *mo.koké*, pounded plantains (A1) and fish boiled with palm oil (R268).

Lituma ya ndizi na samaki.

eaten raw.

4. Not as sweet as bananas (H1).
6. *Njelu mbichi.*

R12. *Mu.títí 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.títí*

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 *jalú*, (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.
6. *Njelu, njelu ya kutwanga.*

R*14. *Lu.kámbí*

1. Dried ripe plantains (R*8).
2. *Lu.kámbí* is Kuko dialect; *ka.bábí* 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.
6. *Njelu ya kukausha.*

R15. *Lu.kámbí*

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 l.é mu.títí*

1. Thick paste made from dried ripe plantains (R*14).
3. Knead with more flour than

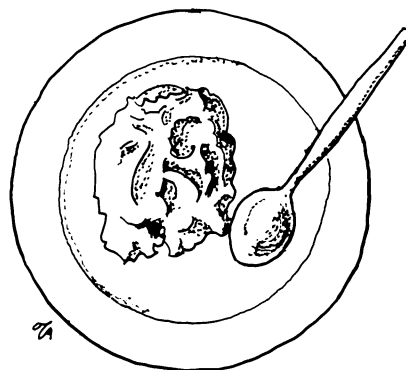


Fig. 93 R12 *mu.títí*. Boiled ripe plantains (A1) pounded into paste.

Njelu.

the preceding (R15).

6. *Ugali ya njelu.*

R*17. *Mu.titi w.é 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. *Bj.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.

6. *Ngolo mbichi.*

R19. *ki.áti k.é mo.songú*

1. Pieces of boiled sweet cassava tubers (R18).

2. Etymologically *ki.áti* means what is divided (.át. 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).

6. *Kipasulio ya muhogo, kipasulio.*

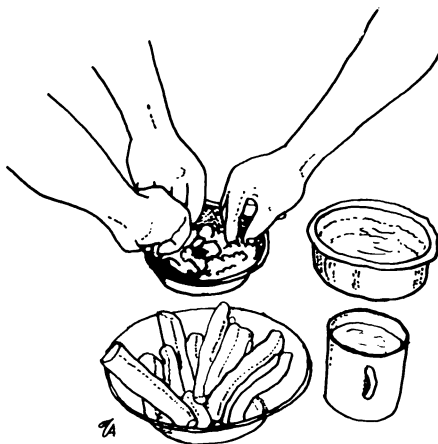


Fig. 94 Three men having a meal of boiled sweet cassava (R19) and meat boiled with palm oil (R254). The mug contains drinking water.

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. *Ka.ombóomba*

1. Boiled sweet cassava tubers (R19) pounded in a mortar (Fig. 95); becomes R5 if mixed with plantains.

3. 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).

4. Much more flavorful and delicious than R19; old persons like it because of its softness; keeps one's stomach filled for a long time.

5. Prepared as a delicacy to welcome guests.

6. *Lituma ya muhogo.*

R*21. *Mu.ngú lu.úci*

1. Sweet cassava tubers soaked

in water.

2. *Lu.úci* 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.

6. *Kifundi, kibundi [kivunde].*

R22. *Ki.búndi*

1. Peeled and steamed sweet cassava tubers after soaking in water (R*21).

4. Has a good smell.

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

R*23. *Ki.búli*

1. Boiled and sliced bitter cassava; its toxic material must be removed.

3. 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.tíkú* (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).

5. Among the 23 bitter cassava varieties of the Songola, five varieties are not suited to this



Fig. 96 An Enya woman slices (V5* .búk.) boiled bitter cassava (A3) into ribbons with a spatula (T27). There is water and a reserve of spatulas in the bucket.

Mwanamuke ya Wagenia anakata lumata.

cooking method because of their non-sticky tubers (Y. Ankei, 1981).

R24. *Ki.báli*

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.

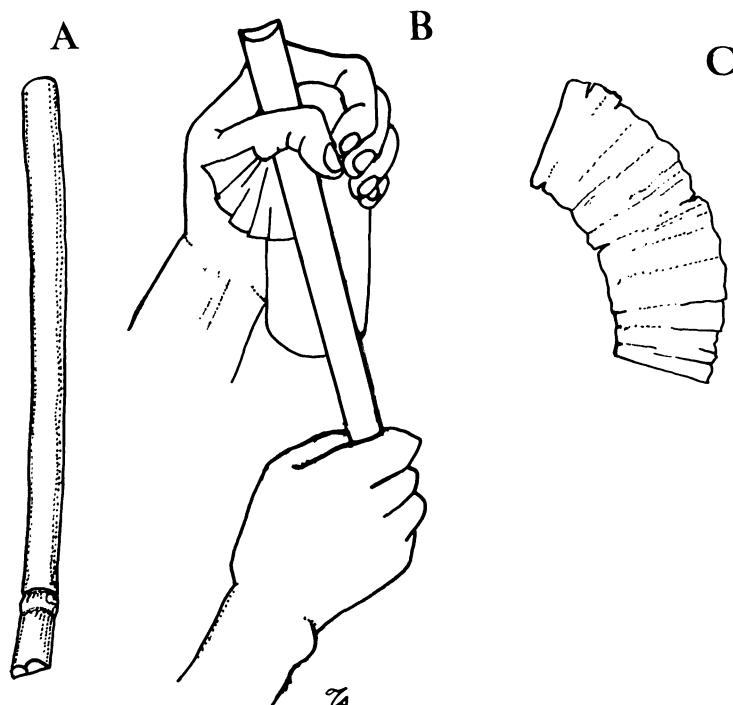


Fig. 97 A: T27 *lu.tiku*, a special spatula for slicing *ki.báli* (R*23); length ca. 30 cm, B: the technique for manipulating the spatula, C: a 5 cm wide strip of sliced cassava.

Kitu ya kukata lumata naye.

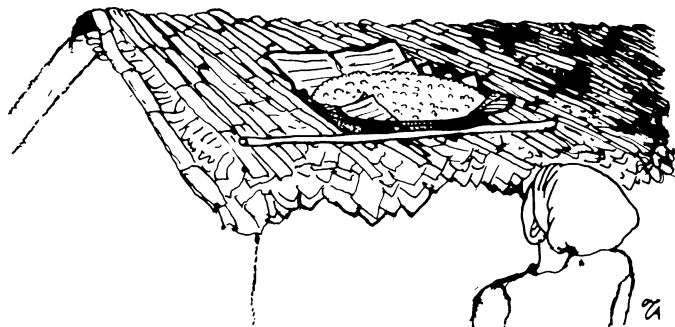


Fig. 98 R27, ñ.kili being dried (V37 .ánjk.) on the roof in a shallow basket (T17) lined with plantain leaves.

Kukausha mitewe yulu ya paa.



Fig. 99 A Kuko woman pounds ñ.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).

3. 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.

4. Once boiled, it becomes less watery and stays longer in the stomach; contains far less moisture after roasting in leaves.

5. Carried for lunch and given to guests.

6. *Lumata ya fulushi.*

R26. *Ñ.kili y.e mé.lal.a*

1. Boiled, sliced, and detoxicated bitter cassava tubers.

3. 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 can not 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.

6. *Mitewe ya bila kutwanga.*

R27. *Ñ.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).

6. *Mitewe ya bila kutwanga.*

R28. *Ñ.kili y.e kú.tut.a*

1. The precedent pounded in a mortar.

3. Pound well in a mortar to make a firm loaf (Fig. 99).

R29. *Ki.múndú / ñ.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).

6. *Mitewe ya kutwanga.*

R*30. *Bj.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.búndj*

1. Soaked bitter cassava.

2. The same name as R22.

3. Put R*30 in standing water (*ma.ánjĩ 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 (*.bĩmb.*) and soften

(*.temb.*), they are called *mo.songú wá.temb.á*, 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.búndj*

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*

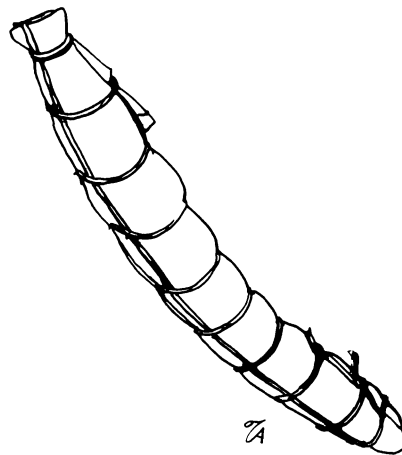


Fig. 100 R34 *ki.kwángá*, a slender wrap of pounded bitter cassava. Length 30-35 cm. *Kikwanga.*

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.tíma*, 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



Fig. 101 A: the technique for wrapping *ki.kwángá* (R34) with broad leaves (T30).

B: a Kuko woman making *ki.kwángá* with pounded cassava in a washbasin (T19).

*Muwanamuke anatayalisha
kikwanga.*

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

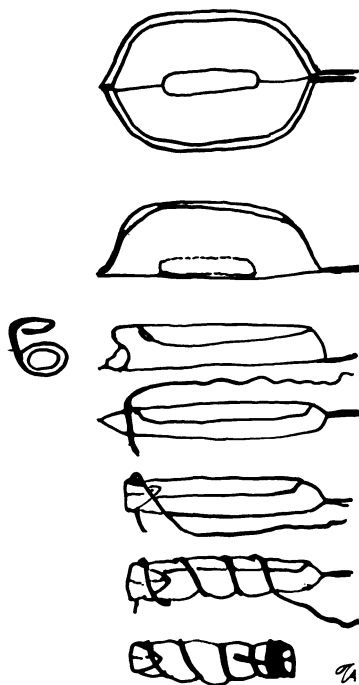


Fig. 102 A scheme for the method of wrapping *ki.kwángá* (R34) with two broad leaves (T30).

Ginsi ya kufunga kikwanga.

on the Lualaba for those who travel by canoes.

6. *Kikwanga.*

R*35. *Bu.káli w.á umá*

1. Dried soaked bitter cassava (R*31).

2. The name means dry R38 (*bu.káli*).

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.

5. Songola women prepare R*35 in a large amount and sell them at markets; important cash resource for women.

6. *Nyangi.*

R36. *Ke.nkobóngo / ki.*

búndj

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.

R*37. *Lo.poto l.é mo.songú*

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).

5. Honey bees sometimes swarm to carry this flour.

6. *Unga ya ugali.*

R38. *Bu.káli*

1. Hot paste made of cassava



Fig. 103 V6 .el. 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.káli* seems to be a Songolaized 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

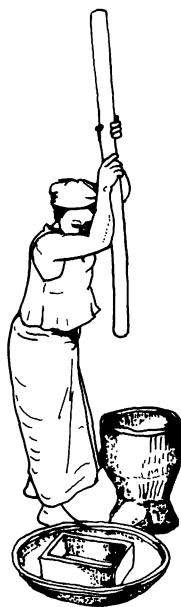


Fig. 104 A Kuko woman pounds (V14 .tut.) dried bitter cassava tubers (R*35) in a large mortar (T15) and a long pestle (T16) and make cassava flour (R*37). A sieve (T29) and a shallow basket (T17) is prepared to sieve the content. *Mwanamuke anatwanga nyangi.*

the soles of feet with the aid of a cloth while you finish kneading *bu.káli* 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.káli* must be very hot and firm.

6. *Ugali*.

R39. *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 (.lály. V35) is needed to make the dough swell (.bĩmb.) without using baking powder (*dawa ya mukate* 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. 105 Kneaded cassava flour (R38, *bu.káli*) with small fish boiled in palm oil (R*82). *Bukali na samaki.*

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.

6. *Bitumbula*.

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).



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

Muwanamuke anapakula bukali.

5. A cooking method of new introduction; sold at markets but very rare.

6. *Mukate ya wazungu*.

R41. *Bu.sabú*

1. Thin porridge of cassava flour (R*37).

3. Put a little cassava flour in water; boil gradually; stir well until it becomes mushy; mash of ripe plantain (R*17) may be added.

4. A baby food.

6. *Uji ya unga ya ugali*.

R42. *Mu.ngwete*

1. Porridge flavored with chili.

3. Put pounded chili (R*113) in boiling water; add pounded ripe plantain (R*17) and a larger amount of cassava flour (R*37) than R41; boil gradually; stir well.

5. This is a meal for sick people.

6. *Uji*.

R43. *Ki.búli*

1. Slices of bitter aerial bulbils of a species of yam (see Fig. 8).

3. The same method of slicing and removing bitter taste as in R24-R25; there is a difference in the technique of manipulating the spatula (T27, see Fig. 97a); you must press the thumb of your left hand onto the spatula in slicing the aerial bulbils as they are harder than boiled cassava tubers

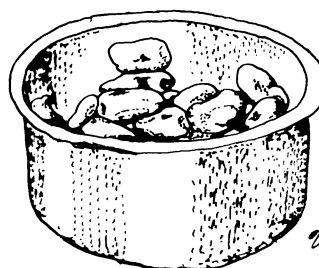


Fig. 107 R39, *bi.tumbúla*, fried buns.

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. *N.sele*

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.

6. *Mbeku ya limbalu*.

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.funga*

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.

6. *Muchele*.

R48. *Mu.funga*

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 (*.úm.*) in

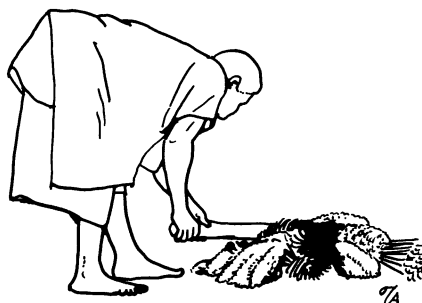


Fig. 108 A woman beats (V13 .*pikís.*) rice bundles (A7) with a short pestle (T2).

Muwanamuke anapiga mupunga na mutwangio.

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 cooking rice.

6. *Wali*.

R49. *Mu.funga*

1. Rice seasoned with palm oil, salt, and chili.

3. Boil rice until it is dry as



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).
Muwanamuke anataka kupindusa sufulia ya wali.

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 mixing rice in cassava leaves cooked with palm oil or palm juice (see *mu.canáta*, R334).

6. *Wali ya mafuta*.

R50. *Mu.funga*

1. Rice boiled by pouring out excessive water.

3. Put washed rice (R*47) 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.

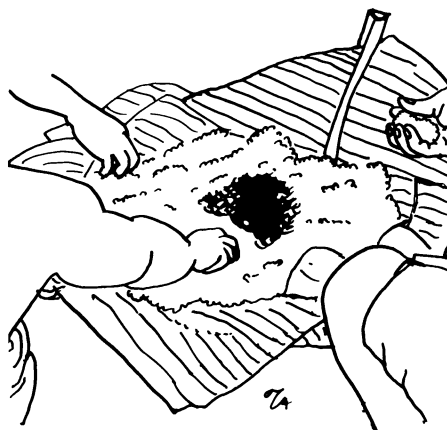


Fig. 110 Kuko women and girls eat rice (R48 or R50) and boiled cassava leaves (R132) on plantain leaves (T30).
Wanamuke na watoto wanamuke wanakula wali ya muaka na sombe.

4. Less sticky than R48.

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 (*.bĩmb.*) 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 (*.kũm.*) for the day.

6. *Uji ya muclele*.

R*52. *Bunga w.é mu.fũnga*

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 muclele*.

R53. *Bu.ĩ w.é mu.fũnga*



Fig. 111 A Kuko woman peels (V11 .óngol.) maize ears (A8).
Mwanamuke anamenya mihindi.

1. Porridge made of rice flour.

2. *Bu.ĩ* 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 muclele*.

R54-R59 are recipes for maize.

R54. *Ma.sángú m.é bĩ.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.*

lám.b.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 accordance 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.cúcú l.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.sangú 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.káli 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.

6. *Biazi [viazi] ya kishenzi.*

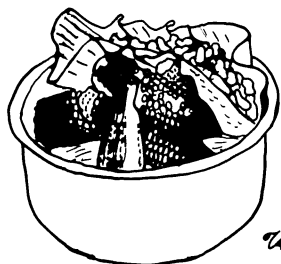


Fig. 112 Unripe maize cobs (A8) and wrapped unripe groundnuts (B3) boiled in a pan (T18).

Ginsi ya kupika mihindi teketeke [laini] na kalanga ya makanda [maganda].

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.

6. *Biazi ya mafuta.*

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.sungá*).

4. May be eaten alone but often accompanied by salt and chilies (R114).

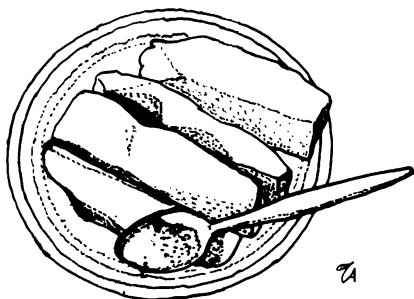


Fig. 113 R65, *ma.súngá* (A12).

Boiled yam (R65) with a mixture of salt and chili (R114).

Kihama ya kupika pamoya
[pamoja] na chumbi na pilipili.

5. May be sold at markets.
6. *Kihama*.

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

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 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 yautia, and boil them in pan.
5. Eaten as an independent dish.
6. *Kihama ya maole*.

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.túkulutúmbá*

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.

with a knife, and oily pulp is chewed.

6. *Ngasi ya kuchoma*.

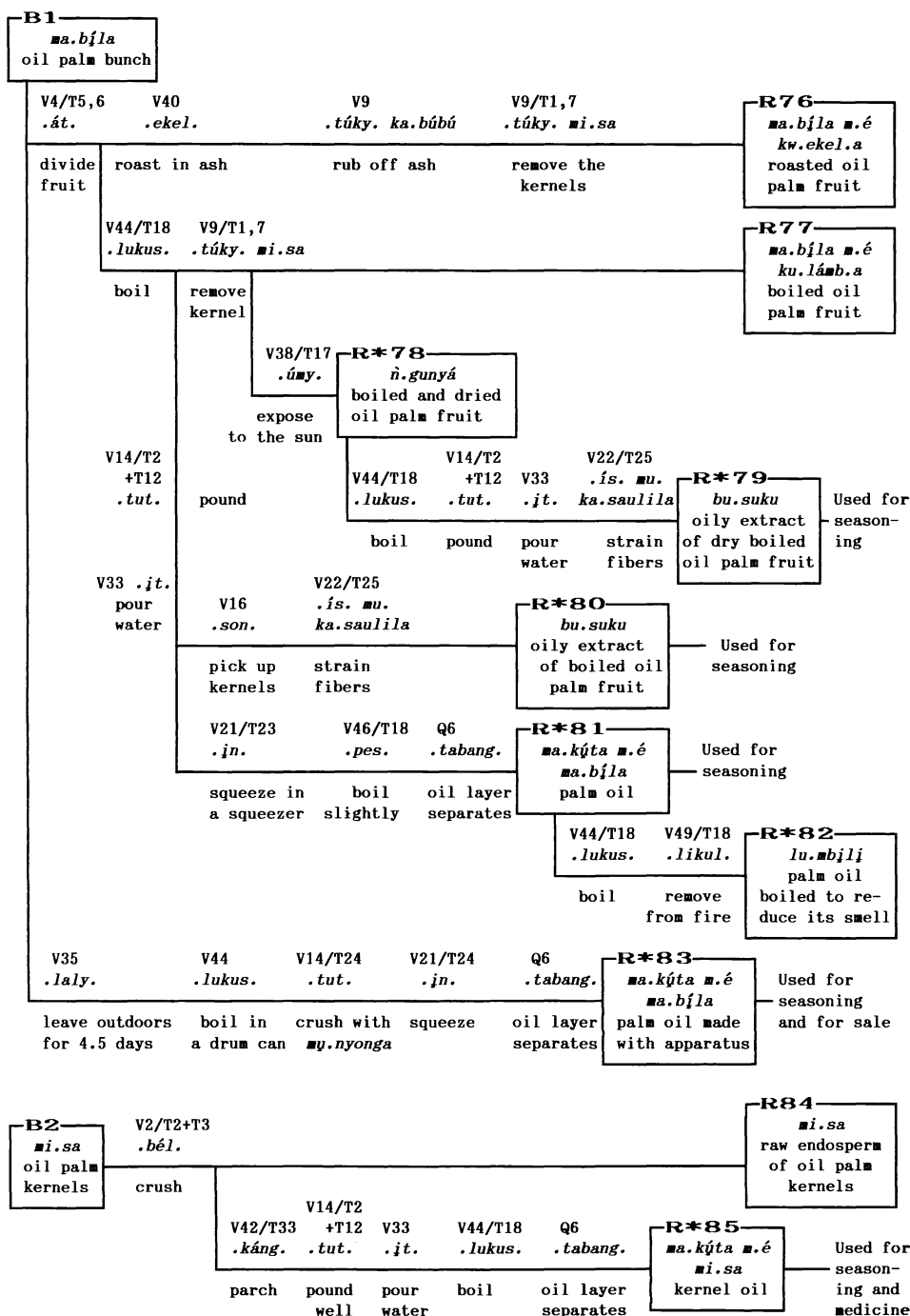
R77. *Ma.bíla m.é ku.lámb.a*

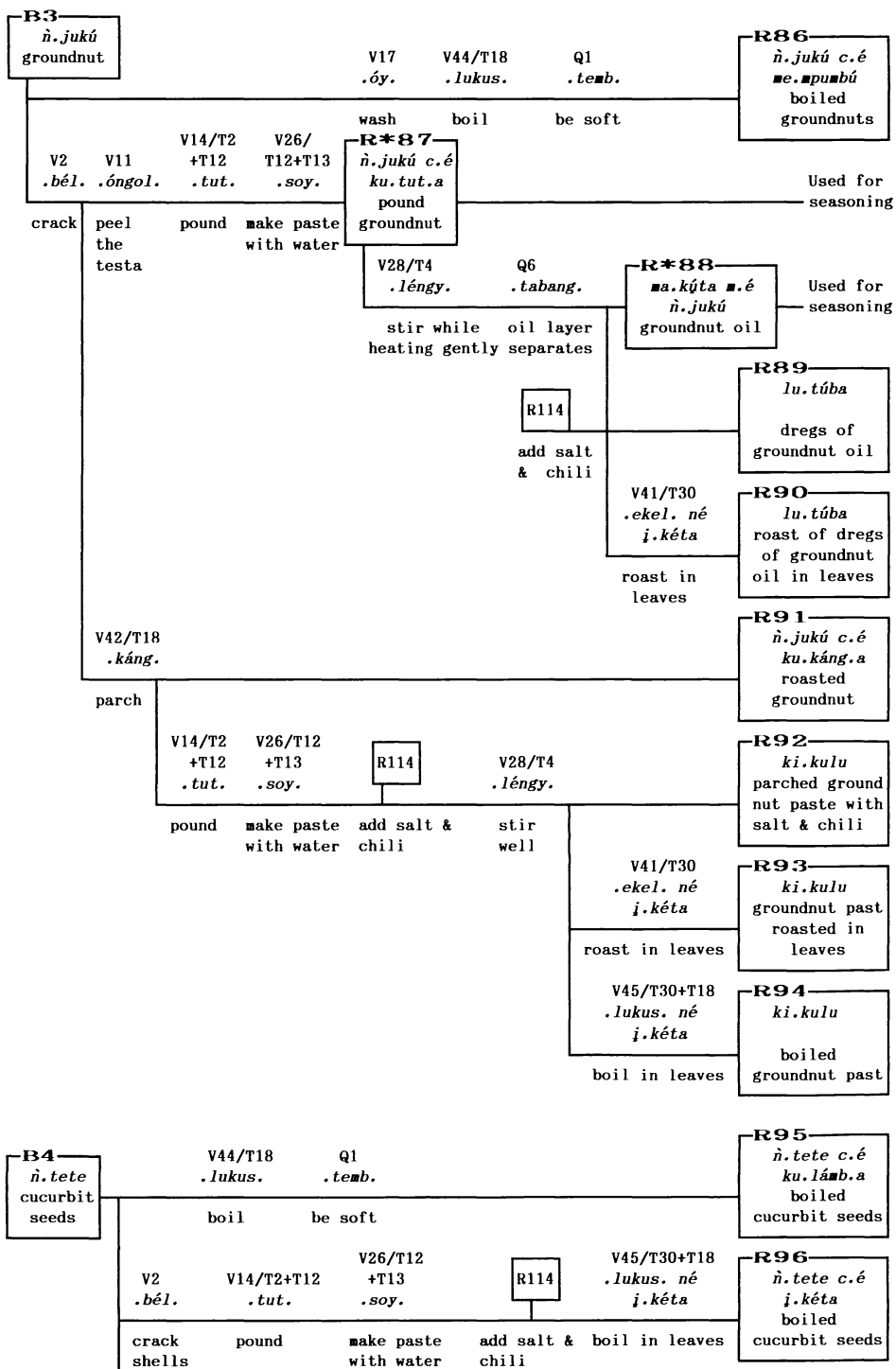
1. Boiled oil palm fruit.
3. A cook will take out several fruit from a pan to appease her hunger, remove kernels with a knife and chew the pulp; she may distribute them to persons around her.

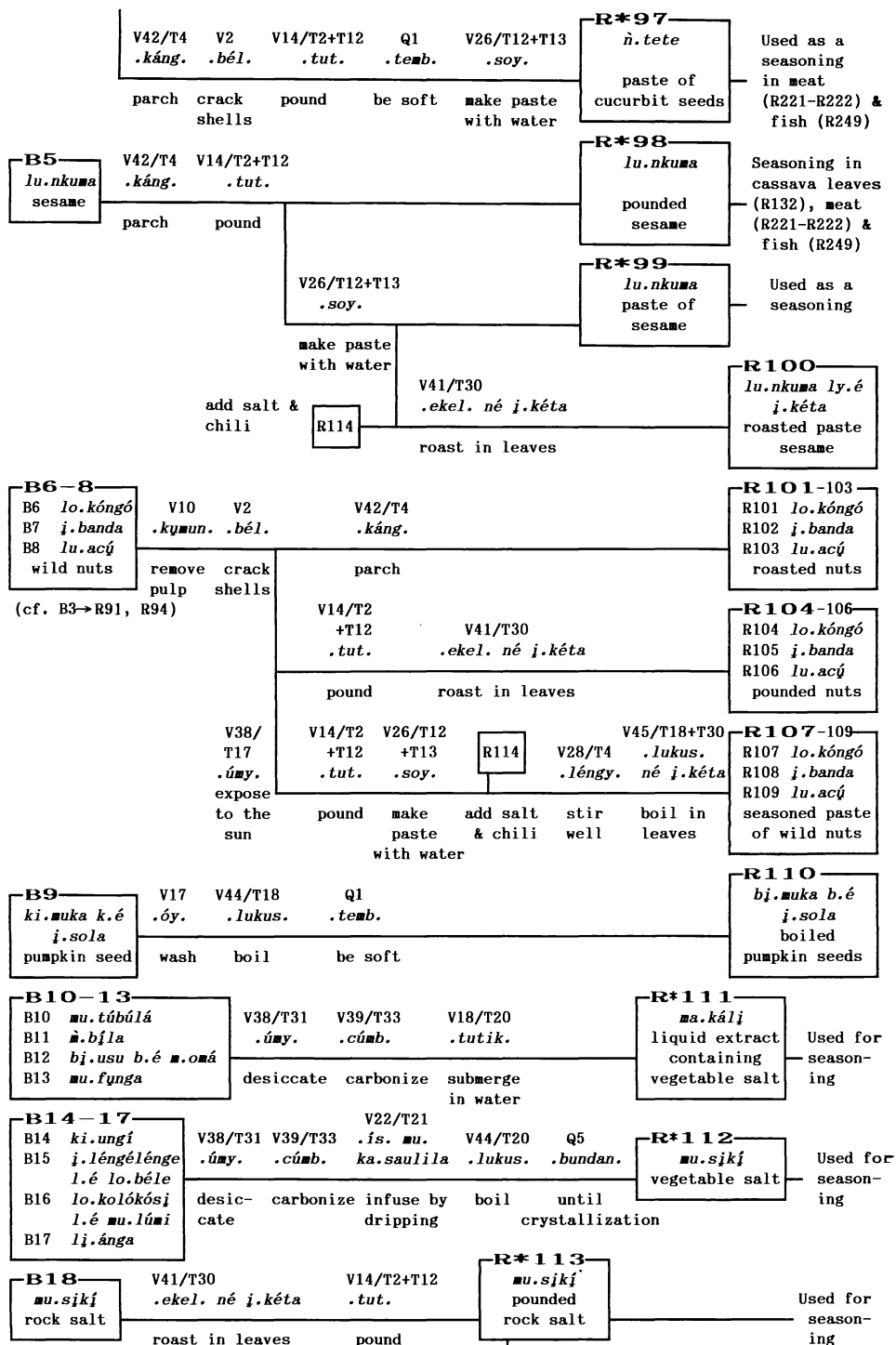
6. *Ngasi ya kupika*.

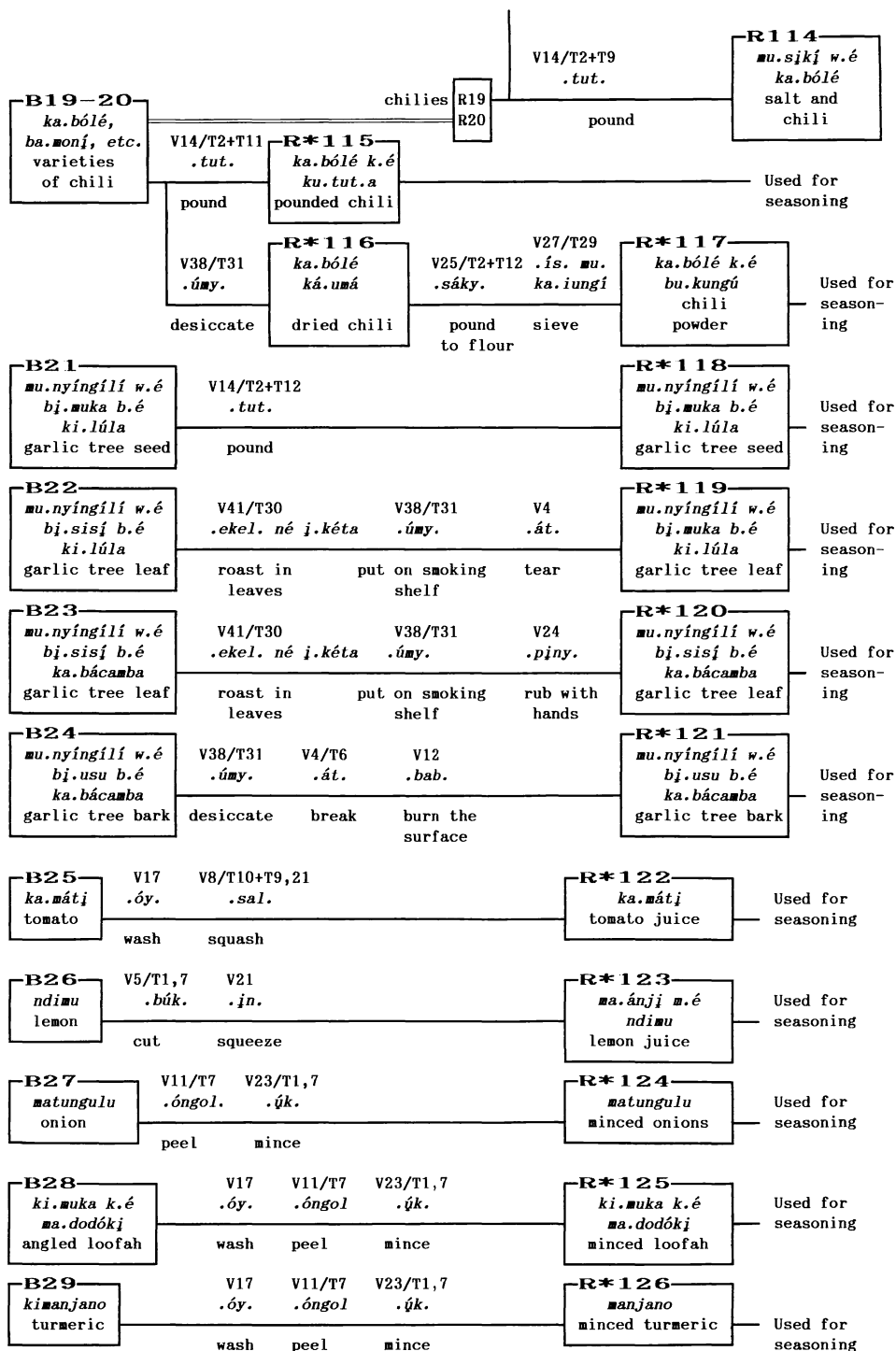
R*78. *N.gunyá*

Chart 3B. Recipes for condiments and seasoning food









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.

6. *Ngasi ya kukaushwa.*

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 .*lungy.*) 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.

6. *Kisuku.*

R*81. Ma.kúta m.é ma. bíla

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.búbj*, a kind of rattan (*Eremosphata haullevilleana* 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.

5. Squeezing with a *ka.léka* is the task of men; a medium-sized bunch weighing 15 kg will yield about half of a 750-ml bottle.

6. *Mawese.*

R*82. Lu.mbíli

1. Palm oil heated to diminish its color and odor.

2. Has a name of its own.

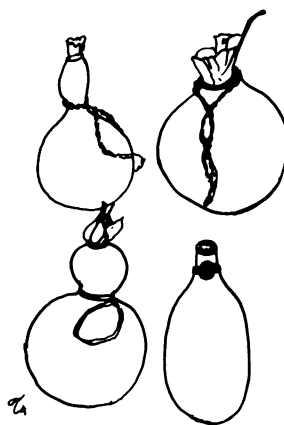


Fig. 114 Gourds to contain palm oil (R*81) and palm wine. Folded leaves are used to cork up them.

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.kúta m.é ma.bíla*

1. Palm oil squeezed with an apparatus made up of cans (Fig. 115).

2. *Mũ.nyonga* derives from a Swa-

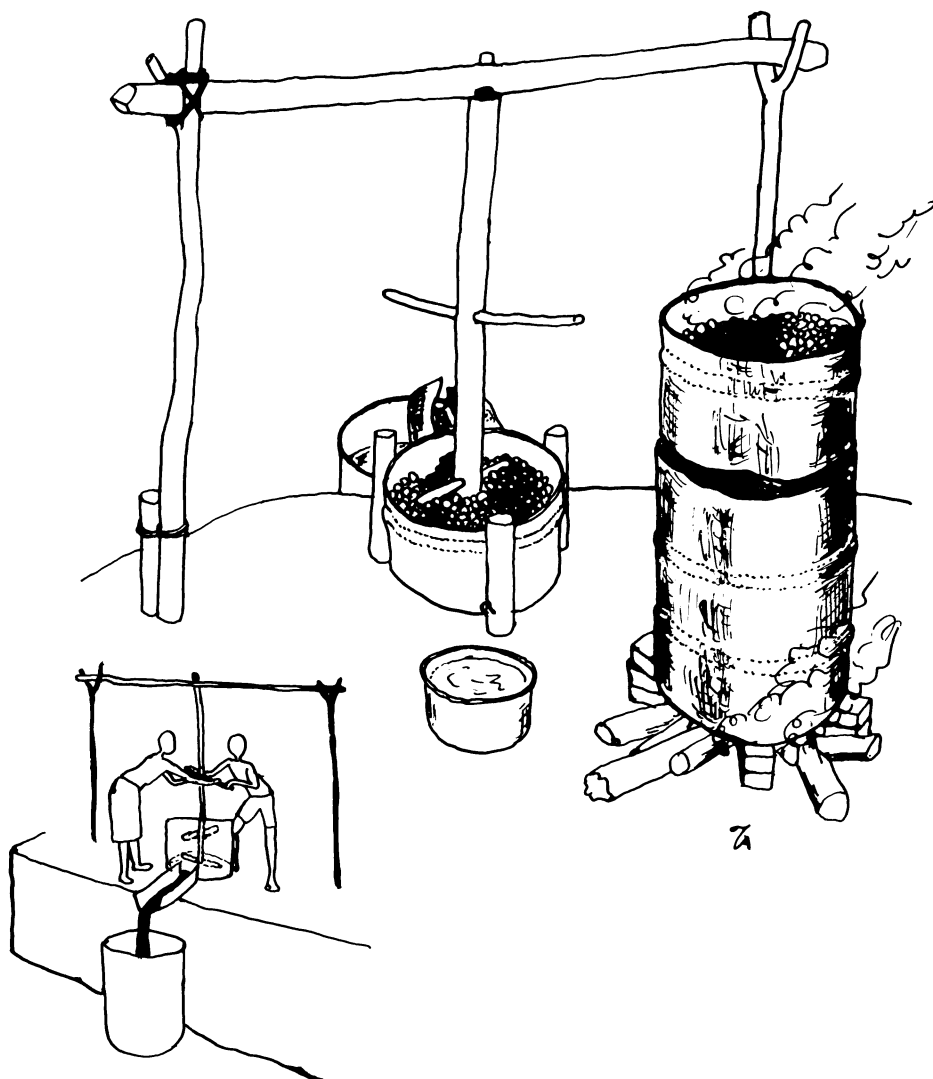


Fig. 115 T24 *mũ.nyonga*. An apparatus to manufacture palm oil.

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.

6. *Mawese*.

R84. *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.

6. *Misa ya ngasi*.

R85. *Ma.kúta 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.

6. *Mafuta ya misa*.

R86-R94. Food made of groundnut.

R86. *N.jukú c.é me.mpumbú*

1. Unripe 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.

6. *Kalanga ya teketeke*.

R*87. *N.jukú 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).

6. *Kalanga ya kutwanga*.

R*88. *Ma.kúta m.é n.jukú*

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.

R89. *Lu.túba*

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.kálj* (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.

6. *Kalanga [karanga] ya kutwanga.*

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 (.lály.) 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 i.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



Fig. 116 A Kuko woman crushes (V4 .át.) cucurbit seeds (B4) on a wooden stool with the stem of a knife.
Muwanamuke anabunja mbeku ya kokoliko.

like jelly.

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.
2. The same use as R*98.
6. *Bufuto ya kutwanga*.

R100. *Lu.nkuma ly.é 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.
6. *Bufuto ya fulushi*.

R101-R109. Recipes for wild seeds.

R101-R103. *Lo.kóngó, j.banda, and lu.acú*

1. Roasted albumen of wild seeds (see Fig. 18).

3. Crush kernels with a stone or with a bush knife.

3. Parch and eat as a snack.

R104-R106. *Lo.kóngó, j.banda, and lu.acú*

1. Seeds of wild trees (R101-R103) roasted in broad leaves.
3. Pound; wrap the pounded albumen in broad leaves and put them on cinders.
5. Eaten as a snack.

R107-R109. *Lo.kóngó, j.banda, and lu.acú*

1. Paste of wild seeds (R101-R103) boiled in leaves.
3. If wild seeds (R101-R103) are collected in abundance, crush shells and dry in the sun; pound the albumen; make mash with a spatula; add salt and chili; wrap in broad leaves and boil in a pan.
5. Very tasty; eat with boiled plantains, boiled sweet cassava or boiled rice.

R110. *Bj.muka b.é j.sola*

1. Boiled pumpkin seeds.
3. Boil seeds; crack shells with teeth.
5. Eaten as a snack.
6. *Mbeku ya liboka*.

R*111. *Ma.kálj*

1. Liquid extracted from ashes of certain plants.
2. The name may be related to Swahili *makali*, namely what is sharp and hot, denoting to its taste.
3. Choose one or more materials from B10-B13; dry the material very well; burn it completely on an iron plate to ashes (see Fig. 70); put the ashes in a small earthenware jar used especially for this operation; add water and stir; pour the extract out slowly through a strainer (see Fig. 56); add to dishes of cassava leaves (R128, R138).
4. Is not a substitute for rock salt or vegetable salt (R*112).
5. Used also to strengthen the flavor of snuff tobacco.

6. *Makali*.**R*112.** *Mu.sikí*

1. Vegetable salt; made from B14; B15-B17 may be added to B14.

2. *Mu.sikí w.é ki.ungí*.

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.

6. *Chumbi [chumvi] ya asili*.

R*113. *Mu.sikí*

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.sikí 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-R117. Recipes for the preparation of food using chili.

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.púkulu*, in a gourd, *ke.pómbó*, or in broad leaves, *ka.áni* fastened beneath the roof.

5. Chilies are used raw during harvest seasons (January to July).

6. *Pilipili ya kukauka*.

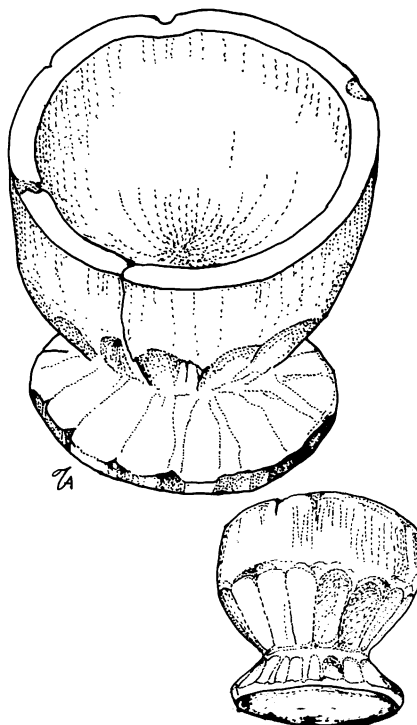


Fig. 117 T9 *ki.lunga k.é ka.bólé*. A small mortar for chilies. Height 14 cm.
Kino ya pilipili.

R117. *Ka.bólé k.é bu. kungú*

1. Chili powder.
2. *Bu.kungú* is a special word for the powder of chilies.
3. Pound dry chilies to powder; store it in a small bottle.
5. Carried for a long journey.
6. *Pilipili ya kusaga.*

R*118-R121. Recipes for trees having the scent of garlic.

R*118. *Mu.nyíngilí w.é b̂i.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.
6. *Matungulu ya poli [pori].*

R*119. *mu.nyíngilí w.é b̂i.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 *jalú*, a hot chili soup (R323).

6. *Matungulu ya poli.*

R*120. *Mu.nyíngilí w.é b̂i.sisí b.é ka.bácamba*

1. Leaves of *ka.bácamba* tree; different from R*118 and R*119; has smaller leaves than the former.
3. Usage is the same as the

preceding (R*119).

6. *Matungulu ya poli.*

R*121. *Mu.nyíngilí w.é b̂i.usu b.é ka.bácamba*

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.

6. *Matungulu ya poli.*

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.
6. *Mayi [maji] ya tomato.*

R*123. *Ma.ánjji m.é ñ.*

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.

6. *Mbeku [mbegu] ya madodoki.*

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.

6. *Sombe [kisamvu].*

R127. *Tungu y.e má.ánji*

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.nyíngílf* 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 trad-

1. Turmeric.

3. Peel and mince; used in the preparation of *futáli* (R63), a special dish for Muslims during fasting.

6. *Kimanjano [manjano].*

itional 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.

6. *Sombe ya mayi.*

R128. *Tungu y.e mĩ.pápúlá*

1. Cassava leaves seasoned with R*111.

3. Heat fresh leaves on an iron plate until they wither (see Fig. 76); tear softened leaves by hand; boil in a pan for a long time; squeeze excess water; put on broad leaves and add salt, chili, and R*111, liquid extract from ashes (see Fig. 58); close the leaves to make up a package, *j.kéta*, and put it on cinders (see Fig. 72); you can cook this dish even if you are not in possession of a mortar.

4. Tasty.

5. Only rarely prepared because of the chore of 1) making ash extract and 2) parching, boiling, and roasting of cassava leaves.

6. *Sombe ya makali.*

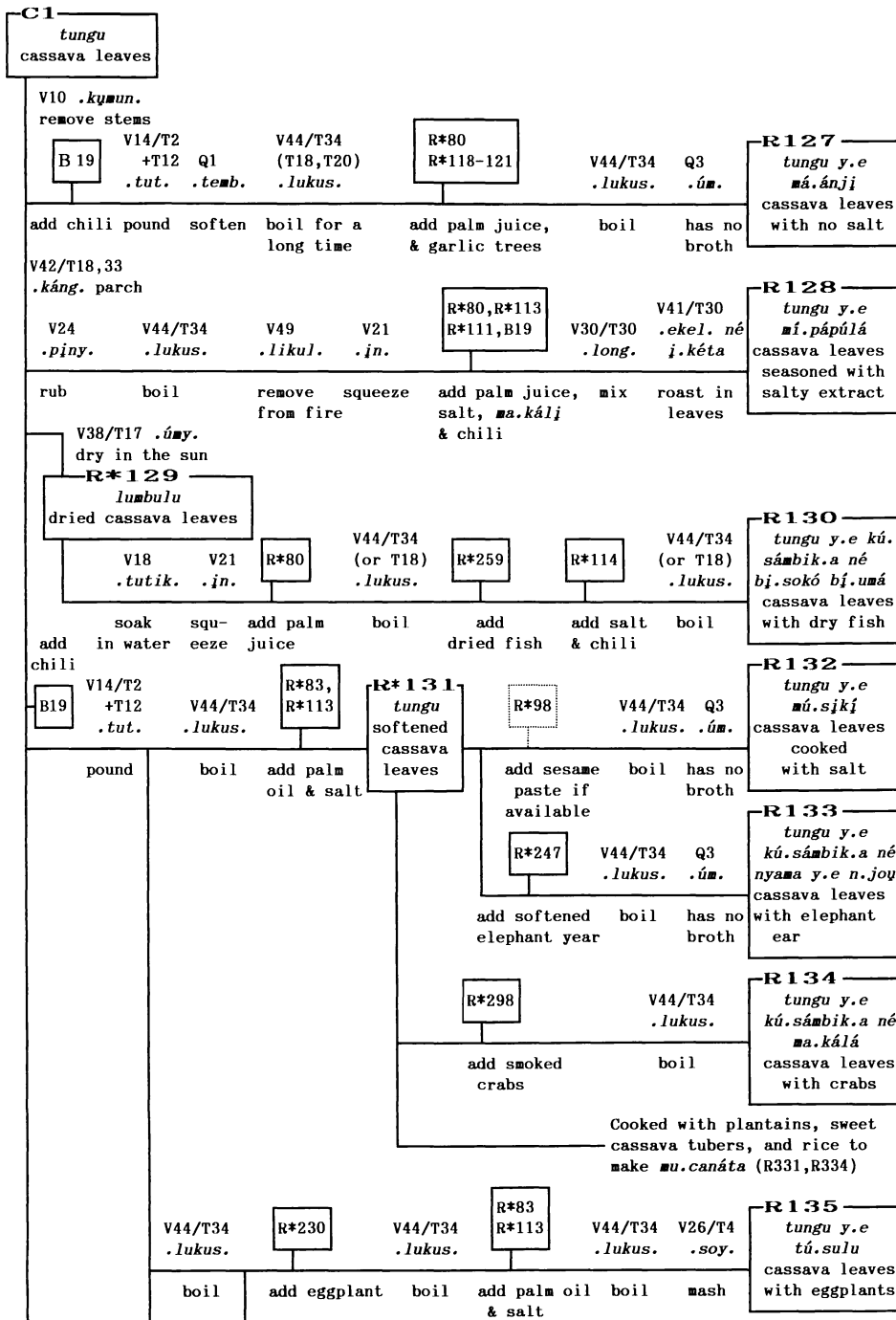
R*129. *Lu.mbulu*

1. Cassava leaves dried for preservation.

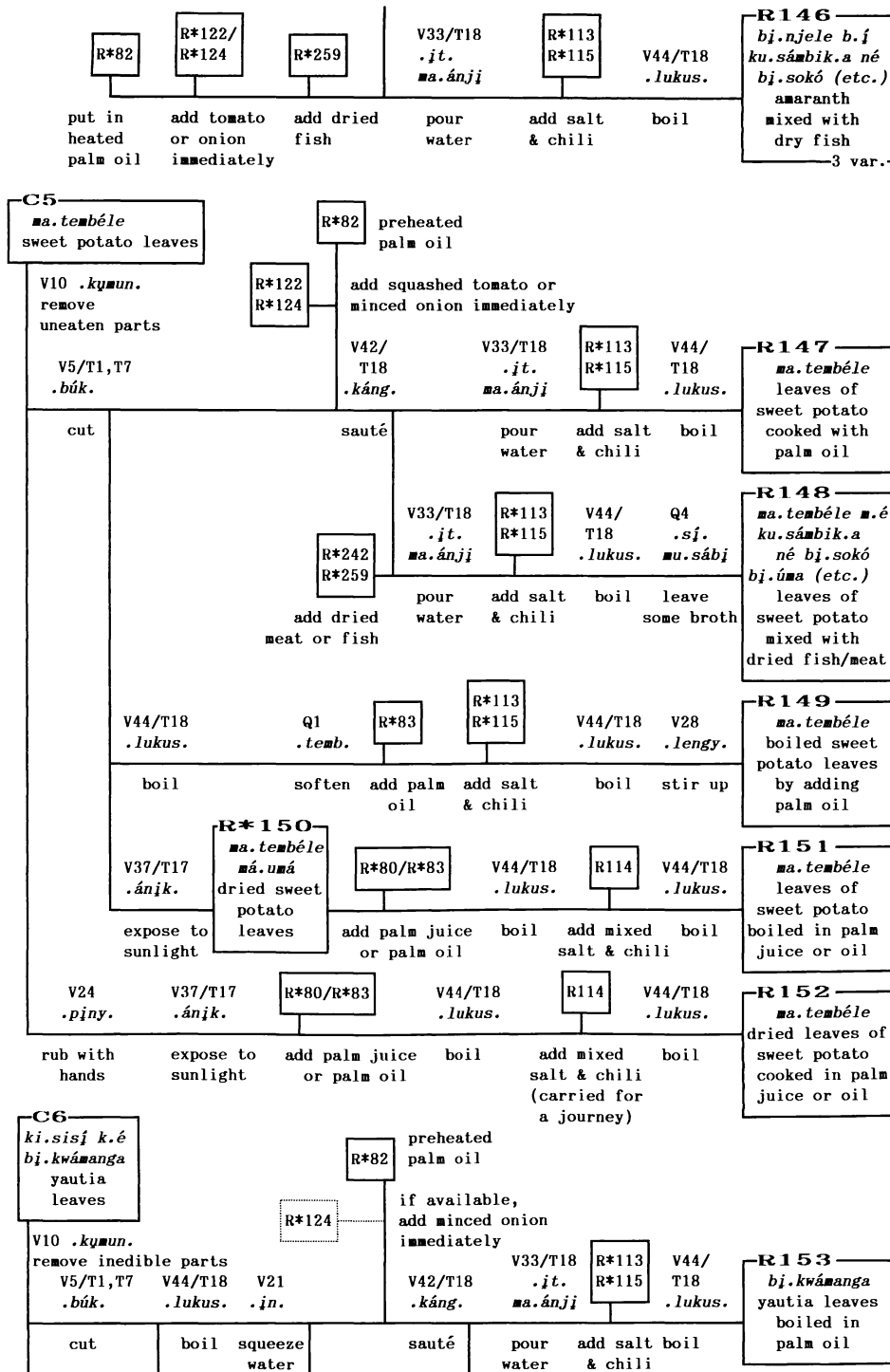
2. Two Songola women, who taught me this name *lu.mbulu*, said that this is not an authentic Songola word; probably a borrowed word from a neighboring people.

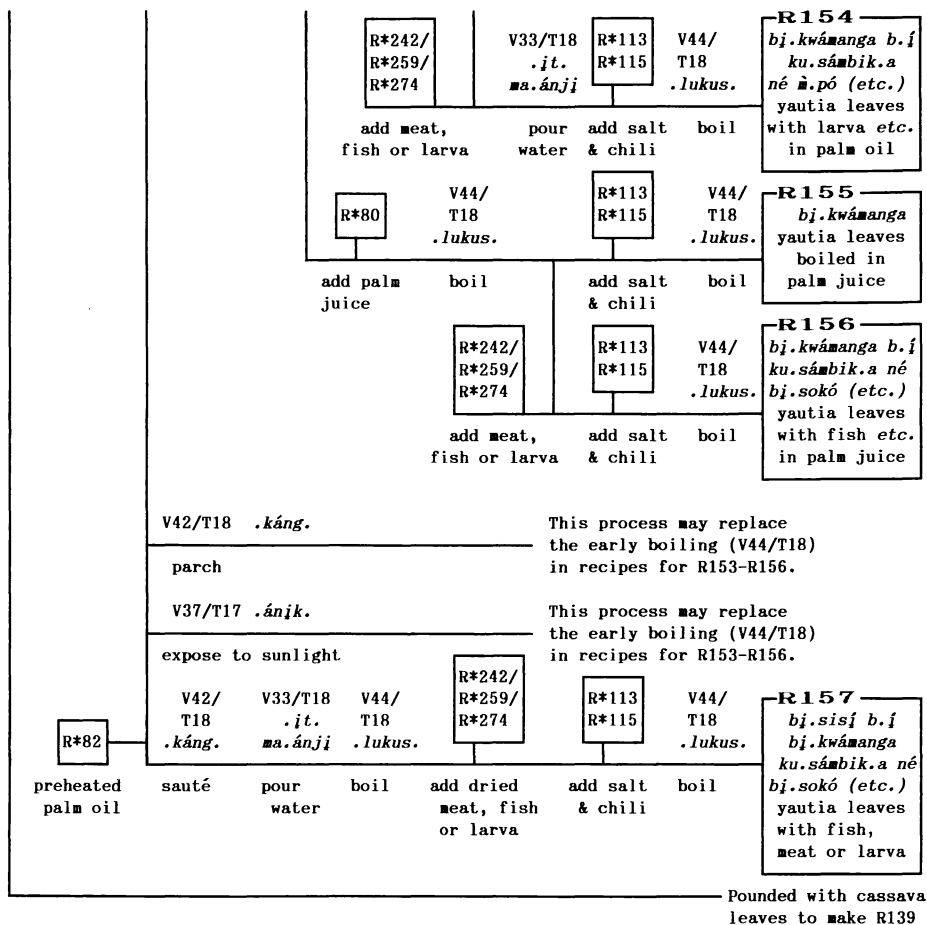
3. Heat fresh leaves on an iron plate; dry them in the sun; you

Chart 3C. Recipes for vegetables



R*80,R*113 R*111 R*118-121	R*125	V44/T34 .lukus.	R*83,R*113	V44/T34 .lukus.	V26/T4 .soy.	R136 tungu y.e má.dodóki cassava leaves with angled loofah		
	add angled boil loofah		add palm oil boil & salt		mash			
	R*274	V44/T34 .lukus.	R*83,R*113	V44/T34 .lukus.		R137 tungu y.e ku.sá mbik.a ne m.pó cassava leaves larvae		
	add larvae boil of m.pó		add palm boil oil & salt					
R*80,R*113 R*111 R*118-121	V30/T30 .long.	V45/T30+T18 .lukus. né j.kéta	V41/T30 .ekel. né j.kéta		R138 ki.mámbí cassava leaves seasoned with salty extract			
	mix on boil in leaves leaves		roast in leaves the next morning					
add palm juice, salt, leaves ma.kálj, & garlic trees						This process may be omitted.		
C 6	V14/T2 +T12 .tut.	V44/T34 .lukus.	R*83,R*113	V44/T34 .lukus.	R139 tungu y.e bj.sisíj b.í bj.kwámanga cassava leaves with yautia			
add yautia leaves		pound	boil	add palm oil & salt	boil			
C 15-C 28	V14/T2 +T12 .tut.	V44/T34 .lukus.	R*83 R*113	V44/T34 .lukus.	R140 tungu y.e bó.bá (ké.kaly) cassava leaves with mushrooms			
add mushroom		pound	boil	add palm oil & salt	boil			
C2-C4 ke.njele, etc. amaranth shoot								
V10 .kymun. remove inedible parts V5/T1,T7 .búk.		R*141 ke.njele cut amaranth	V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	R*113 R*115	R*83	V44/T18 .lukus.	R142 bj.njele amaranth boiled with palm oil 3 var.
cut		boil	soften	add salt & chili	add palm oil	boil		
R*80 or R*83	R*242/ R*259/ R*274	V44/T18 .lukus.		R*113 R*115	V44/T18 .lukus.	V44/T18 .lukus.	R143 bj.njele b.í ku.sámbik.a né m.pombi (etc.) amaranth mixed with dry meat, etc. 3 var.	
add palm juice or palm oil		add dried meat, fish or larva		boil	add salt & chili	boil		
R*187	V44/T18 .lukus.	R*80	R*113 R*115	V44/T18 .lukus.	V26 .soy.		R144 bj.njele b.í tu.sulu amaranth with eggplants 3 var.	
add eggplant		boil	add palm juice	add salt & chili	boil	mash eggplant		
V46/T18 .pes.	V28 .lengy.	V21 .in.	R*80	V44/T18 .lukus.	R*113 R*115	V44/T18 .lukus.	R145 bj.njele. amaranth boiled in palm juice 3 var.	
boil slightly		stir	squeeze damp water	add palm juice	boil	add salt & chili	boil	

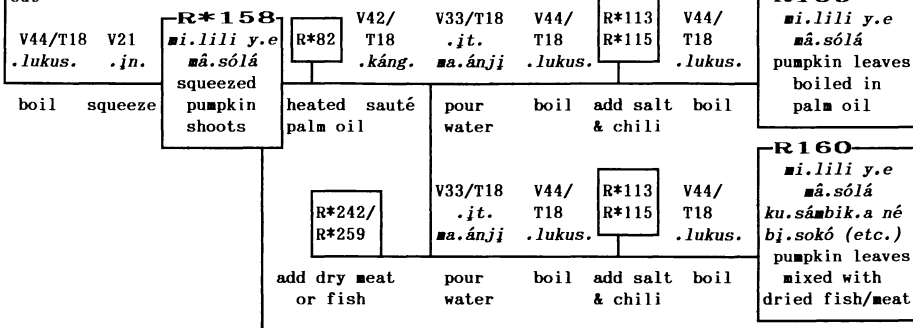


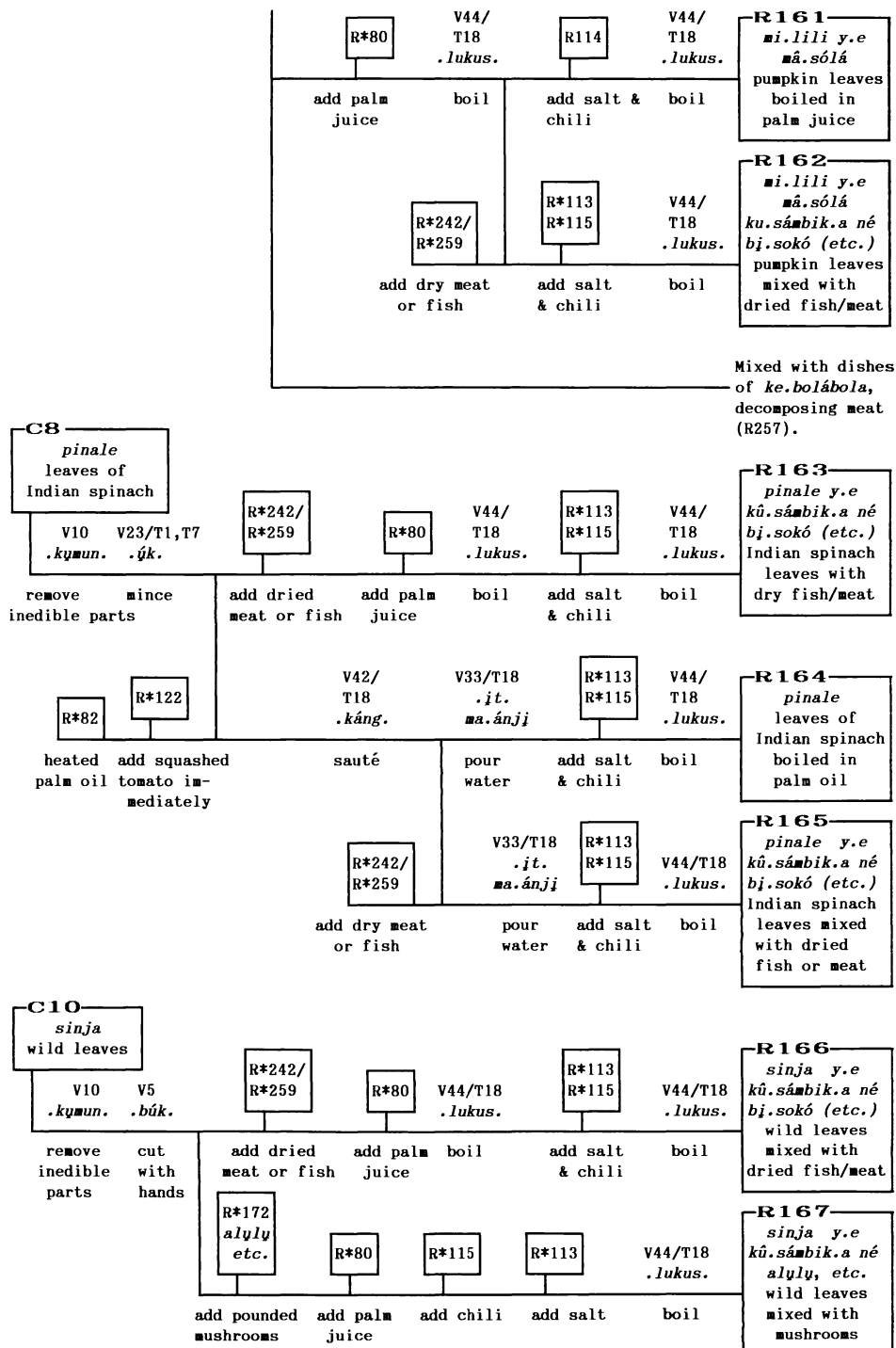


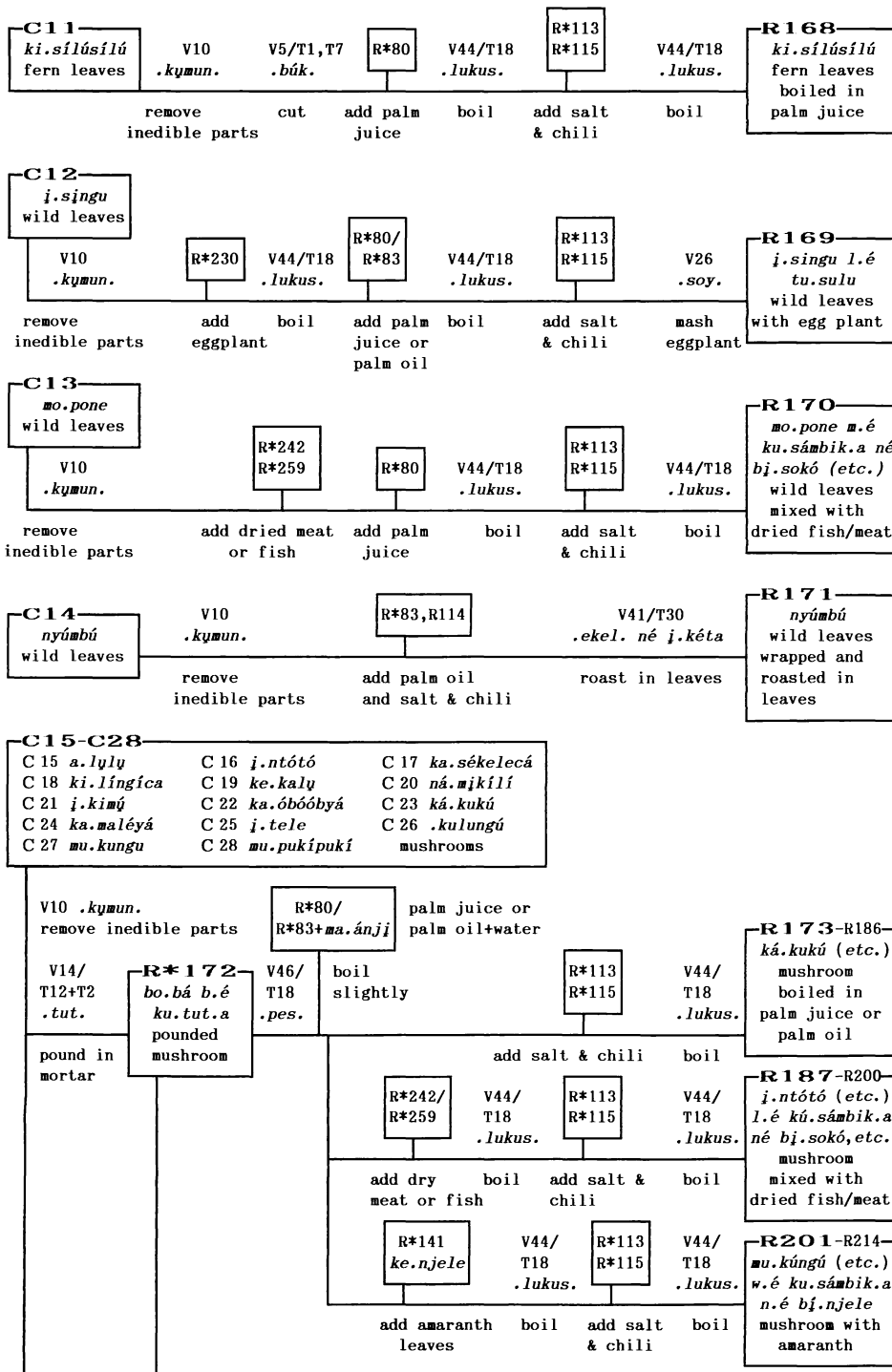
C7
mi.lilí y.é ma.sólá
 pumpkin shoots

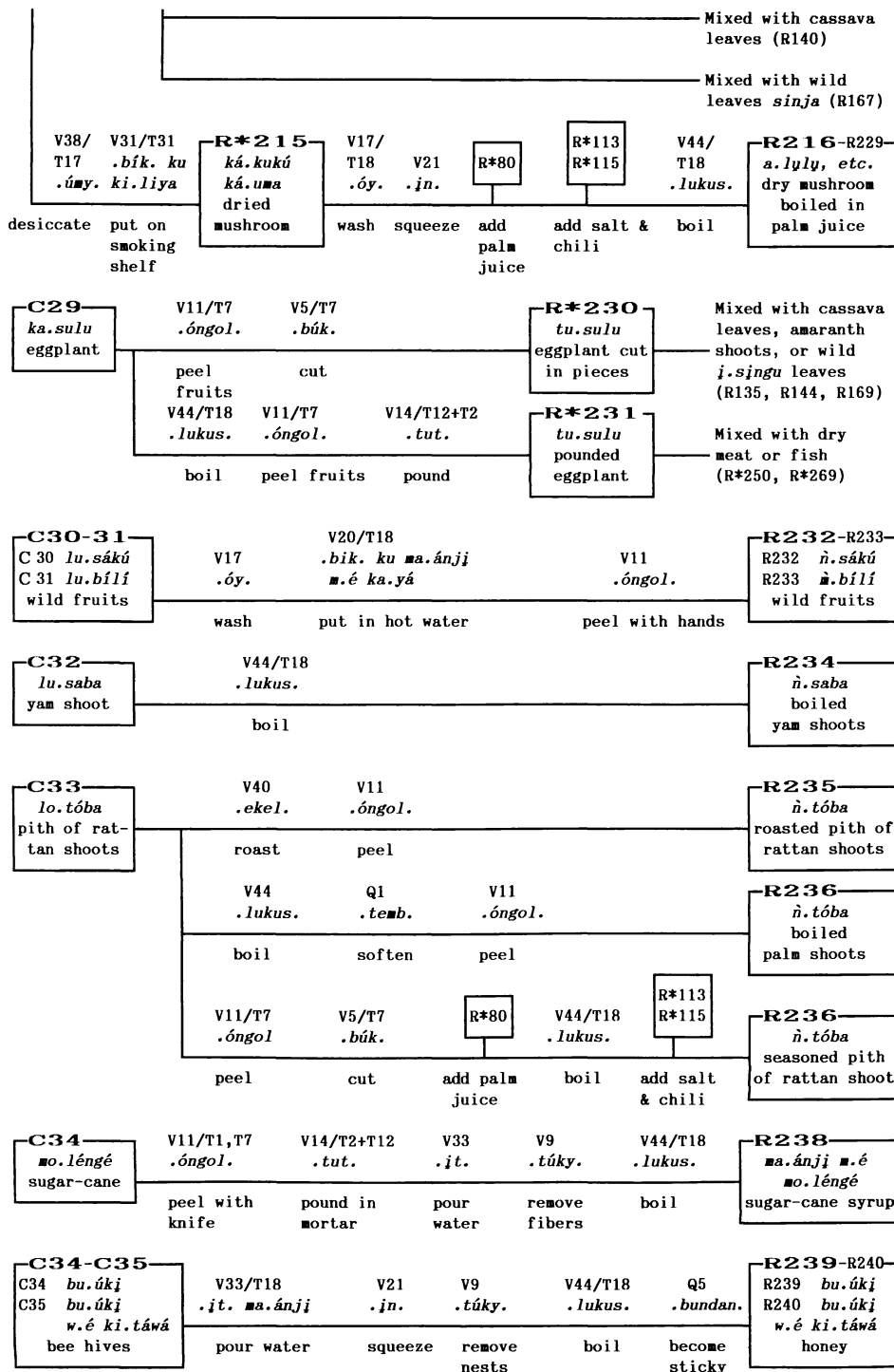
V10 .kymun.
 remove inedible parts

V5/T1,T7 .búk.
 cut









can carry them during your journey.

6. *Sombe ya kukaushwa.*

R130. *Tungu y.e kû.sám bik.a né bî.sokó bî.umá*

1. The precedent cooked with dried fish..

3. Put dried cassava leaves in water; when the leaves have absorbed 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.

6. *Sombe ya kuchanga na samaki.*

R*131. *Tungu*

1. Boiled cassava leaves seasoned with salt and oil.

3. 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 plantains, sweet cassava tubers, or rice to prepare *mu.canáta* (R331, R334)

R132. *Tungu y.e mú.sikí*

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 lú.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 kû.sám bik.a né ñ.jou*

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 kû.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).

6. *Sombe ya kuchanga na lipondo.*

R135. *tungu y.e tú.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 eggplant with their calyxes removed; add salt and palm juice; after boiling for a while, mash the eggplant with a spatula and stir (see Fig. 61).

6. *Nyanya ya kuchanga na sombe.*

R136. *Tungu y.e má.dodókí*

1. Cassava leaves and angled loofah (B28).



Fig. 118 T34 *nyungú*, an earthenware pot with a cover. Diameter ca. 30 cm. *Chungu ya asili.*

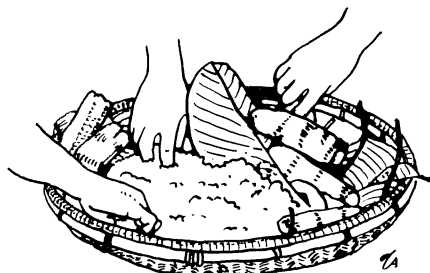


Fig. 119 Three women having a meal of boiled sweet cassava tubers (A2) and boiled cassava leaves (C1, R127), served on broad leaves spread in a shallow basket.

Wanamuke wanakula bipasulio na sombe.

3. Replace eggplant with shredded angled loofah; it is only rarely cultivated.

4. Sticky and good.

6. *Madodoki ya kuchanga na sombe.*

R137. *Tungu y.e kû.sámbik .a né ñ.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 ñ.pó larvae.

6. *Sombe ya kuchanga na pose.*

R138. *Ki.mámí*

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.kálí* (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 y.e bí.sisí b.í bí.kwámanga*

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.

6. *Sombe ya kuchanga na maole [mahole].*

R140. *Tungu y.e bô.bá (ké.kalú)*

1. Cassava leaves mixed with mushrooms (such as *ke.kalú*).

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.

6. *Sombe ya kuchanga na buyoka [uyoga].*

R141-R146. Recipes for amaranth leaves

R*141. *Bí.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. *Bí.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.

6. *Lengalenga, michicha.*

R143. *Bj.njele b.í ku.*

sámbik.a né m̃.pombí, etc.

1. Varieties of amaranth cooked with smoked meat or smoked fish; cooked R*141.

2. *Ku.sámbik.a* 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 *m̃.pombí*, 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.

6. *Lengalenga ya kuchanga na koto.*

R144. *Bj.njele b.í ñ.*

sóngó

1. Varieties of amaranth cooked with eggplant; cooked R*141.

3. Boil shredded amaranth leaves and eggplant without calyxes, 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.

6. *Lengalenga ya kuchanga na nyanya.*

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 b.í ku.*

sámbik.a né bj.sokó

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 *cwáá*; 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.

6. *Lengalenga ya kuchanga na samaki.*

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 shreds of leaves and stems; add water, salt, and chilies; cover and simmer for 90 minutes; about 2 hours for preparation.

6. *Matembele.*

R148. *Ma.tembéle m.é ku.*

sámbik.a né bj.sokó 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.

6. *Matembele ya kuchanga na samaki.*

R149. *Ma.tembéle*

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 stirring continuously to prevent scorching.

6. *Matembele.*

R*150. *Ma.tembéle 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).

6. *Matembele ya kukaushwa.*

R151. *Ma.tembéle*

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.

6. *Matembele.*

R152. *Ma.tembéle*

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.

6. *Nyombololo.*

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 (Purse-glove, 1972: 70).

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

R153. *Bj.kwámanga*

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.

6. *Bipulupulu.*

R154. *Bj.kwámanga b.í ku .sámik.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.

6. *Maole ya kuchanga na pose.*

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.í 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.

6. *Maole ya kuchanga na samaki.*

R157. *Bj.sisí b.í bj.kwámanga 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.

R*158-R162. Recipes for pumpkin shoots.

R*158. *Mi.lili y.e mâ.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 mâ.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.

6. *Mabokamaboka.*

R160. *Mi.lili y.e mâ.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 mâ.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.

6. *Mabokamaboka.*

R162. *Mi.lili y.e mâ.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).*

R163-R166. Recipes for indian spinach.

R163. *Pinale y.e kû.sám bik.a né bj.soko*

1. Indian spinach boiled with dried fish or meat.

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 kû.sám bik.a né bĭ.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 kû.sám bik.a né bĭ.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 kû.sám bik.a né alŭlŭ, etc.*

1. Wild leaves boiled with mushroom (as *alŭlŭ*).

3. Boil shredded leaves in palm juice with pounded mushroom (C15 *a.lŭlŭ, etc.*).

4. Delicious.

R168. *Ki.sílúsílú*

1. Fern leaves boiled in palm juice; add salt and chili; boil.

3. Cut undeveloped leaves; boil them in palm juice.

R169. *Ĭ.singu l.é 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 bĭ.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. *Nyúbú*

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



Fig. 120 V10 .*kŭmun*. 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.

3. 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.

5. 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.

6. *Buyoka* [uyoga].

R187-R200. *I.ntótó*
(etc.) *l.é ku.sámbik.a né bî. soko*

1. Mushroom mixed with dried fish or dried meat; cooked R*172.

3. Put into boiling palm juice;



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

Muwanamuke anatwanga buyoka.

add washed dried fish or meat; add salt and chilies when the contents soften; boil; leave the broth.

6. *Buyoka ya kuchanga na samaki* (or *nyama*).

R201-R214. *Mu.kúngú*
(etc.) *w.é ku.sámbik.a né bî. njele*

1. Mushrooms boiled with amaranth; cooked R*172.

3. The same as R187-R200, but add shredded amaranth.

4. Good with rice and paste of cassava flour.

R*215. *Ká.kukú* (etc.)
ká.uma

1. Dried mushrooms.

3. Remove lower parts of hard stems; dry in the sun; spread on a smoking shelf; they will spoil soon if wrapped in broad leaves.

5. 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.

6. *Buyoka ya kukaushwa*.

R216-R229. *A.lulú*,
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).

3. Cut off hard calyxes; peel and mince to mix in cassava leaves (R135), amaranth leaves (R144), and wild leaves (R169).

5. R*230-231 are always cooked with other food.

R*231. *Tu.sulu*

1. Pounded "sweet" eggplant.

3. Cut off hard calyxes; peel and pound in a mortar; mix in dried meat (R256) and dried fish (R269).

R232-R233. *N.sákú*

and *m.bílf*

1. Boiled wild fruit.

3. 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.ánjĩ 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.

6. *Mayi ya muwa.*

R239. *Bu.úkĩ*

1. Honey.

3. Collect beehives (*ñ.dábu y.á bu.úkĩ*); 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.

6. *Asali.*

R240. *Bu.úkĩ w.é ki.táwá*

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 (.cɪnj.). 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 bū.bísi* 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.síí* if it is still bleeding. *Nyama 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 bū.**bísi*

1. Raw meat of large- and medium-sized mammals, D1-D45; called *nyama y.e mú.síí* if it is still bloody.

3. These animals are generally caught in the forest; the carcass (*ki.tumbá*) is carried beside a stream; the hunter cuts shoots of shrubs to spread them on the

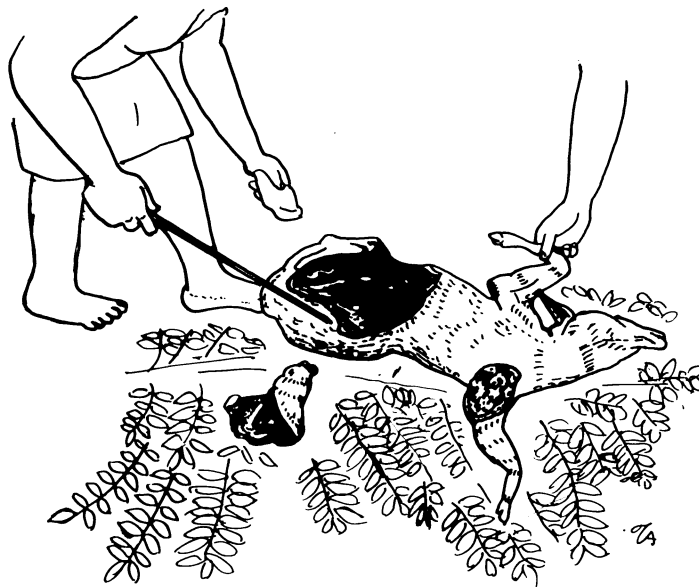


Fig. 122 V5 .búk. Dismembering *ka.kúli* (D7) with a bush knife (T7). The carcass of the animal removed from a trap is put on leafy branches.

Ginsi ya kuchuna nyama ya miteko [mitego].

Chart 3D. Recipes for materials having *mu.suna* (1): mammals, reptiles, and birds***From butchering to meat***

		men's work				women's work in the village			
D1-D45 <i>m.búli</i> , etc. goats and other larger and medium- sized animals	V1/T1 .cínj.	V7/T1,6 .ba.	V17 .óy.	V4/T6 .át.	V12 .bab.	V5/T6 .búk.	V9/T6 .túky.	V17/T18 .óy.	R*241a <i>nyama y.e</i> <i>bú.bísi</i> raw meat —45 var.
	butcher	gut	wash intestines	divide	burn hair off	cut off	remove in- edible parts	wash	
	omitted for medium- sized animals				V37/T31 .ánjk. expose to smoke				R*242a <i>nyama</i> <i>yá.umá</i> smoked meat —45 var.
D46-D53 <i>cunga</i> , etc. wild animals of Felidae or cat family	V1/T1 .cínj.	V7/T1,6 .ba.	V17 .óy.	V11/T1 .óngol.	V4/T6 .át.	V5/T6 .búk.	V9/T6 .túky.	V17/T18 .óy.	R*241b <i>nyama y.e</i> <i>bú.bísi</i> raw meat —8 var.
	butcher	gut	wash internal organs in a stream	skin divide		cut	remove in- edible parts	wash	
					used for <i>n.gúbú</i> chiefs' garments	V37/T31 .ánjk. expose to smoke			R*242b <i>nyama</i> <i>yá.umá</i> smoked meat —8 var.
D54 <i>kj.íku</i> brush- tailed porcupine	V1/T1 .cínj.	V20/T18 .bík. ku <i>ma.ánji</i> <i>má.kong.á</i>	V9/T1 .túky.	V7/T1,6 .ba.	V5/T6 .búk.				R*243 <i>ke.koba k.é</i> <i>kj.íku</i> dorsal muscle —1 var.
	butcher	put in boiling water	remove spines	gut	dis- member	V9/T6 .túky.	V17/T18 .óy.		
						remove in- edible parts	wash		R*241c <i>nyama y.e</i> <i>bú.bísi</i> raw meat —1 var.
D55-D57 <i>ka.bánga</i> , etc. pangolins (having scales on their body)	V1/T1 .cínj.	V20/T18 .bík. ku <i>ma.ánji</i> <i>má.kong.á</i>	V9/T1 .túky.	V7/T1,6 .ba.	V5/T6 .búk.	V9/T6 .túky.	V17/T18 .óy.		R*241d <i>nyama y.e</i> <i>bú.bísi</i> raw meat —3 var.
	butcher	put in boiling water	remove scales	gut	dis- member	remove in- edible parts	wash		
						V37/T31 .ánjk. expose to smoke			R*242d <i>nyama</i> <i>yá.umá</i> smoked meat —3 var.
D58 <i>n.joy</i> elephant	V1/T1 .cínj.	V7/T1,6 .ba.	V4/T4,T6 .át.	V5/T6 .búk.	V17 .óy.				R*241e <i>nyama y.e n.joy</i> <i>w.é bu.bísi</i> raw meat of elephant —1 var.
	butcher	gut	divide	cut	wash in a stream				
					V5/T6 .búk.	V37/T31 .ánjk.			R*242e <i>nyama y.e n.joy</i> <i>yá.umá</i> smoked meat of elephant —1 var.

D90-D95 <i>ka.nungá, etc.</i> mammals of tiny size	V1/T1 .cɪnj.	V8/T1,7 .sal.	V9/T1,7 .túky.	V12 .bab.	V9/T7 .túky.	V5/T6 .búk.	R*241a <i>nyama y.e</i> <i>bũ.bisi</i> raw meat 6 var.
	butcher	pierce	remove intestines	burn surface	remove in- edible parts	cut	

D96-D109 <i>ɟ.lungamantinga</i> <i>etc.</i> birds of tiny size	V1/T1 .cɪnj.	V8/T1,7 .sal.	V9/T1,7 .túky.	V9/T7 .túky.	V9/T7 .túky.	V5/T6 .búk.	R*241m <i>nyama y.e</i> <i>bũ.bisi</i> raw meat 14 var.
	butcher, remove head	pierce	remove intestines	remove feather	remove in- edible parts	cut	

R*242a-d, <i>f-i</i> <i>nyama yá.umá</i> smoked meat 63 var.	V18/T18 .tutik.	Q3 .bjmb.	V9/T1 .túky.	V5/T6 .búk.	V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V9 .túky.	V17/T18 .óy.	R*245 <i>nyama yá.umá</i> boiled smoked meat 64 var.
	soak in water	swell	remove inedible parts	cut (1 hour or more)	boil well	soften	pour out water	wash	

R*242e
smoked elephant meat

V18/T18,16 .tutik.	V35/T18 .lály.	V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V9 .túky.	V17/T18 .óy.	V9/T1 .túky.	V5/T1,7 .búk.	R*246 <i>nyama yá.umá</i> <i>y.e ñ.joy</i> smoked & boiled elephant meat 1 var.
soak in water	leave as it is (overnight)	boil for a daytime	soften	pour out water	wash twice	remove inedible parts	cut	

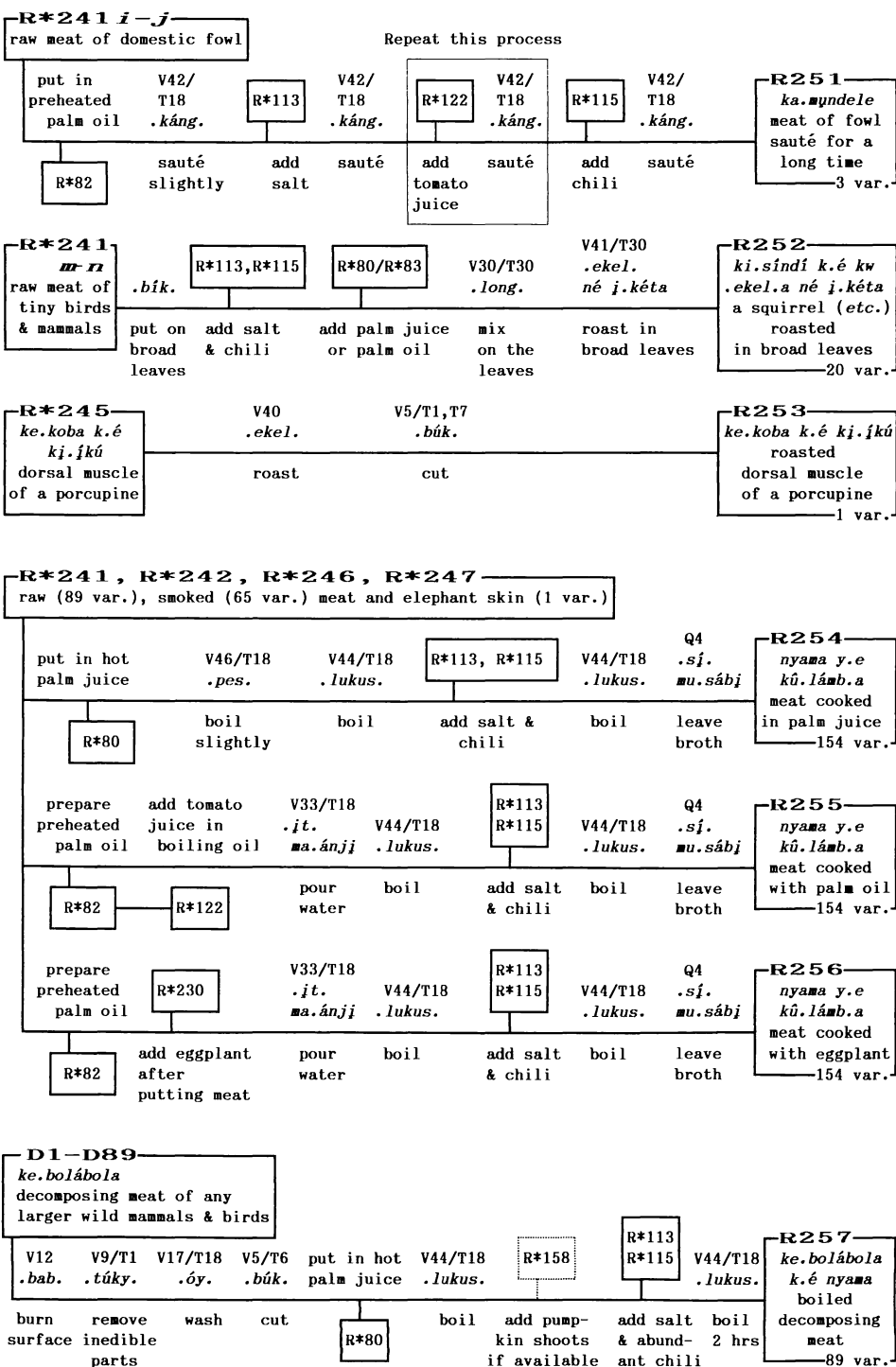
R*244
elephant skin

V4/T1,5 .át.	V18/T18,16 .tutik.	V35/T18 .lály.	V44/T18 .lukus.	Q1 .temb.	V9 .túky.	V17/ T18 .óy.	V11/ T6,7 .óngol.	V5/ T1,7 .búk.	R*247 <i>ke.koba k.é</i> <i>ñ.joy</i> boiled elephant skin 1 var.
chop	soak in water	leave as it is (overnight)	boil with plantain leaves	soften	pour out water	wash twice	peel outer layer	cut	added to amaranth (R143) & cassava leaves (R133).

From meat to dish

R*241a-l
raw meat of larger birds and mammals

R*82 put in palm oil	V42/T18 .káng.	R*113 V42/ T18 .káng.	R*122 V42/ T18 .káng.	R*115 V42/ T18 .káng.	V33/T18 .jt.	V44/ T18 .lukus.	R248 <i>nyama y.e</i> <i>kũ.lámb.a</i> meat cooked in palm oil 89 var.
	sauté slightly	add salt	sauté add tomato juice	sauté add chili	pour water	boil	
						R*87/R*97/ R*98/R*125 add groundnut paste, etc., if available	
R*113, R*124	V42/T18 .káng.	R*122 V42/ T18 .káng.	V42/T18 .káng.	R*115 V42/ T18 .káng.	V33/T18 .jt.	V44/T18 .lukus.	R249 <i>nyama y.e</i> <i>kũ.lámb.a</i> meat cooked in palm oil with onion 89 var.
	put salt & onion in oil before putting meat	sauté add tomato juice	sauté add chili	pour water	boil		
V42/T18 .káng.	R*97	R*113, R*115	V33/T18 .jt.	V44/T18 .lukus.			R250 <i>nyama y.e</i> <i>kũ.lámb.a</i> meat cooked with cucurbit 89 var.
	sauté	add paste of cucurbit seeds	add salt & chili	pour water	boil		



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 (*ñ.kíngú*), the limbs (*bí.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.

6. *Nyama mbichi*.

R*241 b. *Nyama y.e bú.*

bísi

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 (*ñ.gubu*) for traditional ritual garments of village chiefs; nobody has the right to burn off their hair; men peel the skin before dismembering

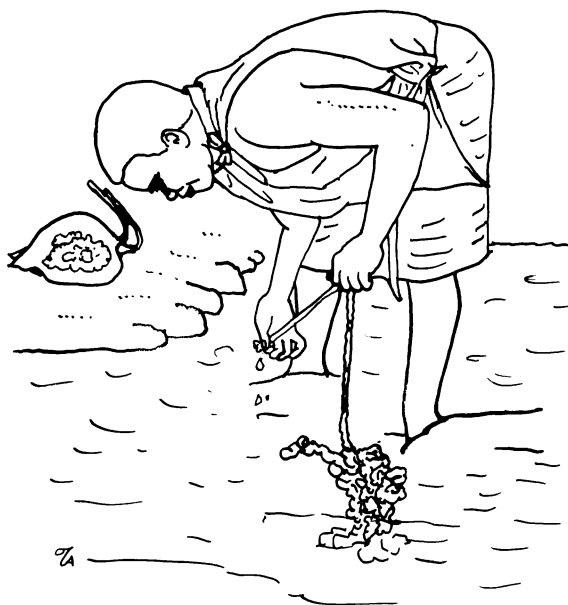


Fig. 123 V17 .óy. A Kuko man washes intestines of an animal caught in the forest.

*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.

6. *Nyanya mbichi*.

R*241 c. *Nyama y.e bú.*
bísi

1. Meat of the brush-tailed porcupine, *kí.fkú*.

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.

6. *Nyama mbichi ya njiku*.

R*241 d. *Nyama y.e bú.*
bísi

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.

6. *Nyama mbichi ya kabanga*.

R*241 e. *Nyama y.e ñ.jou*
w.é bu.bísi

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.

6. *Nyama mbichi ya tembo*.

R*241 f. *Nyama y.e bú.*
bísi

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-



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.

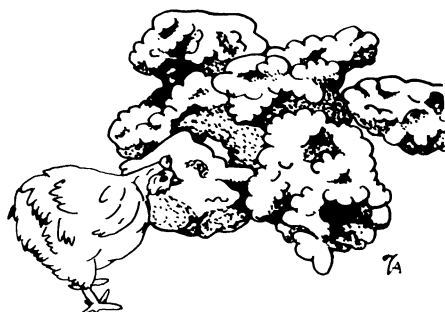


Fig. 125 R*242. A hen pecking maggots on smoked elephant meat.

*Kuku anakula funja [mafunza]
ya nyama kabu ya tembo.*

ment because it is a protected animal and because its skin may be very expensive; 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.

6. *Nyama mbichi ya mamba.*

R*241 g. Nyama y.e bú.

bísi

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.

R*241 h. Nyama y.e bú.

bísi

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.

6. *Nyama mbichi ya kobe.*

R*241 i. Nyama y.e bú.

bísi

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



Fig. 126 A: an elephant leg (D58), B: two Kuko man chopping elephant legs with a knife (T1) a bush knife (T6) and an axe (T5).

Ginsi ya kubunja mukulu [mguu] ya tembo.

cooking a tortoise.

6. *Nyama mbichi ya kobe.*

R*241 J. *Nyama y.e bū.*
bísi

1. Meat of a duck.

3. 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 in 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

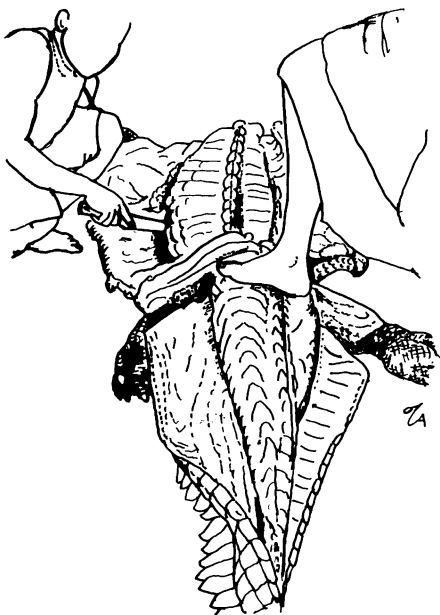


Fig. 127 V5 .búk. Dismembering a crocodile (D59) with a bush knife (T6) and an axe (T5).
Wanaume wanachuna mamba.

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.

5. 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).

6. *Nyama ya bata.*

R*241 K. *Nyama y.e bū.*
bísi

1. Meat of a fowl (hen or rooster) and other wild birds of medium size.

3. 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.

5. Head is eaten by boys; and men eat the heart; not dried usually.

6. *Nyama ya kuku na jogoo.*

R*241 I. *Nyama y.e bū.*
bísi

1. Meat of hens and roosters prepared without burning the surface.

3. The process of burning the skin in the preceding recipe can be omitted.

6. *Nyama ya kuku na jogoo.*

R*241 M. *Nyama y.e bū.bísi*



Fig. 128 V9 .túky. An Enya woman removing feather of a hen (D64).

Muwanamuke ya Wagenia ana nyonyola kuku.

(*Ka.nyama k.é bu.bísi*)

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 bú.bísi* (*Ka.nyonyi k.é bu.bísi*)
1. Meat of *ka.nyonyi* 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*241a 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*241f.

3. Smoke just like other meat.

6. *Nyama kafu ya njiku.*

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.joy yá.umá*

1. Smoked meat of an elephant.

3. Cut into pieces and smoke on the shelf in the forest (Fig. 125).

6. *Nyama kafu ya tembo.*

R*242 f. *Nyama yá.umá*

1. Smoked meat of R*241f.

4. No longer smells when smoked.

6. *Nyama kafu ya mamba.*

R*242 g. *Nyama i.umá*

1. Smoked meat of R*241g.

R*242 h. *Nyama yá.umá*

1. Smoked meat of R*241h.

6. *Nyama kafu ya kobe.*

R*242 i. *Nyama yá.umá*

1. Smoked meat of R*241i.

6. *Nyama kafu ya kobe.*

R*243. *Ke.koba k.é kị. íkú*

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*241a; carefully peel the layer of muscle (*ke.koba k.é kị. íkú*) which was holding the spines; this is the only meat roasted directly on the fire.

6. *Ngozi ya njiku.*

R*244. *Ke.koba k.é 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).

6. *Ngozi ya tembo.*

R*245. *Nyama yá.umá*

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.

6. *Nyama kafu ya kulalisha kumayi.*

R*246. *Nyama yá.umá y.e ñ.joy*

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.

6. *Nyama kafu ya tembo.*

R*247. *Ke.koba k.é ñ.joy*

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 l.é i.sili* (*nembenembe* 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 kù.lámb.a*

1. Sautéed 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 loafah.

4. Good with *bu.káli* which cannot be swallowed without some broth.

R249. *Nyama y.e kù.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.

6. *Nyama ya kupika*.

R250. *Nyama y.e kû.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.munde*

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.

6. *Kamunde*.

R252. *Ki.síndí k.é kw. ekel.a né i.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 i.kéta* or *ka.nyama k.é kw.ekel.a né i.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.

4. *Kanyama ya kuchoma na fulushi*.

R253. *Ke.koba k.é kî.íkú*

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.

6. *Ngozi ya njiku*.

R254. *Nyama y.e kû.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.

6. *Nyama ya kupika*.

R255. *Nyama y.e kû.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.

6. *Nyama ya kupika*.

R256. *Nyama y.e kũ.lámb.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.é*

nyama

1. Decomposing meat of water chevrotain *etc.* boiled for a long time.

3. A carcass of game found in a trap may have begun decomposing; men remove rotten intestines, dismember, and bring it back home; women burn the surface of decomposing meat; fly maggots fall like torrents; wash and cut into small pieces; remove nails and other inedible parts; boil in palm juice, and never sauté in palm oil; put in the meat and boil for 1-2 hours; add salt and chili when the meat softens; simmer; boiled and squeezed pumpkin shoots (R*158) may be mixed in to conceal the smell of decomposing meat.

4. I tasted this dish made from a carcass that was believed to have died five days before discovery; on the first day it had a very impressive smell even after two hours of cooking; however, it no longer smelt and its skin was soft and good after boiling again on the second day; eight years later, a dish of hare in a Paris restaurant reminded me of this taste.

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, *ñ.fíí cá.umá/bj.sokó b.f.umá*, is often mixed with leaves and other vegetables. Fish in the special category of *ñ.fíí c.é 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*258a. *Ñ.fii c.é ma.amba ma.kúlú 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*258b. *Ñ.fii c.é ma.amba ma.kúlú c.é bu.bísi*

1. The same as the preceding but

with its scales removed with fire.

R*258c. *Ñ.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*258d. *Ñ.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*258e. *Ñ.fii c.é bo.sélo c.é bu.bísi*

1. Raw fish having neither



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. *Nyinkj c.é bu. bisi*

1. Electric catfish, *nyinkj* (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.tutu 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.kúlú cá.umá*

1. Smoked fish having large

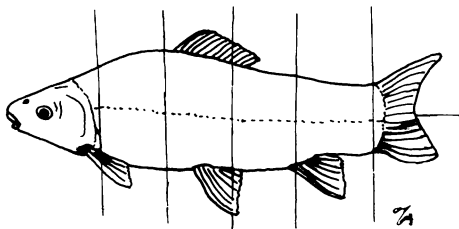


Fig. 130 A scheme for cutting a large fish (E1-E82).

Ginsi ya kukata samaki kubuwa.

scales.

3. Smoke pieces of raw fish (R*258a-b) on a smoking shelf (see Figs. 68, 134); *mu.búndú* (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.sálí cá.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 cá.umá*

1. Smoked fish having three poisonous spines.

3. Smoke on a shelf.

5. Rarely smoked; large scale-less 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.sélo cá.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.

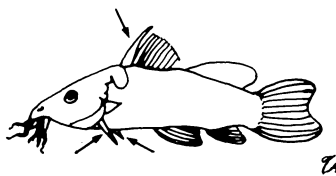


Fig. 131 Three poisonous spines (shown by arrows) of bagrid catfish (E83-E106).

Miiba ya sumu ya samaki.

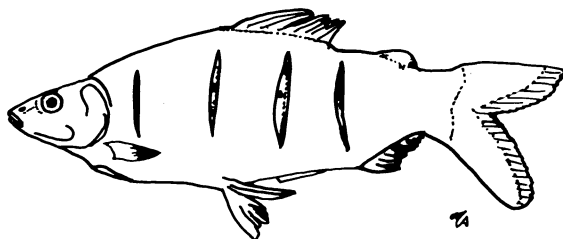


Fig. 132 A fish of the family Distichodontidae cut before smoking. Body length, ca. 25 cm.

Mokasa.

R*259 f. *N.fii cá.umá*

1. Smoked small fish.
3. Smoke them on a shelf (Fig. 134).

R*259 g. *N.fii cá.umá*

1. Smoked tiny fish.
3. Skewer with a rattan string (Fig. 135) and smoke.

R*259 h. *N.fii cá.umá*

1. Smoked electric catfish.
4. It tastes very good after 1-2 days of smoking.

R*260. *Nyinkj c.é bu. bisi*

1. Electric catfish with its skin.
2. Remove only the intestines,

but reve the skin as it is.

R*261. *N.fii cá.umá*

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.lónge* (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, *m.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.

6. *Pepe supu*.

R263. *N.fii c.é ku.lámba*

1. Bagrid catfish, *ki.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



Fig. 133 *I.túli*, smoked catfish skewered with a string. Width ca. 20 cm.

Kambale ya kukauka.

having little fat.

R264. *N.fii c.é ku.lámb.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.fii c.é ku.lámb.a*

1. Raw fish sautéed in preheated

palm oil.

3. Prepare *lu.mbiłi* (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.

6. *Kamundele.*

R266. *N.fii c.é ku.lámb.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.fii c.é ku.lámb.a*

1. Boiled raw fish first sautéed in seasoned oil.

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.fii c.é ku.lámb.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

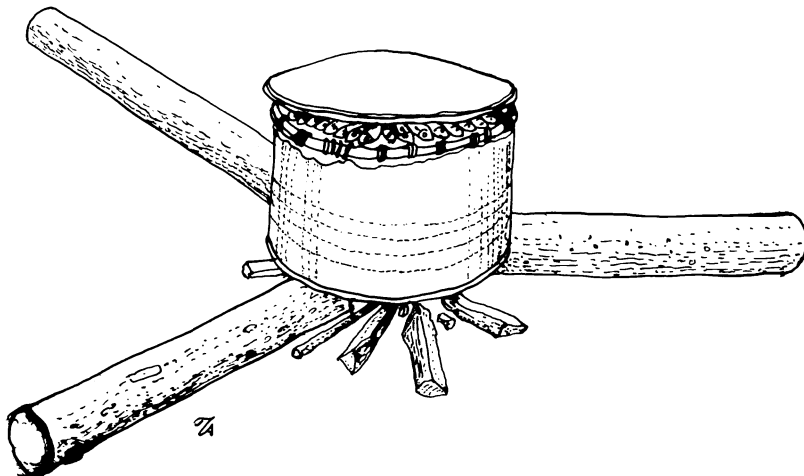


Fig. 134 T32 *mo.pela*, an apparatus for smoking fish on three large logs of firewood *me.konda*. Diameter ca. 60 cm. *Chombo ya kuanika samaki.*



Fig. 135 A boy skewers small fish caught by bailing streams.
Mutoto mwanaume anatunga samaki ya kusenga.

; add salt and chili; boil.

R269. *N.fif 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.fif c.é j.kéta*

1. African carp, *ñ.síla y.e lô. 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.fif 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.

6. *Samaki ya fulushi.*

R272. *Nyinkj 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*

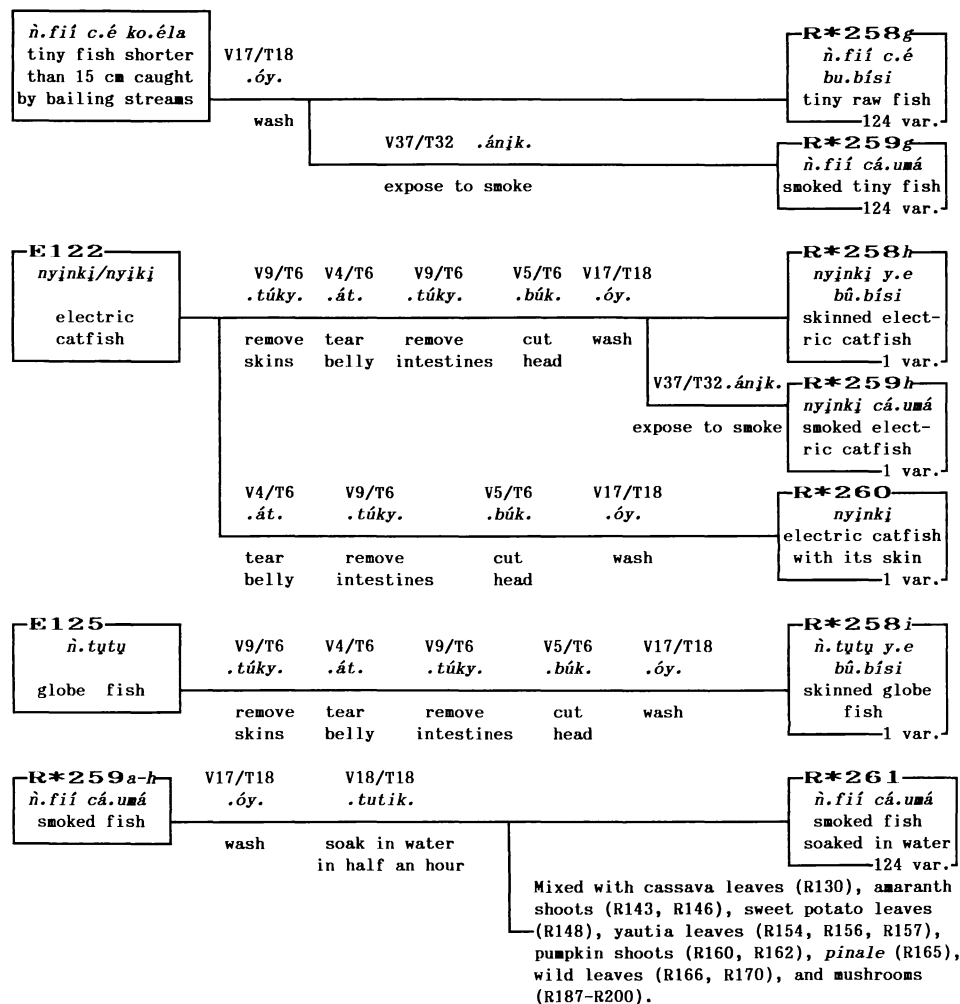
1. An African carp (*ka.mbulukutu*, E33) boiled with its scales.

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

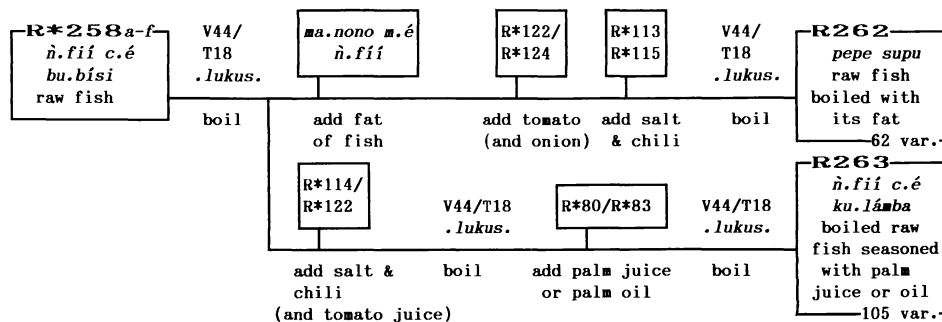
Chart 3E. Recipes for materials having *mu.suna* (2): fish.

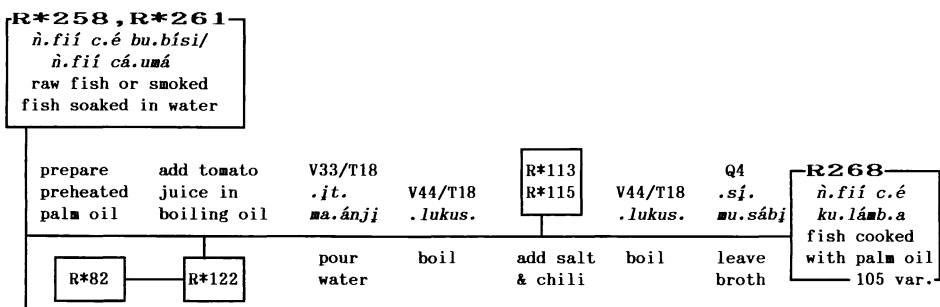
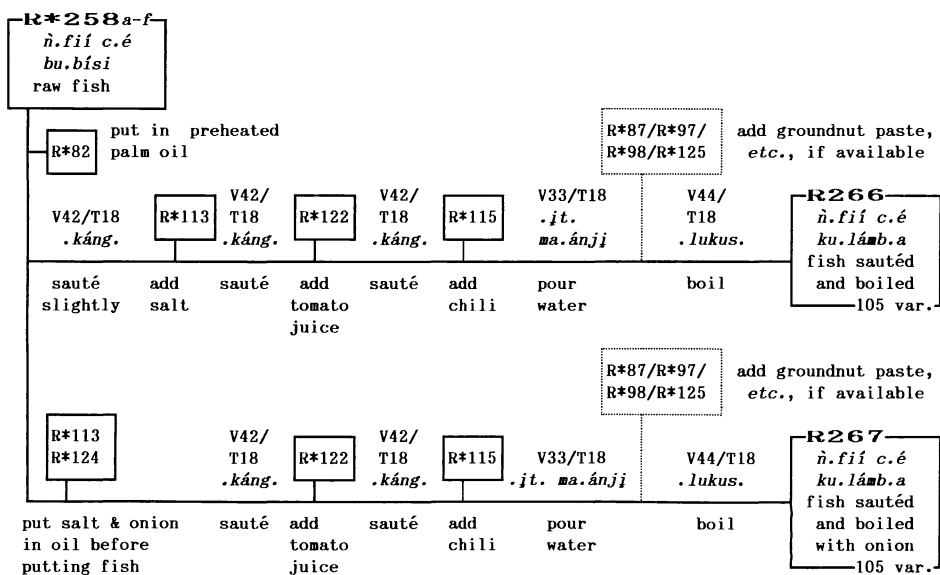
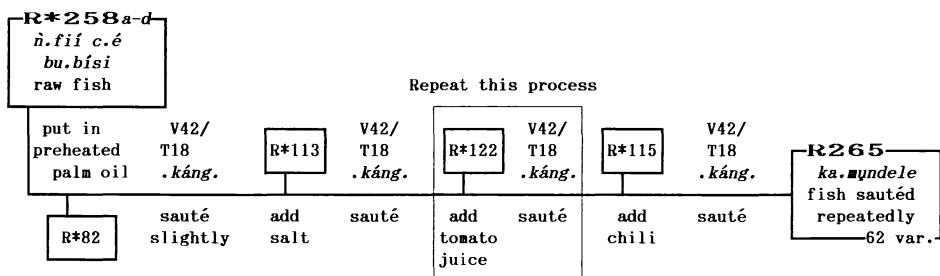
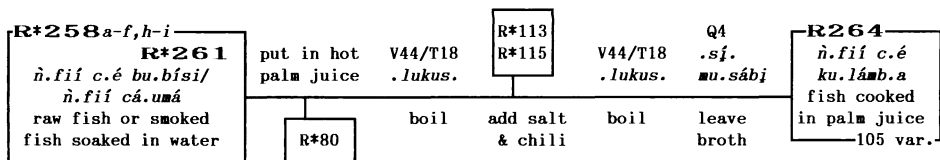
From raw fish to cleaned fish

E1-E48 <i>ñ.fíí c.é ma.</i> <i>amba ma.kúlú</i> fish with large scales	V9/T6 .túky.	V4/T6 .át.	V9/T6 .túky.	V5/T6 .búk.	V17/T18 .óy.		R*258a <i>ñ.fíí c.é</i> <i>bu.bísi</i> raw fish 48 var.	
	remove scales	tear belly	remove intestines	cut	wash	V37/T32 .ánjk.	R*259a <i>ñ.fíí cá.umá</i> smoked fish 48 var.	
	expose to smoke							
	V4/T6 .át.	V9/T6 .túky.	V5/T6 .búk.	V12 .bab.	V9/T6 .túky.	V5/T6 .búk.	V17/T18 .óy.	R*258b <i>ñ.fíí c.é</i> <i>bu.bísi</i> raw fish 48 var.
	tear belly	remove intestines	cut head	burn the surface	remove scales	cut smaller	wash	R*259b <i>ñ.fíí cá.umá</i> smoked fish 48 var.
						V17/T18 .óy.	V37/T32 .ánjk.	R*258c <i>ñ.fíí c.é</i> <i>bu.bísi</i> raw fish 34 var.
						wash	expose to smoke	R*259c <i>ñ.fíí cá.umá</i> smoked fish 34 var.
E49-E82 <i>ñ.fíí c.é ma.</i> <i>amba ma.sálf</i> fish with small scales	V4/T6 .át.	V9/T6 .túky.	V5/T6 .búk.	V17/T18 .óy.			R*258d <i>ñ.fíí c.é</i> <i>bu.bísi</i> raw fish 24 var.	
	tear belly	remove the intestines	cut in pieces	wash		V37/T32 .ánjk.	R*259d <i>ñ.fíí cá.umá</i> smoked fish 24 var.	
						expose to smoke		
E83-E106 <i>ñ.fíí c.é mi.kúa</i> fish with poisonous spines	V5/T6 .búk.	V5/T6 .búk.	V4/T6 .át.	V9/T6 .túky.	V5/T6 .búk.	V17/T18 .oy.		R*258e <i>ñ.fíí c.é</i> <i>bu.bísi</i> raw fish 16 var.
	cut spines	cut head	tear belly	remove intestines	cut in pieces	wash	V37/T32 .ánjk.	R*259e <i>ñ.fíí cá.umá</i> smoked fish 16 var.
							expose to smoke	
E107-E124 <i>ñ.fíí c.é bo.sélo</i> fish without scales nor spines	V5/T6 .búk.	V4/T6 .át.	V9/T6 .túky.	V5/T6 .búk.	V17/T18 .óy.			R*258f <i>ñ.fíí c.é</i> <i>bu.bísi</i> raw small fish 124 var.
	cut head	tear belly	remove intestines	cut in pieces	wash	V37/T32 .ánjk.	R*259f <i>ñ.fíí cá.umá</i> smoked small fish 104 var.	
						expose to smoke		
<i>ñ.fíí c.é bj.kútú</i> fish between 15 and 25 cm caught in a small-meshed net	V4/T6 .át.	V5/T6 .búk.	V17/T18 .óy.					R*258g <i>ñ.fíí c.é</i> <i>bu.bísi</i> raw small fish 124 var.
	tear belly	cut in pieces if needed	wash			V37/T32 .ánjk.	R*259g <i>ñ.fíí cá.umá</i> smoked small fish 104 var.	
						expose to smoke		



From cleaned fish to dish





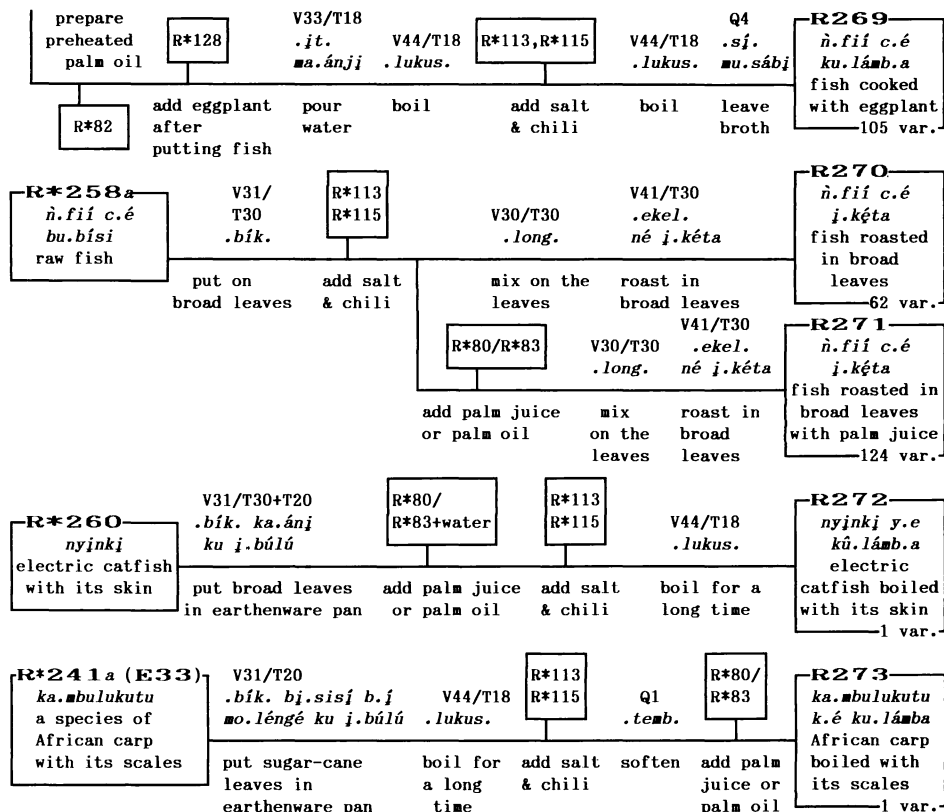
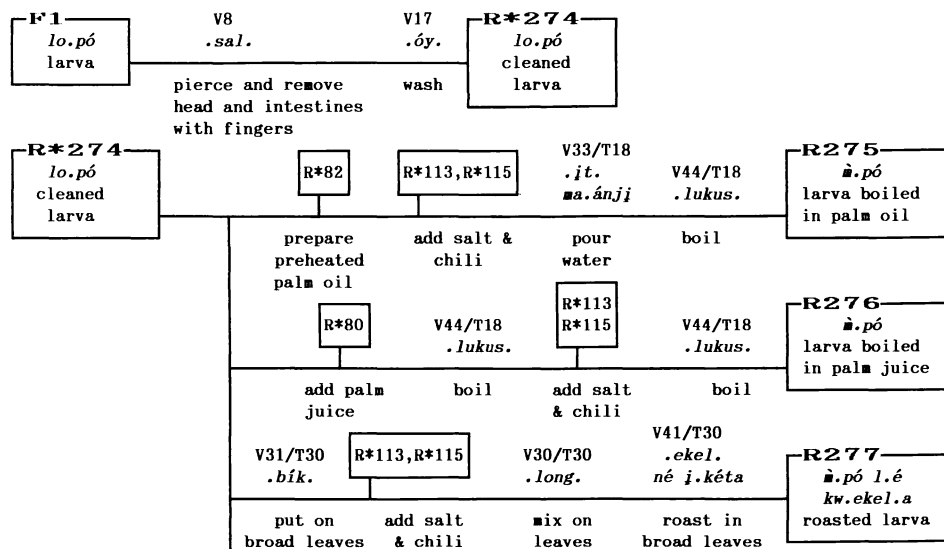
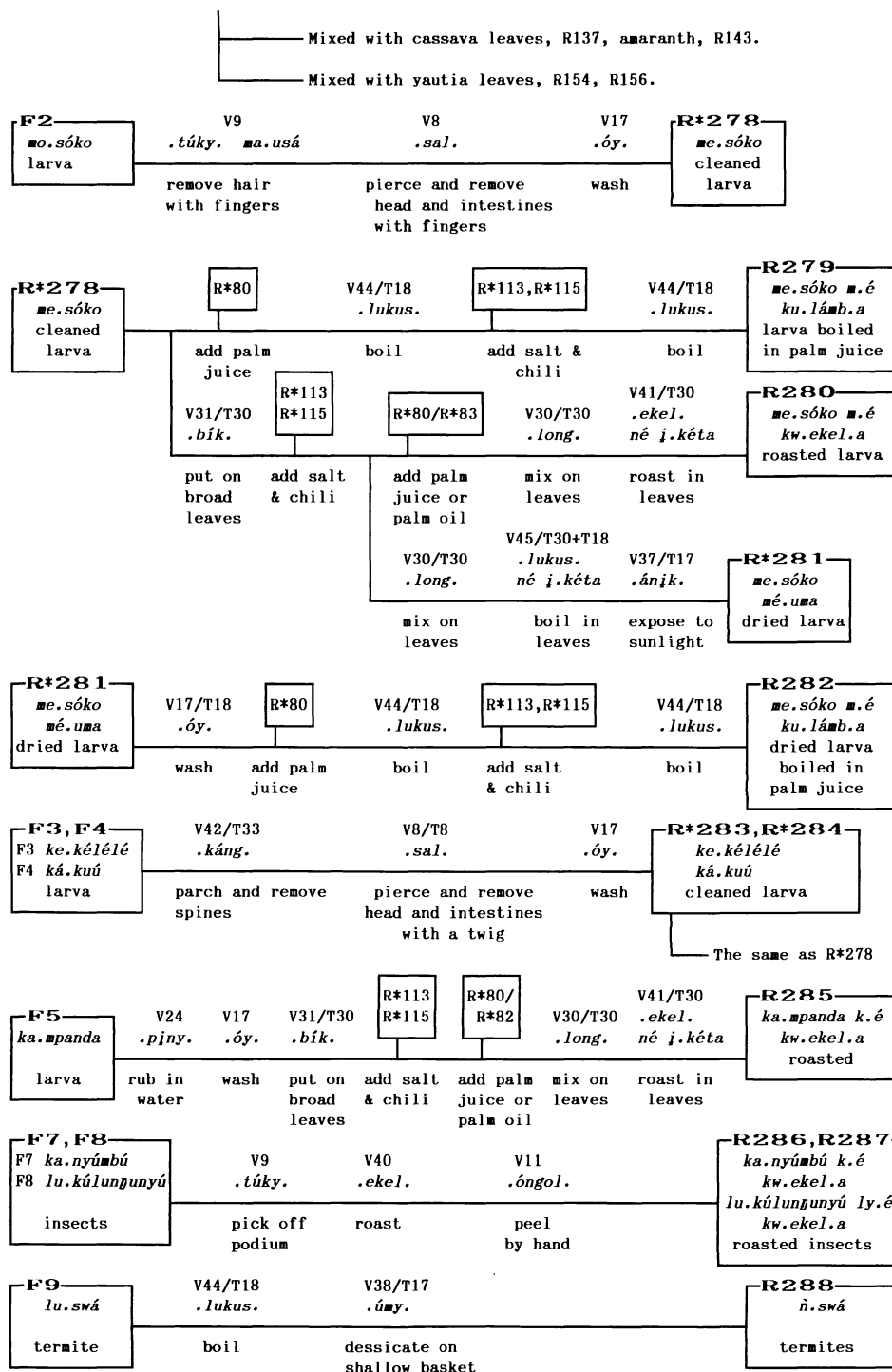


Chart 3F. Recipes for materials having mu.suna (3): bugs and worms.





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. *M.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. *M.pó*

1. Larvae in palm trunks boiled in palm juice.
3. Boil larvae (R*274) in palm juice; add salt and chili.

R277. *M.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.

6. *Pose ya kuchoma.*

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.
6. *Bidudu ya muti.*

R279. *Me.sóko m.é ku. lám.b.a*

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 mé.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.
6. *Vidudu ya kukauka.*

R282. *Me.sóko m.é ku. lám.b.a*

1. Dried worms boiled in palm juice.
3. Wash the preceding; boil them in palm juice.

R*283, R*284.

Ke.kélélé, ká.kuú

1. Worms having tiny spines (F3, F4).
3. Take off head and intestines with a small stick; burn off the



Fig. 137 A young man burns off spines of worms (F4) on an iron plate (T33 *lu.bulu*).

*Kiyana [kijana] anababula
manyola ya bidudu.*

spines on a hot iron plate turning continuously to prevent scorching (Fig. 137); cooked in

G. Dishes of amphibians, crustaceans and molluscs.

R*289-R294 are recipes for frog.

R*289. *Ki.límbá*

1. Cleaned frog.
3. Remove intestines and wash.
6. *Chula [chura] mbichi.*

R*290. *Bí.límbá b.í uma*

1. Dried frogs.
3. 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.

6. *Chula ya kukauka.*

R291. *Bí.límbá b.í bu. bísi*

1. Frogs boiled in palm juice.

exactly the same way as the previous four recipes (R279-R282).

R285. *Ka.mpanda k.é kw. ekel.a*

1. Unidentified worms.
3. Rub in water; wash; mix with salt, chili, and palm oil (or juice) on broad leaves; put the packet on cinders.

R286. *Ka.nyúbú k.é kw. ekel.a*

1. Beetles.
3. Remove limbs; put on cinders; remove wing covers.
4. A relish for children; adults regard them as tasteless poor food.

R287. *Lu.kúlungunyú*

1. Water beetles.
3. Remove limbs; put on cinders; removing covers.
4. Has a very strong smell; a relish for children.
6. *Kidudu ya kiziwa.*

R288. *N.swá*

1. Termites.
3. Boil; dry on a shallow basket.
4. Eaten as a relish.
5. May be also cooked like other insects, but information is not sufficient.

3. Put frogs in palm juice; boil; add salt and chili.

6. *Chula ya mbichi.*

R292. *Bí.límbá b.í í.kéta*

1. Frogs roasted in broad leaves.

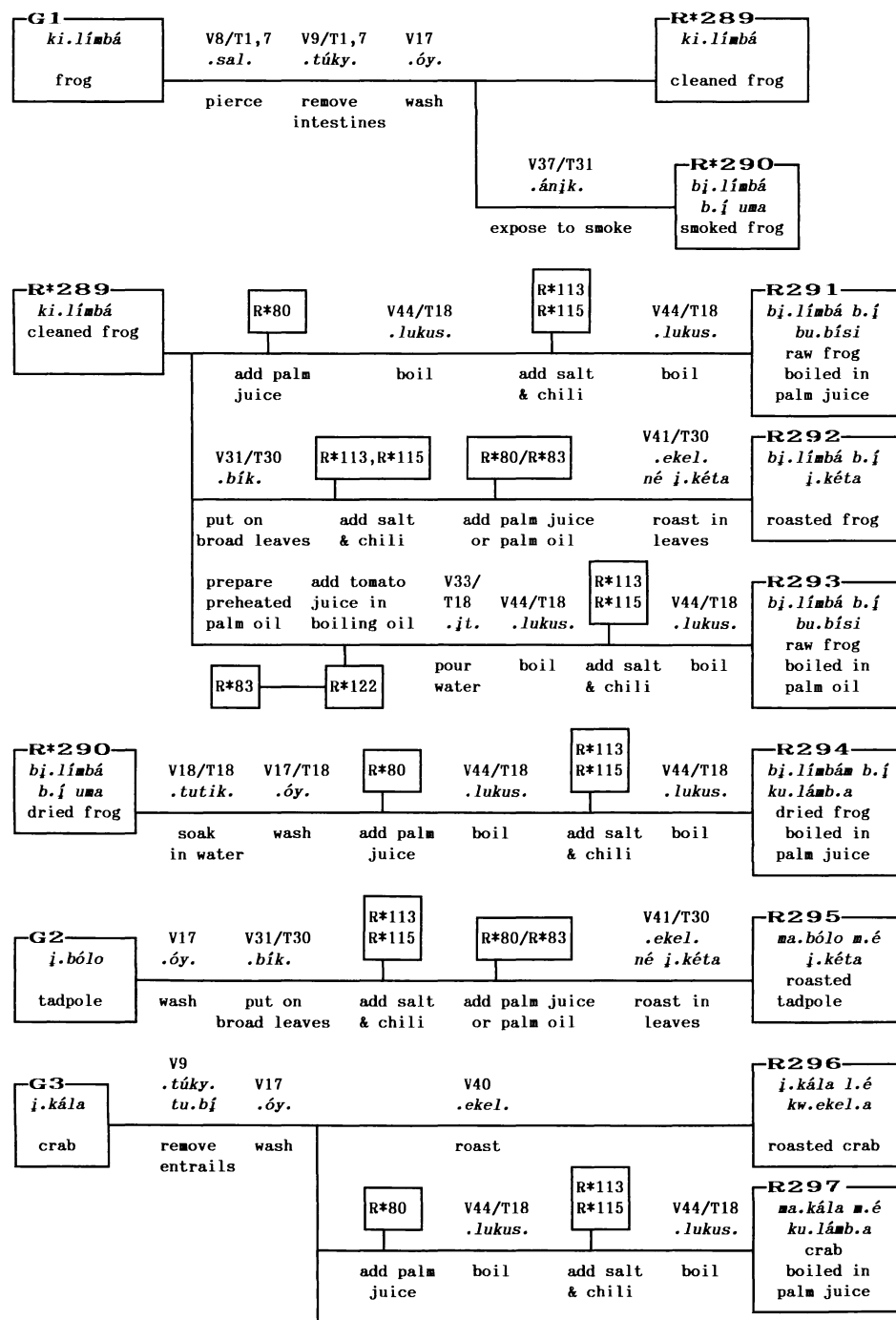
3. Roast in broad leaves instead of boiling in a pan if you have got only one frog or two.

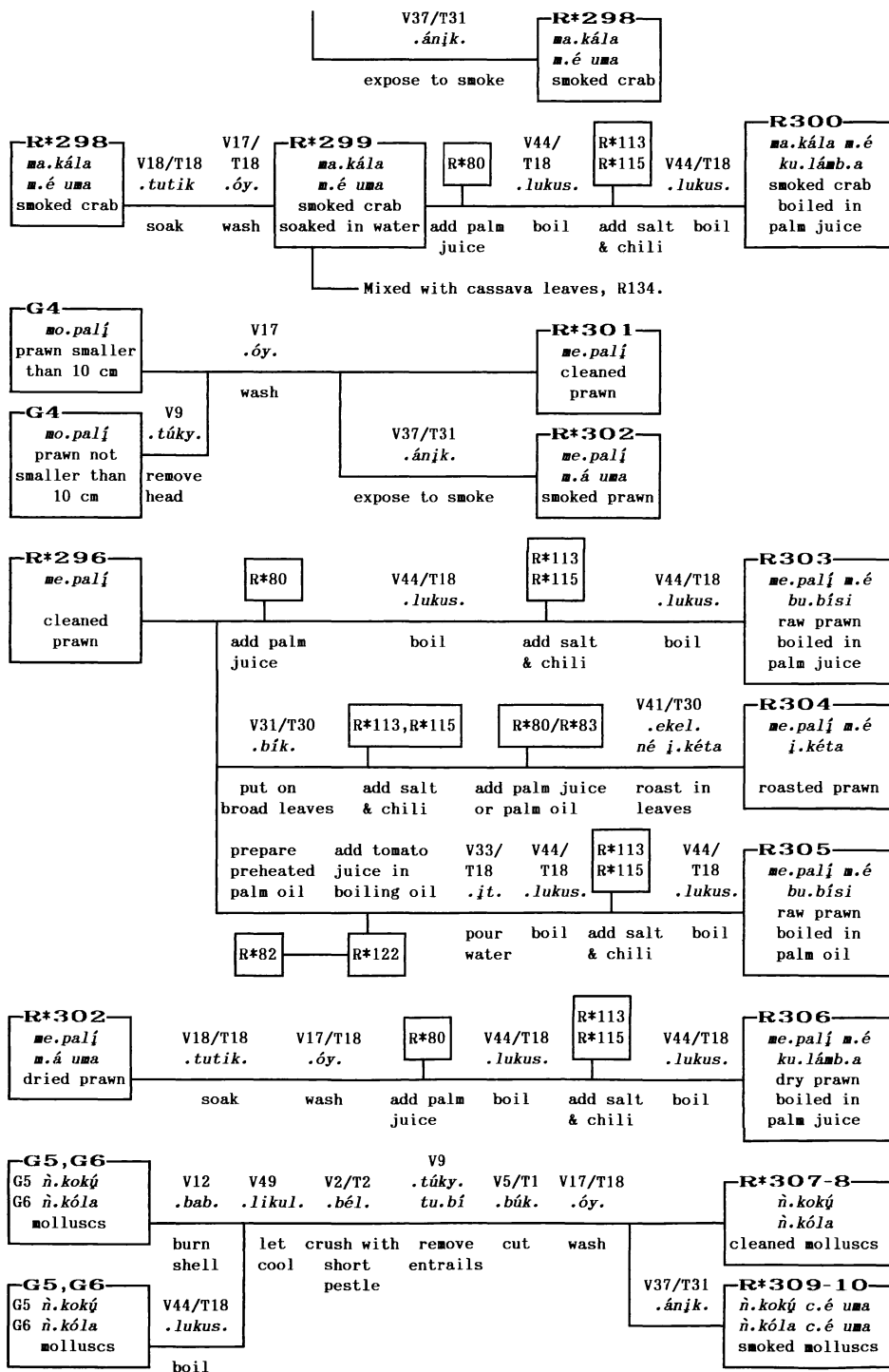
6. *Chula ya fulushi.*

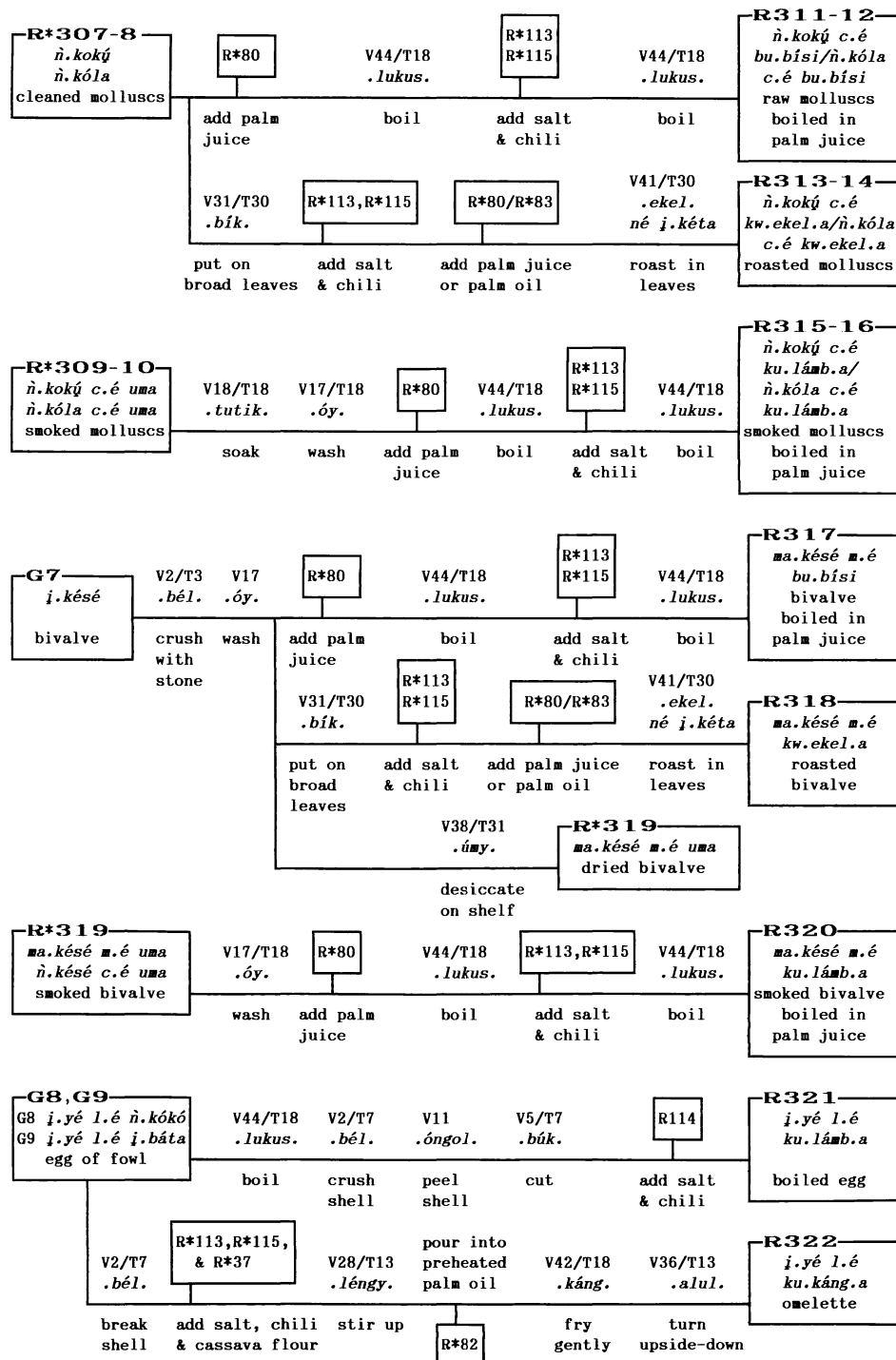
R293. *Bí.límbá b.í bu. bísi*

1. Frogs boiled with palm oil.
3. 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.







6. *Chula ya mbichi.*

R294. *Bj.límbá b.í ku.*
lám.b.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.

R295. *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.

R296. *Í.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.

6. *Lipondo ya kuchoma.*

R297. *Ma.kála m.é ku.*
lám.b.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.

6. *Lipondo ya kupikwa.*

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.*

lám.b.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.palí*

1. Cleaned prawn.

3. Take off heads of prawns if they are longer than 10 cm; wash.

R*302. *Me.palí 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.

6. *Kosakosa ya kukauka.*

R303. *Me.palí m.é bu.bísi*
1. Prawns boiled in palm juice; cooked R*301.

3. Boil in palm juice; add salt and chili.

6. *Kosakosa ya mbichi.*

R304. *Me.palí 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.

6. *Kosakosa ya fulushi.*

R305. *Me.palí 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.

6. *Kosakosa ya mbichi.*

R306. *Me.palí m.é ku.*
lám.b.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.

R*307-R316 are recipes for molluscs.

R*307, R*308.*Ñ.kokú, ñ.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.

R*309, R*310.*Ñ.kokú cá.uma, ñ.kóla cá.uma*

1. Molluscs dried and smoked.

3. Spread R*307, R*308 on a smoking shelf and dried.

R311, R312. Ñ.kokú*c.é bu.bísi/ñ.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; boil; let the broth remain; roast in broad leaves to preserve overnight.

R313, R314. Ñ.kokú c.é kw.ekel.a/ñ.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.

R315, R316. Ñ.kokú c.é ku.lámb.a / ñ.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.

R317-R320 are recipes for aquatic bivalves.

R317. Ma.késé m.é bu.bísi

1. Aquatic bivalves boiled in palm juice.

3. Crush shells on the river-side; remove intestines; wash the flesh; cut into pieces; put in palm juice; add salt and chili;

boil.

R318. 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.

R*319. Ma.késé m.é uma / ñ.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.

R320. 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.

R321. I.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.

R322. I.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

R323. 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 of other materials.

5. Very frequent in Kuko vil-



Fig. 138 Boiling materials for *jalú*, chili soup, with plantains and sweet cassava tubers. *Ginsi ya kuchamusha lisongo.*

lages; rare in Enya villages where they usually have some remaining dishes of fish.

6. *Lisongo.*

R324. *Kaáwa*

1. Coffee.

3. Roast on an iron plate; pound in a mortar; simmer in a pan; add sugar or pounded pepper grains if available.

6. *Kahawa.*

R325. *Jalú*

1. Infusion of wild pepper.

3. Pound in a mortar; simmer in a pan; drink with some sugar.

6. *Chai.*

R326. *Jalú*

1. Lemongrass tea.

3. Pound fresh leaves; add to black tea made from dry leaves bought in the town of Kindu.

6. *Chai.*

R327. *Jalú*

1. Infusion of ginger.

3. Pound in a mortar; simmer in a pan; drink with some sugar.

6. *Chai.*

R328. *Jalú*

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. *Jalú*

1. Infusion of wild leaves.

3. Simmer in a pan to get brownish, sour beverage; drink with some sugar or salt.

6. *Chai.*

R330. *Jalú*

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.*

J. *Mu.canáta* or mixture of principal starchy food (A) and other food (C or E).

Chart 3I. Recipes for *ke.sola*, beverages.

I 2-14 <i>ka.bólé, etc.</i> <i>ka.sulu</i> varieties of chili and eggplant	V45/T18+T30 .lukus. <i>né i.kéta</i>	V26/ T2+T12 .soy.	V33/T18 .jt. <i>ma.ánji</i>	18	15-17	V46/ T18 .pes.	R323 <i>jalú</i> chili soup
	boil in broad leaves	mash	pour water	add wild leaves if available	add garlic trees	boil slightly	
I 9 <i>kaáwa</i> Congo coffee	V42/T18 .káng.	V14/T2,T9 .tut.	V44/T18 .lukus.		I10/I20		R324 <i>kaáwa</i> coffee
	parch	pound	boil		add pepper or sugar		
I 10 <i>ñ.kécy</i> pepper	V14/T2+T9 .tut.		V46/T18 .pes.		I20		R325 <i>jalú</i> infusion of pounded pepper
	pound		boil slightly		add sugar		
I 11 <i>ka.ngaulímbu</i> lemon grass	V14/T2+T9 .tut.		V46/T18 .pes.		I20		R326 <i>jalú</i> infusion of lemongrass
	pound		boil slightly		add sugar		
I 12 <i>tangauzi</i> ginger	V14/T2+T9 .tut.		V46/T18 .pes.		I20		R327 <i>jalú</i> infusion of ginger
	pound		boil slightly		add sugar		
I 13 <i>i.ngunguliyá</i> begonia leaves	V14/T2+T9 .tut.		V46/T18 .pes.		R*113/I20		R328 <i>jalú</i> infusion of begonia leaves
	pound		boil slightly		add salt or sugar		
I 14 <i>ka.ukyá</i> leaves of a forest tree	V14/T2+T9 .tut.		V46/T18 .pes.		R*113/I20		R329 <i>jalú</i> infusion of wild leaves
	pound		boil slightly		add salt or sugar		
I 15 <i>lu.áminu</i> leaves of a shrub	V14/T2+T9 .tut.		V46/T18 .pes.		I20		R330 <i>jalú</i> infusion of wild leaves
	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 w.é mo.má (etc.) né tungu w.é mu.sikí*

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 w.é mo.má (etc.) né ñ.fif*

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, chili, 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 w.é mo.má (etc.) né ñ.fif y.e kû.káng.a*

1. *Mu.canáta* of plantains (or sweet cassava tubers) and sauté of raw fish.

3. Put raw fish in preheated palm oil; sauté; add salt and chili; pour water; add plantains (or peeled sweet cassava tubers) cut in pieces; boil.

6. *Muchanato ya ndizi na samaki ya kukalanga.*

R334. *Mu.canáta w.é 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.*

R335. *Mu.canáta w.é to. ndolo né ñ.fif*

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.

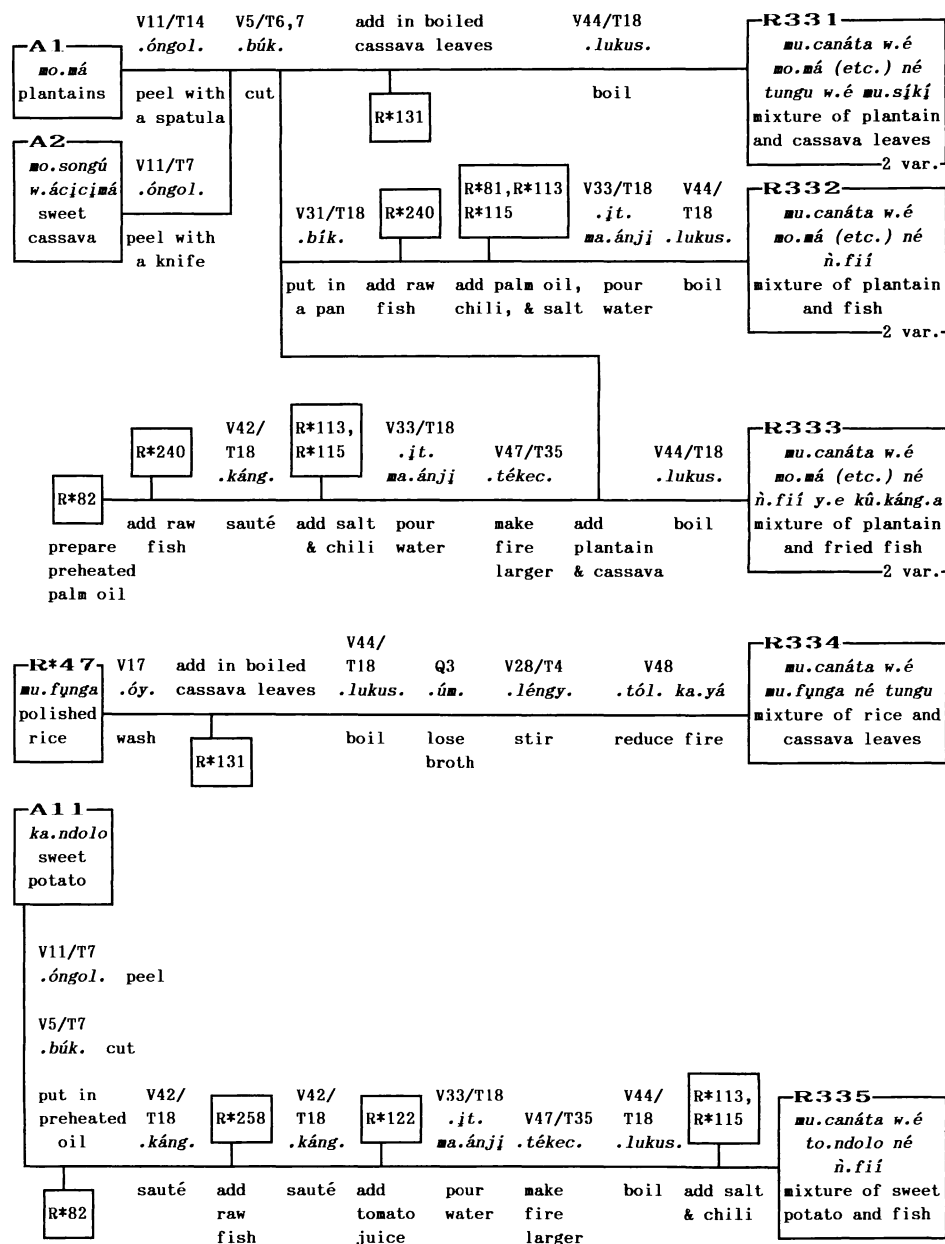
4. Very tasty; an old man told me that sweet potatoes are best cooked in *mu.canáta* with fish.

6. *Muchanato ya biazzi ya kishenzi.*



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.

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 6. Enumeration of the materials and dishes.

Categories of the materials	(Refer- ence no.)	Mat.	Inter.	Dish	Dish/ Mat.
A. Principal starchy food	(R1-R75)	20	13	62	3.10
B. "Condiments"	(R76-R*126)	29	36	22	0.75
C. Vegetables	(R127-R240)	35	24	157	4.48
D. Mammals, reptiles & birds	(R*241-R257)	109	267	842	7.72
E. Fish	(R*258-R273)	124	944	942	7.60
F. Bugs and worms	(R*274-R288)	9	5	10	1.11
G. Other animals	(R*289-R322)	10	11	23	2.30
H. Food eaten raw	(-)	25	0	25	1.00
I. Non alcoholic beverages	(R323-R330)	16	0	8	0.50
J. Mixture of A & C or A & E	(R331-R335)	-	0	8	-
Total	(R=260, R*=75)	377	1300	2099	5.56

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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