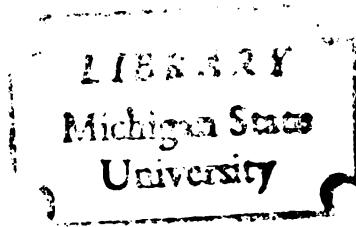




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Continuation and Accommodation
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Bemba Proverbs and Zambian Humanism)."

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J.A. Fernard Girard

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Ph.D. degree in Anthropology

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**IDEOLOGY LOCAL AND NATIONAL: CONTINUATION AND ACCOMMODATION
(COMPARISONS AND RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
BEMBA PROVERBS AND ZAMBIAN HUMANISM)**

By

Joseph Antonin Fernand Girard

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

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1981

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The Bemba people who have helped me have been many indeed, from the school children who tried to teach me Bemba in the winter of 1958 to the Ndola Convent girls with whom I discussed proverbs in 1973, dozens of people have helped me understand their mind and heart a little better. Very particularly, I express my gratitude to Messrs Maximo Chimpempe, Anthony Ndalama, Mikaeli Shikamushile, Paulo Mpepo and Miss Bernadetta Njoni who have been friends and consultants for over ten years.

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CHAPTER I

PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

A. Statement of Purpose

The aim of this dissertation is to examine the possible relationships between a 'national' ideology and ideological statements of a 'tribal' group. More specifically, this study describes Zambian Humanism, presents a collection of Bemba proverbs and investigates the similarities and links between these two ideological forms.

This dissertation originates from an intuitive perception: humanistic pronouncements appeared to be similar in content to some Bemba sayings; the Zambian ideology, which has its roots in the world-views of local groups, represents fundamental beliefs and values which can function to unify the people and make them proud of their personality as Zambians. If indeed, there is continuation, Humanism could be more agreeable and acceptable to the people, and might be more successful than a completely new ideology.

Zambian Humanism is made up of affirmations proposed by President Kaunda as early as 1964. The doctrine arose as a reaction against colonialism, foreign influence and exploitation, and from the need to create a united nation and improve the spiritual and moral conditions of Zambians. It stresses the primacy of the 'Man-centred society', promotes collective work, sharing, self-sufficiency and equality. It states the rights and duties of every Zambian in an accepting society where individual interests are set aside for the well-being of the community. (Cf. Kaunda

1967:3-7; Kandeke 1977:10-15, 25-29).

Proverbs and sayings contain direct and concrete information about people and their world, along with their thoughts, feelings, comments and opinions about every facet of daily life. A fairly complete presentation of Bemba proverbs is necessary to give an objective knowledge of their content as a whole.

Behind all the discussions, lie questions about ideologies, what they are, how they are created and how they could be made successful.

B. Rationale of Study

The problems raised in this research are discussed in such varied disciplines as political science, linguistics, oral tradition and history, but mostly in cognitive anthropology. Examining and relating one form of orality to a national ideology is fundamentally a study of the system of cognition of a people. Societies have given themselves cultural features which characterise their social institutions and which must be perceived as sensible and acceptable by the majority of the members. People's ideas are expressed not only in artifacts, political organisations and economic productions, but also in predictions, plans, ideologies and priorities; in fact, there must be some kind of order as "tout classement est supérieur au chaos" (Lévi-Strauss 1962: 24). When 'chaos' and disorder exist, they are often caused by conflicting forces from inside or outside; most of the time they arise as reactions to powers which invade and destroy. Opposition to conquests or political domination may assume such different forms of rebellion as war, new religions, passive resistance, amorphous and even disappearance. Zambia had been a colony governed from and, in many ways, exploited by Cape Town, London and Salisbury for nearly a century. Consequently, one of the goals of Humanism is a search for national identity and the need for

re-establishing control and order over their cognitive and affective worlds. (Cf. Spindler 1968:332-347; Wallace 1966:25-51).

Proverbs are a reliable source of information in the study of cognition systems; they are not theoretical after-thoughts or systematisations, but like myths and legends, they are collective understanding and knowledge about the proper manner of conducting human affairs. Their general meanings are not influenced by circumstantial emotions like shyness, fear or mistrust, and the possible biases of the observers; they can be heard, asked about and analysed. Proverbs are not easily identified as such by foreigners; that is, proverbs said in a language other than one's mother tongue are difficult to recognise. On the other hand, native speakers have this ability of identifying a proverb qua proverb and, most of the time, making some sense of it. This 'as-innate' knowledge of proverbs is similar to the 'as innate' comprehension of the cognitive system that most members of a community have. The study of proverbs might help us to describe cognitive and affective systems of societies fairly objectively, if only by quoting their stereotyped remarks about living, loving and believing.

C. Limitations of Study

This dissertation is concerned only about the Bemba speaking groups of Zambia and excludes the Bemba speakers of Zaire even though they are closely related to the Lunda of chief Kazembe and the Bisa of the Mansa region, because I have never lived among them.

Many other groups of Zambians are not considered directly. Bemba is only one of several languages in Zambia, and even though it is important and the mother tongue of President Kaunda, it is not the only national language of Zambia and should not be equated with Zambia. (Cf. Kay 1967:45; Kaunda 1962:6).

This is not a comparative study because I do not speak any other African languages and the many important collections of

proverbs would be approached in a very different perspective. (Cf. Jahn 1968).

I am not a Bemba speaker by birth and although I lived in Zambia for eleven years and spent a few hours a day learning the language, I am still a student. It is quite possible to question the validity of some of the explanations and interpretations I propose. Many other people have been collecting and writing about Bemba proverbs—Labrecque, Guillerme, Hoch, Mpashi, Paul, Mushindo—and nobody can claim a superior collection and exhaustive commentary on meanings.

I am mainly concerned about the theoretical aspects of Zambian Humanism as the essential part of the ideology. Discussions about the success or failure of the practical implementations of programmes which are presented as the material application of Humanism are not developed to any degree; technical and economic programmes and implementations are not seen as belonging to the ideal-spiritual-normative which is the domain of ideology.

D. Motivation and Interest

My interest in Bemba proverbs goes back as far as 1958. While visiting teachers in the Samfya district on Lake Bangweulu and trying to learn Bemba, I could notice that on occasion something was said with special effect, causing laughter, the clapping of hands, or a more spirited conversation. A teacher at Mundubi's told me that proverbs were the cause of such animation. In one instance, a young boy had fallen off his bicycle; his right leg was bleeding and he was bent over blowing on the wound. A fisherman saw him and casually said: umulume wa mbwa / tafwa ku kulu (male of dog does not die at leg), meaning that a strong young man would recover pretty fast from a leg wound and should ignore it. It took me long explanations before I could understand. In that case, the proverb had been used literally, but it could be utilised for many other instances. (Cf. no. 395). That was my first contact

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or should I say, conscious contact with proverbs. From then on, I collected and studied proverbial expressions from people as well as from books at every opportunity. In 1965, I published a mimeographed booklet containing 800 proverbs for students of the Bemba language. There were no references to the socio-cultural system of the Bemba peoples. It was a translation with grammatical explanations.

Around 1964 to 1966, the theory of Humanism was being developed and some ideas were mentioned during the campaign for independence that later became expressed in tenets and policies which were adopted as the national philosophy of Zambia in April 1967 (Kaunda 1967; Kandeke 1977:1, 10-16). A person acquainted with Bemba proverbs can perceive similarities to several assertions of Humanism, without being able to enumerate a series of proverbs to confirm the ideas. Proverbs are used individually in response to a circumstance; they are not known globally as a treatise on special topics, that is, people would not cite proverbs about marriage; they would quote one at a certain behaviour of a son-in-law. The comparison between proverbs and Humanism requires a collection and classification of proverbs to combine several of them under certain headings. My intention is to present Zambian Humanism as accurately as possible comparing and relating it to topics under which proverbs are classified. The chapter on Bemba proverbs could be of use and interest to Bemba speakers themselves. The general discussion on proverbs and ideologies is an attempt at elucidating the making, functions and success of national ideologies in the hope of finding out elements which contribute to make them more acceptable and successful.

E. Methodology

During the first ten years I lived in Zambia, from 1958 to 1968, I collected proverbs at every occasion from school meetings, family reunions, catechists' training, political meetings to beer parties. At the same time, I tried to obtain collections of sayings

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in order to inquire about them. Father Labrecque prepared a collection called Nsoselo (sayings) which was ready for publication in 1946 but never published. By chance, in the boxes of Father Marsan, I found a copy-book with some 500 proverbs explained by an elder from Malole's, Marcello Cangwa (circa 1940). Mpashi's Icibemba cesu na mano yaciko (1964) contains about 600 expressions listed alphabetically; it is a most valuable and interesting book. The White Fathers Bemba-English Dictionary (Chilubula 1947: Lusaka 1954) gives translations and explanations of many proverbs and sayings. In chapter IV, I refer frequently to the last two books for further or different explanations. I have discussed the meanings of all the proverbs I quote with people old and young, and I used many of them in conversation and speeches. From September 1972 to August 1973 on a return trip to Zambia, I tried to discover more information about the knowledge and use of proverbs. There is no scientific or standard manner to study proverbs. One cannot start with a diagramme as in inquiring about a person's relatives; one cannot visit a village and ask people to quote proverbs. Either one lives with the people for several years and hears proverbs on occasion, or one initiates proverb use by quoting an appropriate saying. In ordinary conversations, days and weeks can pass without hearing proverbs. Moreover, there are instances, like garden chores, intimate conversations, fishing at night, arguments between close relatives which are rarely witnessed by missionaries, linguists and anthropologists. To elicit those expressions, direct questioning is necessary. On the other hand, there are legal argumentations, political gatherings, chief's visits and other assemblies which are a fecund source of proverbs. However, in order to know how much people knew about proverbs, I asked them directly. I formed groups of discussants in three villages and in the Mansa and Ndola secondary schools. There were about forty sessions during which proverbs were elicited and discussed. For instance, the Ndola school girls recognised these expressions as proverbs, grinned or smiled at everyone of them, and gave some very strange explanations.

On the contrary, teachers and catechists at Mbabala Island and Lubushi's would often answer with other sayings which often confused me; I had to start writing and questioning. In most places, there are local proverb 'specialists' and there is the temptation of spending lots of time with them; but other people have also some knowledge and might represent the 'normal' general attitude towards proverbs. I also tried to follow Arrewa and Dundes' recommendation about situations and circumstances (1964). It proved impractical and unfeasible because I was dealing with a few hundreds proverbs, and because there were too many opportunities and occasions for using them. Furthermore, I came to be known as the man of proverbs (uwa mapinda) and there is no doubt that several people cited proverbs to impress me, please me or see if I knew them. In spite of that, I am convinced that I was able to obtain a good number of proverbial expressions with their meanings and the extent of their influence on the people's world-views and values.

Information about Zambian Humanism was gathered through Government publications, books and articles, in short newspaper editorials, posters and leaflets, and in conversation with ordinary citizens. I did not use interviews or questionnaires which might have been interpreted as meddling with politics. I attended rallies and political meetings especially during Humanism week and other holidays like Heroes and Unity day and Independence Day. There were frequent reminders of what a humanist is, on television, the radio and during public speeches and meetings. Many people are wary about speaking on Humanism; I was not doing any missionary work; I was a little suspect, because people did not know exactly what I was trying to do. With strangers, my fluency in Bemba would surprise; they would ask if I was an informer. In spite of all that, I think that there is general agreement about theoretical values such as cooperation, sharing, honesty, hard work, unity of Zambians and equality. Everybody I talked with spoke very highly of President Kaunda, even in Barotseland. However, many people would criticise

bitterly the uneven application of 'sharing', because some Zambians are much better off than other; miners think that they are the only ones doing the sharing. Some political leaders use the ideas about national unity and the pride of being Zambians to arise the people against 'enemies', mostly some unidentified Whites and South Africa; but they cannot motivate for the important and necessary changes required in the internal development of Zambia. Zambians seem united against 'outsiders' and divided 'against' one another. Material and technical plans are announced with fanfare nearly every year. But the same problems continue and will endure unless there is some significant spiritual and moral reconstruction.

CHAPTER II

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

This chapter deals with five subjects which are treated in order to facilitate the understanding of the main issues at stake.

First, there is a short paragraph on the geography and prehistory of Zambia. Secondly, the Bemba speaking peoples are introduced mainly in relation to beliefs and customs referred to in Proverbs. For instance, some sayings mention chiefs and councillors (mfumu and bakabilo) whose positions and roles depend now on decisions of the Government and/or the Party. They may be given authority, relegated to figure-heads, eliminated, or glorified according to the political climate. The selection of officers is manipulated in several cases. However, at times, the candidate is nominated according to the traditional system of succession and appointment. The ethnographic descriptions presented here come from personal notes and from books written by White Fathers since 1910. I am not sure of the sources of my assertions, since most of them belong to some common knowledge from study, observation and discussions over a period of several years. It is a description of 'what used to be' or 'what should be'. Presently, it would be very difficult to generalise about any of those customs. In the third and fourth paragraphs, the definitions, structures, and roles of orality (oral literature) and proverbs are presented. The last paragraph consists of a short discussion on ideology simply to reach conclusions—which are only propositions or suggestions—concerning its origin, functions and purposes, in order to indicate the value and importance of a doctrine like *Zambian Humanism*; it is not a critique of any theory, hypothesis or ideology in particular.

A. Zambia

Zambia with an area of 288,139 square miles (732,614 km²; France: 212,659 sq. mi.; Texas: 267,339 sq. mi.) is situated in the centre of the Great Central African Plateau, at a height of about 3,500 to 5,000 feet (1,200 to 1,600 m.), with a few exceptional mountains of over 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). The country lies between latitudes 8° and 18° South and between longitudes 22° and 34° East.

Rivers form natural borders of Zambia in four places; the Zambezi flows between Zambia, South West Africa (the Caprivi Strip) and Zimbabwe; the Lwangwa separates Zambia from Mozambique for some 55 miles; the Lwapula divides Zambia and Zaire from the 'pedicle' to lake Mweru; to the South West, the Cuando flows between Zambia and Angola for about 150 miles. However, the geography of Zambia is largely the result of European colonial policies at the time of the 'scramble for Africa'. Involved in the conflict about Central Africa were the Belgians in the East, the Portuguese in the West and East, the British in the South, and finally the Germans to the North. In 1894, Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company were granted, from Whitehall itself, the power to administer the territories north of the Zambezi, with the exception of Barotseland, and this without the consultation of the African peoples.

In 1911, Northern Rhodesia became a political entity under the authority of the British South Africa Company; in 1924, it was declared a British Territory. From 1953 to 1963, Northern Rhodesia was an integral part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which was abrogated at the end of 1963. Zambia officially became an independent country on the 24th of October 1964. Kenneth David Kaunda was elected Prime Minister, later on President, a position he has filled until the present, that is, 1981. In December 1972, Zambia became a 'One-Party Participatory Democracy', and the United National Independent Party was established as the only official political party.

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Zambia is placed across the main South-North migration routes and the West-East trading directions. Migrations from Zaire and possibly Angola, as well as from the South, are fairly well ascertained. Trade routes from the East are also being discovered from archeological findings and northern influences are being traced with the study of ancient pottery. (Cf. Fagan 1968: 1-10).

As far as we know from oral tradition and some recent archeological discoveries, the Bemba-speaking peoples came from the Luba and Lunda empires of Zaire and possibly from Angola. The Lunda remained in close contact with their eastern cousins and never cut themselves off from the great Mwata Yambo and his successors. On the contrary, the Bemba, Bisa and other peoples who had settled in and around the Bangweulu lake and swamps seceded from their Luban relatives in order to start on their own. There are many statements from several authors about the migrations of these peoples from legendary and historical sources which are not yet firmly established. (Cf. Tweedie, A. in Stokes and Brown 1966:197-224). Among those disputed questions, the following can be recalled: (1) the common origin of Bemba speakers from Mwata Yambo (Brelsford 1965:23), (2) the presence or absence of inhabitants prior to the Lunda-Luba occupation, and (3) the dispersion of the Luba group after some quarreling. (Cf. Richards in Colson and Gluckman 1969:165 and 167). Extensive linguistic and archeological studies and researches would no doubt bring light to these issues.

What is of interest and quite certain is that peoples who came from a fairly homogeneous environment known as Kola country (cf. *diagramme* in Brelsford 1965:5) arrived in Zambia, established different political entities especially in the North-Western regions and began to share a language which is called Cibemba and is now spoken by several ethnic groups, with different political systems and diverse modes of adaptation according to varied environments, as is explained in the following section.

B. Bemba Speaking Peoples

Bemba speaking peoples occupy the Northern and North-Western regions of Zambia and South-Eastern parts of Zaire; there are also many Bemba speakers who live and work in the Copperbelt area. Brelsford joins the area linguistically in what he called the "Bemba, Lala and Lamba group" (1965: Tribal and Linguistic Map of Zambia; at the end of book). Bemba speakers are divided into three groups: the Bemba of Chitimukulu, the Lwapula peoples, and the Bisha, Ushi-Kabende, Nghumbo-Unga groups. These peoples differ historically and in some cultural practices such as the importance and succession of chiefs, village organisation and means of subsistence.

The Bemba of Chitimukulu

These people lived in a strong centralised form of 'chiefdom':

"The main feature of Bemba rule is a strongly organised chieftainship involving a common allegiance to the Paramount... Where there was a Bemba chief there was effective rule. The political system is highly complex, there is a definite series of lines, one of them leading to the Paramouncy. A newly appointed chief knows in which direction lies his line of advancement to bigger chieftainships and equally clearly in what direction he cannot go" (Brelsford 1965:41).

In fact, the territory is divided into a number of chieftainships some of which are ruled by sons of previous paramount chiefs and their matrilineal descendants. Close kinsmen of the Paramount chief move through the minor chieftainships on the way to paramouncy. Chitimukulu is chosen between Mwamba, Nkolemfumu or Shimumbi. Chikwanda can become Nkula. Mubanga moves on to Makasa. A niece of Chitimukulu or Mwamaba becomes Chandamukulu. Chitimukulu as well as subordinate chiefs used to possess some religious power and functions; for instance, the productivity of the land depended upon the tutelary deities of the chief's matrilineal ancestors. In 1973, it was reported that some chiefs were offering flour (bunga) to deities for the fertility of the fields in Lubemba. The beliefs that the spirits of the chiefs' ancestors were able to control the

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productivity of the land through rainfalls, pests and plagues were very strong and nobody can ascertain their disappearance. Moreover, the chief and the land were one; the chief had the power to grant cultivation rights, directly or through the village head-men and the power to withdraw such rights.

There existed also some officials in the administration: the bakabilo (kabilo, sing.), translated as "councillors". Some people were bakabilo through heredity, while others were chosen and appointed because of their knowledge and wisdom. They wore special feather head-dresses and received marks of respect as the partakers in the chiefs' authority and duties.

The Bemba in the villages are mixed horticulturists of the citimene type. Those who cultivate on the subsistence level, that is not commercially, will plant finger millet during the first year; the second year, they plant beans, maize and pumpkins; in the third year they plant sorghum, sweet potatoes and cassava. The sowing and planting are done on mounds, small and round ones called imputa (sing. luputa) and long ones called bamolwa (sing. molwa). Before the exodus of men to the urban centres, both men and women participated in the agricultural chores in a rather rigid division of labour: the lopping of trees was done by men (ukutema); the women would put the branches into heaps (ukukule fisako); before the rains, the men would burn the heaps of branches (ukôca makula); then, the men had to make bush fences around the gardens (ukupindila); reaping (uku-sepa) was and is a woman's job. Men and women, with their alternating jobs, were held in a situation of cooperation through which neither men nor women could live alone. (Cf. Hoch 1963:13).

The kinship system of the Bemba is ruled by matrilineal descent and by matrilineal marriage residence which must actually take place at least for some time. There remains a large degree of freedom of choice in selecting the relatives with whom or around whom to live.

As a last note, the Bemba were slave trading middlemen and warriors. "In fact, before the coming of the white man at the end of the century, it seems that the Chitimukulu held sway over the whole of the district between the four great lakes, Tanganyika,

Nyasa, Bangweulu and Mweru, and South into the present Lala and Lamba country" (Brelsford 1965:40). Rarely, were there permanent physical occupations of villages; there were excursions to obtain food and at times slaves. The Bemba were known as raiders stealing cows and harvests from their neighbours. There was also the establishment of small Bemba villages in Cishi Island and in the Lwapula valley; there are also Bisa villages in Bemba territory. These two facts—the Bemba military excursions and the movement of people from region to region—brought about a homogeneity of language and customs which gave rise to similar values disseminated throughout the area.

The Bena Lwapula (Bena Lunda or Bena Kazembe)

The Bena Lwapula are living on the shores of the Lwapula river and on the eastern side of lake Mweru. They include the Bena Lunda who form the nucleus of authority and are also called Bena Kazembe (people of chief Kazembe). They comprise the BaShila and the BaBwilile of lake Mweru who have no other original territory outside the region and no other allegiance, as opposed to all the others who claim to have come from some other places and maintain ties with chiefs from other regions, such as Bisa, Bemba, Nghumbo, Cishinga and Unga.

The land of the Bena Lwapula is made up of rather good soil and swamps. The river shores are inundated every year and people can plant on the same plot year after year. The men spend about 80% of their working time fishing. There is always enough fish for local consumption. Fish marketing has been variable for the last 40 years due to the fluctuation in the amount of fish, rain storms which make the roads impassable, political problems with the Zairean authority and the crossing of the pedicle, and the state of the ferry boats across the Lwapula river at Mokambo. Cassava is the staple food of the people who also cultivate maize, ground-nuts, sweet potatoes, bananas, and some finger-millet to brew their beer.

The question of kinship succession and descent is complicated as can be seen by Cunnison's description:

"The king and most of the aristocratic Lunda names are inherited patrilineally, while everyone else belongs to matrilineal descent groups...

As there are three main groups present—Western Lunda, Lualabans, and the Eastern peoples—so there are three kinds of descent to be reckoned with. Lunda say they themselves were patrilineal at Kola in the west. The Lualaba peoples whom they defeated and made Lunda had alternative modes of succession. The people whom they found on the Lwapula were all matrilineal...

All Lunda take their clans from their mothers, at birth..." (1967:161-163).

Slaski observed that "the patrilineal reckoning of descent introduced and established by the Lunda, as well as their tribal heterogeneity, mark the valley peoples off from the matrilineal and ethnically homogeneous neighbouring tribes" (1950:78). In fact, the Lunda of Kazembe are patrilineal as far as the Kazembe's succession is concerned and in a few Lunda aristocratic families; even then, the mother's kin are highly respected and mothers' clan names are retained for many occasions; the rest of the population has matrilineal descent. The Kazembe is succeeded patrilineally by one of his sons chosen by Lunda aristocrats; but any of the dead Kazembe's brothers could have become chief and still can, along with his sons, which makes that several people are eligible. This often causes rivalry among the Kazembe's brothers and sons as well as among the Lunda aristocrats in charge of the selection.

Although the Lunda have retained some Lunda words and names in some official ceremonies, cina Lunda of the present is quite close to the Bemba spoken by the Bemba of Chitimukulu. (Cf. p. 19).

The Bena Lunda are from many regions and share different allegiances, various histories and beliefs about their origin; but they consider themselves Bena Lwapula which refers more to a geographical area than to an ethnic group. However, the central and unifying figure remains Kazembe, paramount chief of the Lunda.

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The Bisa, Ushi-Kabende, Nghumbo-Unga Groups

Most people in these groups live on the shores, islands or swamps of lake Bangweulu. The Ba Ushi and some Ba Bisa live in the interior, on lands similar to those of Bembaland. The great majority live on fish and cassava, very much like the Bena Lwapula. The shores of the lake and the islands are quite fertile and suitable for many different crops:

"The economy of the Bangweulu basin is based upon fishing and agriculture and most settlements are located so that they may easily participate in both activities. In most areas, extraordinarily high population densities occur; pressure on favourable building sites is intense and villages are crowded one on to another... Chronic and occasional shortages of essential commodities in various parts of the area have led to the development of an exchange economy in which the export of dried fish plays a vital role... The flood plains, lakes and swamps all provide fish but the swamps are the major fishing grounds... People like living amongst the crowds with their kinsfolk, they like the open views, they like the water." (Kay 1967:67).

The food shortages are caused by too much or not enough rain fall. Usually there is enough cassava, but it cannot be eaten alone and fish is needed. As a consequence of the fairly high population density, fire-wood, rafters and poles are scarce and people may have to walk up to five miles to get fire-wood and many more miles to obtain or buy poles for the roofs.

All those groups have localised chiefs and no paramount chief like Chitimukulu or Kazembe. The succession to chieftainships goes from brother to brother or to sister's son or sister's daughter's son. Groups may be organised under a senior chief; for instance, among the Bena Nghumbo there are five chiefs, Chitembo, Mwewa, Mwansa Kombe, Mbulu and Mulongwe. At the present, chief Mwewa is the acknowledged senior chief even if some people maintain that Chitembo should have that title according to tradition. The senior chief as well as other chiefs have little power outside land usage, local justice and some administrative duties. The people are often familiar with their chiefs and do not show the respect found among the Lunda and among the Bemba.

All these Bemba speaking groups belong to some forty clans. A clan is made up of people claiming common descent from some ancestor (usually mythical) and sharing a clan name. The common bond of clanship is in reality the clan name called mukowa, and is inherited from the mother. These clan names are names of animals, plants and such natural phenomena as rain, ant-hills, trees, grass, etc. Each clan has an opposite or complementary clan with which hospitality, joking friendliness and special services are exchanged. The reasons for the relationships between paired clans are not always understood, but some explanations are offered; for instance, the benā nkalamo (people of the lion) are paired with the benā nama (of the animals), because lions can survive only by eating animals; the benā bowa (people of the mushroom) are linked with the benā culu (people of the ant-hill) because mushrooms often grow around and on ant-hills. Opposite clan people are called banungwe (sing. munungwe) and so the benā nkalamo are banungwe to the benā nama. There is supposed to be a hierarchy among clans but the system of precedence has never been established except for the chief's clan in respective chieftainships. All through the area, the duty of hospitality is required and offered to people sharing the same clan names or having opposite clan names even if they come from a distant region. Where the purification ceremonies at the occasion of death are still being held, the members of the opposite clan will be in charge; the banungwe are believed to be immune from the revenge of the dead person's spirit since during his/her life, these people could insult one another without any consequence. Names of clans often use words which are obsolete or of unknown origin, like nghandu (crocodile) for the royal clan of the Chitimukulu (while the Bemba word is ngwena) and ngo (leopard; Bemba is mbwili). (Cf. Hoch 1963:16-20).

Differences exist between urban, Lwapula, Bangweulu and

Chitimukulu Bemba, in words, expressions, grammar and tonality. Richardson (1961 and 1963) and Lehmann (1969) published articles about town or Copperbelt Bemba. I am not aware of any publication concerning the differences between the spoken Bemba of the Lwapula valley, the Bangweulu region and the Kasama district or Lubemba. People themselves will make the distinction between the true or correct Bemba, the language of the Lubemba (Cibemba nkonko = true Bemba and Cibemba ca ku Lubemba = Bemba of the Lubemba) and the other Bemba, the Cina Lunda of the Lwapula valley and CiBisa, CAushi and Cina Lunga of lake Bangweulu and Mansa district. Copperbelt Bemba includes several English words and expressions which are 'bembaised', especially in the fields of mining, auto mechanics, electricity and technical sciences. The use of numerals is disappearing and many people know only the first five digits which take concord prefixes. In towns, English is widely spoken and since it is the official language of Zambia, it is used for Government agencies and departments. As soon as they leave their job, people speak their own language.

Zambian languages are being given more importance with more radio stations and T.V. programmes. People desire to hear and use what they call 'good' Bemba, with the right expressions and exact words; they complain about the way the young generation disfigures Bemba with many foreign words mainly from English. Bemba is spoken and understood by about 40 % of the population of Zambia. Whatever is said about different 'dialects' of Bemba, people speaking some form of Bemba will be understood everywhere, and most people will know two or three different words for the same concept or object. Bemba is certainly no more diverse than French in the different regions of France.

On the next page, I give a few examples of the differences between what I call Bemba of Bembaland and some other local varieties, mostly Bisa, Cina Nghumbo and CAushi; many of these words are understood everywhere except in Bembaland proper, that is the Lubemba of Chitimukulu.

<u>Bemba of Bembaland.</u>	<u>Others. *</u>	<u>English Translation.</u>
NOUNS:		
mulume	mwata	husband
bwato	bwanje	boat; canoe
lukasu	luse	hoe
kalundwe	tute	cassava; manioc
nyanje	mataba	maize; corn
fikansa	fitala	troubles; noises; arguments
mpanga	conde	forest
matamba	maba	waves
ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS:		
nshi?	ndo? nindo?	what? which?
ifwe bonse	fwense	all of us
ni pi? ni kwi?	pesa? kwisa?	where?
mpanga yonse	monse	everywhere
cinshi? finshi?	nindo? findo?	what? what's the matter?
na ine	nandibo	me too
ine; iwe	nebo; webo	I; you
lisabi limo limo	lisabi linono	a little fish
VERBAL EXPRESSIONS:		
nshiishibe	ntaishiba, nte- ishibile	I don't know
nshifwaya	ntafwaya	I don't want
kukanabomba	kutabomba	not to work
pembelako panono	leka ngale	wait a little
twali natupwa	tulipwile	we just finished
muntu ushibomba	muntu utabomba	a man who does not work
ndeya	ndekuya	I am going
tuleya	tukoya	we are going
ndebomba	nkobomba	I am working

* Others that is mainly Bisa and the people around lake Bangweulu. Some of those words and expressions are used or understood in the Lwapula valley.

It might be useful to point out that it is very difficult indeed to trace the origin of certain words and expressions in order to discover which group has influenced which other group. For instance, Cunnison says that the word tute (Cibemba = kalundwe; maize) is of Lunda origin, and that it is widely used in the Lwapula valley (1967:16). How could he explain that the same word is used by the Nghumbo, Unga, Kabende, Ushi and many Bisa who are of Luba descent and not at all Lunda? Moreover, it is more or less accepted that even the Lunda of Kazembe were 'lubaised' during their migrations, because their royal praises and songs are not in Lunda but in Luba (Chiwala 1962). Before it can be stated where one word like tute (maize) comes from, and of course many others, many more studies and comparisons will be required.

The proverb icalo: te ca kwikila meno luse (the country is not to fix the teeth into as a handle to a hoe; no. 249), uses the word luse which is the word for 'hoe' used by the Bisa, Ushi, Nghumbo and Kabende, but not by the Bemba of Chitimukulu who use lukasu for hoe; luse means mercy for everybody. This does not prove that this proverb is, for instance, of Kabende origin; it may be that some words seem to be more ancient and have not followed the changes and developments which occurred in Bemba as spoken in Lubemba of the Chitimukulu.

To sum up, there are several groups among Bemba speakers where various social and political systems can be found, slightly different economies and, in some cases, varieties of words, expressions, tenses and tonality, which allow for diversities in people sharing the same language and many traditions.

There are signs that a kind of inter-group Bemba, strongly influenced by Copperbelt Bemba, is spreading, especially in schools and businesses as well as on the radio; it might become a fairly uniform language, a semi-national Bemba, in the years to come.

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C. Orality (Oral Literature)

The term orality is substituted for oral literature as a better word to describe the verbal arts. "The term 'literature', presupposing the use of letters, assumes that verbal works of the imagination are transmitted by means of writing and reading. The expression 'oral literature' is obviously a contradiction in terms" (Levin in Lord 1960:xiii). Orality would comprise all the different modes of verbal communication transmitted vocally and receive aurally, mythical, historical, moral, mystical or practical in content, in verse or prose forms, sanctioned by the community, and handed down with or without adaptation and change from one generation to the next or accepted as new compositions. (Cf. Vansina 1971:444).

a. Importance

"In the beginning was 'the Word'" (John 1:1). 'The Word' in the Gospel according to Saint John refers to the wisdom of God which existed at the beginning of time. For Vansina (1971:442), that expression means that the spoken word is of primordial importance because of its relation to the gods and their wisdom. The spoken word, used by humans for thousands of years, has not been supplanted by the written word, despite wonders of transmission of the latter. Even in actual usages, the force of the spoken word is not well understood. The power and influence of speeches of leaders like Hitler, Mussolini, de Gaulle and President Kennedy are not satisfactorily explained. The famous 'Ich bin ein Berliner' in front of the crowds could not have been replaced by a telegramme. Saying that these people understood mass movements and reactions does not explain the mechanisms of the power of the spoken word. Political campaigns are not waged primarily by written materials. Studies on oral communication and arts have not fully analysed the elements which form the cognitive, emotional and artistic aspects of the spoken word and the relationships between the transmitter, the medium and the receptor. About

this shortcoming, the Encyclopaedia Britannica says that "in short, at present, a communication expert is likely to be oriented to any of a number of disciplines in a field of inquiry that has, as yet, neither drawn for itself a conclusive roster of subject matter nor agreed upon specific methodologies of analysis" (Encyclopaedia Britannica 4 1974:1005).

In the Western world, it is only recently that the written word has taken precedence over the spoken word; for instance, a written document will have more legal force than a spoken declaration which must be supported by some written document or a signature. Testimonies, declarations and even confessions must be made on some written documents like the Bible which is supposedly the word of God in the first place. In many societies of Africa, even though the legal attitudes and procedures of the West are slowly being adopted, the spoken word is still primordial in court cases, official declarations and in public and private affirmations. In Zambia, many can read and write but few have access to written materials. Many Zambians love to read when they can find books and news-papers, but the importance of oral communications and proclamations at public meetings, official gatherings and ordinary conversations has not diminished and remains of primary importance.

b. Description and Components

Orality is a form of communication using spoken words; the transmitter is the human vocal apparatus in conjunction with the whole body; the receiver is first and foremost the ear, with the eyes playing a secondary role. It is not a series of gestures or a mime, although there is mime in orality. Marcel Marceaux's act is not orality, but orality often uses some of Marceaux's gestures and facial expressions. It is also an actual performance, the transmission of a creation, or the re-enactment of a known piece, with spoken words as the basic medium of communication. It can be a new poem recited for the first time, a well known funeral song with a few adaptations, an old legend or a public speech. In each case, it is a live performance, the transmission of a message by a person (persons) using primarily the voice and

secondly the body. For Finnegan, the most basic characteristic of orality is the actual performance, "the expressiveness of tone, gesture, facial expression, dramatic use of pause and rhythm, the interplay of passion, dignity, or humour, receptivity to the reactions of the audience" (Finnegan 1970:3). The face-to-face confrontation (cf. Finnegan 1970:10), the human physical presence, in an actual exchange of words, is an essential element of orality, while it is not required in written communication. There must always be a listener or an audience whether in a simple conversation or a rite such as a funeral, partaking of the ideas and emotions of the speaker (s). (Cf. Long 1974:68 and 69).

To sum up, the components of orality would comprise the following:

1. The transmission is verbal using spoken words. It excludes technical reproductions in records, cassettes, etc.
2. The message is directly transmitted to an audience present at the moment of transmission.
3. The transmission or delivery is a performance and not simply a repetition, utilising the personal thoughts and emotions expressed in the distinctive characteristics of every human voice and body.
4. The content of the message and its delivery are preserved and maintained by memory for genres already created, and by imagination for new pieces as well as for adaptations, changes and interpretations. The memory is the most important faculty for many genres of orality. (Cf. Houis 1971:53).
5. The use of the memory should not give the impression that oral performances are repetitive. Even for texts like rituals which must be recited without error, there is always the personal involvement and interpretation of the performer. Shakespeare's Hamlet and Verdi's Simon Boccanegra are always the same play and opera, but there is the distinctive personality of the actors and singers with different tones of voices, their movements and gestures, comprehension and emphasis, etc.

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c. Different Kinds of Orality

Orality assumes different forms according to the recognition by the group of the form and content of the genre, and also according to the persons(s) transmitting the 'message'; orality can be:

1. oral composition; new stories and songs (for weddings, funerals) are created by talented persons and appreciated by the audience;
2. oral narration; the content is known in its broad outlines and is approved by the group even though there are different versions and personal adaptations, as in historical accounts and legends;
3. oral formula; the content and form are sanctioned and consecrated with little or no possibility of variation, as in proverbs, rituals, praises.

As can be seen, the role of the performer passes from being a creator to a narrator and finally to a simple user, at least in theory. It does not mean that oral formulae are eternal and unchanging; creativity is at work everywhere, and new formulae are produced while older or insignificant ones vanish. It is clear that the human memory plays an eminent role in retaining and transmitting oral genres which contain and preserve social customs and ethical values. People are never simple 'repeaters'; they impart their style and personality; most of the time they are adapters and occasionally creators:

"A comparatively large proportion of Bantu, men or women, old or young, are potential creators of literature, a still larger proportion are adapters or declaimers of it, and the literature produced and propagated soon becomes the common possession of the people as a whole" (Lestrade 1937:297).

For Houis, orality is not only fixation or tradition; it is actual life represented and renewed:

"Il serait donc erroné de croire que la prééminence de la mémoire implique l'absence de la créativité et d'inspiration. Le travail de la mémoire n'est pas qu'une mise en dépôt... D'ailleurs les thèmes des textes ne sont pas uniquement accrochés au passé; ils le sont tout autant aux faits de l'actualité et il n'est pas exagéré de voir dans les diseurs africains comme les agents d'un immense service d'information. A travers les textes de style oral, c'est toute la vie de la société qui s'exprime. C'est pourquoi nous voyons une restriction de leur champ quand on en fait uniquement l'expression de traditions et d'une histoire passée. Ils sont celà, mais

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At this point, it is useful to point out what is meant here by tradition.

d. Orality and Traditionality

As with many other discussions, the lack of definitions of words like tradition and derivatives like traditional, traditionalist and traditionality, may lead to disagreement and incomprehension of arguments.

For some, tradition means repetition, stability, passivity, continuity, even monotony and fossilisation. Traditional societies are seen as being enmeshed in a tranquil determinism made up of superstitions, mythologies, unchanging values wrapped in the cloud of the so-called unconscious mind of the group. According to Balandier, marxists consider tradition like a force slowing down development: "la tradition y reste vue comme une grande force retardatrice, elle occulte et affaiblit les facteurs de changement. Elle n'est pas reconnue comme pouvant être réactivée, opérante et modernisante" (Balandier 1974:175). French sociologists look for the mental categories of the collective unconscious in which stability is valorised: "les permanences et les invariants sont valorisés, et leur assise recherchée dans les catégories fondamentales de l'esprit, et dans l'inconscient collectif opérant toujours en longue durée" (Balandier 1974:179). Balandier himself understands traditions like the revitalisation of the past: "la place prépondérante accordée à la mémorisation et à la transmission orale fait que le passé est constamment actualisé, et le présent interprété dans le langage de la 'tradition' (Balandier 1974:207).

There is no doubt that considering societies in a state of equilibrium and arrest and calling them traditional is a deformation not only of reality but of the word traditional. Traditionality does not have to be associated with the negative, the illiterate, the under-developed, the pre-technical and so on. It does not necessarily mean antiquated, derelict, passing and 'passé'. In fact,

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it is opposed to modernity in its foreign aspects. "Il faut manier le terme traditionnel avec prudence car il n'a de sens qu'opposé à celui de moderne. Le moderne en l'occurrence est tout ce qui est "importé" de l'Occident depuis la technologie jusqu'aux systèmes de valeur" (Copans, in Copans and Godelier 1971:165). Traditional means also specific, distinct, personal, true, authentic, valued. When one speaks of a traditional French Canadian dish, it does not mean stale, old and frozen; on the other hand, it is not a hamburger. It could be pork and beans, including all that is special for that particular dish, the container, the source of energy, the time of cooking, the ingredients, etc. Moreover, that traditional dish is changing: the amount of lard in the pork has diminished and more condiments are used. I do not affirm that the traditional dish is better or worse than a Heinz recipe. What I say is that it is a traditional dish which has been handed down from generation to generation, while being adapted to suit the changing taste and satisfy the creativity of the cook. Traditional here means particular, authentic and adapted.

Moreover, traditional often means non-White, non-European, but local. In Québec, what is traditional can be French and non-English, while in Guinea it could be 'Guinéen' and non-French. A traditional dance in Zambia will mean an African dance, national or local; in America, a traditional dance could be a square dance or a fox-trot. A traditional doctor in Zambia would be one using medicinal herbs or someone practising incantations to learn from the spirits. A traditional doctor in America would be a general practitioner doing house-calls and offering a diagnosis without blood tests. Traditional in those instances does not mean fixed and unchanging, but typical, particular, localised and very often more human by being nearer to or more concerned with people.

Traditionality means different things when used in a society having more or less one and the same common culture; it is quite possible then, that tradition will be opposed to modern and will be considered as established values of some time past. On the

contrary, in multi-cultural societies, traditional will refer to ethnic, specific, special, different from the 'dominant' culture, if there is one.

In this study, traditionality means specific, authentic, real, Zambian, African, (or what is believed to be so) as opposed to Western, White and English. Traditional may be old or new. For instance, the kalala dance of lake Bangweulu is quite recent but is traditional in the sense that it is not European. That dance changes from island to island and is also different in the Copper-belt. Traditional is also related to people, to human presence and personal care as opposed to modern which appears materialistic, technical, productive at whatever cost. (Cf. Balandier 1969:186-217; 1974:215-263).

e. Field Work

There are no easy methods of studying, recording, explaining and appreciating oral arts as Evans-Pritchard remarked:

"He (the anthropologist) learns the language, can say what he wants to say in it, and can understand what he hears; but then he begins to wonder whether he has really understood when he sees how often Azande themselves take it for granted that what is said means something other than what is said, and when he cannot be sure, and even they cannot be sure, whether the words do have a nuance or someone imagines that they do, or wants to think they do. One cannot know what is going on inside a man" (1956:180).

Without indulging in the complications of double talk, evasive answers, comparisons and metaphors, the language of proverbs, rituals, legends and myths is often embellished with rare names of animals, birds and trees, along with old or borrowed terms used for the benefit of rhythm, rhyme and other poetic reasons. It would normally require several years of language and culture immersion to be capable of understanding and transcribing songs, plays, proverbs, etc. Of course, advances in technology have helped considerably in the collection of oral arts. Tape recorders of any style, and especially battery operated cassette recorders are very useful and at times indispensable; the voice of the speaker with the intonations,

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pauses, emphasis along with the vocal reactions of the listener(s), all is there. However, tapes do not capture gestures, facial expressions and the mimicry of certain genres. (Cf. Macdonald 1972:417-420).

The observer/anthropologist is a member of the audience living the face-to-face situation, witnessing the reactions of the listeners who approve, disapprove, correct, add, clap hands, laugh, cry in an ambiance which is far more emotional than intellectual. And that is why the reporting is so difficult and incomplete. Studies in verbal arts are reproduced in written texts which may appeal to the intelligence and possibly bring knowledge and some emotional responses. Most verbal arts are meant to interest, motivate, touch and move the listener(s); they are rarely intended to impress him (them) intellectually. It is evident that a written text cannot account for all those subtle suggestions, appeals to sentiments, and at times efforts to arise passions. The text of an oral performance is comparable to the libretto of an opera: it reproduces the words, the notes to sing and play and even some indications for interpretation; but it cannot communicate the human presence and existence of an actual creative performance.

Finally, there will always remain the problem of translations which may limit the proper intellectual transmission and comprehension of the message, even if the translator is no traitor:

"Traditions should be recorded in the language in which they were transmitted... In a translation the linguistic "markers", the exact shadings or nuances, the multiple meanings of the original narration, the whole literary climate of the performance is lost. With that loss, the impact of the language on the content of the tradition will remain largely undetected" (Vansina 1971:452).

Vansina (1971:452) gives, as an example, the translation of the title of a well-known book: La pensée sauvage, translated into English as The Savage Mind. Vansina does not suggest any better translation. 'Pensée' in French means a thought as well as the active faculty of thinking; 'sauvage' means savage, but also uncontrolled and free. A more realistic translation would be The Wild Mind. This

exercise will suffice to demonstrate the challenge the translator must face.

f. Orality and Anthropologists

Some authors have criticised Anthropologists for their lack of interest in the studies of orality: "the interest of anthropologists was turned away from the systematic collection or analysis of detailed literary texts and concentrated on generalized theory... The result is that over the last generation or so, practically no collections or analyses of oral literature have been made by British scholars" (Finnegan 1970:37 and 38; cf. Arewa 1971:125). Elsewhere, she faults the authors who cared for content and disregarded the form:

"Different as the theories are in other respects, they all share the characteristics of playing down interest in the detailed study of particular oral literatures and, where such forms are not ignored altogether, emphasize the bare outline of content without reference to the more subtle literary and personal qualities. In many cases, the main stress is on the 'traditional' and supposed static forms, above all on prose rather than poetry. The detailed and systematic study of oral literature in its social and literary context has thus languished for much of this century" (Finnegan 1970:40).

In truth, there are some studies in oral arts and a few good ones about proverbs (Cf. Bascom in Dundes 1965:25-34; Brandes 1974:167-186; Evans-Pritchard 1956:161-180; 1963:4-7 and 190-112; Firth 1923:134-153 and 245-270; 1966:1-17). Dundes (1965), Dorson (1972) and Jacobs (1966) have written excellent articles, but that is not enough to inspire students for more research and our knowledge is limited: "Folklore still tells almost nothing about the riches in non-Western Peoples' oral expressions, available for the asking during a few decades to come. It has not begun to translate those treasures so that others can read and understand them. It has shown virtually no interest in adding to systematic theory about them" (Jacobs 1966:420). What Jacobs forgets to mention, is that before 'systematic theory', there must be some systematic method of research which allows for comparative studies, which in turn require cooperation among scholars. However, that sharing of expertise has been lacking

for several reasons. First, there is the isolation of researchers:

"But because much of the detailed research of this century has been carried out by individuals working in isolation, or at best, by various schools of researchers out of touch with the work of other groups, the subject as a whole has made little progress over the last generation or so, whether in consolidating what is already known, in criticizing some of the earlier limiting preconceptions, or in publicizing the results to date" (Finnegan 1970:27).

Second, researchers have been following the habitual subjects of their respective field without feeling compelled to exchange information:

"Although the literary and the anthropological approaches are both clearly essential and complementary, the two groups of folklorists have tended to work independently their own separate courses without becoming familiar with each other's concepts, methods, and objectives" (Bascom in Dundes 1965:25).

A third reason might be the question of knowing very well the local languages which requires, in some cases, several years of study; then, there is no limit to the learning of a foreign language and its art forms like legends, myths, proverbs, etc. Fourthly, oral traditions are verbal arts and arts are a difficult subject for the social sciences. They appear peripheral to scientific knowledge because arts are enmeshed with emotions, feelings, spiritual values, beliefs and passions which are undefined objects for precise observation and analysis. Finally, oral traditions and folklore seemed to be marginal studies not clearly allocated in any 'traditional' sub-divisions of Anthropology; could it be arts, folklore, language studies? Anthropologists who prefer solid theories are at a loss with those too specialised ethnographic details which are often communicated, at least in part, in foreign languages. Unfortunately, until better methods for studying verbal arts are found, anthropologists will have to work with specific researches which, often, lack general theoretical bases.

SUMMARY

Orality comprises all forms of oral arts and traditions with mythical, historical, moral, legal and ideological contents presented in several genres, transmitted by word of mouth in face-to-face situations and which may be new creations, adaptations or

theoretically fixed versions transmitted from generation to generation.

The main elements are the re-enactment or creation of the actual performance, the reactions of the audience, the role of the human memory and the voice-ear-eyes complex.

It is difficult to report verbal arts in general, because even with good texts, translations and explanations, the total performance with the gestures, mimicry, scenery, reactions of audience, in a word the ambiance, cannot be reproduced.

The term traditional means not only well established practices and customs originating in the past, but also local, authentic, specific, ethnic and true as opposed to foreign and imported.

The study of orality must deal with aspects of humanity like the roles of emotions and passions, intuition, the capacity to move and motivate, etc., which are not treated easily in social sciences.

D. Proverbs and Sayings

Some Anthropologists have studied proverbs, but, as admits Evans-Pritchard, far too few in view of the importance of the subject:

"Speaking here only of proverbs, one may say that nothing gives one, once their meaning has been understood, a better entry into a people's thought about how things should be and how they are than this pithy way of speech; yet anthropologists have in the last decades very largely ignored them in the publication of their researches. This further paper on Zande proverbs is written partly in the hope that greater attention may be paid to the subject, so that comparative studies may be made and some general conclusions reached" (Evans-Pritchard 1963 b:109; cf. 1964:1).

Since this dissertation comprises an important section of proverbs, it is absolutely necessary to discuss the major problems of definitions, contents, forms, usages, situations, functions, collections and translations which surround the subject.

a. Imprecise Terminology

It is easier to recognise a proverb than to define one. Most people can identify a proverb when there is one: "an incommunicable

quality tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not" (Taylor 1962:3). For instance, the English proverb out of sight, out of mind (in French: loin des yeux, loin du coeur) is felt as a proverb by most English speaking persons. Expressions like far away and forgotten and gone away and lost forever are not proverbs and are not perceived as such.

The terminology about proverbs and related forms is vague. The Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines a proverb as "a brief epigrammatic saying that is a popular byword: an oft-repeated pithy and ingeniously turned maxim; 'marry in haste, repent at leisure'". In this definition, three terms, that is, saying, maxim and epigram, are not 'definientia' at all, but near synonymic. Discourse about proverbs will usually mingle several terms indiscriminately:

epigram: "a terse, sage, or witty often paradoxical saying".

"Aphorism; apophthegm". "It is often satirical".

saying: "a wise or witty statement attributed to a specific usu. well-known person; a commonly repeated statement; adage, proverb".

maxim: "a general truth, fundamental principle or rule of conduct esp. when expressed in sententious form; a saying of proverbial nature".

adage: "a saying typically embodying common experience or observation often in metaphorical form".

axiom: "a proposition, principle, rule, or maxim that has found general acceptance or is thought worthy thereof whether by virtue of a claim to intrinsic merit or on the basis of an appeal to self-evidence".

aphorism: "a terse and often ingenious formulation of a truth or sentiment usu. in a single sentence; a concise statement of a principle".

apothegm or apophthegm: "a short, pointed, and instructive saying; a terse aphorism; a short usu. pointedly concise formulation of a truth or precept".

sentence: "a short or pithy saying usu. conveying moral instruction.
Axiom, maxim, saw".

saw: "a traditional saying; maxim, proverb".

(From Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged, 1971).

It would seem that an epigram is often paradoxical and satirical; an axiom is a self-evident principle which does not admit discussion; adage, aphorism, apothegm, maxim and sentence are apparently related because of their contents which are practical, juridical, philosophical and moral assertions and rules of behaviour. A saw and a saying would be more general expressions. However, in all those terms, the same attributes surface: popular, oft-used, common experience, metaphorical, general acceptance, terse and concise, instructive, sage, paradoxical and witty.

The French dictionaries are not more precise; for instance Le Petit Robert (Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française. 1972) confuses "adage, épigramme, maxime, axiome, sentence, aphorisme, apophtegme, dicton". Only the definition of "proverbe" is somewhat different: "vérité d'expérience, ou conseil de sagesse pratique et populaire commun à tout un groupe social, exprimé en une formule elliptique généralement imagée et figurée" (a truth of experience or a piece of advice based on popular and practical wisdom, common to a whole social group, expressed in an elliptical form, generally picturesque and figurative).

From the preceding definitions or synonymic descriptions, it appears that a proverb has a more precise meaning especially as regards its form which is "ingeniously turned" (Webster's), figurative and elliptical.

b. Definitions

Anthropologists and Folklorists have given definitions and descriptions of proverbs. Richard Chenevix Trench and Archer Taylor are usually referred to as pioneers and authorities on the subject. Trench describes a proverb after commenting on the often quoted

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remarks which states that "three things go to the making of a proverb, shortness, sense, and salt". Then, he adds that

"a proverb should not only be short, but concise; it must have sense; it must be pungent, with a sting in it; the most important characteristic is popularity, the consent of the people; it must have wisdom, 'the wit of one, and the wisdom of many'; finally, there must be a certain form, with brevity, rhyme and alliteration" (1853:15 and 16).

On his part, Taylor who probably wrote the best book on proverbs, refuses to give a definition stating that "the definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking; and should we fortunately combine in a single definition all the essential elements and give each the proper emphasis, we should not even then have a touchstone" (1962:3).

As examples, I quote a few of what I consider the best descriptions of a proverb.

Firth:

"A proverb is a concise and expressive, often figurative, saying in common use, which acts as a conveniently formulated means of expression, charged with emotional significance, to indicate and transmit the facts of experience, or to point out by injunction or prohibition an ideal of social conduct and behaviour" (1925:265 and 266).

Evans-Pritchard:

"I will only say that of the many endeavours to state where are the defining characteristics of the proverb—brevity, wit, conciseness, right feeling, wisdom, concreteness, commonsense, salt, imagination, metaphor, hyperbole, etc.—... the most essential common feature of all true proverbs is their popularity. Through their acceptance by a whole people they have become a collective expression of that people (although they may be used differently by different individuals in different situations)" (1964:1).

Obiechina:

"Proverbs are the kernels which contain the wisdom of the people. They are usually philosophical or moral exposition shrunk to a few words and form a mnemonic device in societies in which everything worth knowing and relevant to the day to day life of the people has to be committed to memory" (1967:148 and 149).

Malinowski:

"It is a saying in more or less fixed form marked by 'shortness, sense and salt' and distinguished by the popular acceptance of

the truth tersely expressed in it" (1970:393).

McKenna:

"The proverb can be of interest in itself as a literary work, both for its ideas and its form: novelty, ingeniousness, archaic flavor, paradox, antithesis, hyperbole, parallel structure, balance, concision, ellipsis, allusiveness, alliteration, repetition, geniality, humor, play on words, similes, metaphors, concreteness, rhyme, and various sentence forms are employed to achieve its 'shortness, sense and salt'" (1974:377 and 378).

Seitel:

"Proverbs as strategic use of metaphor, that is, as manifestation in traditional, artistic, and relatively short form of metaphorical reasoning, used in interactional context to serve certain purposes" (1976:125).

From these authors it is possible to conclude that proverbs are popular, accepted by the people, made up of commonsense and wisdom, and in a form which is short, figurative and pithy.

c. Content and Meanings

From the preceding quotations, it is evident that the content of proverbs is very important. For Firth, "the essential thing about a proverb is its meaning... It is by nature not a literary product; it is a saying of the people, forged by a happy thought, tempered by everyday use in the intimacy of the home or the contact of work or play" (1926:134). Trench acknowledges that the contents of some proverbs are similar all over the world; but some are made up of "the interior history, the manners, the opinions, the beliefs, the customs of the people among whom they have had their course" (1962:36 and 51). Lestrade indicates the wide range of contents "from the most concrete to the most abstract" and the most philosophical to "the most platitudinous truisms" (1937:293). Dua brings a new dimension to the content of proverbs which would be reflexions on a people's environment:

"Proverbs... sum up in short and pithy sayings the attributes and characteristics of the different aspects of the ecological phenomena that people of a culture have minutely observed in relation to their relevance for their behaviour" (1974:302).

The content of proverbs is very important for many authors because it expresses the common-sense and wisdom of a society as well as reflections on the feelings, ideas and ideals of its members.

d. Form and Structure

Houis raises the question as to which is more important in orality, the content or the form; he pretends that both are irrevocably linked in one existential state: a proverb cannot exist without a certain content and a special form. He goes on explaining that the particular form is essential for memorisation:

"La structure rythmée est condition de la mémorisation et de l'audition. Nous sommes persuadés qu'il s'agit là d'un trait fondamental à toutes les cultures qui évoluent dans une civilisation de l'oralité... Le rythme s'inscrit dans une expression sociale où ordre, répétition, harmonie sont des références constantes du langage et les principes d'énergie des mouvements corporels" (1971:63 and 64).

Several writers stress (1) the form: the phonological features including alliteration, assonance, rhyme and repetition; grammatical constructions like ellipses; figures of speech like metaphors and hyperbole; (2) the balanced structure.

1. Form

Dua:

"First, the form of proverbs involves such features as rhyme, alliteration, assonance, etc., which have rarely been studied beyond their stylistic implications in poetry. Secondly, such devices as hyperbole, paradox, irony, etc. which form an essential feature of the metaphorical and suggestive meanings conveyed by proverbs have neither been studied beyond literature nor have they been adequately treated in semantic theories currently formulated" (1974:300 and 301; cf. page 308).

Finnegan:

"... by similes; by various types of metaphor (often comparisons with animals or with one particular case suggesting a generalization); and by hyperbole and paradox" (1970:399; cf. Geertz 1973:213 at note 30).

"The question, therefore, of the actual style of proverbs appears to demand further research. Whatever the details, however, it is clear that some sort of heightened speech, in one form or another, is commonly used in proverbs; and that this serves to set them apart from ordinary speech" (1970: 403). (Cf. Firth 1926:263; Dua 1974:301 and 308; Bergsma 1970:152 and 153).

2. Balanced Structure

Another characteristic of proverbs is their structured form which is balanced parallelism.

Taylor:

"A rhetorical trait which is found in the simplest proverbs, even in those simple aphorisms which do not rise to the dignity of a metaphor, is parallelism of structure with its almost inevitable accompaniment, contrast. Parallelism and contrast are found in words, structure, and thought" (1962:143).

Firth:

"In general, they are distinguished by their balanced and antithetical nature"(1926:263).

"This illustrates a typical form of the Maori proverb,—the distich, the two phrases being similar in grammatical form, rhythmically balanced, and presenting a certain antithesis in their meaning" (1926:264). (Cf. Levin 1968:180 and 181).

Abrahams:

"It is primarily the pronounced effect of balance that produces the witty effect of the proverb, and this balance arises most notably from a binary (two-part) composition. The proverb is generally a sentence that is perceptibly broken in the middle" (1972:120).

Milner:

"I want to suggest that the most important characteristic of a traditional saying is the symmetrical structure of its form and content... In its most typical (though not necessarily its statistically most common) form—a traditional saying consists of a statement in four parts... The four quarters of a saying are grouped in two "halves" (major segments) which match and balance each other, and are self-contained" (1969:199 and 200).

From these quotations, it is evident that several writers consider the form and structural balance of proverbs as being another extremely important characteristic.

e. Personal Definition

The lack of precision in defining proverbs and related terms engenders confusion: "Why do we have so many terms, with so much overlap and imprecise definition: dictum, adage, saying, slogan, motto, maxim, idiom, precept, parable, epigram, aphorism, apothegm, allegory" (Milner 1969:199)? A definition, in providing for a clearer terminology, will elucidate the problem, especially if it accounts for the main characteristics of proverbs.

The core of the question lies in the relationships between content and form. If some proverbs are witty and philosophical gems, others are ordinary comments which could have been said in in any friendly conversation. It is probable that profound assertions are exchanged in daily conversation, and they will not become proverbial expressions. Whether plain observations, wise remarks or thoughts of wisdom, they must be accepted by the community before being turned into proverbs. Before being received and popularised, they must be noticed, remembered and repeated, due to a happy alliance between content and form. As a rule, the content is opportune and pertinent and expressed in figures of speech like metaphors and hyperbole to attract attention; the special form is then achieved by phonological features such as alliteration, assonance, rhymes and correlatives; the structure comes from two or more segments which are in balanced symmetry. Milner thinks that the particular structure of proverbs may "throw new light on the deep structure of the mind... It has long been known from the writings of Jung that quadripartite structures are of special interest for the study of the deep structure of the mind" (1969: 199 and 202; cf. *Time*, March 14, 1969, *Language*). Before delving into the unconscious, the deep structure and the universality of the human mind, it would seem easier to study the qualities of the human ear and the universality of human rhythm. In many societies, the information needed for the continued existence of the group had to be entrusted to memory directly. Mnemotechnic devices

from the relationships of certain sounds co-ordinated in some kind of symmetry or balance exist throughout the world and are found in nursery rhymes, children's songs, fables, catechisms, political slogans, etc. What those mnemotechnic devices have in common is a certain rhythm (particular to each language) which comes from the ordering and value of the sounds making their emission appear easy, and their reception in the human ear for memorisation effortless. For instance, the expression out of sight, out of mind is made up of two equal parts of three syllables each and beginning by the same correlative 'out of'. Considering 'out of' as one word, the quadripartite elements are balanced in a dual pattern, to use Milner's terminology. The saying absence makes the heart grow fonder lacks the balanced harmony and other phonological features to be 'catchy' and easily memorised. The proverb a stitch in time saves nine is a bi-partite statement which acquires its form from a rhyme and an assonance; saying a stitch in time saves eight would not change the meaning but would destroy the rhyme. Proverbs like all is well that ends well and there's many a slip between cup and lip are built in a balance symmetry and often with assonance.

In summary, it can be said that:

1. the importance of the content and meanings of proverbial expressions can vary considerably from the matter-of-fact to the profound; many societies use similar ideas and feelings and the differences stem from their particular environment, history, social organisations, economic and political conditions, etc.;
2. the content is enveloped in metaphors, hyperbole, alliteration, rhymes and parallelism of structure;
3. many societies need to memorize what is said and nothing seems more appropriate and more efficient than mnemonic devices made up of a special rhythm and value of sounds along with a balanced structure;
4. it might be useful to distinguish most proverbial expressions according to sounds and contents; a proverb would be a structured and balanced statement, a sentence would be a dogmatic or literary

thought, and a maxim a moral rule, etc. Some more confusion comes from the fact that many sayings in Western societies are literary gems not really suited for memorisation but appreciated and popularised for their wisdom, paradox or satire.

I define a proverb as

- a concise statement (comment, assertion, observation)
- about some moral, philosophical, common-sensical, emotional fact (situation, idea, feeling)
- having some general or specific value for the people who have accepted and popularised it
- and tending to be arranged in a certain form of harmony of sounds and balanced symmetry which serves as mnemonic devices and makes the statement immediately perceived as a communal expression and not a personal phrase.

f. Creation, Acceptance, Re-creation

Because proverbial expressions appear as in a state of completeness, it is difficult to discover their origins. There is no doubt that in a moment in time, one individual coined the expression, or a part of it which could be expanded or shortened, corrected, improved upon, repeated again and again, before being accepted by members of the group as a common phrase. The theory of communal mind or group authorship cannot be proved. At the beginning of a proverb there is a person who verbalises a happy sentence which strikes the audience as remarkable and will be repeated as such or with corrections or variations. (Cf. Taylor 1962:35). The idea of the communal authorship is rejected by Finnegan as a stratagem of the early evolutionist and diffusionist schools of Anthropology; these non-literate and 'unlike-ours' societies lacked individually inspired artists and innovators; there was no originality and little creation, since everything was "communal" as in some revealed forms. (Cf. Finnegan 1970:35 and 36). Proverbs were invented by

individuals who may have been talented artists, singers or 'recitors' or simply good talkers, but certainly not proverb-makers. People do not go around with the intention of formulating proverbs. They are coined unvoluntarily or by chance, possibly after some reflexion. Still, these expressions must be accepted by the group which must adopt them as special utterances repeated often and then transmitted to the next generation. (Cf. Trench 1853:16; Evans-Pritchard 1964:1; Firth 1926:263).

Saying a proverb is not only repeating a proverb; it is a recreation, that is the resorbence and assumption for one's purpose of a fortunate expression which happens to suit the circumstances and accommodates the intentions of the speaker, or, as Houis says:

"A vrai dire, de tels textes sont bien au-delà de la mesure des traditions. Ils les englobent et les dépassent, car, même lorsqu'ils sont une référence stricte au passé, chaque nouvelle pro-fération est en quelque sorte une re-recréation... Qu'ils n'aient plus ou peu de crédit n'enlève d'ailleurs rien à la richesse de leur témoignage et justifie au contraire qu'on se hâte de les fixer" (1971:68). (Cf. Trench 1853:22).

Moreover, in spite of the progress of writing and the fact that it is not necessary to entrust to memory customs and rules, new proverbial expressions are constantly being made either under the form of proverb strictly speaking or under the form of popular sentences. Taylor gives several examples, from the English language, of newly created expressions "to show how erroneous is Tylor's notion (Cf. Primitive Culture, I, ch. III, 89-90) that the age of proverb-making is past" (Taylor 1962:11). In fact, "folklore has been, is, and will continue to be a dynamic aspect of African cultures" (Fernandez 1962:4). Orality, as a technique of communication, has lost ground to writing, but continues to exist in many societies, and might even flourish in others through new electronic techniques using the voice, ear and eye complex. (Cf. Lestrade 1937:297; Taylor 1962:151; Houis 1971:48 and 53).

g. Situations and Circumstances. Usages .

When are proverbs used, or what are the circumstances surrounding the use of proverbs? Some authors maintain that proverbs are used in particular situations which must be described as accurately as possible. Others believe that proverbs may be used by so many people and in so many different cases, that it would be impossible to report on them all.

Arewa and Dundes (1964:70-73) argue that Anthropologists should not only collect and translate proverbs, but should describe the context, situations and other important details surrounding their use. For Seitel (1976:128 to 132), all the relevant circumstances must be noted, because the essential element in a proverb is its meaning. All the circumstantial features must be portrayed, the age, social status, sex, intention, and of course types of occasion, ceremonial, formal reception of visitors, village meeting, informal discussion, etc. Besides, according to Seitel, three kinds of situations should be reported: (1) interaction situation (person, group, status, sex, etc.); (2) the proverb situation (what word or words brought up that proverb); (3) the context situation (what was the subject of discussion). There must also be 'correlation', that is "the manner in which the speaker 'matches up' the terms in the proverb with the people in the context situation and possibly in the interaction situation" (1976:131; cf. also pages 128 to 134; Firth 1926:137).

All these authors assume that the essential characteristic of proverb is its meaning, the content and message. How would situations alter the message? Because they would be application or extension of the meaning? This seems very hard to defend. For instance, we can examine the Bemba proverb tuli samfwe;/ tumenena ukubola (we are little mush-rooms; we grow to rot; no. 504); I heard it said by women and men, young and old, in places like funerals, beer halls, school meetings, over a putrefied wound, etc. The fact that a proverb is used by a certain person in such a situation does not make that proverb different than it was before

with a meaning that it did not possess antecedently. In other words, the actual usage of a proverb is not a determinant of its significance. The proverb precedes the usage as an entity and its meaning is adapted to many different situations, which only demonstrates its vast possibility. It is possible to notice new situations in which a proverb is used and this will expand its meanings, but circumstances of persons, times, places and occasions will not essentially affect its general meaning. The usage of proverbs depends more on the imagination of speakers than on any circumstance. In fact, it is absolutely impossible to start imagining all the circumstances in which proverbs can be used as confirmed by Finnegan:

"We can, then, sum up the various ways in which proverbs are used in African societies by saying that they really occur on all occasions when language is used for communication either as art or as a tool, i.e. on every sort of occasion imaginable" (1970:418). Cf. Evans-Pritchard 1956:166).

In fact, the uses of proverbs seem limitless: "in spite of the tremendous number of texts that have been assembled, we still know little of why and how people use proverbs, or anything of the range of social uses and cultural situations in which they are encountered" (Abrahams 1972:119). As can be noted in the quotations which follow, proverbs are seen as efficient tools of social control, capable of removing the hidden tension between individuals, for solving social conflicts, for face saving, etc.

Bascom:

"Because of the high regard in which they are held, and because they are considered especially appropriate to adult life, African proverbs are highly effective instruments of social control. Because they express the morals and ethics of a society, they are convenient standards for appraising behaviour in terms of the approved norms. And because they are pungently, sententiously and wittily stated, they are ideally suited for commenting on the behaviour of others. Proverbs are used to express social approval and disapproval, praise for those who conform to accepted social conventions and criticism or ridicule for those who deviate; warning, defiance or derision of a rival or enemy, and advice, counsel or warning to a friend when either

contemplates action which may lead to social friction, open hostilities or direct punishment by society" (1965c:471; same quotation in 1965c:295).

Bergsma:

"Proverbs are employed in a variety of situations: to control activities without the use of force, as devices for shaming, for getting out of a difficult situation without losing face, as a means of praise, in prophetic utterances, and as general explanations for that sphere of Tiv environment which is beyond comprehension, especially illness or 'acts of God'" (1970:151).

Messenger:

"Proverbs... are used in all manner of situations—as a means of amusement, in educating the young, to sanction institutionalized behavior, as a method of gaining favor in court, in performing religious rituals and association ceremonies, and to give point and add color to ordinary conversation" (1965:299). (Cf. also Finnegan 1970:412 and 418; McKenna 1974:384; Seitel 1976:132 and 133).

In general, proverbs are used to make a point, recall a norm, terminate a discussion, influence people, impress listeners and bring interest to the discussion. Positively, they are used as general statements, for praise, encouragement, advice, counsel and warning. Negatively, they are utilised to ridicule, shame and condemn, as camouflage, save-face, as a way of hiding behind the group and simply when one does not know what to say. Using proverbs can be a form of amusement, a verbal game between two or more people. This can happen around a calabash of beer, at meetings, during a meal; a person will cite a proverb which will be answered by another proverb of similar or opposite meaning, and from then on, the conversation will become a tissue of proverbs as well as a performance in which speakers try to upstage one another. Finally, proverbs are also used for their poetic value:

"The thesis I would like to develop is that native speakers are sensitive to the poetic value of proverbs whether or not these contain a moral truth. Further, the varied emotional and intellectual reactions shown by native speakers to proverbs are conditioned more evidently by the aesthetic value of these proverbs—the quality of the imagery and of the wit—than by their moral content or truth value" (Baodi 1972:185; cf. Finnegan 1970:418).

It can be asked, how proverbs do all those things? Even though there is no complete answer to that question, it can be suggested that proverbs, being stereotyped expressions, carry with them to power of words as in ritualistic formulae. There is the same aura of authority which comes from the words themselves which, of necessity, must be pronounced correctly to carry automatic results. Of course, if a person forgets or mispronounces a syllable or a word, the result is annulled, and ridicule or laughter may ensue. A second reason is the ambivalence of proverbs towards the individual and collective, personal and impersonal, and the 'parole' and 'langue'. Proverbs are both personal and impersonal assuming "a personal circumstance and embodying it in impersonal and witty form" (Abrahams 1972:119). Abrahams explains further:

"Proverbs work, in other words, because they seem to embody the wisdom of the past. 'Seem' is emphasized because it is the appearance of collective wisdom that is the most important of the persuasive characteristics of proverbs. Proverbs work because they make the problem seem less personal, by showing that situations like this have occurred before. This impersonalization is achieved not only by the casting of the description in witty and traditional terms, but by using what seems to be an objective frame of reference" (1972:122).

It is a personal utterance when the words coming to mind are so similar to those of the proverb that the speaker has the impression that he could have coined the proverb. In that case, proverbs are 'parole'. When a proverb is used to make a general comment, condemn someone in the name of the group or get out of an impasse, it is impersonal and would belong to that aspect of language called 'langue'.

These two general reasons, that is the power of stereotyped and exact formulae and also the possibility of expressing the personal as well as the collective would help explain, to a certain extent, the numerous uses of proverbs.

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h. Functions of Proverbs

As mentioned earlier, it is probable to imagine remarks, comments, observations, and reflexions said in the middle of conversation which are witty, profound and accurate but which are not preserved by the listeners because, among several possible reasons, these sentences lack the proper form which would make them catchy and more easily transmitted. We don't know why proverbs are made and accepted in a certain society: "Why did the Incas, the Mayans and nearly all the Indian tribes of North America produce such a meager crop of proverbs, when the Spaniards, the Samoans, the Arabs and the Chinese were minting them by the thousands? (Time, March 14, 1969:Language). Societies have different oral genres and while some Amerindians were composing thousands of legends, Africans of many societies were producing fables and proverbs. It is not contended that societies which have few proverbial expressions will be disadvantaged in any way; they will have other institutions to perform the same and similar roles. Here are some of the roles of proverbs:

1. The formulation of the group's norms and common values.

A society which possesses hundreds or even thousands of proverbs has at its disposal a wealth of statements which have been received and popularised as true beliefs, correct practices, exact observations and appropriate comments. That society has given itself information and direction which can operate at every level of social interaction, from conversation to court of justice. In that capacity, proverbs are also a source of social control and cohesion. (Cf. Bascom 1965b:295)

2. To educate and instill cultural values.

There is no better way to transmit precepts and practices than proverbs which may be used forcefully or casually and with an approved terminology as Dua explains:

"In the study of the function of the proverbs, the educational value seems to be obviously striking. As the proverbs express

conventionally acceptable and culturally appropriate truths about human nature, man's relation to man and environment, they may be used for the purposes of instruction, guidance, and regulation of the conduct of life" (Kua 1974:310; cf. Bascom 1965c:470; Firth 1926:254).

3. To influence people.

People who use proverbs appear knowledgeable and in control of the situation, probably because of "the sense of verbal stability that seems to be transferred to the social situation that is being named and commented upon by the proverb" (Abrahams 1972:121). Nobody can be entirely indifferent to a proverb; a proverb says what 'all the people are thinking or supposed to think'; so the proverb user has the community with him or her. The only way of answering a proverb is by quoting another proverb which contradicts the first one, emphasises another out-look or changes the issue. It is possible to manipulate situations by using proverbs which can terminate a heated argument. Any 'decent' public speaker will use a few proverbs, not only to interest and convince people, but also to demonstrate knowledge and credibility. People will say: "that person knows".

4. When nothing better can be said.

In many cases, a proverb will work better than the speaker's own words and may help in getting out of a delicate predicament. Proverbs might not even be totally to the point, but since they have such wide range of meanings, listeners will be wary in case they have missed something and do not wish to contradict the whole community.

5. Using proverbs sounds good and makes one feel good.

Quite often, the person who has just used a proverb will smile, nod, make some facial expressions of contentment. It may be the feeling of having remembered an expression learned or heard some time ago, or the pleasant sounds of the words. The listeners will also react by nodding their agreement and showing pleasure. Proverbs bring charm, satisfaction and enjoyment. They release tension and even when directed against someone, they do not cause anger but

acquiescence if not compliance. Baodi claims that using proverbs is also a poetic display:

"Yet a speaker often selects a particular proverb or striking metaphor because he wishes to embellish or elevate his message with a poetic dimension, or demonstrate to his opponent his superior sophistication, education, eloquence, or sensitivity in the use of his language (1972:183).

Bascom summarises some of the important functions of oral arts:

"In addition to the obvious function of entertainment or amusement, folklore serves to sanction the established beliefs, attitudes, and institutions, both sacred and secular, and it plays a vital role in education in non-literate societies... In addition to its role in transmitting culture from one generation to another, and to providing ready rationalizations when beliefs or attitudes are called into question, folklore is used in some societies to apply social pressure to those who would deviate from the accepted norms" (1965a:33).

1. Collection and Translation.

Gray, in his article on Nyanja proverbs, warned that:

"The collecting of proverbs, however, presents some difficulty. The ideal way therefore—though it is a very slow one—is to be constantly on the alert for their cropping up in the course of ordinary conversation, when the circumstances in which they are used can also be noted" (1944:101).

In fact, there are no precise performance during which proverbs are recited, like songs and prayers for funerals, initiation rites and other rituals, like fables and myths. Proverbs 'emerge' often when least expected. It is also more difficult to 'corner' specialists in proverbs than other artists, because the fictionalization of proverbs, as opposed to initiation songs, prayers and legends, is nearly impossible. People cannot enumerate proverbs at will or on command; they need a conversation, a topic, some occasion. All they can do is explain, give interpretations, and probably quote a few related proverbs. The "to be constantly on the alert" of Gray is easier said than done, especially if time is a factor, because weeks can pass by without hearing one proverb. Proverbs collectors and experts usually have to spend years with the same people to have as many chances

as possible to be in proverb situations, become familiarised with proverb contexts and be acknowledged as interested in proverbs. Bemba speakers either will not use proverbs because they know that most Whites do not understand them, or they will use lots of proverbs so that Whites will not understand at all. Native speakers are usually willing to repeat an expression and explain it in detail, which allows the observers to write down useful notes for further reference.

Once a few hundred proverbs have been accumulated, the problem of classification will arise. It is feasible to list a few dozen proverbs and describe the diverse situations and circumstances of their use. But as the list expands, some order is needed. Proverbs could be grouped according to their form or their bi- or tri-partite structure. They could also be categorised according to functions, concepts and usages. Firth proposes a classification by functions: first, the general aspects of life, religious, social, moral and economic; second, sub-divisions of these main titles; social life would comprise kinship, war, games, etc.; finally, these sub-divisions are again dissected. Most classifications hinge upon the generic components of a cultural system, from material adaptation to supernatural institutions, with the ever-present danger of forcing meanings upon a few proverbs to make them agree to the pre-determined categories (Firth 1926:269-270). An accurate translation will reduce the risk of debatable grouping by rendering the meaning as affected by and rooted in local conditions; there is, of course, no adequate manner to reproduce the meaning and feeling transmitted through assonance, alliteration and figures of speech and no explanation will convey that sensation. The mere comprehension of the content needs attention and study; for instance, one must know a little history, mythology and religion to appreciate that one does not take "coals to New Castle", "owls to Athens" and "Indulgences to Rome". The exact translation would not suffice in these cases, and explanations will be necessary; the local circumstances convey the meaning. Proverbs and sayings from various languages may be

expressed so differently that it is difficult to realise that the same ideas are conveyed; the proverb once bitten, twice shy is also expressed as a scalded dog fears cold water; in French, it is chat échaudé craint l'eau froide (a scalded cat fears cold water) and in Italian it is cui serpe mozzica, lucerta teme (he who has been bitten by a serpent fears a lizard). There is little difference between the English and French versions, but the Italian formulation may confuse people who have never seen serpents and lizards. It is usually impossible to communicate the form of a proverb in a translation, like the assonance "chat échaudé" of the French proverb cited above. But the important meaning(s) can be provided to make proverbs understandable, by giving explanations of words, practices and beliefs. If the word ngoshe (pl. bangoshe) is used (cf. proverb 350), it is correct to translate it by 'black mamba' and proceed to explain that it is an extremely dangerous and often deadly snake believed to be solitary, self-re-productive, and living in or around ant-hills. The feeling of fear experienced by most Zambians is not communicable, but the general meaning will be conveyed to make the proverb comprehensible. (Cf. Trench 1853:51-59; Taylor 1962:43; Vansina 1971:452).

SUMMARY

1. The terminology used to define proverbial expressions, sayings, aphorisms and other similar terms is uncertain. In this dissertation, I will use two words, proverb and saying; a proverb would have a more distinctive structure as explained later (cf. p. 51); saying includes other proverbial expressions.
2. The content of proverbs comprises witty, wise, matter-of-fact considerations, observations and pieces of advice related to the experience of the group and based on its ideal norms.

3. Proverbs are composed in a typical form which is concise, 'catchy' and often framed in a certain balanced structure to facilitate enunciation and memorisation.
4. Proverbs are accepted, popularised and made into sanctioned statements.
5. Proverbs are used for enjoyment, educative purposes, social control; they condemn, praise, encourage, recall a rule or a practice, or simply state the right conduct. They are used in daily conversation, at political and religious gatherings, in courts, in fact, everywhere people talk.
6. Proverbs express important statements about the thoughts, feelings, beliefs and customs of a group, and for that reason, they are constructed in a special language made easier for retention and transmission. Moreover, in a society where accusations are proscribed, where insults are extremely grave, where harsh talkers are called witches, approved sayings, by eliminating personal responsibility, fulfil a role of direction and control that individuals could never assume. It may not be possible 'to throw the book at someone', but it is rather easy to state the rule, to judge and condemn by quoting a proverb. At times, the saying will be preceded by the expression mu Cibemba, balesosa (in Bemba, it is said). For example, a Bemba person may not be able to criticize an adulterer openly in his or her own words; but it is possible to affirm: ubucende mafi: tupōsa ukutali (adultery is shit: we throw it far away; no. 110), which is quite clear.

Proverbs are employed as commentators and controllers, checking, praising, encouraging and making observations in a form which makes them easily memorised and transmitted.

j. Proverbs in Bemba

The word for proverb in Bemba is lipinda (pl. mabinda) and agrees with the definition given above (p. 40): it is a concise statement, about some moral, philosophical, common-sensical or emotional issue, having general and specific value for the Bemba who have ratified it; it tends to be arranged in a certain form of harmony of sounds and balanced symmetry; the form serves as a mnemonic device and enables the statement to be immediately perceived as a communal expression and not a personal phrase. The word nsoselo would indicate a proverbial expression lacking the form and structure, or at least not modeled after the bi-partite symmetry. The differences between mabinda (proverbs) and nsoselo (sayings) would not come from their meaning and content, but from their forms. A Bemba proverb would be made up of two parts of equal or unequal length; quite often, only the first part is said, while the rest is either completed by the interlocutor(s) or implied. The following expressions would be mabinda (proverbs):

- Isembe talitwa: icitwa mutima (the hoe is not sharp; what is sharp is the heart; no. 392).
- Cikolwe ne ngala: cikolwe ne milandu (ancestor with the plumes; ancestor with the cases; no. 360).

On the other hand, a nsoselo (saying) would not have a special structure or the bi-partite balance:

- Umulandu taubola (a case does not rot; no. 183).
- Umulêle ukashisha mêno (laziness reddens the teeth; no. 275).

The people questioned about the structural distinction between mabinda and nsoselo did not formulate that difference theoretically; but they thought it made sense.

The transcription of the Bemba language poses a few difficulties. First, the consonant /ŋ/, a voiced velar nasal (Kakoshi 1967:7), described as n or ngh and found in words like inghwena (crocodile), will be transcribed here as ngh or ingh; it is not very satisfactory, but practical since it can be written on any typewriter.

Secondly, there is the problem of long and short vowels (Kakoshi 1968:13-17; Sims 1959:11 and 12). Most books written in Bemba do not indicate the length of vowels because Bemba speakers and readers know and feel the differences. A practice which is spreading mostly in language books is to write the same vowel twice when it is long, as in ukupeepa (to smoke) to distinguish it from ukupepa (to adore). In the White Fathers' Bemba English Dictionary, the French circumflex accent (^) is used on long vowels. In Sims's grammar, a dash is used over the long vowel as in ukupēpa (to smoke). There is no doubt that writing the vowel twice is confusing; if it makes sense to write amaano (brains) because it comes from ama + ano, it is misleading to write tukeesha when it is made up of tu + ka + esha. The expression tu-ka-umfwa umulandu which is pronounced tukōmfwō mulandu could hardly be written as tukoomfwoo mulandu. Should a long vocoid be analysed and written as a long vowel, with some accent, or as a sequence of identical vowels, or with a mixing of different vowels? In this dissertation, double vowels will be transcribed with the French circumflex accent (^) on top of the long vocoid, (1) when the long vowel alters the meaning of the words, and (2) in contractions. Long vowels will not be indicated in cases of elisions between words which are very irregular and depend on the delivery of the sentence, special effects, etc. Finally, there is the question of tones in Bemba: "In Chibemba many words are distinguished from each other by tone, but this is a real difficulty which so far no European has completely mastered" (Lammond 1957:4). Kakoshi who is Zambian concurs:

"Due to the limited nature of the data and consequently the type of frames used in this study, the following statements relating to the pitch contrasts in Bemba are only tentative, pending a more detailed investigation of this aspect of the phonology of the language" (1968:9 and 10).

The relations between different pitches in Bemba words have been studied also by Sharman and Meeussen (1955, 1956) and by Oger (1963). They examine the problem of tone with its pitches or levels low, middle and high. However, none of their findings and assertions

are absolutely sure for one area and still less for other regions. For instance, Oger claims that the tone of verbs starts with the preposition uku (to) which is used for every verb; the uku is the infinitive concord or prefix for every verb. How this concord could be different in pitches from one uku to the next, unless it accounts for the melody or tonality of the whole phrase is difficult to accept. Oger (1963:21) uses the verbs uku+imba ukwimba (to dig and to sing) as examples and ukwimba with pitches low - mid - mid would be 'to dig'; while ukwimba with pitches high - mid - low would mean 'to sing'. I disagree and think that the only difference is between the ba; the ba of 'to dig' is on a lower pitch, and the ba of 'to sing' is on a higher pitch. Moreover, as cautions Sims "all natives do not pronounce exactly alike; different districts have different ways of pronouncing; much of the difficulty of writing is on account of the slurring that is heard between two words in rapid speech" (1959:1). Sims could have added a note concerning the variety of tones and pitches according to different styles of speech. Before the length of vowels with the tonality of pitches and stresses can be reproduced accurately, other studies must be pursued. In this thesis, there is no indication of these differences.

In this dissertation, the Bemba proverb or saying is given in full and underlined; then,

- a. there is a word-by-word translation;
- b. a literal translation is given;
- c. meanings and explanations are given when deemed necessary;
- d. some lexical and grammatical explanations are added;
- e. reference is made to Stephen Mpashi's *Icibemba cesu na mano ya ciko* as 'SM' and to The White Fathers' Bemba English Dictionary as 'WF', with the page number and in the case of 'WF', the word where the proverb is to be found.

If any of these items is superfluous, it is omitted.

E. Ideology

Zambian Humanism is regarded as an ideology by Zambians themselves and observers (Martin 1972:99-112; Pettman 1974:69-75; Martin 1972:99-120; Shaw 1976a:15-20; Tordoff 1974:385-399; Kaunda 1967:3, 5; 1968:4; Kandeke 1977:11). It is therefore imperative to try to explain what ideologies are. At the same time, it is difficult to clarify a topic which is bathed in controversy, for the good reason that what is a sound hypothesis or a verifiable theory for someone may be seen, by someone else, as another ideology, unfounded and biased. Ideologies are associated with beliefs, credulity and partisanship more often than with rationalisations. Few people admit to having ideologies; they are for others. Most people like to think that their lives and actions are enlightened and directed by objective principles while opponents and neighbours grope in ideologies and prejudices. Still, as Apter points out, scientific theories and empirical discoveries are rare:

"It is simply not true that we use terms that have exact empirical referents. It is not true that our concepts derive from bundles of events in which the process of abstraction can be made explicit, i.e. from events to classes of events, and from classes to universalized processes. It is not true that our abstractions lead to many discoveries" (1973:viii).

At the same time, the study of ideologies cannot be brushed aside as so many elucubrations and mental vagaries unrelated to any reality. On the contrary, as shown by a special issue of the French review *L'Homme* (Tome XVIII, nos 3-4, 1978), the study of ideologies may help a great deal in a better understanding of society as alluded to by Terray and Bételle:

"Car comme Maurice Godelier l'a indiqué à plusieurs reprises, le problème de l'idéologie, de son statut et de son rôle dans la totalité sociale, présente dans la conjoncture actuelle un caractère stratégique; c'est sur leur aptitude à le résoudre que seront jugées en dernier ressort les diverses tendances qui s'affrontent au sein de l'anthropologie contemporaine" (Terray 1978:123).

"... the preoccupation with ideologies is a characteristic feature of modern times" (Béteille 1978:48).

This paragraph presents considerations and reflections on ideology and related subjects. It is not at all an elaborate study of the problems surrounding ideologies and the literature about them, which is outside the scope of the present investigation. It is not a history or critique of ideologies à la Lichtheim (1967:3-46), nor an attempt at a synthesis of the questions connected with the understanding and explanations of the mechanisms, processes and operations of the human mind, intelligence and will, in the formulation of ideas and systems of values. The human intelligence is of course at work in every cultural action, but the question of ideology deals with the work of the human mind in creating conceptions, explanations, comprehensions and representations which can be tied to reality as well as transcend it. I have been influenced by the writings of Apter (1964, 1973, 1977), Augé (1978, 1979), Geertz (1973), Godelier (1973, 1974, 1977, 1978a, 1978b), Althusser (1974), Sahlins (1976), Salzman (1978) and Shils (1968); it does not ensue that these authors are interpreted correctly here. What follows is a succinct description of ideologies, their functions and their goals. Connate concepts and themes like scientific theory, science, knowledge, rationality, methodology and theory, paradigms and premisses, emotions and intuition are discussed briefly. The conclusion is that all human knowledge is based on faith; although the methodology may differ, all—from scientific doctrine to ideology—is molded, influenced and at times determined by current paradigms and actual premisses. In other words:

"Culture patterns—religious, philosophical, aesthetic, scientific, ideological—are 'programs'; they provide a template or blueprint for the organization of social and psychological processes, much as genetic systems provide such a template for the organization of organic precesses" (Geertz 1973:216).

a. Basic Themes

So much is written on ideologies, their descriptions, function and necessity, that only what seems relevant to this research is surveyed and quoted here.

1. Descriptions

Ideologies are often treated as scientifically irrelevant and unreliable; they are regarded as misleading, deformed, contaminated, falsified and alienative; they do not explain; they convince through anxiety and fear; they flourish on bias and hate (Cf. Geertz 1973:195-199). These qualifiers are applied to Fascism, Nazism and McCarthyism by those who are not followers of these movements. It is not asserted that Germans, Italians and Americans who were (or are) Nazis, Fascists and McCarthyists were untruthful and dangerous. But, their opponents will say that these people were blinded by ideas and programmes of action which derived from distorted theoretical reasoning. In fact, except for cases of fulgurating evidence and synderesis, most theories and doctrines are seen as incomplete and misleading by some people somewhere.

It is also pointed out that the dedicated pursuit of truth is not among the aims of ideologists: "no ideology has even regarded the disciplined pursuit of truth—by scientific procedures and in the mood characteristic of modern science—as part of its obligations" (Shils 1968:72). Ideologies could be best defined as 'appearances', the make believe of truth, acceptability and desirability:

"Toute idéologie systématise (formalise) un ensemble d'illusions, de représentations mutilées et déformées, qui conservent cependant avec le 'réel' (la praxis) un rapport suffisant pour apparaître vraies, pour s'insérer dans ce réel, pour se vivre. Faute de quoi, il n'y a pas d'idéologie, mais duperie grossière" (Lefebvre 1974:104).

If all ideologies were to be treated as 'mutilation and deformation', there could hardly be any constructive discussion. (Cf. Bêteille 1978:51). Moreover, it cannot be demonstrated that there are evil and deceitful intentions in the presentation of an ideology:

"Ce serait donc toujours à d'autres que les représentations idéologiques apparaîtraient comme telles, c'est-à-dire des interprétations fausses mais qui restent méconnues comme telles. On peut écarter d'emblée l'idée étroite répandue au XVIII^e siècle que la religion n'est que mensonges inventés par des prêtres qui n'y ont jamais cru pour tromper le bon peuple ignorant et le soumettre à sa domination (Cf. Condorcet)" (Godelier 1978a:175). (Cf. Edelman 1964:20; 1971:70).

Positively, ideologies may be seen as summaries of ideas, ideals, opinions and sentiments, in a word, configurations of thoughts which present a coherent world of values and a convincing and agreeable set of arguments, logically and psychologically acceptable because they promise to fulfil expectations, needs and hopes:

"An ideology is that set of ideas and beliefs which seeks to articulate the basic values of a group of people—what they cherish for themselves and for others—to the distribution of power in society. An ideology is not a systematic theory although it has systematic properties and it often strives to be a theory" (Bêteille 1978:53). (Cf. Shils 1968:66; Pouillon 1978:7 and 10; Gellner 1978:69).

For Althusser, ideologies are systems of representations of nostalgia and hope which may or may not describe reality:

"Une idéologie est un système (possédant sa logique et sa rigueur propres) de représentation (images, mythes, idées ou concepts selon le cas) doué d'une existence et d'un rôle historiques au sein d'une société donnée... L'idéologie est bien un système de représentations; mais ces représentations n'ont la plupart du temps des images, parfois des concepts, mais c'est avant tout comme structures qu'elles s'imposent à l'immense majorité des hommes, sans passer par leur conscience... Dans l'idéologie le rapport réel est inévitablement investi dans le rapport imaginaire: rapport qui exprime plus une volonté (conservatrice, conformiste, réformiste ou révolutionnaire) voire une espérance ou une nostalgie, qu'il ne décrit une réalité" (Althusser 1973:238, 239-240). (Cf. Converse 1964:207-210; Bendix 1964:296).

Finally, ideologies are often described as "cognitive and emotive

maps", blue-prints, directions, programmes in a search "for identity and the attempt to reestablish cognitive control" (Spindler 1968:326; cf. p. 335):

"An ideology is the product of man's need for imposing intellectual order on the world. The need for an ideology is an intensification of the need for a cognitive and moral map of the universe, which in a less intense and more intermittent form is a fundamental, although unequally distributed, disposition of man" (Shils 1968:69).

"Whatever else ideologies may be—projections of unacknowledged fears, disguises for ulterior motives, phatic expressions of group solidarity—they are, most distinctively, maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience" (Geertz 1973:220). (Cf. Apter 1973: 191 and 210; Godelier 1978b:766).

2. Functions and Goals

Apter, with several other authors, acknowledges that ideologies have social and individual functions including building solidarity, identity and motivation:

"I am inclined to the view that ideology helps to perform two main functions; one directly social, binding the community together, and the other individual, organizing the role personalities of the maturing individual. These functions combine to legitimize authority" (Apter 1964:18; also 19-20).

Althusser contends that ideologies have primarily practico-social functions: "l'idéologie comme système de représentation se distingue de la science en ce que la fonction practico-sociale l'emporte en elle sur la fonction théorique ou fonction de connaissance" (Althusser 1973:238). Ideologies are mostly made up of representations which articulate expectations of and needs for better conditions of living and being especially in situations of deprivation and disorientation (Cf. Geertz 1973:218 and 219). Ideology does not deal only with stress (anxiety and strain), but also with interest, advantage and motivation. As such, ideologies are 'goal-oriented'; they are not formed primarily for the sake of having a composite set of ideas and sentiments offered in an abstract manner to be meditated on (although this may be recommended and prescribed);

they exist with "reference to some political and cultural plans... Ideology is a type of goal-orientation, a special aspect of the teleology that is characteristic of all human action" (Bendix 1964: 296 and 297). Bêteille is more specific:

"An ideology is more than merely a theory about the relations between the values of a society and its distribution of power. It seeks not only to describe or to analyse, but also to intervene. It takes for granted neither the prevailing values nor the existing distribution of power. Marx spoke for all ideologues when he said: 'philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the problem is to change it' —or, for those with a different inclination, to prevent its being changed" (Bêteille 1978:65; no reference of Marx' phrase given).

Briefly, the finality of ideology is to provide a society with a structured system of intellectual, emotional and practical considerations and guide-lines which replaces, renews or revives the former set of beliefs and propositions in view of spiritual and material improvements.

3. Necessity

In fact, whether conscious or not, conceded or denied, people and societies have ideologies:

"No society can exist without a cognitive moral and expressive culture. Standards of truth, beauty, and goodness are inherent in the structure of human action... Every society has a complex set of orientations toward man, society and the universe in which ethical and metaphysical propositions, aesthetic judgments, and scientific knowledge will be present... The potentiality for ideology seems to be a permanent part of the human constitution... As long as there is a discrepancy between the ideal and the actual, a strong impetus for ideologies will exist" (Shils 1968:75).

Althusser concurs and states that ideologies are vital for every society:

"L'idéologie n'est donc pas une aberration ou une excroissance contingente de l'Histoire; elle est une structure essentielle à la vie historique des sociétés. Seules, d'ailleurs, l'existence et la reconnaissance de sa nécessité peuvent permettre d'agir sur l'idéologie et de transformer l'idéologie en instrument d'action réfléchi sur l'Histoire...

Le matérialisme historique ne peut concevoir qu'une société communiste elle-même puisse jamais se passer d'idéologie, qu'il s'agisse de morale, d'art, ou de 'représentations du monde'... L'idéologie comme système de représentations de masse, est indispensable à toute société pour former les hommes, les transformer et les mettre en état de répondre aux exigences de leurs conditions d'existence" (Althusser 1973:239 and 242).

Having in mind Indonesia, Geertz affirms that newly independent nations need ideologies as prime inspirational forces to continue to exist as nations:

"Yet, at the same time, that Indonesia (or, I should imagine, any new nation) can find her way through this forest of problems without any ideological guidance at all seems impossible. The motivation to seek (and, even more important, to use) technical skill and knowledge, the emotional resilience to support the necessary patience and resolution, and the moral strength to sustain self-sacrifice and incorruptibility must come from somewhere, from some vision of public purpose anchored in a compelling image of social reality" (1973:229).

To sum up, it can be said that ideologies are seen as symbolic representations to nourish the cognitive and expressive faculties in humans, especially in time of disorganisation, confusion and deprivation. People cannot live in chaos as in a situation of perpetual disarray (Lévi-Struss 1962:24), and a system of some coherence which brings order in the perception, knowledge and emotions of the people is absolutely necessary for the continued existence and development of that society. In spite of occasional declaration to the contrary, every society possesses ideologies which are nothing else than the particular representations of thoughts, values and hopes of that society, displayed in a singular pattern of circumstantial characteristics, which make sense to the people involved and often attractively so, whether disguised under the polyvalent cloak of alleged scientific theories, or proposed as flamboyant reforms, or again simply existing as subjacent forces to inspire the motivation and direct the actions of the people (Cf. Salzman 1978: 623; Godelier 1978a:173).

b. Marxism and Ideology

The debate over ideology has been somewhat exacerbated by the contention of marxists and communists who maintain that Marx has discovered a scientific theory or a science of history:

"Le Capital est un système harmonieux de catégories scientifiques qui reflètent avec justesse les phénomènes visibles ou cachés du système économique capitaliste... L'esprit de parti du Capital est synonyme et forme supérieure de l'objectivité scientifique" (L'Institut du Marxisme-Léninisme 1978:459; cf. 468-469).

Marx's writings are believed by marxists to describe a scientific process based on empirical data. Marxists, in general, will contend that Marx has explicated laws of history, not merely a method of research: "just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history" (Engels quoted in Elliott 1970:46). For non-marxists, Marxism is regarded either as a method of study, a theory, or an ideology (Geertz 1973:195; Berger 1974:26 and 27).

1. Marxists and Ideologies

For several marxists, ideologies (and many theories on the development of societies) are false representations or mis-representations of reality which consequently deform or diminish the truth; they are masks covering what is and should be seen and known; they are not only interpretations, but extrapolations, illusions, mystifications, and mutilations (Lefebvre 1974:57-72). Moreover, ideologies are believed to originate from some dominant group which wants to foster its interests and concoct that "mise en scène... un instrument privilégié du pouvoir institutionnalisé sous forme étatique" (Copans 1971:140). Since ideologies are false consciousness, they must be unmasked: "Les élucubrations des idéologues bourgeois sont réfutées par la marche du développement historique et de la connaissance scientifique" (L'Institut du Marxisme-Léninisme 1978: 697). Marxism would be a 'theory of ideology' able to circumscribe the real behind the apparent, in order to identify and redress false consciousness. The comprehension of the real, perceived in its true

being and not under the appearances of perception, would lead to a theory of meaning and knowledge, through scientific research and logical necessity. (Cf. Lichtheim 1967:11-22). Lefevre sees in Marxism the end of ideology, philosophy and moral doctrine; it culminates in the only reality which is action:

"Le marxisme selon Marx n'est plus une idéologie; il en marque et en précipite la fin. Il n'est plus une philosophie, puisqu'il la dépasse et la réalise. Il n'est pas une morale, mais une théorie des morales. Il n'est pas une esthétique, mais contient une théorie des oeuvres, de leurs conditions, de leur naissance et de leur disparition. Il dévoile, non par le pouvoir de la pensée 'pure', mais dans l'action (la praxis révolutionnaire) les conditions des idéologies et plus généralement des oeuvres, des cultures, de la civilisation" (Lefebvre 1974:77).

If, for Hegel, thought was reality, for Marx reality can become idea. (Cf. Marx, Capital, Postface. Pléiade I:558; also Introduction Générale à la critique de l'économie politique. Pléiade I:254-256). However, Marx does not show how the movement of thoughts from reality perceived to reality conceived is realised in the mind. Marx's innovation would lie in the elimination of mysticism in favour of materialism, later labeled by Engels as 'historical materialism' (April 1892, in Marx, La Pléiade I:1602).

2. Marxism as Scientific

For several marxist writers, Marxism is a scientific method which demonstrates the laws of the development of human societies:

"Nous ne connaissons qu'une seule science, la science de l'histoire a écrit Marx dans l'Idéologie allemande (1845)... Elle (cette science) affirme que l'histoire est une science fondamentale: la science de l'être humain... Le terme 'matérialisme historique' désigne non pas une philosophie de l'histoire, mais la genèse de l'homme total, objet de toute science de la réalité humaine et objectif de l'action" (Lefebvre 1974:18 and 20).

Coletti summarises the position of some marxists in the following argument: "Marxism is a theory of the laws of development of human society"; those laws are economic and objective; but, they have been discovered by Marx; consequently, Marxism is scientific. Althusser is no less categorical:

"Le marxisme... non seulement est une doctrine politique, une

'méthode' d'analyse et d'action, mais aussi, en tant que science, le domaine théorique d'une recherche fondamentale, indispensable au développement non seulement de la science des sociétés et des diverses 'sciences humaines', mais aussi des sciences de la nature et de la philosophie" (1973:16).

Furthermore, marxism is revolutionary ideology:

"... as well as being a science, Marxism is revolutionary ideology. It is the analysis of reality from the viewpoint of the working class. This in its turn means that the working class cannot constitute itself as a class without taking possession of the scientific analysis of Capital" (Coletti 1973:376-377).

3. Comments on Marxism

For Lichtheim, Marx never attempted to establish scientific laws, "let alone a universal law"; the "relentless onward march of civilisation" (Comte), "history as the unfolding of a metaphysical substance" (Hegel), and the "discovery of laws of development governing the course of human history" (Saint-Simon), are not marxian; what Marx discovered was "a theory of the bourgeois revolution" (1970:28-31).

If Marxism was some form of definitive science, there would be, in theory, only one School of Marxism with one presentation and one interpretation. However, one can observe a Marxist wing who call himself 'scientific' while dubbing the others 'revisionists', 'ideologists', 'mentalists' and 'metaphysicians'.

First of all, there is the condemnation of the so-called Soviet official Marxism accused, by many continental Marxists, of being dogmatic and monolithic in thought:

"Le marxisme officiel adopte une attitude empiriste et positiviste, sous couvert d'une phraséologie philosophique. Il accorde pleine et entière confiance aux sciences et aux techniques (plutôt aux sciences de la nature qu'à celles de la réalité humaine). Il risque ainsi de couvrir et de justifier sous le marxisme idéologisé une praxis technocratique" (Lefebvre 1974:32-33).

Secondly, several authors like Godelier, reject the 'vulgar and pedestrian' Marxism which is interested in physical and material objects, at the exclusion of the 'idéel' and ideological:

"Le plus souvent, on a affaire à un matérialisme 'réducteur'

en ce sens qu'il réduit l'économie à la technologie et aux échanges biologiques et énergétiques des hommes avec la nature qui les environne et qu'il réduit la signification des rapports de parenté ou des rapports politico-idéologiques à être avant tout celle des moyens fonctionnellement nécessaires à cette adaptation biologico-écologique et offrant divers avantages sélectifs... Nous reconnaissons là le matérialisme vulgaire, 'l'économisme', qui réduit tous les rapports sociaux au statut d'épiphénomènes accompagnant des rapports économiques eux-mêmes réduits à une technique d'adaptation à un environnement naturel et biologique" (Godelier 1974:315; 319 and 320).

Among marxists themselves, there is a certain amount of squabbling and name-calling at the detriment of the search for truth. For instance, Badiou and Balmès declare that there are three invariants or three sovereign principles of Marxism: (1) egalitarianism, (2) anti-ownership, and (3) anti-state; in other words they hold (1) to a supposed absolute 'philosophy' of the party, (2) the supremacy of the proletariat, and (3) the dictatorship of the party. (1976: 16 and 17). After having condemned and excommunicated Althusser for his errors and his weak retraction of heresies, they label him "arrogant, idéaliste, irresponsable, hypocrite et métaphysique" (22). Copans mentions divergences of ideological, political and theoretical nature in the writings of Althusser, Godelier, Bettelheim, Suret-Canale, Terray and Meillassoux (1974:103). The problem seems to emerge from Marx himself. He wrote during a period of over forty years, and the many sources utilised and the conditions of the time are difficult to appreciate and understand. Marx was perfecting his works all the time. "Non seulement l'oeuvre de Marx est inachevée, mais elle est incomplète et les exposés insuffisants jusque dans les secteurs les plus élaborés. Ce qui n'a pas peu contribué aux malentendus ultérieurs" (Lefebvre 1974:34). But the difficulty remains: are Marx's writings a definite source and an absolute document of the laws of history, or simply a scientific theory which must be completed and refined at the comprehension of new events and causes of events? Are there some 'official' commentators and 'expanders' like Engels, Lenin and Mao, while others would be

distorters and heretics like Trotsky, Kautsky, Sorel, Stalin, etc.? Who has the power to denounce Stalin as a non-marxist and a monster who reconstructed for his profit the passages in Marx which suited his ambitions? How could a serious philosopher like Merleau-Ponty absolve Stalin in 1947 and condemn him in 1955? New Philosophers contend that as Marx studied reality, they must do the same and unmask every ideology and falsehood. Glucksman for one calls a goulag, goulag, persecution of dissidents, persecution, and work camps, prisons:

"Et pourtant ! Dieu est Dieu. Et l'exploitation, l'exploitation. Toute dictature, une dictature. Un camp, un camp. Après cent ans de prouesses spéculatives, il est bon d'en revenir là et de se laisser 'dépasser' définitivement par la dialectique. Tout n'est pas dans tout, on le mérite de spécifier ces tautologies méprisées; en même temps, elles renvoient à des expériences, mais jamais au monologue du gros malin qui sait tout" (Glucksman 1977:222).

Since praxis is being and knowing and acting, who will say when actions and consequently the truth are deformed and used for personal benefit? Whatever the solution, one thing is certain; since there is no monopoly of scientific knowledge and truth in human facts and events, intolerance will continue to exist; a few powerful people will call themselves orthodox and declare infallibly, while others will be termed heretics, revisionists and 'metaphysicians' which resembles strangely some religion, and demonstrates that all is faith.

In fact, like every other doctrine and body of knowledge, Marxism is in a state of 'inélaboration' and must be developed and perfected (Althusser 1973:21). Marx himself wrote and hoped to have time to demonstrate his dialectical method. (Cf. Lefebvre 1974: 34 and 80). Much remains to be done especially in regards to what is called the function of the super-structure, which is not only an appendice, a vague ray or reflection because it is transformed at the same rhythm as the other organisations. (Cf. ~~Gendreau 1979:~~ 137). Marxists and others must study all the symbolic forms of

social institutions and the relationships between one another. (Cf. Godelier 1974:329).

Marx has established the method of reaching for the reality behind appearances in every human action and event as Lévi-Strauss confirms:

"C'est d'avoir introduit dans les sciences humaines une attitude d'esprit qui, jusqu'alors, avait été réservée aux sciences physiques et naturelles: cette idée fondamentale que, pour la recherche scientifique, ce qui a valeur explicative n'est pas ce qui est donné d'emblée à la perception ou ce qu'on croit appréhender" (Lévi-Strauss, with Godelier and Augé 1975:177; cf. pp. 178 and 185).

c. Scientific Knowledge

The observation of human actions and events in the hope of discovering their true being by knowing them as they are in themselves and in what they accomplish in relation to one another, is the constant quest of the human mind, not only that of the Marxist mind. The search for meanings, essences and substances in all beings, persons, facts and events has been pursued by philosophers and social scientists of all tendencies. Merleau-Ponty, for example, explains the attempts made by phenomenologists:

"One may say indeed that psychological knowledge is reflection but that it is at the same time an experience. According to the phenomenologists (Husserl), it is a "material a priori". Psychological reflection is a 'constatation' (a finding). Its task is to discover the meaning of behavior through an effective contact with my own behavior and that of others. Phenomenological psychology is therefore a search for essence, or meaning, but not apart from the facts. Finally this essence is accessible only in and through the individual situation in which it appears. When pushed to the limit, eidetic psychology becomes analytic-existential" (Merleau-Ponty 1964:95).

where
The first problem centres around the objects to be circumscribed and studied, whether physical, biological, human personal, or social. (Cf. White 1949:15). The objects are man, and the products of man, actions, history, merchandise, government, ideology, in short, everything which affects man's existence. Studies concerned with data are also interested in causality and laws; that is, objects

must be isolated and explained, their causes, if any, analysed and their relationships, determined.

Differences between human and natural sciences are not only between methods and experiences, but mostly between the kinds of data:

"La faculté d'expérimenter, que ce soit à priori ou à postériori, tient essentiellement à la manière de définir et d'isoler ce que l'on sera convenu d'entendre par fait scientifique? Si les sciences physiques définissaient leurs faits scientifiques avec la même fantaisie et la même insouciance dont font preuve la plupart des sciences humaines, elles aussi seraient prisonnières d'un présent qui ne se reproduirait jamais" (Lévi-Strauss 1973:345).

The ideal procedure of all social sciences would lie in the rigour borrowed from natural sciences, particularly physics, where "conjectures must be subject to confirmation or at least be deducted or inducted by confirmed laws and be subject to verification" (Read and LeBlanc 1978:308). There can be attempts at imitation of the natural sciences, but differences remain not only because there are no or very few confirmed laws, but because the ultimate tests of verification, falsification and confirmation are not possible. Contrary to many experiments in physics, the same conditions with the same events producing the same results, at least hypothetically, cannot be reduplicated with human facts which are historically irreducible as Lévi-Strauss remarks:

"Tel événement s'est produit aurait pu ne pas se produire; c'est cela que j'appelle la contingence irréductible de l'histoire... Nous pouvons comprendre après coup, mais nous ne pouvons pas découvrir une loi, c'est-à-dire nous assurer que, les conditions étant les mêmes, la même chose se reproduirait ailleurs" (Lévi-Strauss 1975:183 and 184). (Cf. White 1949:11-14 and 230).

Even in the field of physics, it is difficult to determine the reality of data such as the proton and electron. These traditional simple items may have no existence of their own, because they may exist only in relation to others as Michlovic explains:

"These objects owe their existence not so much to constituent particles as to the relationship between forces; in a sense, one might say, existence depends on structure... The central

idea appears to be that in the physical universe particles of any magnitude exist only as parts of larger wholes, or only in relation to other objects, yet these other objects are also relationships. Objects on the subatomic scale will ultimately be understood in terms of relationships, or in terms of their positions in larger structures" (1978:380).

Data in the social sciences would resemble those in physics which might also have to be studied in a structure, in a sort of balance of forces, and not in their apparent independent existence (Cf. Toulmin 1967:363 and 364). Still, their specification and determination remains the major problem:

"On constatera en effet que celles parmi nos disciplines, qui se rapprochent le plus d'un idéal proprement scientifique, sont aussi celles qui savent le mieux se restreindre à la considération d'un objet facile à isoler, aux contours bien délimités, et dont les différents états, révélés par l'observation, peuvent être analysés en recourant à quelques variables seulement" (Lévi-Strauss 1973:353; also 1974:185).

It is easy to recommend that a researcher work with easily defined and precise objects, but difficult indeed to find such objects. To start with, "an object is not a datum, but a form construed by the sensitive and intelligent organ, a form which is at once an experienced individual thing and a symbol for the concept of it, for this sort of thing" (Langer 1951:83). For instance, what is a historical fact? Is it an action, an actor, a result, a form of action, a phenomenon, the result of an ideology, or a series of events with intertwined connexions? What is something called 'feudalism'? Who can define and isolate a historical process like feudalism? From the very start, the object will be presented and represented under different symbolic forms dependent on the cognitive and emotive configuration of every observer. Historical facts happen due to various origins and sources, are acted out by numerous actors and may have many different effects; they can be whimsical or premeditated, but they are still circumstantial. How, then, can a circumstantial event become an essential link in a scientific law? That law would be constituted of circumstantial and irreducible events which, by definition, occur without law. Otherwise, it would become

necessary to admit that those circumstances and haphazard events possess an internal logic which is akin to a force directing events, an idea hinted at by Merleau-Ponty:

"A philosophy of history presupposes, in effect, that human history is not simply a collection of juxtaposed facts—individual decisions and happenings, ideas, interests, institutions—but that there is in the present and in the succession of happenings a totality which is moving toward a privileged state which gives the whole its meaning... History has a meaning only if there is, as it were, a logic of human coexistence, which does not make any experience impossible but which at least, as if by natural selection, eliminates in the long run those experiences which diverge from the permanent needs of men" (Merleau-Ponty 1964:213 and 214).

The search for internal logic in evolution and history is the domain of philosophers and theologians. For social scientists, events come about without any demonstrable plan and organisation: "les hommes font la société et l'histoire, mais sans savoir comment dans un mélange ambigu de connaissance et d'ignorance, d'action consciente et d'aveuglement" (Marx, in 18 Brumaire de Louis Bonaparte, quoted in Lefebvre 1974:46). But if those sequential events which are later called laws are noticeable only a posteriori by the same humans who live and act in foggish ignorance, whence would be that capability of deciphering laws of history when it is impossible to live and act with the same conscious knowledge from the very beginning, unless unknown forces determine and move humans.

Leslie White describes sciencing as "a way of interpreting reality" (1949:5 and 6). The problem, here, centres around the existence and essence of reality: before interpreting, one has to know what is reality and of what kind. White's categories are in fact mainly about aspects of reality, not reality itself. (Cf. White 1949:15-20). That reality must be determined in facts. But, as already mentioned, facts are irreducible in history (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1975:182-185), and they happen, not because they have to happen, but because they happen to happen. Facts to come from laws would have to happen necessarily, otherwise, regularity could not 'be', rather irregularity, chance and chaos would rule.

Because Capitalism appeared, it is not demonstrated that it had to come about, or that no other alternative was feasible. (Cf. Godelier 1973:106-115; Lévi-Strauss 1973:345 and 353). And if it is only possible to understand the meaning of a series of events when the last one occurs, then, there is no knowledge of intrinsic regularities but information about stages. If it takes the anatomy of man to explain the anatomy of the monkey, it is to admit the impossibility of foreseeing the following anatomy. (Cf. Marx, *La Pléiade* I:260: "l'anatomie de l'homme est une clé pour l'anatomie du singe"). Modern Bourgeoisie may be the key to the understanding of Feudalism, but without any demonstration of causality between the two, nor any necessary relationships. White can state that "we can predict the course of evolution but not of history" (1949:230), because that kind of prediction is more like prophecy and of no practical consequence. Moreover, those formal "processes, reversible as well as repetitive" (1949:13) which can be announced, are anticipated only in the abstract. The ice which thaws (White 1949:13) cannot be announced as the ice which will thaw in a certain river in the Ukraine to prevent a certain conqueror from moving. This is reality which cannot be foretold. But ice does not thaw in abstraction; its thawing co-exists with other circumstances which make it irreversible, non-repetitive, non causal and unpredictable.

Laws are either (1) regularities of processes or (2) continuity in origin and development through cause and effect or some unknown force. Moreover, there must be some other origin or principle that makes, produces and reproduces laws. Is it an inner mechanism in the events themselves or some other force making laws and actualising them? Whatever the source of laws, it is either an inner force or an exterior one. Even then, it is assumed that laws are immutable and that no source could produce another distinct set of laws. It is, of course, impossible to demonstrate that laws cannot be otherwise and that they necessarily exist in an immutable

system in a 'fixism' which denies the possibility of changes. Even if it could be proved that laws of history exist and have been discovered, it would still be necessary to demonstrate that the system is immutable and cannot be replaced by another system. It is impossible to deny the existence of a force capable of generating new systems of laws. Real dialectic requires the negation of dialectic which is the dialectic of dialectic. (Cf. Marx, Le Capital. La Pléiade I:1240; also notes pp.1708-1709).

It may be a more humble task to try and relate events to other events in an association of rapports:

"la notion de causalité en dernière instance, de primat des infrastructures, renvoie à l'existence d'une hiérarchie de fonctions et non à une hiérarchie d'institution... C'est un système de rapports entre les hommes, rapports hiérarchisés selon la nature de leurs fonctions, fonctions qui déterminent le poids respectif de chacune de leurs activités sur la production de la société" (Godelier 1978:157).

Function is not cause and can be at best only a part of a cause. Function refers to actions rather than beings and does not include finality:

"Pour déjouer les pièges du finalisme en conservant l'idée de fonction, il suffit alors de caractériser celle-ci de façon assez générale et abstraite pour qu'on ne puisse pas la monayer en autant de causes finales qu'il y a d'institutions à expliquer" (Terray 1978:125).

In most cases, it is not possible to treat directly with causality which remains unknown; origin, priority, logical and functional simultaneity which avoid the pretensions of laws and causes, are really the objects of human studies.

In the written record of humanity, there is evidence that the scientific method has been pursued since the era of the Greek philosophers. Every method, hypothesis and theory is one more attempt at defining, explaining and understanding reality. From the earliest philosophers to the empiricists, marxists and structuralists, it is the same quest for knowledge of the reality, essence and existence, of human actions and social institutions.

Those who pretend that the goal has been reached and that they have attained scientific knowledge are believers: they believe in their system.

d. Theory and Methodology

Jarvie believes that Anthropology is in trouble because, among other things, of the poverty of its methods, the lack of guidance in the appraisal of its theories, and its scientism; he adds that:

"Moreover, all the examples we have given—classical economics, Marx's theory of society, evolutionism, diffusionism, and functionalism—have it in common that in all precise versions they are false, known to be false, and have been known to be false for a long time; in all vague, imprecise, qualified, or otherwise hedged versions, they are irrefutably metaphysical" (1975: 255).

Jarvie does not demonstrate how these theories are false or believed to be false and does not say what is wrong with being metaphysical. Being false could mean that no theory contains and encompasses the whole reality and complete truth.

Anthropology is constantly looking for new and better methods and theories. Fabian suggests the utilisation of philosophical and metaphysical ingredients to discover or re-discover the unity of mankind and then, proceed on some well founded bases. (Cf. Fabian 1971, quoted in Jarvie 1975:256-260). That sounds more like philosophy than social science. Rubinstein suggests that there should be a "disciplined integration of theoretical-empirical considerations and philosophical reflection" (1977:359). Theories come from empirical observations and explanations made explicit by a bio-psycho-sociological analysis: "when science operates at its optimum, it does so by the continual refinement of its theoretical models, as we have said, through an alternation of induction and deduction" (Rubinstein 1977:460). The deduction-induction distinction is, in fact, a dubious one. The simple fact of choosing some data instead of others, presupposes ideas, intentions, hypotheses, and so, data collecting

is deductive; after collecting data and having noticed characteristics leading the observer to some sort of categorisation or regularity, the process becomes induction but post deduction. Another recent method is based on the hermeneutics of Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and requires descriptive, contextual, co-associational, co-variational, causal and predictive statements to begin the research. It also demands an accurate knowledge of the context and the use of the right questions, called 'dialectical questioning'. It seems that someone has to know and understand the people and the problem exceedingly well before undertaking the study. Fabian presents another method adopted by Fabian in his study of the Shaban Jama. (Cf. Jarvie 1975:257 and Fabian 1971:19-47). The study would proceed with 'intersubjectivity', that is, seeing as the actors see, being encompassed and subsumed in the acts, language, feelings, ideals, that is by the reality as it is being enacted by the people through the language of communicative interaction. This method is very mentalist because the attainment of intersubjectivity would presuppose some form of abstraction from oneself and immersion into the others. The best observer is and remains distinct with his/her baggage of ideas and impressions. This method could be better utilised by researchers doing extra-sensory psychic experiments.

Another question which can be raised at this point deals with the dichotomies such as implicit/explicit, conscious/unconscious, manifest/latent, intentional/unintentional, emic/etic, apparent/real, even if these opposite and antithetical concepts are differentiated according to the authors who make use of them (Cf. Harris 1975: 454; 1968:568-592). These related and contrasted qualities and entities may be epistemological postulates or strategies to attain and describe truthfully realities as they are supposed to be, and not as shown, said, felt, acted out, etc. Personal actions depend on forces and influences like social pressure, habits, education, beliefs and even food, and are not the exclusive responsibility of the actors. But these actions and events exist also in the minds

and bodies of the actors. To assume and contend that these actions and passions are really not what the actors think they are and think they do and have would require a total knowledge of what actually goes on in the actors' minds. The knowledge of etic entities resides in the mind of the observer who perceives a reality which is supposed to be unknown or only unconsciously known by the actors and arrived at by all possible sources of information. Moreover, what could seem etic for an observer, could become emic for an observer of the first observer. Dutton points out that a Zuni dance for rain becomes a ceremony fostering social cohesion according to some Anthropologists; it is still supposed to be performed to bring rain for the Zuni. In fact, there might be many reasons which are not declared and publicised, but certainly recognised as existing by the Zuni, because their admission would be improper, unimportant, evident or useless. (It could be established etically that their dance is really a form of jogging needed to burn up excess calories!) "The difficulty is that people have many ways of doing what they do, and literally countless reasons for acting as they do" (Dutton 1977:394). The whole exercise could become an attempt to demonstrate the special faculties of observation and distinction with which the anthropologist is endowed and which, of course, elude the uncritical actor:

"The blundering Yoruba carver, the confused and uncritical Pueblo potter whose creations arise from unconscious and nonrational mental processes, or the nameless primitive whose perceptions of work are so removed from ours that whatever artistic merit we feel we see is no more 'inherently there' in the object than it is in pretty driftwood, not to mention the misguided Hopi rain dancer—all of these characterizations contribute to an overall picture of the savage as dull, plodding, or semiconscious" (Dutton 1977:392 and 393).

No Anthropologist can ascertain that his etic view of other people's actions is not antecedently emic in the mind of the people, or exist as a function, a componential cause or a concomitant effect. Then, the Hopi dance for rain, because there is cohesion and solidarity in their society. It is possible that the persons who appoint

themselves independent observers able to qualify and explain human phenomena in the clarity of a reality distinct from the one of the actors, may be psychoanalysts of the social or interpreters of their own ideologies in need of confirmation.

In this study, a theory is seen as a proposition or a set of statements rationally and empirically established which can serve as guides in the discussion and analysis of the data and hypotheses under scrutiny. A method is the procedure made up of the different stages to examine the hypotheses and data to arrive at some conclusions and determine whether these conclusions conform or not to the general statements. More simply, "methods are ways of organizing theories for application to data" (Apter 1977:31).

The assertions and actions of the Zambians will be accepted as what they are supposed to be and mean for the informants, unless proofs to the contrary can be established.

e. Rationality

In addition to the suggestion that they lack scientific theories and methods, ideologies are frequently denounced for their lack of rationality (Cf. Shils 1968:72; Geertz 1973:196-200). What is that quality which is believed to be absent from ideologies?

There are few concepts as difficult to define as rationality; how can rationality be approached 'objectively'? In theory, rationality refers to cognitive processes expressed in discursive language; it is associated with the logic of thought and to the science-oriented modes of thinking. (Cf. Horton-Finnegan 1973:17-20). Rationality, reasoning, cogitation and thinking are among several operations of the human intelligence; they are common processes of the human mind which cannot be appraised rigorously. There seems to be no consensus about the universality or locality of rationality; in other words, can it be evaluated universally or only locally? For instance, Western and Chinese rationalities can confront each

other explaining their respective rationality concerning surgical operations and acupuncture as a well known example. Both procedures arose from observation, experimentation and reflection; both are performed rationally based on different assumptions and deductions to reach diverse conclusions.

Rationality is associated with logic; still, logic has its rules because 'free'reasoning is dangerous; every School of Philosophy prescribes rules of logics to differentiate syllogism from sophism and preserve 'its truth'. Rationality depends not only on the rules of logic, but also on the veracity of the premisses, theorems, axioms, postulates or simply the ideas a person has. A conclusion is not truer than its premisses. The ability to deduce in a certain manner before reaching a conclusion favours discursive logic and the proper use of words, so that it can be affirmed that rules of logic as well as the use of words influence rationality. In fact, one's culture determines one's rationality:

"They (Nuer) reason excellently in the idiom of their beliefs, but they cannot reason outside, or against, their beliefs because they have no other idiom in which to express their thoughts" (Evans-Pritchard 1937:337-338).

This observation is valid for all humans who are coralled in their idiom and in the beliefs contained and expressed in their idiom. For instance, the rationality of a Jesuit theologian is expressed differently than the rationality of an atheist-existentialist philosopher.

Furthermore, the same mind which operates rationally and discursively functions expressively under the influence of emotions, passions and feelings. There are too many human actions like games, arts, festivities and rituals, to restrict mental activities worth studying to discursive processes only. Whether constructing theories or planning a ritual, the same mind is at work through symbols. Symbols are arranged logically but follow different logical laws for different mental processes. Philosophers and scientists choose to structure such a versatile faculty by dividing it into two parts, the rational-logical-discursive on one side, and the emotive-

intuitive-expressive on the other, and will usually work with and use the former part only. This is done more by way of limitation, where a clear view of one segment will be attained at the expense of truth in its totality. At the same time, parts of reality and consequently of truth are left out and forsaken for the sake of elaborating rational theories.

In reality, the two sides or parts of the human personality, the rational and emotional, are so entwined that it is hardly impossible to separate them except for analytical reasons. Is it at all possible to find human activities which are based exclusively on rationality? What historic fact could be singled out as having been rational? What is rational in American, Iranian, Russian politics? Rational in human affairs can mean calculating, prudent, wise and heartless according to situations. For instance, a child who has a rational father may have everything supposedly good for him with or without love and affection. The position taken here is that every human action, every theory, every attempt at rationality is influenced by assumptions and emotions which impregnate analytical descriptions based on discursive reasoning.

Moreover, it is not certain at all that people mean the same thing when using the same words like rational, logical, demonstrated, true, etc. Needham (1972) needs some 250 pages to explain that the expressions 'I believe' and 'people believe in' are very different in meanings not only between societies but even between persons of the same culture. 'To believe' is an intricate activity of the intelligence and will which involves inner states, collective representations and cultural institutions, enmeshed in intuitive apprehension, spiritual and material experiences, information, opinions and knowledge, which are all present at one time or another in the process of believing. Is 'I believe' an intellectual agreement to 'something' or rather a volitive adhesion to something? To expand on the complexity of belief, Lonergan asserts that "'known to be true' and 'believed to be true' are quite

distinct, and it follows that one will be inviting fallacy if one ignores the distinction and speaks without qualification of what is 'true'"(1957:718). Needham, for his part, concludes his book by conceding that "in any event, the overriding conclusion is that more than two hundred years of masterly philosophical application have provided no clear and substantial understanding of the notion of belief" (1972:61). Many other words and expressions are in the same predicament as 'I believe' and 'I believe it is true' which may diverge in meaning from people to people and language to language.

In spite of the evident tendency in the West to favour rationality over emotivity, the cognitive and discursive over the affective and expressive, it is certain that there is more to the human mind than cognition, thinking, conceptualisation, rationalisation and logical analysis; there is also intuition, insight, volition and affection. Ideas and emotions cohabit in the same mind without the possibility of isolation except through fictitious efforts which expose only certain aspects of reality. Every observer and scientist understand and rationalise facts and events as perceived and symbolised under a mixed process which does not distinguish between the rational and the emotional; or, as Geertz explains:

"Whatever their other differences, both so-called 'cognitive' and so-called 'expressive' symbols or symbol-systems have, then, at least one thing in common: they are extrinsic sources of information in terms of which human life can be patterned—extra-personal mechanism for the perception, understanding, judgment, and manipulation of the world" (1973:216). (Cf. Langer 1951:49-50).

f. Intuition.

Firth prefers to use the words intelligence / sentiment to express the dichotomies rational / emotional, thinking / feeling. (1966a: 15). Lévi-Strauss distinguishes 'pensée sauvage' from 'pensée ou esprit scientifique'. Milner compares Lévi-Strauss' terminology, to

Bergson's:

"Where Lévi-Strauss sees primitive man as an intense and dedicated observer and experimenter, and the resulting data stored in mnemonically-designed classification and communication systems, Bergson sees intuition. Where Lévi-Strauss sees the scientific method applied to an understanding of the physical world, Bergson sees intelligence" (Milner 1969:9).

Milner goes on saying that in English, intuition has a strange connotation and is used mainly to signify feminine intuition; a better word would be 'hunch'. Personally, I think that intuition is more than a hunch; it is not only the feeling or indication that you may be right, on the verge of discovering something new or about to comprehend some obscure problem; it includes a participation, an affiliation with the problem, a perception of reality which seems intense and personal without being explicit, delineated and clear. Intuition is an intelligent and emotional indication and sensation that something is right or wrong, true or false, will work or will not work which is not based on instinct and feeling alone but on some previous experience and contact with similar problems or parts of the question. It is a pre-sentiment of the possession of some idea or hypothesis not yet organised or systematised and which cannot be expressed logically or even in clear terminology. Some intuitions are never made public because no discursive language is found for them; they seem fixed in a level of reasoning and feeling before and over words and the structure of logical thought. Intuition seems to belong to a stage of operation of the mind before words, where concepts are generated and formalised, but must wait for symbols to be expressed. As an example of intuition, Milner presents the case of J.D. Watson in the discovery of the double helix in the structure of the DNA, which is certainly not a poetical or sentimental innovation. Milner goes on to suggest that intuition is somewhat peripheral to intelligence, as occupying a place between the unconscious and the subconscious, where data, diffuse impressions, information, ideals, suspicions, all slowly commingle and blend themselves as in a churning vat of mental activities. Maybe there has been too much emphasis on the departmentalisation of the human mind

into the subconscious, the unconscious, the conscious, the intelligence, insight, intuition, etc. Intuition is a complex human process which is much richer than the skeletal apprehension of an empirical truth, because it seems to involve the whole person, that is the intelligence, the emotions, the passions and some mystic perception which are mixing data, reflexions and sensations, with the impression that something, a solution, a proposition, a discovery of some sort will take form and be revealed in comprehensible language. Milner understands intuition as both distinct and integrative of the intellectual and emotional data:

"I wish to suggest with Bergson that intuitional data (as distinct on the one hand from emotional data and on the other from intellectual data) make sense aesthetically before, and apart from the fact that, they are apprehended by the intellect. Intuitional data, that is to say, are perceived as true because they achieve a release of tension which is directly attributable to the close integration of emotion and intellect and to the fact that, whatever belief or conclusion has been reached, it is acceptable at all levels of the personality, conscious, subconscious and perhaps unconscious also" (1969:21).

For Lévi-Strauss, intuition appears to be that faculty of 'ruminating' over a problem until some solution is found:

"Cette 'pensée sauvage' qui n'est pas, pour nous, la pensée des sauvages, ni celle d'une humanité primitive ou archaïque, mais la pensée à l'état sauvage, distincte de la pensée cultivée ou domestiquée en vue d'obtenir un rendement" (1962:289).

Whatever place it occupies in the mind, between the unconscious, the subconscious and the conscious, whatever role it has, peripheral, data-intuitional and intellectual-central, the intuitional process is not distinguished primarily from the intellectual, but from the discursive and rational-logical. It is that capacity to feel and grasp a point without the capability of expressing it adequately; it is reviewed, thought over again, corrected and perhaps talked about until it either disappears or becomes clear and expressible. It is like a confused intellectual impression that there is something which makes sense about an idea, some observations, a theory, a solution to a problem, but for lack of information, arrangement or relationship, (as if the internal circuits were not connected

to assure a good line of communication), the resolution cannot be possessed and circumscribed with any precision. Kuhn gives an interesting description of the phenomenon:

"Scientists then often speak of the 'scale falling from the eyes' or of the 'lightning flash' that 'inundates' a previously obscure puzzle, enabling its components to be seen in a new way that for the first time permits its solution. On other occasions the relevant illumination comes in sleep. No ordinary sense of the term 'interpretation' fits these flashes of intuition through which a new paradigm is born. Though such intuitions depend upon the experience, both anomalous and congruent, gained with the old paradigm, they are not logically or piecemeal linked to particular items of that experience as an interpretation would be. Instead, they gather up large portions of that experience and transform them to the rather different bundle of experience that will thereafter be linked piecemeal to the new paradigm but not to the old" (1970:122-123).

Many scientists must have had that kind of experience where they are presented with some impression, doubt, inspiration, presentiment, probability, or a point which appears to make sense but remains vague, unorganised, unordered and imprecise. Before it can be formed and expressed, it must be checked and explored. Not only is it suggested that many 'discoveries' start this way, but it is probable that it is the normal state of affairs at the origin of all kinds of creation:

"A great many—perhaps most—of the new ideas about politics are not the result of scientific inquiry at all. There is something about the human mind which, when confronted by a problem, enables it to ruminate onward without being particularly conscious of the problem" (Apter 1977:35; Cf. Langer 1952:85-91; Read and Leblanc 1978:307-321 on Archeology and intuition).

It could even be suggested that Marx, after much reading, research and personal thinking, intuitively felt his ideas on the historical evolution of societies which were adumbrated in the Manifesto, clarified in the General Introduction to Political Economy, before being fully elaborated in The Capital. Whatever the case with individual examples, intuition, as a first feeling and apprehension of a problem or question, with its frequent and persistent returns

for elucidation and more clarification to arrive at a solution, is an important mental process in the work of scientists, philosophers, artists and proponents of ideologies.

g. Rational and Emotional

As is the case for scientific and ideological, it is not rare to brand some writers as unreasonable, illogical and sophistic, while others are called sentimentalists, intuitional, emotional or 'shovelers of clouds'. That kind of terminology is illustrated by Lukes:

"In so far as primitive magico-religious beliefs are logical and follow methodologically sound procedures, they are so far, rational; in so far as they are, partially or wholly, false, they are not... In so far as 'mystical' and 'prelogical' can be interpreted as false and invalid, primitive (and analogous modern) beliefs are irrational" (1970:210 and 211).

With what ease words are chosen without precision: logical, methodological, irrational, false; for whom and when, one could ask. Logic is like a taxation system, strewn with loopholes which allow the logician to prove and disprove with the manipulation of the same rules. What is rational for a person is simply worthless for the next as Jarvie admits: "my position has been that savage ignorance is just as rational as civilized knowledge" (1975:61). Rational and logical methods may be devised and carefully delineated, but their utilisation and application will reveal the mixture of rationality and emotivity, reality and fiction, practicality and dream, fear and hope which is the lot of every human predicament and situation. Or, as Wilson explains:

"The social sciences seek to order knowledge systematically in value-free, emotionally-neutral, abstract propositions. Such value-freedom—in the degree to which it is ever attainable—contradicts the value-commitment that an empathic understanding of society demands. Emotional involvement in and evaluation of persons, objects and activities are precisely the first order experience common in all societies: they are practically the totality of experience in most societies" (1970:xii and xiii).

Striving to eliminate one aspect in a human fact will result in a depletion of its fullness and will diminish the comprehension of reality. Besides, even if theoretically important differences of method,

form and content exist between scientific doctrines and ideologies, it might not be easy to distinguish the rational from the emotional, the 'idéel' from the ideal, not only because of their integration in human actions and events, but also because the same symbolic language is used to establish rationally, demonstrate logically and prove cogently as well as convince passionately and mislead adroitly.

h. Paradigm, Rationality, Science, Intuition, Methods

Kuhn (1970) has tried to clarify the problems of rationality, understanding, the science of knowledge and the knowledge of science. Surprisingly, there is some confusion about the meaning of key terms. For instance, a paradigm is variously a model (10), a pattern (23), a theory (77), a disciplinary matrix (182), a judicial decision (23), and a world view (111). In any of these capacities, paradigms can be viewed as accepted achievements (10, 23) which define the legitimate problems and methods of a research "field for succeeding generations of practitioners" (10). A paradigm simultaneously solves old problems (23), defines new ones (76), guarantees that the new problems will have solutions (37), provides the tools needed to find the solutions (76) and restricts the range of solutions which will be admissible (6) and can be provided by intuition (122 and 123). Moreover, proponents of different paradigms live in different worlds (150), belong to different language communities as well (202); if they agree on one paradigm, the ensuing conversion experience (150) must be preceded by translation (202) and by some agreement on a set of values (157). Often, when there are similar educational backgrounds (201), it is possible to convince someone of another paradigm; however, even after the persuasion and agreement to adopt the new paradigm, there is no guarantee that the conversion will last (203 and 204). One may lack "the constellation of mental sets which future members of the community will acquire through education" (204). It follows that a change to some new paradigm is a matter of persuasion rather than proof of its value, and the choice of competing paradigms

depends on a decision of faith rather than reason (158). (Inspired from a paper written by Dianne L. Coin, Dept. of Philosophy, M.S.U. circa 1971). This will suffice to show that the discussion about rationality, knowledge and ideology is not facilitated by such imprecision in the terminology.

Actually, it seems that it is not so much the content of scientific knowledge and ideology which differs; it is mostly the method and the strategy, from the inquiry into empirical data to the conclusions: "the differentiae of science and ideology as cultural system are to be sought in the sorts of symbolic strategy for encompassing situations that they respectively represent" (Geertz 1973: 230). The dialectic of theory and practice is like the staging of a production, "mise en scène des concepts, des résultats et aussi mise en scène, c'est-à-dire processus de production de connaissances" (Copans 1974:87 and 88). The differences consist mainly in the 'staging', in the phases of the development of the theory, the emphasis on the exactness of the facts reported, the objectivity in commenting and estimating, and the correct analysis of the relationships. The postulates and premisses which are the foundation of personal knowledge, depend on social influences, educational training and personal formation, studies, information and inclination. The process of edifying a scientific theory is characterised by (1) precise planning and accurate preparation to find and follow rigorous ways to observe, collect, classify, evaluate and compare the data, information, or facts concerning the problem under study, in the most objective and impartial manner possible; (2) consideration and reflection to understand the relationships between the different data, facts, activities, ideas dealt with; (3) rational analysis to see if the different parts make sense and can be brought about in some scheme or series of affirmations confirming or negating the initial hypothesis or topic under study; (4) finally, there can be an attempt at erecting a synthesis which would combine the discoveries and results, and possibly link the conclusions with other hypotheses

and theories. Social theories must also be verified constantly by the original exponent and other researchers who must assess the veracity of their logical assertions and evaluate their validity in relation to changes and new circumstances. Moreover, many scientists are endowed with imagination and intuition which predispose them to the apprehension of new situations and problems.

Ideologies may or may not proceed according to the same stages of development; usually, the emphasis is not on the precise observation and analysis of facts and events to reach scientific conclusions. The facts are perceived and compared with objectives to attain. Scientific theories do not have to be goal-oriented; often they are not. Ideologies are constructed to achieve certain goals, at least as some moral and spiritual aims. They do not claim to be scientific in most cases. However, 'scientific' is a very popular term which is often abused and is replacing the old epithet 'infallible'. 'Scientific' means outside any other research and questioning; it finalises an assertion which is not only true as far as present conditions are concerned, but in absolute terms akin to dogma. "The term 'scientific socialism' thus designates the common ambition to have one's cake and eat it too" (Berger 1974:27; Geertz 1973:195). Social scientists should not try to be theologians of the social, jurists of the human condition and engineers of a promised paradise. 'Scientific', as used in the studies of social facts, refers much more to the exactitude and precision of the methods employed than to the establishment of definite and unconditional proofs as Lonergan explains:

"When it comes to the study of life, of the psychological depths of human institutions, of the history of nations, cultures, and religions, then diversity multiplies, differences become irreconcilable, and the name of science can be invoked with plausibility only by introducing methodological conventions that exclude from scientific consideration the heart of the matter" (1958:714).

The description of ideology which follows comprises elements found in the 'proposer' and in the 'receiver', since at a certain moment, both share similar experiences, privations, and desires.

1. Ideology

I describe ideology as a system of knowledge and beliefs, about a 'social fact', which are composed of experiences, ideas, emotions and solutions, proposed or accepted, in view of achieving certain goals mostly spiritual and moral.

1. Knowledge and beliefs

It is a collection of thoughts, opinions and values, either received more or less unconsciously, or accepted after study, observation, conviction or propaganda. They form a core of information and directions which are perceived as correct, true and good. The propositions which are the object of belief have been 're-vealed', that is un-covered, unravelled, proven true by someone who could be a prophet, a genius, a philosopher, a politician, a social scientist, etc. The system is believed to be true:

"Truth is independent of belief, since anything that is believed can be false. But belief is not independent of truth, for what is believed must be either true or false, and even if it happens to be false it is still believed to be true" (Needham 1972:60).

2. About a 'social fact' ('autour d'un fait social')

The object of ideology can be an issue, problem or situation affecting humans, societies and their world in general concerns of their spiritual, social, economic and political life.

3. Ideas, experiences and emotions

Knowledge and beliefs are the products of intuition, observation, reflection and emotional involvement, with or without strict methods of research, reaching conclusions and solutions of general interest.

4. Proposed and accepted, in view of certain goals

Those 'truths', once perceived, expressed, propagated and accepted become the basis for conviction, motivation and action. Ideologies are not primarily sources of abstract considerations, but goal-oriented; they appeal to reason and passions to accomplish spiritual and normative changes viewed as essential improvements.

There are other important points and characteristics of ideologies in themselves or in relation to theories and scientific methods.

1. Methodology

A scientific theory is a set of assumptions or hypotheses made up of some conclusions and propositions arrived at after careful thought, methodical research, logical deduction-induction analysis, in view of understanding issues and concepts and defining some characteristics of human situations and problems. On the other hand, ideologies are often arrived at without precise methodology and research; they are elaborated from reflection and immediate apprehension of problems; they are then constructed in a body of assertions and propositions capable of convincing and leading to action. If there is a logical and precise methodology, it is not primarily for the sake of rationality or exactness, but to describe more clearly the situation and the aims in view.

2. The Present

Ideologies do not study the present for itself; the present is perceived and endured as unsatisfactory and in need of change, either by recourse to what was good in a past which is often embellished, or by instituting new directions for the betterment of life.

3. Intuition

Ideologies are often arrived at after experiencing some failure or deprivation and envisioning solutions to improve the conditions. (Cf. Apter 1977:35).

4. Particular Moment in Time

Ideologies are apt to arise during periods of low achievement for a people; such low achievement is often the result of conquest, defeat, seizure of land, limitations of rights, and so forth.

5. Goal Directed

Ideologies include some kinds of accomplishment; from spiritual renewal to alcohol prohibition and family life restoration, a wide range of norms and practices are demanded.

6. Demonstration and Evidence

Ideologies state facts as they are perceived, felt and envisioned. They are not affected or contradicted by the success and evidence of scientific demonstrations. They run their course and will dwindle and disappear, not necessarily because they are proved false, but because they have ceased to inspire people who do not need them any longer.

7. Propaganda

Proposals for change originating from considerations about the conditions of society must be communicated adroitly, so that they are internalised and assented to wholeheartedly. Attempts are also made to impose ideologies on people who are indifferent, recalcitrant or antagonistic, and the propaganda might be logical, persuasive, subtle and tyrannical.

8. Form

The validity, influence, acceptance and success of an ideology depend, to a large extent, on its structure, form, style, appeal, internal force and some captivating symbolic representations. The language must be convincing and striking. There can be some non-verbal symbols like posters, clothes (caps, ties, arm-bands), flags, dances, music and parades. The whole process must be deftly orchestrated and staged to conquer the mind and control the feelings and passions of as many people as possible while calming or scaring the rest.

9. Spiritual and Material

Ideologies, in their totality, are often made up of two unequal parts: (1) the spiritual-normative aspects which deal with world-views and values, states of heart and mind, ideas about Man and Nature, morality in society, traditions, etc.; and (2) the material-physical which consists of applications of particular implementations like males participating in agricultural chores, active participation in industrial development, etc., with little or no relationship with the spiritual-normative domain.

10. General and Specific

A specific ideology is concerned with one aspect of human life, like religion for instance; Lutheran and Mennonites views about the Eucharist are specific ideologies even if they could engender strifes and riots. On the other hand, national ideologies are usually general, because they affect every social institution. The Gaiwio of Handsome Lake may have seemed primarily religious but touched the totality of Iroquois life (Wallace 1969:239-302).

11. Ideology and Scientific Theory

Occasionally, proponents of ideologies will believe and try to demonstrate that their ideas are not a simple and temporary aggregate of reflections and recommendations, but a true scientific theory. One can recall the attempts made by the Nazis to prove the superiority of the Aryans. People who are not convinced by those arguments and do not share in the imposed affirmations and ideals might be isolated and eliminated; they may also contradict that so-called scientific ideology by contrary proofs and evidence.

There is no intention of solving all the problems concerning ideologies, theories false and true, illusions, prejudices and beliefs; the dispute between evolutionists and creationists illustrates the dilemma and the discussion between Brace, R. Leaky and Washburn on Origins demonstrates the difficulty (American Anthropologist. Vol. 82, No. 2. June 1980:392-395). Ideologies, hypotheses, theories, illusions, propositions are often crisscrossing the same paths which are made distinguishable by different positions of familiarity or antagonism.

To sum up, a national ideology is an endeavour to rehabilitate a society and improve its spiritual, moral and material conditions in a vision for a better life for all; it is often based on the intuitive comprehension and analysis of the present conditions which must be changed, and formulated to convince and motivate; it should build a new consciousness and awareness of local values by giving meaning to life, where meaning has been lost.

CHAPTER III

ZAMBIAN HUMANISM

This chapter is made up of two parts; the first one deals with **Zambian Humanism** as proposed by **Kenneth Kaunda** and explained by other **Zambians**; the second part contains observations and commentaries about the **Zambian ideology**.

A. ZAMBIAN HUMANISM ACCORDING TO KAUNDA AND OTHER ZAMBIANS

Before describing the **Zambian doctrine**, a few points must be discussed briefly so as to situate and elucidate the question; they are **historical notes on Zambia**, a short profile of **Kenneth Kaunda** and constraints facing **Zambia**.

a. Historical Notes on Zambia

"La 'fabrique' sociale et culturelle africaine n'a jamais été inactive, elle a constamment eu à produire les sociétés et les cultures nègres en traitant, à la fois, les dynamismes internes et ceux résultant du rapport à l'environnement" (Balandier 1974: 189).

Countries and regions are always changing, being formed and re-formed, and enduring inequalities, conquests, competition between groups and individuals (Balandier 1974:184-189). Zambia is no exception to that law of dynamic process. Every ethnic group has narratives and legends about migrations, wars, occupations and the origins of its institutions and customs. In pre-colonial Zambia, there were some fairly large groups like the **Lozi** in the south west, the **Ngoni** in the south east, the **Bemba** in the north and the **Lunda of Kazembe** in the north west. These people were centralised sovereign powers in their area. There were attempts at expansion and conquest. These

larger tribes had some control, though no direct domination, over the smaller groups adjoining them. For instance, there were constant interactions between the more powerful Bemba and the Bisa, Kabende, Aushi, Chishinga, Mukulu, Nghumbo, Unga and Shila. Furthermore, the Bemba traded with the Arabs who were established on the East African Coast, and provided them with slaves for economic reasons and to gain technical advantages over their enemies the Ngoni. The Bemba fought those same Arabs when the reciprocal obligations were not fulfilled (Tweedie 1966:197 and 219; Gann 1963:49-51). The frequency and results of wars, conquests, and confrontations as well as the attempts at alliances and peaceful settlements are not confirmed conclusively because of the variation in oral history; what the Bemba narrate differs from the traditions of the Bisa for instance. (Cf. Fagan 1968).

By the end of the nineteenth century, another force had come into the area. As a result of wars, threats and promises, the regions inhabited by the Lozi, Tonga, Lunda, Bemba, Ngoni and several other groups, came under the control of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company (B.S.A.C.). The official aim was the establishment of a series of possessions under the British crown, from Cape Town to Cairo, in order to curtail the activities of the Portuguese, Belgians and Germans in Africa. A more practical purpose was the occupation of large territories with anticipated wealth. Once the Lozi had been bribed, the Ngoni defeated and the Bemba subdued and forced to compromise, small administrative centres sprung up from Mongu to Chiengi; there were 30 of them by 1900. In 1911, the Territory of Northern Rhodesia was established; its revenues then, were £95,000 (British pounds) and its expenses £149,000. This trend continued and, by 1925, the total deficit had grown to about £1,500,000. The Company's shareholders were not pleased with that state of affairs because, in spite of the proclaimed purpose of serving the crown, the Territory was more a company's investment than a Queen's Protectorate, and deficits were unacceptable. This might explain the readiness of the B.S.A. Company to hand over the

responsibility of governing and administering the Territory to the Colonial Office in 1924. The Company kept all the mineral rights, revenues and royalties, if any, in perpetuity. That 'perpetuity' ended in 1964 with compensation of £2,000,000 each from Zambia and Great Britain. The Company's royalties were then evaluated at £8,500,000. (Cf. Hall 1967:87-116; Dresang 1975:210-211).

It is worth remembering that the operations of the Chartered Company were strictly economic; there was no intention of governing a country for the good of its people, or of trying to blend the different groups into one nation with plans for development. The few white officers were supposed to ensure law and order. But, roads were paths; schools and dispensaries were in the hands of missionaries and not subsidised. A white commissioner would visit a chief to collect the poll tax and obtain workers for the mines. When copper was found in exploitative form in 1923, the Company was only too happy to divest itself of all administrative obligations to devote itself to mining operations and money making. For many years, little help came from the Colonial Office outside of providing workers, and the mining companies had to organise rudimentary social and political institutions, courts and a police force. (Cf. Hall 1967:139-144).

European farmers started to settle in Northern Rhodesia in 1928; they soon became very important and, in 1936, the Maize Control Board was established, to subsidise, market and regulate farm produce (quota and price), often to the disadvantage of Africans (Dresang 1975:194 and 195). The protected Europeans expanded greatly and by 1941, large commercial farms with numerous African labourers were producing food for local consumption and export.

Around 1930, Asiatics arrived in the Territory and established retail stores in many villages. In 1964, there were about 10,000 people of Asian descent, mostly traders, businessmen and shop keepers who had put together a network of small stores throughout rural Zambia which were connected with larger stores and depots in the mining towns and other centres.

On the eve of Independence, there were about 70,000 Europeans in the Government administration and in the direction of the mines, industries, companies, commercial farming and professions. The Asiatics controlled most of the retail business. The 4,000,000 Zambians had no political control and only minor roles in the civil service as in the direction of the economy. The Zambian infrastructure was constituted for the well being of the Whites and for urban life. Except for a handful of Asians, the professionals were white as were most of the skilled workers; they had their special schools, hospitals and shops; the roads where they lived and played were all-season tarred roads. In fact, the white sector, having reaped the wealth of the mining industry, was modernised and urbanised to a degree comparable in services, facilities and salaries, to any similar area in the world.

Northern Rhodesia, having evolved from a Territory of the British South Africa Company to a Protectorate of the Colonial Office and finally to an unwilling partner in the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyassaland, had never existed as a unified country; it was an aggregate of some seventy ethnic groups with little political representation, a powerful elite of Europeans, several thousand Asians, wealthy urban areas and depressed rural regions. The different groups coexisted without bonds of common interests and without shared goals of national belonging and identity. In 1963, 19% of the population was already living in urban areas as compared to 9% in Kenya, 7% in Uganda and only 5% in Tanzania. Africans were becoming more dependent on urban incomes to supplement their subsistence or as a way of life. Except for commercial farms owned and run by Whites, Zambian agriculture was in bad shape. The dependence on copper was nearly complete, as it constituted 90% of the country's exports and 60% of the Government revenues. Machinery, explosives, tools and coal were imported from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to the tune of 70% of Zambia's needs. The mines were run by an army of 7,000 Whites who were well experienced, many of them with ten years or more of service. Only 400 Zambians,

out of a force of 40,000 miners, could claim 'white' jobs. In 1964, only one fully accredited Secondary School could grant (through London) the Cambridge Leaving Certificate. The 'colour bar' had just been officially removed. For instance, Blacks and Whites could now enter a butcher's shop through the same door; still, Whites would line up on one side to buy 'European' meat and Blacks would stay on the other side to buy 'African' meat, because none could afford the choice cuts; there were a few Blacks in the 'European' line buying meat for their 'bwana'. (Cf. Hall 1967:268-283p Sklar 1973:29-61).

In spite of the lack of official political representation and power, several organisations to promote the improvement of Zambians existed. As early as 1923, the Mwenzo Welfare Association was created, followed by the Livingstone Native Welfare Association in 1930 and by the United African Welfare Association of Northern Rhodesia in 1933. Moreover, there were various local associations and societies. In 1946, the Federation of African Societies was founded by Daudi Yamba and George Kaluwa to counteract the efforts of the Whites who sought to impose closer links with and dominance by Southern Rhodesia. This organisation is cited as the predecessor of the African National Congress of 1951 with Harry Nkumbula as president; this political party fought against the Federation, for independence and, after independence, against the one-party Democracy. In 1958, Kaunda, Kapwepwe, Sipalo and some other leaders branched off the African National Congress to form the Zambia African National Congress which was more vocal and more active; officially, these leaders preached non-violence while warning that violence was unavoidable in front of repeated provocations. In 1959, several leaders were imprisoned and their party banned; an atmosphere of insurrection was felt everywhere; soldiers, police mobile units would surprise villagers at dawn. The prospect of another Congo-Katanga was used to scare people and induce them to remain in the Federation. While Kaunda was in prison, a new party emerged U.N.I.P. the United National Independence Party with Mainza Chona as interim president.

As can be seen, Zambia had a tradition of local leaders and regional politicians for nearly forty years before independence. Quite a few national politicians had learned the liberal arguments about the rights of the individual, equality and freedom as championed by Britishers mostly for Britishers. But they could demand the same privileges for Zambians since those principles formed the basis of democracy. (Cf. Kaunda 1962:98, 88-96, 153-159; Hall 1964:20-41).

The last period of struggle for self-rule and independence lasted no more than three years. Disturbances under the form of strikes and destructions of public properties were few; they were called cha cha cha. They occurred in three provinces: Northern, Lwapula and Copperbelt; they reached their climax in the summer of 1961. Schools, dispensaries, post offices, bridges and roads in the Northern and Lwapula Provinces were burnt, destroyed or damaged. There were no assaults on life by the activists. It is true that a few British officers were wounded while arresting African leaders; several Africans were killed or wounded and one European woman was killed near Ndola. In the Mansa-Samfya-Lubwe area of the Lwapula Province, at least fourteen people were shot. The police had in mind to kill one person from every village "to teach them a lesson". The burning and damaging of Government properties were termed 'violence', but salaries below the poverty line, restriction of movement and rights because of colour, the absence of health services were not termed 'violence' but 'administrative failures'. The British Colonial Secretary called up a Conference for October of 1962; from then on, independence was assured and declared officially on October the 24th, 1964. (Cf. Hall 1967:191-227; Dresang 1975:196-204; MacPherson 1974:228-262).

If Zambia, at Independence, profited by the experience of several leaders in the political field, it was not the case in the economic arena. Very few Africans could occupy important administrative and technical positions. Several other problems were crucial; national unity, man-power shortage, dependence on expatriate experts,

unreliability of some Europeans, colonial institutions, segregated policies in the mining and private sectors, "ill-feeling between certain ministers", "rising expectations of urban dwellers", the absence of an efficient and devoted bureaucracy, and the enmity of the southern neighbours (Tordoff 1974:14 and 15; cf. 14-19). Independence was probably achieved sooner than expected because of the cha, cha, cha. The Lwapula and Northern Provinces were disrupted and would have been in a state of rebellion with the coming of the rains; the central Government either did not want to or could not pursue its former policies of repression and killings. (Cf. Harvey 1976:136-141; MacPherson 1974:340-351).

b. Kaunda

It is impossible to know what Zambia would have accomplished with a president other than Kenneth Kaunda; determinists would argue that similar conditions would exist without him, since the man was and is of his time and the product of historical circumstances. In order to understand Zambian Humanism better, it is important to consider the life and thoughts of its principal author and propagandist, who influenced the character of Zambia's policies.

Kaunda received a Christian education and was trained as a teacher at Munali. Like most youngsters, he was confronted with racial discrimination and injustices. In his early twenties (around 1945), he was associated with politicians, was jailed a few times, and greatly influenced by Gandhi's non-violence and respect for man. It is in prison that he became convinced that no humiliation and suffering could impede the march towards freedom and independence. During the last years of the struggle for Independence (1958-1964), the doctrinal foundation of Humanism appeared with the importance of Man in society, the rejection of all forms of exploitation, and the belief in the possibility of achieving spiritual and moral development through dedication and hard work. In 1962, Kaunda was elected Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia and in 1964, became President of Zambia.

Fundamentally, Kaunda rejects both the inequity of the capitalists and the coercion of the marxists and favours the building of a new society based on the traditional values of cooperation and sharing to bring about growth with equity and development with equality:

"Kaunda himself has been putting his faith in the power of common humanity against technology and accumulated wealth operating in what he sees as a profoundly unjust society. The faith has been capable, at times, of providing inspirations" (Martin 1973:13; cf. Apter 1977:461).

Hatch sees Kaunda as a 'charismatic leader'; "one man, more or less in charge of a large share of the well-being of people", "immersed in party and international problems", working "by trial and error", desiring "social justice and moral behaviour amongst his people", and finally "preaching for a belief in his beliefs" (1976: 208-217). Whether charisma is a desirable quality in a political leader or not is an open question related to symbolic power, moral influence, and efficiency in governing. Balandier affirms that presidents in Africa should represent the image of the traditional chief, who is (or was) charismatic and revered by being chief:

"Le chef charismatique, disposant d'une relation privilégiée avec le peuple, le pays, le système des forces qui régissent la fécondité et la prospérité. Le pouvoir est encore conçu sous ce triple aspect de la puissance, de l'arbitrage et du sacré" (1969:207-208).

On the other hand, Welch questions the utility of charisma:

"Charisma may indeed facilitate the establishment of unity at the level of the state; ... structures on the transient nature of charisma... should make clear that national unity requires more than the emergence of a messianic leader... The utility of charisma in modernization still remains open to scholarly skepticism" (1967:86).

Nobody holds that charisma alone would suffice in re-building a nation; but it may be an essential quality in a leader. For many people in Zambia, in spite of failures like shortages of food and lack of jobs, Kaunda is the leader to trust and most problems are blamed on other politicians, foreign profiteers and enemies of the country. Observers consider him an honest persons doing a good job in very difficult circumstances:

"Its executive president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, was a remarkable person—sensitive, humane, hard-working, committed to change, and politically skilful" (Tordoff 1974:14).

"He (Kaunda) continually stresses the need to compromise, the role of the party, the top priority of organisation in politics. His conception of his own key position as the unifying focus for national unity leads him to regard his continuance in office as essential for the good of the nation... A less widespread image of Kaunda, but one shared by many of those closest to him, is that of the superpolitician who is Zambia, who is the government and the power of the country. There is much evidence for this view... Something akin to a personality cult of Kaunda has developed among some sections of the Zambian public" (Pettman: 1974:41).

There are also other views of Kaunda. It has been suggested that he is only a pawn in the hands of manipulators, a figurehead behind some powerful advisors of the mining and industrial sectors. On the contrary, others contend that Kaunda is a strict disciplinarian and a dictator who will not stand opposition in any form and will use power whenever needed for his own good or the good of the country. They recall the brutal quelling of the Lumpa Church disturbances, and the imprisonment of former Vice-President and childhood friend Simon Kapwepwe. (Cf. Tordoff 1974:234; Hall 1967:230). Shaw is rather critical of Kaunda's political ability:

"President Kaunda has evolved from an advocate of traditionalists, consensual Humanism to a more radical variety. He has abandoned pluralism in his quest for social order, development and justice. He maintains a distance from the ruling class to enhance his status and to insure his political longevity through ethnic bargaining and reshuffles within the elite" (1976b:47-48).

The real character of Kaunda is difficult to discern; judging his motivation and purposes might become a subjective appreciation. For nearly twenty years, Kaunda has been the undisputed leader of Zambia. He is the principal creator of the ideals of Humanism which are based on Christian teachings, inspired by Gandhi's writings and influenced by many friends and advisors, Colin Morris, John Papworth, J. B. Zulu, Henry Meebelo, Timothy Kandeke and Simon Kapwepwe. Kaunda hopes to improve the total condition of Man in Zambia by convincing arguments, encouragement and personal devotion to the ideals of Humanism. It is possible that Kaunda will have to become more coercive to force the implementation of Humanism on some people, particularly the elite.

In that case, Kaunda would have to use methods repudiated by Humanism to bring about Humanism.

c. Constraints.

National independence can be achieved through different processes like rebellion, revolution, political confrontation and election. Forces and motives like national unity, solidarity, human dignity, the end of exploitation and the right to be a nation can spur the movement and maintain the intensity of emotions during the struggle. Zambians wanted to be able to run their own affairs and the Whites from London or Southern Rhodesia could go or stay and obey Kaunda. Spiritual, intellectual and aesthetic motivations do not appear to have had a prime influence in Zambia's pursuit of independence as it is for Zionists and Québécois. It was a general feeling and strong desire: Zambia for Zambians. The energy to endure and suffer is maintained as long as there is a positive objective like fighting the enemies and expecting immediate results. Independence was acquired (not given) and Whites could go away. The objective had been reached. But the euphoria of the first months of freedom and the elation of being in charge passed quickly. Soon, Zambians were faced with many problems requiring sacrifices and radical changes to turn their dreams of wealth and well-being into reality. Indeed, the obstacles on the road to prosperity were very serious indeed.

1. A shortage of trained Zambians to run an efficient civil service. Once the political positions such as cabinet ministers, ambassadors and governors were filled, there were too few skilled Zambians to take charge of the direction and operation of Government agencies, private and semi-private commercial enterprises. There was an insufficient knowledgeable, devoted, adaptable and creative bureaucracy responsible to the country's leaders and the nation's ideals.
2. The lack of integration among tribes; there was little national consciousness, no unifying norms, common beliefs and symbols. Instead,

tribalism, regionalism and sectionalism predominated.

3. The infrastructure based on copper was controlled by two large foreign companies. Even if the old royalties were no longer paid to the British South Africa Company, the anticipated revenues did not increase as expected; the production and price of copper along with the development of new mines depended on the same two companies and other multinationals. Still, copper remains the main export and, on occasion, the sole source of government revenues.

4. The need to keep expatriate miners and other experts, at international salaries and benefits, for the mines and other industries. The dependence on South Africa for machinery, spare parts, explosives and chemicals, on Rhodesia for coal and electricity, and on Europe for luxury goods for these expatriates and Zambian elite.

5. The debility of the agricultural sector which was not corrected; getting rid of several huge commercial farming establishments, controlled by Whites, was easy. All the efforts to help small commercial and cash farmers with loans, fertilisers, implements, cooperatives, proved to be a near total failure due to ignorance, indifference and cupidity. Since the humiliation of 1971, when 1,500,000 bags of maize had to be imported from Southern Rhodesia, hardly a year has passed without the threat of starvation and the necessity of importing food.

6. The demands for jobs, houses, running water, electricity, bridges, roads, health cares and higher pay for all workers never abated. Instead, people had to continue paying taxes, digging latrines and being unemployed. Independence was touted as the starting point for a better life with good clothes, cars, motor-boats, brick houses, hospitals and schools, tar-roads, even tennis courts.

7. The urbanisation of Zambia increased rapidly during the years following independence and should attain 40% of the population in 1980. No dissuasion or threat could stop the flow. The new comers prefer hope in town to despair in the bush.

8. The lack of reality in the planning and implementation of the self-help and self-reliance schemes for the rural areas. Self-

sufficiency has not been and is not possible, except for villages close to the line of rail; the absence of markets and year round roads aggravated by the exodus of nearly 50% of the male population in many places cause additional difficulties. The self-reliance of rural dwellers became a bureaucratic strategy promising immediate results; it was not only impossible to accomplish but proved to be detrimental to the good-will and hopes of many.

9. The geography of Zambia was not favourable. The country was surrounded by enemies and unreliable friends; only President Nyerere of Tanzania could be called a trusted ally. Zambia had to find new means of transport for her exports and imports. The economy had been dependent on the south and changes were slow and expensive.

10. Finally, there was a diminution of the importance of tribal identity by the destruction of many beliefs, customs and ceremonies during the colonial experience. Christian beliefs, British laws with political and economic power were imposed and suppressed the local institutions and values. At independence, a mwina Nghumbo was only partially what he/she claimed to be; but he/she could not know what should be a mwina Zambia, even if it is what they claim to be. (Mwina = person from, of, or belonging to a tribe or group).

Many other constraints could be listed, including the behaviour of the elite and the pervasive idea that Zambia is rich and can live on copper. People are not convinced that agriculture is important and that they have to work hard. Many Zambians suffer from what was called the 'copper mentality', the belief that mines can be opened everywhere and that everybody could find a job and receive a salary at the end of the month. The Zambianisation of the economic sector was erratic and not always conducted with efficiency in mind. It appears that if Zambian Humanism did not exist, similar principles would have to be invented to inspire, encourage and motivate all Zambians.

d. **Zambian Humanism of Kaunda and Other Zambians**

This section is concerned with **Zambian Humanism** as created and presented by **Kenneth Kaunda**, commented upon and expanded by **Zambians**. There is no questioning of the accuracy of their statements, and no detailed critique of the veracity of their affirmations or the validity of their propositions.

This dissertation studies primarily the ideal-spiritual-normative elements of ideology; that is, the observations, reflections, rules, moral obligations, ideals and beliefs about Man, Man in his relations with other men, society and nature, Man and the supra-natural and his economic and political institutions. It is in the domain of rules, customs and values. There is no detailed description of the physical applications of those rules. When the technical-material is mentioned, it is by way of concomitant applications or corollaries and not as essential relationships. For instance, proverbs advise to work hard (apali umunwe: e pali ibala; where there is a finger, there is a garden; proverb 246); they do not indicate what to do in the specific and material circumstances of the daily life of a certain person. **Zambian Humanism** proclaims: "Humanists declare that a willingness to work hard is of prime importance. Without it nothing can be done anywhere" (Kaunda 1974:80). With its idealistic norms, **Zambian Humanism** links guidelines, instructions and practical applications, such as "an egg a day by 1980" (Kaunda 1968:33) and the planting of rice in Samfya (Kaunda 1967:45). I believe that logical relationships do not necessarily exist between ideological-normative pronouncements and practical applications. Nor can it be demonstrated that spiritual-normative propositions are the consequences of practical realisations which must be sanctioned and accredited by some idealistic configuration. The "guide to the implementation" of **Zambian Humanism** is really a series of technical and physical recommendations to improve the economic and material

life of Zambians. (Cf. Kaunda 1967:36-48; 1968a; 1974:89-95). Again, the ideal-normative assertion of 'hard work' may be associated with the obligation to produce forty bags of ground-nuts per person in the Mwansa Kombe area; however, this is a conclusion which has no essential logical relationship between principle and application. It follows that the lack of accomplishments will not invalidate the value of the idealistic declarations. In truth, the 'economic-material' and the 'ideal-spiritual-normative' should develop concomitantly in a society through the same dynamic process which causes continuity and change.

Generally speaking, **Zambian Humanism** is an ideology made up of reflexions and propositions which originated in traditional values and customs, evolved from the colonial experience and were elaborated with the resolute desire of building a nation based on the dignity and preeminence of Man as a member of a mutual-aid society.

1. **Zambian Humanism** is a body of ideas and beliefs about Man, nature and society; "it is a doctrine, a cause, a theory, practice or process regarding an all-round development of 'MAN' in Zambia" (Kandeke 1977:1); "it is basically a social ideological philosophy" (Kandeke 1977:x1); "it is a statement of philosophical theory in the meaning of human existence" (Kaunda 1974:1).

2. **Zambian Humanism** may be a reaction "to a colonialist and oppressive government" (Kaunda 1974:x); but it is more than that; it is trying to establish an egalitarian society based on past values as inspiration and encouragement for actual obligations and accomplishments:

"The ideology of nationalism has undone much of the harm caused by the ambiguities of colonialism; it has restored our people's self-respect and given them a sense of identification with the new nation" (Kaunda 1966:52).

"Humanism preserves selected values from the past, embodies convictions which grew up during the nationalist struggle and adapts these principles to the problems of the present in

order to give direction for the future" (Kandeke 1977:212).
 Zambian Humanism does not return to traditional customs and beliefs to imitate or copy them, but to help find solutions which correspond to the 'spirit' of the people; they are inspirations for the strategies to be implemented in order that the nation may successfully face new challenges:

"Culturally we are rich and now we must revive what we have inherited from the past and with our political mould adapt it as part of our general planning" (Kaunda 1967:30).

"... this is not, repeat not, to glorify the past but rather to humbly try to learn from it for the good of the present and the future" (Kaunda 1967:8).

"Zambian Humanism's interest in traditional way of life is not merely for historical purposes. It is rather for utilising the best elements of traditional way of life for future development of the Nation... The emphasis on the preservation of tradition is related only to such cultural traits or customs that respond favourably to the practical realities of contemporary Zambia" (Kandeke 1977:57).

It would appear that referring to traditional worldviews and values would be the best way to assure that the present which changes rapidly will be in accordance with the specific beliefs of the Zambians. (Cf. Meebelo 1973:12; Kaunda 1966:24; 1973:16-18; 56-58; Zulu 1970: 9 and 20; Kandeke 1977:172).

3. The essential theme of Zambian Humanism is twofold; first, it states that the tribal groups were Man-centred and that the Zambian society of to-day must be Man-centred also, which means that all the works and products of everyone are for the benefit of all; and second, the present society, like the communities of old, must be accepting, inclusive and based on mutual aid, where everybody shares his joys, pains and work with everybody else, where egotistic competition is condemned, and where everyone is accepted and appreciated for what he or she is and not only for what he or she can do:

"Whatever changes take place in our society, whatever sacrifices are made or are urged on individuals to make, by the Party and

Government, in our task of fighting to preserve the Man-centred society, we must remember that it is people above ideology; Man above institutions. We must continuously refuse to slavishly tie men to anything. Society is there because of Man" (Kaunda 1967: 4).

"We all believe in a co-operative way of life, but we misunderstand the past if we think that a co-operative approach to life is new to our people. To be blunt, a mutual aid society, that is, one which from the cradle to the grave is based not on a profit motive, but service to each other as human beings, is quite honestly more and more creative than anything we can think of now" (Kaunda 1967:34).

"It is this equitable distribution of the products of Man's labour which is the basis of a Man-centred society. The task of **Zambian Humanism** is to see that people, regardless of their social positions, enjoy the fruits of their interdependent labour activities as members of one social being. They all share the nature of belonging to a common humanness. This is the most vital characteristic of **Zambian Humanism** as a Philosophical ideology for building a Man-centred society" (Kandeke 1977:38). (Cf. Kaunda 1967:17; 1973:104-106; Meebelo 1973:108).

4. **Zambian Humanism** is proposed, spread and preached because it is believed that its acceptance and general practice will bring a better life:

"In all this that we are discussing now, we are aiming at organising ourselves politically, economically, socially, scientifically and culturally to such a point that we will make it possible for every person in Zambia to live a fuller and happier life" (Kandeke 1967:33).

"It (**Zambian Humanism**) is really an interpretation of the road to a fuller life in economic and social terms, as well as a way of life itself, which the common man is to live once the goal is achieved... The goal itself is a society in which a man is able to develop his ability in an atmosphere of co-operation between one member of society and another" (Kaunda 1968, quoted in Meebelo 1973:28).

That Man-centred, mutual-aid society which evolved from traditional practices and as a reaction to the exploitative nature of colonialism is the core of **Zambian Humanism** which is seen here as operating in the ideal-spiritual-normative:

"Humanism operates on the boundary between religion and politics as a channel for the best gifts of all true faith: compassion, service, and love—to be lavished on the nation's people" (Kaunda 1973:23).

To reach deeper into its content and messages, a more detailed study of **Zambian Humanism** is necessary and will comprise six content areas which will be used later in the thematic classification of proverbs. They are: (1) the supra-natural, (2) family life, (3) social life, (4) economic life, (5) political life and (6) moral values and traditional thoughts.

1. The Supra-Natural

President Kaunda describes himself as a Christian humanist:

"I must be a Christian humanist! By Christian humanism, I mean that we discover all that is worth knowing about God through our fellow men and unconditional service of our fellow men is the purest form of the service of God. I believe that Man must be the servant of a vision which is bigger than himself" (Kaunda 1966:39).

Zambian Humanism calls itself religious and theistic; it is based on the idea that Man is the centre of the creation:

"The basic premise in **Zambian Humanism** is that man is the centre of God's creation on earth; in the Christian tradition and indeed in that of other faiths, man is regarded as the highest expression of God's image and likeness" (Kaunda in Foreword in Meebelo 1973:vi).

"Man in traditional society regarded himself as the highest being on earth created by a Higher Being-God. Indeed, religion, which made man see himself as having the status of highest being in God's creation—hence his importance—permeated the entire traditional African society" (Meebelo 1973:11; also p. 21).

Humanism calls upon believers of all faiths to come together and coordinate their efforts to realise the aims of serving Man and improving his condition:

"So **Zambian Humanism** which makes the welfare of Man the central aim of national policy invites all religious believers to harness the power inherent in their faith for socially desirable ends" (Kaunda 1973:23).

In his latest book, Kaunda emphasises the spiritual and religious perspective in the ideology of **Humanism**. Nearly every aspect of **Humanism** is connected in some manner to religious beliefs and practices. (Cf. Kaunda 1974:xi, xvi, 2, 15, 16, 19, 21, 33, 53-55, 67-70, 74, 82, 104, 117-125, 127-129).

2. Family Life.

The principle enunciated by Kaunda that "our Humanism must be understood against the background of what we know to have been the way of life enjoyed by our forefathers" (1967:5) is probably best applied in the efforts made to continue the obligations, services, and attitudes practised in the traditional extended family, into the customs of the actual urban families. As it is well known, the old family was not only the nuclear family, but a community of relatives with many ties and reciprocal, if unequal, rights and duties. (Cf. Kaunda 1963. Africa Report of May 1963:20 as quoted in Meebelo 1973:

7). President Kaunda describes those traditional features:

"The traditional community was a mutual aid society. It was organised to satisfy the basic human needs of all its members and therefore, individualism was discouraged... If, for example, a villager required a new hut, all the men would turn to forests and fetch poles to erect the frame and bring grass for thatching. The women might be responsible for making the mud-plaster for the walls and two or three of them would undoubtedly brew some beer so that all the workers would be refreshed after a hot but satisfying day's work. In the same spirit, the able-bodied would accept responsibility for tending and harvesting the gardens of the sick and infirm...

In traditional societies, old people are venerated and it is regarded as a privilege to look after them. Their counsel is sought on many matters and, however infirm they might be, they have a valued and constructive role to play in teaching and instructing their grandchildren... We cannot do enough to repay them for all they have done for us. They are the embodiment of wisdom: living symbols of our continuity with the past...

No child in a traditional society is likely to be orphaned. Should his literal parents die then others automatically assume the responsibility for his upbringing" (Kaunda 1967:5,6 and 7).

The purpose of describing local values is to participate into their continued application and effectiveness:

"The principle of mutual aid is, indeed the basis of the extended family, whose members share their wealth, sorrow, afflictions, successes and joys. In the extended family, no one is supposed to be very poor or wretched, while his kinsmen are affluent; no one is supposed to be indolent while the rest of the family are hard-working and self-reliant; each one cares for everybody else. This mutual aid, this inclusiveness must, in Zambian humanist thought, extend to the whole of the Zambian society" (Meebelo 1973:37).

There are instances where customs encouraged in the extended family and continued at present may run counter to Western customs regarding nepotism:

"... there is a longstanding tradition in many tribes that showing partiality towards one's relatives is in no way to be condemned as favouritism. It is one of those privileges which is the other coin to the network of obligations into which one enters as a member of the extended family" (Kaunda 1973:95).

If traditional society can consider the treatment of the old as a sign of high civilisation, it is because the elderly people were not judged by their actual material performance, but by the simple fact that they were human beings (Kaunda 1967:6); however, modern urban conditions with fixed salary and stricter housing capacity strain the concept of the extended family and the tenets of Humanism:

"We have witnessed some of our otherwise promising young men and women denying their own parents, close relatives or indeed friends, the opportunity of staying with them in their homes because these humble people were 'uncivilised'" (Kaunda 1974:113).

Zambian Humanism demands that the reciprocal obligations of the extended family be transposed at the level of the village, the town and even the whole country. Zambia should become one large extended family where all people are true relatives with the duties and obligations of kinship. (Cf. Kaunda 1973:118-119).

3. Social Life

Included here are the activities, beliefs and customs which relate individuals, families and clans to each other. Social life deals with the roles of ancestors, the duties of leaders and other people in authority, cooperation and hospitality. The chiefs and traditional leaders had authority and power; they could "adjudicate between conflicting parties, admonish the quarrelsome and anti-social and take whatever action necessary to strengthen the fabric of social life" (Kaunda 1967:5). This power, now in the hands of the state, is regarded as absolute. (Cf. Kaunda 1973:70-71; 1966:86-87).

Generosity, sharing and hospitality are often evoked as practices which were fundamental in tribal life and must be transferred in a humanistic society:

"Generosity or hospitality was, however, never a one-sided social transaction. For, if it were, the traditional society would have become fertile ground for indolence, social parasiticism and all other forms of exploitation of one man by another—vices which were always condemned by a society which put a high premium on self-reliance and hard-work. But self-reliance did not mean selfishness, for hospitality and generosity were part of a wider web of reciprocal or mutual-aid social relations and were instrumental in the promotion of an egalitarian society" (Meebelo 1973:8).

Zambians are constantly warned about the danger of egotism, of one group of people, either because of their favourable location on the line-of-rail (Kaunda 1968:13) or because of their jobs as mine workers (Kaunda 1969:46 and 47). Zambia could be divided into two classes:

"Here in Zambia we also face the danger of creating two nations within one. But not along the capitalist pattern... But between the urban and rural areas" (Kaunda 1969:44).

"Not only have the economic and social gaps between the urban and rural areas been widened over the past four years, but the distribution of personal wealth have exhibited an alarming trend" (Kaunda 1974:109).

The traditional has no capacity to institute a class society:

"Since no individual or group of individuals had an exclusive right to the means of livelihood, it was not possible for one person to exploit the labour of another, and the traditional society was classless, although it accommodated the concept of rank and status" (Meebelo 1973:6).

This is no longer the case and there are many instances of egotism and self-interest:

"We have allowed the capitalist system to influence us so much that a tiny minority of us centres along the line of rail and in better-paid jobs continue to demand more and more, apparently unconcerned about the lot of the masses of our fellow-men both in urban and rural areas" (Kaunda 1974:113).

Elsewhere, Kaunda (1974:98) refers to some "arrogant elitists" and "those who have placed themselves in upper and middle classes" in spite of the often repeated goals of Humanism:

"Humanism seeks to create an egalitarian society—that is, a society in which there is equal opportunity for self-development

for all. Equal opportunity cannot come about without society organising itself on a humanist basis. Unfortunately the human personality has certain weaknesses that manifest themselves in many forms... The greedy plan their lives in such a way that they begin to use their talents not for the benefit of all members of the society to which they belong, but for themselves alone" (Kaunda 1974:xiii and xiv).

Zambian Humanism discusses many other subjects like the love of conversation, the obligation of greeting and asking about relatives (Cf. Kaunda 1966:32; 1973:46-48 and 115), the duties of hospitality (Cf. Meebelo 1973:7-9) and the care and reverence for old people already mentioned (p. 108). (Cf. Kaunda 1966:26; 1969:15).

The society of old was "a society in which people worked cooperatively without losing the identity of the individual for whose benefit and in whose name all was done" (Kaunda 1967:3). Work and recreation, rejoicing and mourning were done in a spirit of solidarity and sharing which made the village a community of friends and partners. Zambian Humanism proposes to make the whole nation a large village where Man's suspicions and fears are alleviated by the togetherness of community living:

"In a village where a state of advanced harmony between individuals is reached, the village citizens ... operate individually as well as collectively, as a team—as members of one family—the 'Human Family'. What the world needs is to see how this type of harmony between individuals can be realised at the city-state level as well as at the nation-state level..." (Kaunda 1974:15; cf. pp. 14 and 10).

4. Economic Life.

With the one-man-one-vote elections and Independence, came political freedom and equality; however "political emancipation is not in any way synonymous with industrial emancipation" (Kaunda 1974:97). Moreover, Zambians are well aware that the economy is primordial in the advancement of the people:

"As is well known, the present-day ideological differences are based on certain economic and political theories and practices. Putting it very simply, one could say it was a question of who owned or controlled the means of creating and distributing wealth in any given nation" (Kaunda 1967:3).

At every step of development or lack of development, Zambia is faced with the same dilemma which is both ideological and economical:

"How does an individual in Zambia today remain mutual aid society-minded and at the same time function in a society that is emerging from a so-called modern economy which has been born out of capitalism? On the other hand, how does he meet this challenge without going to the excesses of the ultra-left where Man is equally 'de-humanised'—and remains as an instrument rather than the master of institutions? (Kaunda 1967:12).

There is no doubt at all that the mutual aid society way of life is peculiarly African both in origin and pattern. Be this as it may, it borders on the one hand on capitalism, and on the other on communism.

Just to recap, our ancestors worked collectively and co-operatively from start to finish. One might say this was a communist way of doing things and yet these gardens remained strongly the property of individuals. One might say here that this was capitalism. Collectively and co-operatively they harvested but when it came to storing and selling their produce they became strongly individualistic. They did not finish at that. When it came to sharing the fruits of their labour like meals, for instance, they shared them communally. Indeed, one is compelled to say a strange mixture of nineteenth-century capitalism with communism. Yet, as is said above, this was original and the pattern essentially African. This is what makes us realise the importance attached to Man in that society. All was done for the good of Man as a Person. It could be done collectively, it could be held individually—Man was central. Hence the strange mixture which gives the present generation the right to claim that our socialism is humanism" (Kaunda 1967:12 and 13). (Cf. Meebelo 1973:39; Kaunda 1970 in Meebelo p.73).

That last sentence which is often quoted represents the core of the ideal-normative content of Humanism about the economic life. As pointed out before (p. 103) in several publications, there are practical applications concerning agriculture, the industrial and commercial sectors, village regrouping, fights against starvation, the need for good houses, decent clothes and sufficient food, decentralisation, State-ownership, public ownership, industrial participatory democracy which are treated with some modifications according to time and the needs of the people. (Cf. Kaunda 1967:16-18; 35-40; 45-49; 1969:6-10; 26-36; 1974: 33-42; 43-50; 51-66; 73-95; Kandeke 1977:63-136. However, the ideal-spiritual-normative content is the same; what is important is not mainly material and technological development; it is the betterment of

Man, the absence of exploitation.

Self-sufficiency means primarily that rural people can feed themselves and must become better farmers to produce a surplus which would liberate them from Government subsidies, at least to some extent:

"If the Zambian Humanist Revolution is to succeed it must find an answer to the development problems of the small producer. This is one reason why each district needs to upgrade the agricultural activities of its small farmers to a point at least where each district is self-sufficient in the production of its basic foodstuffs" (Kaunda 1974:64).

"Even so, localised self-sufficiency must be regarded as only a primary objective. From there we need to encourage the production of a surplus, however modest, which each district can dispose of in wider markets" (Kaunda 1974:65). (Cf. Kaunda 1967: 23; 1968:42 and 43).

The way to achieve self-reliance is through hard work, perseverance and sacrifice:

"To reach our cherished goal there will be need for total dedication and hard work. New sacrifices will have to be made. Success, of course, will also depend on the contribution which each one of the four million people in Zambia is prepared to make" (Kaunda 1967:27).

"Workers themselves must take up the challenge and spend at least ten hours a day working and thinking. They should not be contented to work one hour a day or three months a year and call that participation. Workers must drastically change their attitudes towards work" (Kaunda 1974:108).

Laziness as a form of exploitation is repeatedly condemned:

"Very often it is not realised that a lazy person is an exploiter and should not be tolerated anywhere in any decent society. It is this sort of fellow who tries to find an easy way of life and very often takes to begging and stealing from some other people. He is exploiting the hard work of a decent fellow man. He is just as much a pest as a stalk-borer. The only reason why he is not given the stalk-borer treatment is that he is human" (Kaunda 1967:50; 1974:xiv and 80, 75, 106, 108 and 129; 1969:46 and 47; 1968:42; Zulu 1970:15 and 16; Meebelo 1973:104-108).

Another important point, is the need to establish co-operatives. In traditional life, the society was based on cooperation and mutual aid, with work performed cooperatively and collectively with the products possessed individually and shared in time of need. (Cf. Kaunda 1967:5 and 13). In fact, the success, or failure, of co-operatives could be a determinant in the general acceptance of Humanism:

"While dealing with the issue of co-operatives it should be pointed out that in many ways the development of humanism in Zambia will depend on how successful we are in organising people's co-operatives. We must avoid the pitfalls into which others have fallen. We must never allow co-operatives to grow into just another group of exploiters. Co-operators have got to work themselves and not to employ other people" (Kaunda 1967:17).

Co-operation is a fundamental principle which is repeated in every publication, not only to curb individualistic and egotistic tendencies, but to impress in all the obligations to work hard, help and share with fellow human beings as humanists should:

"We all believe in a co-operative way of life, but we misunderstand the past if we think that a co-operative approach to, life is new to our people. To be blunt, a mutual aid society, that is, one which from the cradle to the grave is based not on a profit motive, but service to each other as human beings, is quite honestly more and more creative than anything we can think of now " (Kaunda 1967:34; cf. 17, 25, 23, and 28; 1968:49; 1969:25-26; 1974:66; Meebelo 1973:91-93; Kandeke 1977:78-80).

5. Political Life.

Among the principal aspects of politics propounded in the ideology of Zambian Humanism are the transition from tribe to nation, participatory democracy, the one-party State and the elimination of all forms of segregation.

In former times, even if the position of chief was hereditary, that is, chosen from a certain clan or among certain families, the actual selection was done democratically and deposition was possible because of injustices or general antagonism:

"In their researches modern social scientists have established that politically our people enjoyed what was essentially a democratic way of life in that either the people themselves

were allowed to choose their Chief or they chose the Elders who, in turn, chose their Chief. In most tribal groups these Elders controlled the Chief and if he misbehaved then he was displaced. There were, of course, many qualities which our people looked for in their rulers—courage, determination, bravery, discipline and self-discipline, to mention but a few. This is something of which we may well be proud and indeed is something which we should emulate" (Kaunda 1967:28 and 29).

"All that has happened is that we have a money economy, the national identity has grown and now we are a nation. Instead of a tribe considering itself to a certain extent as a nation, now we have the whole of Zambia as a state and a nation. This is the only difference" (Kaunda 1968 in Zambia Mail, quoted in Meebelo 1973:45).

Officially, everybody can and must play an active rôle in the political life of the nation, whether on the village, section, provincial or national level. The term 'participatory democracy' means that everybody can and should get involved not only in the selection of officials and leaders, but also in the making of decisions and their implementation; moreover, all have the duty to keep an eye on leaders and their actions. Participatory democracy does not consist merely in electing representatives who should grant benefits; it also demands regular attendance at meetings, cooperation from the members who should bring proposals and suggestions:

"Humanists believe that political stability can only come about if there is a full and unfettered system of participatory democracy both in theory as well as in practice" (Kaunda 1974:xv).

"Having attained independence, the people, through their Party, have proclaimed participatory democracy as the only political system that could safeguard it" (Kaunda 1974:9).

"We have therefore decided to have the type of democracy in which citizens participate not only through their freely elected representatives but also by their own direct involvement in the decision-making process. As a consequence of this historic decision, the Party has begun to decentralise all political institutions. This is why we are now organising the village as the most important and effective unit for self-expression by the people and for the people" (Kaunda 1974:10).

"Participatory democracy postulates respect for human dignity, observance of individual liberties, equality of all citizens and affords equal opportunity for each citizen to develop his potential to the full. It postulates free elections at

village/section, ward as well as at district and national levels; postulates government in accordance with the will of the people with a corollary that a government can be removed from power if it loses the support of the country" (Meebelo 1973:47 and 48). (Cf. Kaunda 1971, quoted in Meebelo 1973: 50; Kaunda 1974:23, 25, 106 to 108; Kendeke 1977:111, 139, and 188).

Zambia inherited at Independence two parties which vied for the support of the people; those parties divided the country geographically and ethnically much more than ideologically. It soon became evident that the constructive work had only started and that the support of all was needed to unite the nation; there was no place for an institutionalised opposition. *Zambian Humanism* claims that traditionally, there could be only one party, that is, one set of beliefs, customs and laws, one chieftainship and one clan system. People could be opposed to a chief, but they could not form an official opposition whose main duty was to criticise, attack and try to displace the leader to take his/her place, which is the principal function and goal of the opposition in the British system of parliament and government:

"Although there is nothing written about Parties in the past, it must be clear to all of us that every King, or Paramount Chief, had what you might call today for lack of a better definition, a one-Party State, which was organised through the sub-chiefs, village headmen and their supporters" (Kaunda 1968b:13).

"The idea of an institutional Opposition is foreign to the African tradition. In our original society we operated by consensus. An issue was talked out in solemn conclave until such time as general agreement could be achieved. The decision was then binding upon all the parties and it was a major sin against society for any of those who were privy to the decision to continue their agitation against it" (Kaunda 1966:108).

Zambia could not afford the luxury of a group of people whose main function was to oppose and often divide the country. At stake was the building of a unified nation where the common person could participate, criticise and oppose, but not form factions whose duty was to destroy. (Cf. Meebelo 1973:50-55; Kandeke 1977:202-207).

Another political aim of *Zambian Humanism* was and is to root out

religious, racial and tribal discrimination:

"To abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation based on colour, tribe, clan and creed and to maintain, protect and promote understanding and unity among the people of Zambia by removing individualism, tribalism and provincialism" (Kaunda 1967:11).

"With some seventy-three ethnic or sub-ethnic indigenous groups speaking about thirty dialects, in addition to several immigrant racial communities, Zambia has experienced a history of racial and tribal incidents... The Zambian humanist view, is that such prejudices will finally disappear—once 'One Zambia, One Nation' is truly achieved—when all the people, regardless of race or tribe, receive and are seen to receive rights and opportunities in equal measure" (Meebelo 1973:58 and 59; cf. Kandeke 1977:168-170).

There are occasional practical applications of Zambian Humanism concerning politics like the descriptions of the Central Government, the District Administration, and the Provincial Development committees (Kaunda 1974:35-41; 1967:41-43). However, the basic argumentation is ideological, as the following quotation indicates:

"We are merely reminding ourselves that State control of the economy, socialism or common ownership, are all very important phases in our long march towards the creation of a humanist society. The heart of the matter is, therefore, not that the people have elected the various levels of their Government, which have rightly taken over control of the economy on their behalf. Rather it is that when the machinery of government has been transcended by Man's reaching the stage of perfection, then the economy, like anything else, is being run through the forces of love. In other words, the State and all its bureaucratic institutions will not be transcended until the stage is reached in Man's development when he is loving the Lord his God with all his heart, soul, mind and strength, and is also loving his neighbour as he loves himself and is doing unto others as he would have them do unto him" (Kaunda 1974:53).

6. Moral Values and Traditional Thoughts

It is often repeated that Man cannot live by bread alone (Kaunda 1974:8 and 117; Berger 1974:43); morality and spirituality have a place in people's lives:

"Materialism has taken over control to such an extent that religion is being strangled, as it were, and is now gasping for a breath of fresh air. The Party cannot, therefore, continue to think in terms of material development only, leaving moral and spiritual development to religious leaders alone" (Kaunda 1974:119).

Zambian Humanism should be a way of being and existing, where the goal is "a society in which a man is able to develop his ability in an atmosphere of co-operation between one member of society and another" (Kaunda 1968; Zambia Mail of Jan. the 5th; quote in Meebelo 1973:28). One of the basic principles of Humanism is that man is the "centre of God's creation on earth" and "the highest expression of God's image and likeness" (Kaunda 1969; After Mulungushi; Foreword:vi). All the efforts of the State are directed towards the self-realisation of Man in a community based on sharing (Kaunda 1967:3-5) and on his spiritual well-being:

"The tragedy of the twentieth century is that in the blind race for development and higher standards of material well-being, moral values and the riches of spirituality have been forgotten. We in Zambia still have time to turn our quest for development into a positive good if we recognise the need for our own personal moral and spiritual responsibility through Humanism. Man is not just a machine nor is he just a higher animal. Man was created by God in His own image and likeness. So Man has a higher destiny than just living well. Man pursues that higher destiny best when he is guided by spiritual values. Humanism can provide that spiritual need in Zambia" (Kaunda 1974:124 and 125).

Kaunda mentions "many qualities which our people looked for in their rulers, courage, determination, bravery, discipline and self-discipline" (Kaunda 1967:28). During Humanism week, slogans are printed in newspapers, read over the radio and on television; they are in the form of moral sentences like 'be a humanist', 'be polite', 'a humanist is kind', 'a humanist works hard', 'a humanist is honest', etc. Zulu summarises the moral values of Humanism:

"It is far from being a simple or comfortable task to crystallise into everyday functional relevance something as unquantifiable as Humanism. Since we live in a world of classification of human experience, it may suffice to give Humanism one breakdown. A sample list of the essential characteristics of the humanist would probably go like this: magnanimity; an inclusive vision of life; sympathy; goodwill; remembering the underprivileged; a sense of tragedy; kindness and love; integrity; social justice; an intense sense of human purpose. The 'realist' may dismiss these as ideal qualities, never perfectly realisable by any one. The cynic may find the ideal and preoccupation with Humanism depressing and pointless" (1970:7 and 8).

Other moral qualities, which are supposed to be based on traditional life, are praised and recommended: the mutual-aid society with sharing and cooperation (Kaunda 1966:24; 1967:3, 5, 7, 28-29; Meebelo 1973:101-102); the accepting society respectful and careful towards all, especially the weak, the old, the orphans and the sick (Kaunda 1966:25; 1967:6); the inclusive society in which members share mutual responsibility based on the extended family (Kaunda 1966:24; Meebelo 1973:4 and 35); self-help and hard work (Kaunda 1967:34; 1974:108, 128 and 129); sacrifice and devotion (Kaunda 1974:110); hospitality and generosity (Meebelo 1973:7); respect for authority and elders (Meebelo 1973:9). Kaunda adds a few other attributes like patience, availability for communal work and help, forgiveness and optimism (Kaunda 1966:33-36). The love of conversation and personal communication is said to be inherent in the African value system (Kaunda 1966:32-33; 1973:45-49).

Zambian Humanism deals with the quality of life and the spiritual realisations of Man not gauged by wealth and physical possessions (Cf. Zulu 1970:6-9). Basic needs like food, shelter, clothes, education, medical services and jobs can be fulfilled without incessant craving for and constant pursuit of material wealth (Kaunda 1967:26-38). For instance, co-operatives in farming, fishing and transport are started in view of fostering the togetherness and mutual-aid so important for all: "Zambian Humanism... does not countenance unhumanistic sacrifice that developed countries make in the name of science but at the disadvantage of Man" (Meebelo 1973:96).

A humanist society of the Zambian model wants to consider all the members as important persons, the successful and the unsuccessful, the strong and the weak, because the objective is "to ensure easier and better life for all without distinction" (Kaunda 1969:38; 1974:1). That better life is not necessarily a more abundant or more glamorous one, but a life where people are truly important, with sharing and caring as essential traits. Above

all, equality among members will remain a preoccupation of the leaders of a humanist Zambia, until it has been satisfactorily achieved:

"Humanism seeks to create an egalitarian society—that is a society in which there is equal opportunity for self-development for all. Equal opportunity cannot come about without society organising itself on a humanist basis" (Kaunda 1974: xiii).

In fact, the traditional family life is supposed to be transplanted to the whole nation, where everyone is a parent, a relative, a friend or a stranger who is offered hospitality. It is an ideal community similar to those which existed in some Monasteries and persists in some Hutterite colonies; it is propounded as an ideal to unite the country and provide the people with moral and spiritual strength to improve their conditions.

B. CRITIQUE OF ZAMBIAN HUMANISM

This section contains (a) a review of the material and physical problems being faced personally and socially in Zambia, (b) suggestions and alternatives to solve them and alleviate the hardship and privation endured by the people, and (c) a presentation of the aims and roles of the Zambian ideology with their extent and limitations.

a. Problems

Practical issues such as equality, the emergent social elite, the middle class workers and bureaucrats looking for higher wages are referred to in humanistic publications and speeches and can be examined. Then, there are questions surrounding agriculture, industrialisation, urbanisation, development and growth, underdevelopment and stagnation, dependence on multi-nationals, shortages of food, clothes and houses, greed, and exploitation which affect every Zambian and are, as such, objects of study and analysis for

social scientists. Observers may attribute the material plight of the people to the official ideology, they may neglect the value of its spiritual-normative elements, or they may try to compare the material situations with the spiritual doctrine and explain their relationships.

Several social scientists have been interested in focusing on both politics and economics to deal with African situations. (Cf. Arrighi and Saul 1973; Gutkind and Wallerstein 1976; Shaw 1976a and 1976b; Copans 1975). In Zambia, as in other countries, political independence did not always bring about economic independence (Benot I, 1975:5-36). The dynamic forces for development are enmeshed in local conditions, in institutions put in place by the colonial power, and in economic links with foreign countries and multi-nationals. It is difficult to have an integrated picture of a situation like underdevelopment which has global implications. Isolated elements cannot provide adequate explanations of the situation as Cecconi affirms:

"Sans prétendre le moins du monde contester l'utilité et la valeur des analyses d'esprit technique, empirique ou économique, il nous paraît cependant impossible d'élaborer une véritable théorie scientifique des situations de sous-développement sans la détermination préalable des coordonnées socio-politiques internationales, puis nationales, dans leurs complexes rapports de dominations, et cette base d'analyse est justement la seule qui puisse permettre aux techniques économiques, et autres, de signifier et de valoir" (1975:256).

The complexity of these conditions helps understand the different theoretical attempts to explain the problems of new African nations.

Copans (1974) and other French Anthropologists (Godelier 1974; Meillassoux 1964; Rey 1971; Terray 1969) favour a marxian approach to explicate the politico-economic situations of African countries:

"... les caractéristiques propres à la situation du néo-colonialisme conduisent à rechercher les racines économiques de l'exploitation et les solutions politiques et révolutionnaires du renversement de l'exploitation, donc à adopter explicitement une perspective marxiste" (1974:101).

The argument would develop as follows: many former colonies are still very poor and demonstrate very little growth, at least in

comparison with Western countries; their poverty and stagnation are mainly the result of exploitation by foreign countries, large companies and multi-nationals which profit by cheap labour and raw materials; that exploitation is the life blood of capitalism and neo-colonialism; but Marxism shows how to supplant capitalism and replace it with socialism to reduce or eliminate exploitation and poverty. However, Copans does not delineate the relationships between a marxist perspective of analysis and the effective termination of exploitation which is not adequately defined. The argumentation falls short of a serious description of all the problems facing a developing country and ignores some universal human tendencies like competitiveness and unequivocal greed which have never been solved by materialistic programmes.

Other analyses describe the material problems in Zambia (Shaw 1976a and 1976b; Sklar 1975; Pettman 1974). The same themes are repeated: underdevelopment exists in Zambia because of her dependence on multi-nationals, her one export product, copper, the lack of diversification in industry, the reliance on experts and expatriates; moreover, there are problems like stratification, urbanisation, a profiteering local elite with links with international elites, the indifference towards the national ideology, a materialistic ethos, greed, poor agricultural planning, underpaid workers and the army of unemployed. (Cf. Shaw 1976a:4, 9, 14, 20; Tordoff 1974:8, 35-36; Sklar 1975:179-216). Rarely do these authors attempt to evaluate how useful or detrimental supra-nationals and their subsidiaries are in Zambia. For instance, it would be possible to specify the roles of a company like Procter and Gamble and detail its exploitative methods towards Zambians; if items like toilet soaps, detergents and tooth-paste should be banned, some kind of soap may be useful on occasion. Similarly, a company like The Nitrogen Chemicals of Zambia produces nitrogenous fertilisers which are essentials for the Zambian soils; should it be declared exploitative and under which criteria? does it prevent the use of compost and local self-sufficiency? It seems that some

multi-nationals and large companies are in Zambia to stay and, as is the case all over the world, most companies which are effective are competitive, and to be competitive they are often exploitative. Moreover, questions such as work ethic, lack of interest and motivation, family obligations, religious beliefs which may slow productivity and cause stagnation are ignored. Analytical economic theories cannot deal effectively with such causes; they are the object of ideological studies (Time, August 7, 1978:44). Finally, practical suggestions and solutions are often absent from observers' writing. If a situation is so bad that it deserves so many long statements, it is because something is not going well; if so, realistic changes, improvements and precisions about their costs, spiritual and material, should be presented, keeping in mind Berger's remark about human suffering:

"But there are two facets of 'cost accounting' that, we would contend, have been neglected in the largely 'technical' analyses of development policies. One is the facet of human suffering: How much sacrifice, and by whom, does a particular development model presume to either inflict or accept? The other is the facet of values: Human beings do not live by bread alone—how much destruction of the values by which men must live does a particular development model imply? And further: What new values does the model have to offer in exchange for those it is about to destroy? (Berger 1974: 131; cf. Papworth 1973:5, 8 and 31).

Some of those problems affect the Zambians so directly and profoundly, that they must be surveyed in a study on Zambia; they are development-underdevelopment, the multi-nationals and agriculture. These topics are touched only briefly, mainly because of their complexity which encompasses not only the political and economic but the historical and cultural. (Cf. Cecconi 1975: Frank 1970; Rey 1971). These issues can be viewed as the normal conditions inherent in post-colonial African nations, as Davidson suggests:

"This is because what already exists, in the sense of socio-economic system or articulated national structure, is not capable of development, cannot become a viable means of general progress, offers no reliable foundation for a better future.

"Since independence, African governments have been able to reduce the rate of dividend export, and begin the accumulation of capital for development, as well as greatly enlarging their social services... They have begun to educate their peoples, cut down the flow of profits overseas, acquire possession or part-possession of their natural resources. Yet even the most effective of these governments is still enmeshed, through no fault of its own, in the constricting economic relationships taken over from the past. They remain dependent on world markets in which they have little or no say on prices; and the terms of trade have continued (with some exceptions) to move against them" (1974:4 and 24).

1. Development-Underdevelopment; Dependence-Independence; Growth and Modernization.

With independence, Zambians expected to improve their total life, not only politically, but economically and culturally. Politically, they were officially in charge in a short time; culturally, there have been more and more art productions, performances by dance groups and choirs, publications of newspapers and books in several language. (Cf. Zulu 1970:32 and 56). Even economically, steps were taken to make the country not only independent but richer. Efforts were made to help the farmers, to build new roads and bridges, to open clinics and to diversify commercial production and markets. There were attempts to zambianise the economic sectors with more Zambians in managerial jobs, as summarised by Tordoff:

"There was rapid economic expansion... The most rapidly growing sector was manufacturing, which almost doubled its output in the same period (1964-1970)... Average annual earnings of Africans rose 97% between 1964 and 1968, while the consumer price index rose only 37 per cent. Another major achievement has been the expansion of the country's economic infrastructure; an oil pipe-line was completed... coal deposits mined... self-sufficiency in electric power achieved... roads tarred... the Tanzam railway completed... Another important development in the economic sphere has been the localisation of manpower... In the long term the most significant economic changes have been in the field of ownership... the second leg of the economic reforms has been a series of measures to increase participation of Zambians in the remaining private sector" (1974: 363-366; cf. Martin 1974:222-251; Bates 1974:30).

Terms like growth, development and modernisation exist in states of relationships; growth, development and modernity, in comparison

to what, to whom and at what period of time? How much do people need and how much can they bear?

Lefebvre writes that for Marx (no reference given) growth and development are double aspects of matter and time: growth would be quantitative, continuous and measurable; development would be qualitative, discontinued and evaluated only in its diversities (1974: 26-27). Growth is described by Apter as the "increasing of the net contributions of society that give people the ability to enjoy more choices and alternatives and so improve the conditions of their lives (1977:456). For Berger, development is "the process by which a poor country is to become richer" and includes "a general improvement in the well-being of the population" (1974:10 and 34-35). As can be observed, both development and growth imply improvement in the living conditions of the people as well as more production. It would be more precise to reserve the use of the term 'economic growth' to refer to "modern technological production", "primacy of industrialization" and "a rise in the per capita output" (Berger 1974:34-36). Development would mean the general improvement in the well-being of the population, with better services, diversity in food and clothes and more opportunity in the choices of jobs, professions and places to live and work. Economic growth which would cause more inequalities, less personal liberty and more coercion might raise the economic output of a country, but would not be called development.

Gutkind and Wallerstein see the lack of both growth and development as the consequences of capitalism:

"A condition resulting from externally imposed capitalist economic development strategies which seek to freeze, as it were, traditional forms of production and technology" (1976:24; 26-27).

Apter concurs and adds that "developmentalism produces a fundamental (though ironic) contradiction, namely, its converse, underdevelopment"; because growth in recently independent nations is usually externally provoked and sustained by foreign aids: the more aid given, the greater growth (at times) and the stronger dependency, so that overseas aid becomes "as a way to promote hegemony of the powerful industrial metropole over the weak periphery, maintaining dependence

rather than encouraging interdependence" (Apter 1977:491). For Dumont, growth and development are linked with progress, in what he calls "objective progress" which includes a greater production of goods and services and more variation in choices (1969:110). Progress, like development, should not be reckoned in figures and statistics alone, since human liberties and values cannot be measured quantitatively, an ideal which Balandier expresses by alluding to "Gross National Happiness" instead of the more familiar "Gross National Product" (1974:243).

The concept of modernisation and its objective modernity are often found in conjunction with growth and development. It would be the condition of advanced economy and technology where human choices and possibilities are varied and numerous. Modernisation is a movement forward, a process towards the betterment of human conditions, with realisations concerning the quality of life, ecological claims, equal treatment for all and equal opportunities (Balandier 1974:252). Berger defines the three terms development, growth and modernisation as follows:

"Growth will be understood as an economic category only, in accordance with the conventional usage of economists. Modernization will be understood as the institutional and cultural accompaniment of growth, again following a widespread convention among social scientists... Development, on the other hand, will be understood as a political category, and thus as not value-free. Development will then refer to such instances (actual or projected) of economic growth and sociocultural modernization as are deemed desirable in the contexts of moral judgment and public policy" (1974:35).

Turning to the situation in Zambia, Sklar indicates that the people have expectations which would bring about development:

"Development, itself, is a value-laden idea, connoting progress toward the achievement of desired goals. Zambian opinion does appear to reflect a fairly wide agreement on the values of development, to wit, improvement in the quality of life, maximized equality of opportunity, progress toward substantive social equality, and a high degree of democratic or popular participation in the conduct of public affairs" (1975:179).

Kaunda, as late as 1974, admits that the practical steps towards any form of development must include minimal growth and the

satisfaction of basic needs:

"If society is going to afford its citizens an opportunity to think clearly about things that really matter, then the Party programme through society—individually or/and collectively—must see to it that every Zambian has adequate food, clothing and shelter. This means we must defeat poverty, hunger, ignorance, disease, crime and the exploitation of man by man systematically. One cannot expect a half-starved, ignorant, under-privileged and exploited person to have the physical or mental stamina to concentrate on important spiritual matters" (Kaunda 1974:11; cf. pp. 5 and 128).

Whatever the formula and programmes, from basic improvements in living standards to the revamping of industrial and commercial enterprises, the question will remain: how can growth and development be achieved, at what speed, and at what cost? How much force, coercion, propaganda, motivation, inequity and suffering can and should be imposed to realise rapid modernisation? Is it possible to maximise growth with equity and balance individual needs with the collective good? Kaunda is very much aware of the dilemma:

"We are not so much concerned here with the speed of development, important though it is, as with its direction. Far too much so-called development in post-independent Zambia has been taking us not towards full economic independence and humanist equality, but towards greater dependence on foreign capital, imports of foreign goods, and above all, imports of foreign skills and expertise, as well as greater inequality. There is little point in worrying about the speed of progress if one is going in the wrong direction" (1974:59). (Cf. Apter 1977:526 and Berger 1974:36).

There seems to be no proven efficient theoretical and practical solution which would allow rapid economic growth and modernisation, along with development, that is freedom of choice, mobility, equality, the well-being of individuals and the good of the collectivity. (Cf. Apter 1977:455-461; Balandier 1974:243-263).

2. Supra-Nationals and Parastatals

Zambian Humanism rejects Capitalism which "breeds seeds of suspicion, fear, dissension, hatred, and violence; it is devoid of the human touch—the need of love for humanity" (Kaunda 1974:

104). Zambia is supposed to have moved towards a "mixed economy from an entirely private-enterprise one" (Kaunda 1974:87). But, "our system of management and administration has been extremely tardy"... and "we have not yet done away with management in the traditional sense" (Kaunda 1974:88). In its movement away from Capitalism, Zambia has adopted a state-controlled economy with a total or partial state ownership of industries, factories and other financial institutions. But it is only one intermediate step towards a socialist state with a "common ownership economy" (Kaunda 1974:52-53). The terminology is vague and pompous: state controlled enterprises, state controlled private mining operations, state Capitalism, maximisation of profits; the fact remains that multi-nationals and parastatals industries are very important in Zambia. In two articles, Shaw describes the dominance and control of the supra-nationals which create international relationships with bureaucratic elites who pile up privileges and neglect the urgent problems of the country (1976a:4-8; 15-18). It would seem that some unholy alliance exists between leaders, the elites and some foreign economic powers:

"The relationship between an African ruling class and the multi-national corporation usually occurs within parastatal institutions and is legitimized by reference to 'African socialism'. There are, of course, several varieties of state capitalism; in Zambia, for example, the ideology of Humanism has facilitated the development of a dominant state sector which largely consists of collaborative agreements between the interests of the state and of foreign capital" (1976a:6).

"Parastatals still apply orthodox profitability criteria to their performance; at best they have some welfare concerns, but they are in no sense operated along socialist lines" (1976a:16).

"The dominant symbiotic relationship between the state and multi-nationals has been attacked by the radical critics of a permissive and traditionalist interpretation of Humanism. Instead they advocate a socialist definition of the national ideology" (1976a:17).

Sklar adds a consequential comments:

"Among the distinctive institutions of international capitalism, the multinational corporation is preeminently significant as a repository of values and interests that might transcend the existing political order of sovereign states...

It is also concerned with the capability of transnational business groups to alter the ideological configurations of newly developing countries in accordance with the long term interests of such groups" (1974:viii; cf. Apter 1973:204; 1977:499-500; Benot 1975:79; Gutkind and Wallerstein 1976:12).

Parastatals are organisations or agencies "wholly or mainly financed or owned by the Government" (Sklar 1975:194) more or less like Crown Corporations in Canada; their roles and power are complex and relatively unknown (Shaw 1976b:10). Indeed, they may serve the interests of both the multi-nationals and Zambia at the same time. Arrighi and Saul explain that while the parastatals require more responsibility from the leaders of the Government, they liberate the supra-nationals from the obligation to make unpopular decisions, political or economic (1973:51). Martin points out that some para-statals which grow from small organisations to large state corporations satisfy the nationalistic appetite for 'national' companies with Zambian names and Zambian directors and managers. These corporations are not business firms whose existence is determined by efficiency and profits; at the same time, they are not directly responsible to the country, because they are created to be profitable. Often, they are both indifferent to the people's needs and inefficient (Martin 1973:216). Kaunda affirms that Zambia needs para-statals in that intermediate period of development and growth:

"The para-statal bodies must be regarded in many respects as interim structures. Zambia at present is desperately short of skilled entrepreneurial managers, accountants and other trained executives. Yet, there is a pressing need to go ahead with different schemes for economic development and at present, to accomplish this, there is a need to concentrate the services of those trained executives we have where their work can be most effective in meeting our current needs" (1974:66).

Whatever the ideological explanation, most observers conclude that, in the present development of Zambia, the Government relations with multi-nationals and the state controlled parastatals provide a satisfactory arrangement which safeguards the nationalistic sentiments, maintains some possibility of control, and ensures efficiency and profit making (most of the time in favour of the multi-nationals). (Cf. Sklar 1975:208-209; Meebelo 1973:65-81; Kandeke 1977:230-233).

3. Agriculture.

It is now common to speak of the failures in planning and the lack of concern in the agricultural sector:

"The biggest domestic disappointment has been rural development, especially in the five provinces off the line of rail. With the exception only of cotton, sugar and poultry, most agricultural production has stagnated or fallen... Specific strategies to raise output failed... The tens of millions of kwacha distributed annually to villagers in the form of Credit Organisation loans have by and large not been repaid, nor have they had any impact on agricultural output... The result is that the cash incomes of Zambia's rural population today are probably no larger than they were at independence, and the average farmer is probably only half as well off in 1973 in relation to the urban worker as he was in 1964" (Tordoff 1974: 377; cf. Martin 1972:240, Dumont 1980:56-77).

It is laborious to try to explain Zambia's going from exporting some 1.5 million bags of maize in 1963, to having to import the same amount in 1971 and more since (Martin 1972, footnote of p. 239; Bates 1974:37-47). The fact that most of the exported grain was subsidised does not give a full account of the situation.

There are several factors which can explain the shortcomings in the development of agriculture. First, there are the blunders and mismanagement of NAMBOARD (National Agricultural Marketing Board, the fusion of two previous companies: The Agricultural Rural Marketing Board and The Grain Marketing Board). There are reports of seeds arriving too late for sowing, fertilisers distributed when the grains were two feet high, ground-nuts rotting in villages for lack of transport and market coordination: "some co-operatives had their potato crop rot in their hands for lack of markets, even though there had been at the same time a country-wide shortage of potatoes" (Zulu 1970:43). There were all those cooperators who joined cooperatives for the grants only; people could sign for the K30 to clear out one acre of land on sandy patches, because of lack of supervision. Several people among the managers of NAMBOARD had very little knowledge of agriculture;

others were not interested in agriculture. Many Zambians were not preoccupied by that aspect of economic growth; copper was king. Second, people in the rural areas were not convinced that their efforts would be rewarded; too often their products had remained unsold. Many did not anticipate to have to work that hard to make a few kwacha. They expected to be like those Ministers and Administrators being chauffeured around in big cars doing little more than the Whites had done. Loans were never understood as including an obligation of return; it was 'their' money in the first place. Moreover, agriculture has little promise of advancement; if one wants to climb in the social ladder, one must live at the mines or become a politician. There is widespread belief that you cannot make it in the bush as a farmer; you stay there if you are uneducated and without ambition. Third, there are real environmental constraints: there is enough rain but its distribution varies a lot from place to place and from year to year. The soils need plenty of nitrogen which used to be provided in the 'citemene' system and must be supplied now by industrial fertilisers, till the people learn to make and use compost. The cost of transportation is also prohibitive during the rainy season. However, these problems might be remedied as they have been in neighbouring Malawi which has a prosperous agricultural middle-class and exports food.

Most observers recommend the establishment of a strong agricultural basis as the first measure towards growth and development in countries like Zambia (Dumont-Mazoyer 1969:18; Benot II, 1976:6). If Zambia could feed in excess of 10,000,000 people, as members of Dumont's team of experts are reported to have said, the leaders and politicians have serious questions to answer about their administration. (Cf. Dumont-Mazoyer 1969:113-132).

Zambian Humanism as egalitarian and socialist must provide equality of opportunities and services to all segments of the population. This has not been the case at all; if classes existed in any organised manner, the 'peasants' would be the proletarians. Except for the urban unemployed (Seidman in Shaw 1976b:26), the poorest

person in Zambia is the peasant woman who works hard at all times, having and caring for children, fetching water, getting fire-wood, gathering roots and other foods, pounding grain, cooking, washing, caring for the sick and old, cleaning the house and court-yard, preparing the fields, fishing and performing other chores. She is the true proletarian. Whatever can be said about poor town workers, reflexion must be directed towards the rural woman who is the most forgotten person in a society which is supposed to be a Man-Woman-centred society. (Cf. Dumont 1980:58-61; 111).

In *Zambian Humanism*, there are several general prescriptions to solve the question of the poor agricultural performances (Kaunda: 1967:14-26; 1968b:33-34; 1974:19 and 46). Kaunda goes from the hope of being self-sufficient to the dream of being a world granary:

"If the *Zambian Humanist Revolution* is to succeed it must find an answer to the development problems of the small producer. This is one reason why each district needs to upgrade the agricultural activities of its small farmers to a point at least where each district is self-sufficient in the production of its own basic foodstuffs.

This is not a difficult task... The fact remains that it has not yet been accomplished...

Even so, localised self-sufficiency must be regarded as only a primary objective. From there we need to encourage the production of a surplus, however modest, which each district can dispose of in wider markets. Conditions in Zambia are such that this country could well become, in time, an important granary internationally... "(1974:64-65).

René Dumont had observed in 1967 that "Zambia was the only country he knew where the Government's agriculture budget exceeded the total value of farm out-put produced by Africans and sold for cash" (Martin 1972:240). The Government is trying to do something, helping in many ways with tools, seeds, fertilisers, courses, loans and encouragement. Problems are mismanagement, corruption and ignorance, caused by greed, the lack of interest in agricultural labour and the absence of motivation in that kind of occupation. Zulu declares that agricultural labour is "both an occupation and a way of life"; "farming is not merely a profession, it is also a calling" (1970:

41 and 44); in the present conditions in Zambia, few are called to that way of life which has deteriorated in comparison to all other occupations and employments, including the often scorned 'boy's' work. At the bottom of the problem lies a lack of motivation and a lack of interest in agricultural chores among many Zambians:

"Despite enthusiastic utterances, a revolutionary zeal has not yet appeared when scarce resources are distributed... In the reluctance to improve radically the farmers' terms of trade vis-à-vis the urban sector, and in the increasing social distance between the rural and urban populations, one senses a lack of resolve, perhaps of necessary fanaticism, to solve almost insoluble problems. Agricultural revolutions do not happen: they are created" (Roberts and Elliott 1971:297).

4. Urbanisation

Agriculture is in a worse state than it would need to be, because of the number of young men and women leaving the rural areas to go find work in towns. Many explanations are given for the exodus. The first reason, historically, is the imposition of the poll-tax, also called hut-tax, head tax, or simply chitupa from the card indicating the payments. The head-tax was first decreed to alleviate the labor shortage of the British South Africa Company; people were forced to work for salaries which existed in the mines. It was an effective way to obtain 'voluntary' mine workers and servants. From 1909 to 1928, the number of Northern Rhodesians working in the mines of Southern Rhodesia increased from 7,000 to 23,000. With the advent of copper profitability, many Northern Rhodesians migrated to the Copperbelt and the mining towns of Katanga (now Shaba). (Cf. Gann 1958:76-81; Hall 1967:97, 112; Bates 1974:17; Heisler 1976:6). Colonial Administrators have contended that the Africans always loved to travel, and that going to work in towns for four to six months was no trouble at all, more like a pleasure-trip or a sort of initiation rite into adulthood. It may be true that some Africans like to travel, but this does not explain the working conditions which included tiny and dirty huts, prohibition of marriage for many years and low salaries. Still, urbanisation was rapid in

Zambia; the population of ten urban centres was 22.3% of the population in 1963 and about 40% in 1980. In spite of plans to prevent the flow of rural people to the towns, they still leave the bush for the mines. If there is a good carpenter, cook, gardener in a village, he/she will leave for the mines sooner or later. The reasons given for the migration are many: money for a bride-price, new clothes, tools, a bicycle or a power engine; as escape from the monotony of village life; reunion with a husband or other relatives; adventure and preference; hopes of advancement. There is the myth of the bright life in towns where there are good houses, jobs, plenty of food, cars, cinema-houses, hospitals, good roads, beer-halls, football teams, and many people. The dream of many is to have a job with a monthly salary or at least some cash for clothes, canned foods, gifts and an occasional beer with friends. Bates explains the problem of urbanisation in Zambia mainly in economic terms:

"Proto-migrants decide whether to move on the basis of earnings differentials. Investments in the industrial and manufacturing areas have increased both the number of jobs and the level of wages in the urban sector. Both effects can only have enhanced the attractiveness of the urban sector to those who were contemplating the prospects of departing from their villages" (1975:45; also pp. 30-31).

According to Heisler, rural poverty becomes unbearable and drives people away with the following consequences: (1) many cannot find jobs in towns and join the unemployed; (2) the rural exodus makes rural poverty worse; (3) some 'parasites' go back to their rural villages but, having done nothing in terms of producing food, they become other mouths to feed (1974:4).

Zambian Humanism which gets much of its inspiration from rural life has been unsuccessful in re-transmitting those values to its creators and original possessors. It is a serious problem acknowledged by Kaunda:

"The attraction of town life, especially where large industries set social patterns, have been such that urban areas continue to grow at the expense of rural areas. The time has come to deliberately put a brake on this growth of urban areas so that the rural areas can have their fair share of national amenities.

This is a serious matter, and one poised like a dagger at the heart of the entire Zambian Revolution. It is the exploitation of man by man that we fought to eliminate and replace by an order in which the masses of our people controlled all important commanding heights of the economy. We must proceed now to change the situation for time is not on our side" (Kaunda 1974:115; cf. p. 44).

The idealisation of rural life with its independence and self-sufficiency, the beauty of tilling the soil and the abundance of food stuff, has a long way to go. At present, there are few choices and few hopes in the village compared to town life. If there is a shortage of any kind, from cooking oil to beer, it is felt first and last in rural areas. Where are the impassable roads? Where do people die for lack of medical care? The solutions to the growing problems of urbanisation will come with genuine improvements in the material conditions in rural areas which will diminish the discrepancy between town life and village life, and with the diversification of industries and their geographical distribution. (Cf. Dumont 1980:72-74; 80-82).

5. Stratification

This paragraph deals with a cluster of issues like the emergence of classes, rural backwardness, unequal distribution of wealth and lack of jobs as presented by Sklar:

"Kaunda's humanism is bound to create ideological strain within the bourgeoisie. But it is not incompatible with the development of that class under existing conditions; moreover, it is directly relevant to the great national problem of rural retardation, which threatens to undermine the emergent social order. Kaunda has said that "humanism in Zambia is a decision in favor of rural areas" (1969:14). In practice, this implies a redistribution of national wealth away from urban areas to the needier rural districts. Thus far, the redistributive policies of the Zambian government have appeared to make far greater demands upon the wage earning class than the bourgeoisie. The urban workers may wonder why they alone (from their view point) should be called upon to sacrifice for the sake of rural development, while the bourgeoisie appears to be enriching itself" (1975:211-212).

The problem of stratification is compounded by the divergent statement concerning the existence of classes. Gutkind, Wallerstein,

Jackson and Chotax do not recognise the presence of classes in newly independent states of sub-Saharan Africa, while Tordoff and Shaw do so, or at least they do for Zambia. For instance:

"Class is a real actor only to the extent that it becomes class-conscious, which means to the extent that it is organized as a political actor" (Wallerstein 1973:377).

"Explicit class divisions among the elites, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, and the peasantry, have yet to reveal themselves, and when they do they might well take different forms from that we may daringly predict" (Gutkind and Wallerstein 1976:13).

"For this purpose a system of social stratification must be more than a mere ranking of groups according to some externally imposed criterion such as, for instance, the possession of wealth. In the tropical African case, the great disparity between urban and rural incomes cannot be taken to signify class differences unless they are so recognized by the populations themselves..." (Jackson 1973:381-382; cf. Chotax 1973:406).

"Nevertheless, classes obviously do exist in Zambia, both objectively and as subjectively conscious groups" (Tordoff 1973:394).

"Internal and international inequalities are interrelated; domestic class formation is one result of Zambia's status as a part of the periphery of the world capitalist economy..."
 "... in addition to ethnic, regional and spatial distinctions, class distinctions, class divisions are an integral part of Zambian society and politics" (Shaw 1976a:4 and 12).

These authors do not specify sufficiently what they mean by class, by internal and international elites, by economic and political powers and their respective privileges. (Cf. Augé 1979:16-18; Balandier 1969:92-116; 1974:118-122). Furthermore, particular African stratifications may exist, according to Balandier:

"Des stratifications propres aux sociétés dites traditionnelles se maintiennent, et s'articulent aux stratifications construites durant la période de dépendance et à celles qui se forment sous la conduite modernisante de nouveaux gouvernements (1974:122).

Technical and ideological descriptions and specifications about class would not be very useful here. The concern is with the observation and analysis of differences and inequalities (Balandier 1974:118). So, class, sector and stratification will signify that

there are segments of the population which are markedly differentiated by their standards of living; in Zambia, there are people and groups of people who do not share equally in the benefits and services of the country, whether physical (roads, bridges, electricity, running water, availability of certain foods, etc), social (medical care, schools), or cultural-recreational (beer-halls, cinema houses and sports facilities). In other words, there are individuals who can be grouped because of differences and lack of opportunities; there are inequalities which are regional, spatial and economic; there are distinctions in access to jobs, houses and social privileges. There are groups of Zambians like most mine-workers who enjoy a relatively good living standard; then, there are the urban unemployed who are poor. Jackson argues that the inequalities are more ethnic than economic:

"Ethnicity, expressed both in ethnocentrism and ethnic conflict has been a primary theme in African politics. In the struggle for political advantage rich and poor 'tribesmen' are usually more cohesive than the poor or the rich among two or more ethnic groups" (1973:384).

It is certain that there are ethnic links which are strong and lasting; politicians and leaders depend on their own people's support for their election, stay in power and re-election. However, a Lozi bank manager living in Ndola belongs to a group of people enjoying a life that the relatives in Mongu cannot dream to experience unless they obtain a similar position in a similar town. Jackson brings another dimension to the question of stratification with the relationship between town and rural village:

"True 'proletarians' with only their labour to exchange for income and security are still practically unknown in tropical Africa. Most wage-earners are not solely dependent upon the demand for labour but maintain a hedge against unemployment and insecurity by retaining strong kinship links with both urban and rural relatives in their rights to land in the countryside" (1973:387).

This may be true for no more than half of the population of the towns in Zambia. People were already settling in the mines by 1931; their children have been born there (Heisler 1974:15-16). Those who went to the mines recently could have maintained ties

with their original villages, if they kept on writing and sending gifts to their parents and relatives. If they have not done so, it is probable that they will not have the courage to face their relatives; while they had 'plenty', they did not share.

In Zambia, it would be possible to speak of six important groups according to salaries, kind of houses, possibility of choices and opportunities, influence and power (Shaw 1976b:7-9; Sklar 1975:22-27):

1. the ruling elite: political and bureaucratic elites made up of ministers, members of Parliament, senior civil servants, managers and directors of state corporations, a few commercial farmers, professionals, owners of large businesses.
2. the labour aristocracy: workers in skilled jobs or in crucial sectors like technical engineers, highly trained mechanics, senior miners.
3. middle class salaried workers: mine workers, teachers, store managers, soldiers, policemen, etc.
4. poorly paid salaried workers: cooks and gardeners; unskilled public workers.
5. subsistence farmers.
6. urban unemployed living on their own.

Although this is a rather crude classification, I believe it would be understood in Zambia. It is not comprehensive nor exclusive, because differences exist in the same group and many people are not included in any segment. For instance, chiefs differ greatly; some are hardly better off than subsistence farmers; others could be assimilated to the labour aristocracy. In every village, there are some farmers who do well and could be considered middle class; they have good houses, bicycles, a sewing machines and produce surplus maize, millet, ground-nuts, etc. Their success can be attributed to their being helped by relatives at the mines, to their own money saved while working in towns, to having more relatives, or simply to better health, luck, effort and motivation. 'Parasites' and 'loafers' are not listed here because the terms attribute an economic situation to the character of the person; 'parasites' are usually urban

unemployed scrounging around the periphery of towns and living in shanties; 'loafers' are people who seem to be doing nothing, hang around beer-halls, schools, foot-ball fields, and sit by the wayside. These pejorative labels are used nearly exclusively for men, may-be because women seem to be always working. (Cf. Dumont 1980:89-92).

Zambian Humanism recognises the existence, danger and evil of a powerful elite which is greedy and which profits from some humanistic reforms of the economy and is in league with international experts:

"... These trends signal the rapid emergence of a powerful Zambian elite whose thoughts and actions are couched in terms of the very rapine system which Humanism in Zambia was meant to combat. What makes this development so dangerous is the fact that this new class has the means, and is, by its very nature determined, to prevent Humanism from becoming that force which will decisively shape the pattern of the nation's policies and institutions. It is ironical that some of our economic reforms, intended to further the cause of Humanism, have provided the basis for the entrenchment of an elitist/capitalist attitude...

... The reforms have created a form of State capitalism where tremendous power is thus concentrated in the hands of a small managerial group who have their hands on the important switches and whose elitist attitudes set social patterns far beyond their immediate realm of command...

... The power which these technicians hold (international experts) especially since they and the Zambian elite mutually reinforce each other, can scarcely be over-estimated. The relationship is that of an invading army to its bridgehead" (Kaunda 1974:110 and 111).

Kaunda refers directly to classes in relation to the rich and the poor:

"Little has also been said or heard of the haves—that is, the upper and middle classes—putting a halt to their claims for more and more, so that the gap between themselves and the have-nots can be bridged" (1974:19; also pp. 21 and 44).

Humanism may acknowledge the existence of privileged classes, especially the managerial elite; it does not condone the situation which is in direct opposition to the ideal of equality:

"Humanism seeks to create an egalitarian society—that is, a society in which there is equal opportunity for self-development for all" (Kaunda 1974:xiii; also pp. xiv and 21).

Zambian Humanism is very harsh with people who are called 'lazy':

"It is not right in any way at all for some lazy person who has a good brain but is unwilling to exert himself, to sit far away in some foreign city, or indeed in some Zambian city, to get easy money which he has not worked for" (Kaunda 1974: 75; cf. pp. 76, 80, 106-108; 1967:50).

'Lazy' means a person who does not work, and rarely refers to a person who is slow, indolent, fearful of any effort and rests before starting work and during work. Reasons and excuses concerning the absence of work are not welcome. In Zambia, you can call 'lazy' anybody (except the infirm) who is not working in some capacity somewhere. That person, usually a man, could, or so it is believed, go to the fields, return to the bush, cultivate, clear the land, prepare a garden, etc. It is the general belief that anyone who wants to work can do so at least by tilling the soil; and there is plenty of soil. Laziness is blamed on the lack of initiative of the individual, never on the government and the State.

6. Tribalism

In many countries, especially formerly colonised nations, inequalities and differences may stem from economic, ethnical and regional causes. Tribalism in Zambia would refer to strong affiliation to a language and a region. Sub-tribes like the Nghumbo, Chishinga, Aushi and Kabende may bicker among themselves; they will unite and join in with the Bemba, and possibly with the Lunda of Kazembe, to form a larger and stronger group bound together by related dialects and two provinces. People of the Eastern Province, like the Tumbuka, Senga, Nsenga, Chewa, Ngoni and others, may or may not speak a Nyanja or Chewa language, but will make common cause to demand strong representation in the Government, with a few ministers and a certain number of directors of important corporations.

If all the tribes and all the regions enjoyed similar economic and social conditions, the sources of competition and rivalry might dry out or at least diminish, because, as Sklar explains, "these conflicts are frequently manifested in 'tribalist' forms, although

their root causes are really embedded in the dismal conditions of underdevelopment rather than ethnic diversity" (1975:22). But Martin contends that "the president faced an increasingly tough fight against tribalism;... the tasks of development seemed likely to be hampered by a growing factionalism and unproductive bickering" (1972: 112 and 114). "Tribalism was endemic and historically inevitable" says Hall (quoted in Pettman 1974:54) while Rotberg affirms that there was "no history of tribal conflict in Zambia" (1967:40), especially between tribes like the Lozi and Bemba who were hardly ever in contact. There were, however, tribal clashes between Bemba and Ngoni, and between Bemba and smaller tribes like the Mambwe. Some tribal conflicts arose from recent events. For instance, the Lozi of Barotseland are accused of having done nothing during the 'revolution' (cha cha cha) leading to independence, while Bemba speakers of the Lwapula and Northern Provinces were burning Government buildings and being killed for it. The Lozi were going to university and prospering. For instance, Arthur Wina was studying in California and came back just in time to be given a ministerial position. On the other hand, the 'Ngoni' of the Eastern Province are regarded as the new Basungu (Europeans) because they occupy many key jobs in government and business administration. There were more and better schools in their area and it was easier for them to study at Munali's, the first secondary school in Northern Rhodesia. Nearly everyone in the country will accuse Bemba speakers, and more so the Bemba of Chitimukulu, of being political manipulators, trouble makers, and to top it all, very lazy, expecting gifts and privileges instead of working for them. In the political arena, ethnic groups will make alliances unpredictably to avoid isolation or to obtain a majority; the Bemba will form a coalition with the Valley Tonga in the hope of controlling the government.

One should not conclude that tribes or ethnic groups are monolithic; there have been splits among Bemba speakers at the occasion of the Lumpa Church revolt, about Nkumbula's leadership and during Kapwepwe's defection from U.N.I.P. It is a complex situation

summarised by Pettman:

"Tribal alliances shift, not simply on the basis of cultural identity, but also on the basis of regional, economic, and personal interests. While these interests may exploit tribal loyalty and use local channels of communication, the causes of intra-UNIP conflicts are more complicated" (1974:54-55).

It might be more accurate to describe the problem of tribalism of being one of self-care and welfare; that is, every group is for itself and not so much against others; every group wants more jobs, roads, schools and hospitals; if there is running water and electricity in all Tonga villages, the Unga want them also, not because they hate the Tonga, but because it is 'One Zambia, One Nation'!

Tribal differences may also be an asset: "to this day, ethnicity continues to serve as a useful and meaningful principle of social organization for dealing with such problems as employment, housing, recreation and other welfare matters arising in the urban context" (Jackson 1973:385). Tribal links are essential, especially for newcomers to the mines as well as in cases of sickness, unemployment, house location, etc. Tribal diversity can be of some benefit to a country with cultural pluralism, variety, vitality, possible exchanges and also tensions which may encourage creativity and excellence. Kaunda sums up the question as follows:

"There are good and bad aspects of tribalism and when the destructive and divisive aspects of tribalism are reduced we can expect a renaissance of those aspects which constitute such an important feature of our cultural identity. In this way Zambia will move away from the artificial unity based on a precarious uniformity and move towards a real unity based on a frank and positive acceptance of the diversity of its peoples" (1974:40; cf. Hountondji 1977:233-237).

However, to contend that the forces of regionalism and tribalism are positive or have disappeared would be a pretense; they are still at work and possibly dangerous as exemplified by the election of U.N.I.P. officials in 1967:

"... We have canvassed so strongly and indeed, viciously, along tribal, racial and provincial lines, that one wonders whether we really have national or tribal and provincial leadership. I must admit publicly that I have never experienced in the life of this young nation, such a spate of hate, based entirely on tribe, province, race, colour and religion, which

is the negation of all that we stand for in this Party and Government" (Kaunda 1967:52; Mulungushi Conference; cf. Rotberg 1967:29-35).

The dangers are echoed by Kandeke (1977:54-55) and Meebelo (1973 58-61). One of the goals of Zambian Humanism is "to unite tribes and other sections in the tolerance for common interests, common values, common attitudes and common reactions" (1977:55); it will not be attained without effort and much good will.

7. Materialistic Ethos and Greed

Several authors stress the materialist ethos and greed of Zambians who are accused of being very egotistic. Material well-being would be an obsession: "Materialism is everywhere, from members of parliament to miners" (Hatch 1976:213); "the prevalence of the capitalist and consumer ethic" (Shaw 1976a:20); for Zambians, "principle and profit coincide" (Shaw 1976b:15); "the problem of institutionalising Humanism is compounded by the fact that its values run counter to the dominant values in Zambian society. Among all classes materialism is more firmly entrenched than ever before as the supreme ethic" (Tordoff 1974:395). Kaunda is quoted as lashing out at the "luxuriousness, lavishness... found in today's Zambia...; society is sick and the Zambian economy cannot be more sick than the people who run it" (1975, Zambia Daily Mail, July 1st, quoted in Shaw 1976b: 49).

It is no secret that Zambia has had her share of cases of corruption, thefts, peddling of interest and bribes. Kaunda could admonish about the tendency to amass wealth and exploit others:

"Unfortunately the human personality has certain weaknesses that manifest themselves in many forms. There is, for example, greed for wealth; the desire to accumulate more and more. The greedy plan their lives in such a way that they begin to use their talents not for the benefit of all members of the society to which they belong, but for themselves alone... Greed, selfishness and laziness must all constantly be checked and fought if we are going to attain a humanist society" (1974: xiii-xiv; cf. pp. 13, 14, 20, 23, 31).

The desire to satisfy needs is universal; however, human needs, except for basic needs of survival like food, water, and shelter, are not easily enumerated. What is a need for some, may be luxury for others. Running water is probably a basic need in large cities, but luxury in arctic settlements. The craving for material goods may have been spurred by the abundance of possessions that every White (or so it appeared to Zambians) used to have and still has in most cases. Zambians want more and may be tempted to use devious ways to acquire material items. Furthermore, comparing the greed and materialistic values of Zambians with those of Western experts, political scientists and economists might be revealing. The materialistic comfort of the so-called middle-class miners with an average salary of K1,500 a year (about \$2,200 U.S.) is somewhat distorted. Europeans could try to survive in the copperbelt on a \$3,000 a year budget for six to fifteen members. Still, it is true that these miners are well-off compared with most rural peasants and want more. The materialistic greed exists mainly among politicians, corporation directors and managers who have succeeded the Whites and expect to emulate their standard of living. But those Whites were not supposed to know about or follow Zambian Humanism; they never publicised egalitarian policies and sharing as their official philosophy. (Cf. Kaunda 1974:111, 119 and 124).

8. Hard Work and Cheap Labour

"Humanists declare that a willingness to work hard is of prime importance. Without it nothing can be done anywhere" (Kaunda 1974: 80). Zambian Humanism requires Zambians to work hard in order to produce more. But, what is hard work? (Cf. Apter 1977:467). Kaunda suggests long days: "Workers themselves must take up the challenge and spend at least ten hours a day working and thinking" (Kaunda 1974:108). May-be that would mean five hours of working and five of thinking. What kind of jobs would be regarded as hard?

For instance, for men around Lake Bangweulu, chopping down branches, clearing the bush, building mounds, making bricks, making canoes and making a new road are called hard work; fishing, hunting, and new jobs such as teaching, working in an office and being a politician are considered light and easy. Most women's tasks like fetching water and fire-wood, pounding cassava roots, plastering walls are considered arduous, while washing and feeding children, caring for the sick, sweeping and cooking are light chores. There is no consensus as to the length of time in relation to hard work; is it working long hours or a couple of hours strenuously? The problem is that in many cases people do not know what to do and how much hard work will be needed to obtain a certain reward. As already mentioned, there is the common belief that anyone could work and work hard in Zambia simply by going back to the village of origin and starting a new field of maize or cassava. If it is true that the bush is nearly limitless, such is not the case for transport facilities and markets; too many farmers have had bad experiences that few will exert themselves without the vision of a certain reward. The point to be made here is that people who do not work hard either have no work to do, or are not assured of a reward. Godelier suggests that in many societies, people could work harder and produce more surplus but do not do so because the goal of their production is simply their needs and not a profit; that sur-work to bring about a surplus is not perceived as necessary at all (1971:215). Surpluses were produced in case of hardship, for family receptions, feasts, offerings and tributes, but not for the sake of producing more, because there was no reward attached to that effort (Godelier: 1974:225-227). What Humanism preaches is in fact initiative to find work and the courage to accept jobs which are not very pleasant and interesting and do the best one can, even if it means going back to one's village and start a garden.

The term 'cheap labour' is often employed to describe low salaries of workers in underdeveloped countries in relation to the value of their labour. Shaw contends that the multi-nationals use Zambia

because of the availability of a large contingent of cheap labour; a willing labor force is waiting to be tapped (Shaw 1976b:19-22). Kay disagrees and asserts that "in terms of value it is more than likely that wages in the developed countries are lower than those in the underdeveloped countries" (1975:116). The contradiction may arise from the different perspective of looking at what salaries can buy in relation to the needs of the people, that is what salaries can do in different cultural conditions. Arrighi and Saul concur with Kay; for them

"the exploitation of cheap labor overseas has lost much of its significance; instead, the factor of overwhelming contemporary importance is the existence of a relatively developed and rapidly expanding industrial structure,... a favorable political climate, and possibility to export profits... (1973:46).

The question of the multi-nationals using cheap labour to exploit the people, make huge profits and control a country must be examined very closely, in relation with the possibility of being without work at all. (Cf. Dumont 1980:85).

Lastly, there is the issue of the one export product, copper, which has brought wealth and development to some people and some sectors, and also poverty and dependence to others:

"... it is dangerous for any single industry to grow so powerful as to lord itself over all sections of our economy. In Zambia such a situation prevails. The copper industry dominates all other sections of our economic endeavour. Obviously this situation is unhealthy from many points of view" (Kaunda 1974:45)

Kaunda explains that copper, in spite of the immense benefits it brought to the country as a whole, occasioned, directly or indirectly, dependence on multi-nationals and foreign markets, urbanisation, the neglect of rural areas and agriculture, the spirit of capitalism, indifference towards new ventures in industry and commerce, in general a false state of somnolent reliance on an economically unstable product (1974:45-46). To replace dependence on copper, there are proposals for 'decentralisation' of industrial and commercial power with the instauration of a much broader infra-structure with primary concerns about small business and industries. (Cf. Kaunda 1974:43-50; 87-95; Kandeke 1977:79-102).

b. Suggestions and Alternatives

With a review of the problems facing Zambia, it becomes evident that there are no easy and immediate remedies to the difficulties. Even if alternatives for change are suggested, it does not mean that they are valid and would be successful. When some realistic solutions are discovered, their application and pursuit will require hard work, courage, and motivation which will need the support and encouragement of clear and strong ideological propositions and doctrinal directions.

With independence, Zambia has tried to re-possess and re-organise a few national institutions and some agencies to serve the needs of the people better, which is the primary duty of any newly independent country. However, the process of change was laborious, too slow and too limited for many. (Cf. Martin 1972:3-17; Sklar 1974:29). Describing the problems of Zambia is not too difficult; for instance, the situations described by Shaw (1976a and b) have been recognised by Kaunda (1974). But observers must try to explicate the conditions and develop a critique. A critique can be suggested only in relation to points of comparison, theoretical and practical. Social scientists have a lot of experience, knowledge and information on the development and modernisation of the West; this may be transposed to Africa, but there is very little theory on the process of growth and development in Africa, and the comparisons and relationships exist in two different realities, one as historic event, and the other as projected possibility.

There is also the temptation of telling Zambians what to do, from models which influence the observers and experts: more workers' control; revolution; more small industries; more big business and corporations; state commercial farms; only huge state farms; capitalist development from the base with competitive entrepreneurs; more foreign aid; no more aid and no more experts; break all ties

with multi-nationals, etc. All those suggestions are entwined with theoretical and ideological premisses. It is difficult to find, in the history of mankind, so many instances of experts knowing what others should know and do, forgetting that "every human being knows his own world better than any outsider (including the expert who makes policy)" (Berger 1974:xii). Since, so many 'experts' have been judging and gauging Zambia and Zambian Humanism, it is interesting to report what Zambia thinks of 'experts':

"But with each of these 'tools' (machinery, patterns of administration, of education, of medical services, etc.) something else is being imported like a hidden virus, namely, the whole set of attitudes which are born in and sustain the rapine systems from which they have evolved. (The new modern missionary, i.e. the international 'expert', sees to it that the lesson is being learnt in the quickest possible time.) While it brings in a profit for the developed countries, this exercise aims primarily at selling to the poorer countries a technology which economically and otherwise keeps them dependent on their former masters. What is often misunderstood as aid towards self-reliance on the receiving end is in fact an instrument for further enslavement" (Kaunda 1974:112).

Futhermore, since that dissertation is fundamentally related to development, it must be remembered that whatever form of growth and modernisation may be explicated and demonstrated, the first and last word will be left to the people of Zambia themselves who not only participate but decide;

"Development is not what the economic and other experts proclaim it to be, no matter how elegant their language. Development is not something to be decided by experts, simply because there are no experts on the desirable goals of human life. Development is the desirable course to be taken by human beings in a particular situation. As far as possible, therefore, they ought to participate in the fundamental choices to be made, choices that hinge not on technical expertise but on moral judgments" (Berger 1974:56; cf. pp. 57 and 119).

The paucity of positive and realistic suggestions not tied with ideological theory is discouraging. For instance, Shaw identifies the problems of Zambia in descriptions which would fit also Chili and Québec. Similar difficulties are repeated: inequities inherited from the conquest and the colonial past; the one-

product economy; bureaucratic and political profiteering elite; aristocratic workers; dependence on foreign capital and multi-nationals; over-urbanisation; regional differences; consumer's materialistic ethic; dependence on expatriates and experts. Shaw seems to suggest some kind of revolution whereby the whole system would be drastically renovated to allow a new team of Zambians to run their own affairs and live according to their means based on agriculture and small local industries. But, the amount of violence, confrontation and coercion is not predicted:

"The underdevelopment of Zambia will continue, therefore, until domestic inequalities compel a revolution in both Zambia's internal and international relationships. Because the class structure of Zambia is largely a function of its subordinate rôle in the global economy, any progress towards socialism and self-reliance would necessitate confronting both internal and external inequalities" (Shaw 1976a:5).

In the same vein, Benot states that the minimal requirements for political and economic improvements in Third World countries of Africa, include nationalisation and a total struggle against imperialist monopoly; the final moment would come with the overtaking of the government by the exploited workers, which is the essence of a true socialist revolution (Benot II 1975:90). It is possible to envisage some form of revolution in Zambia brought about by the great discrepancies in standards of living between people and regions, or by different ideologies. For instance, underpaid workers could join the unemployed and the rural peasants in a national neo-cha cha cha. (Cf. Ake 1976:205-210). Zambia might be influenced by neighbours like Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique and their marxist ideologies. However, up to the present, revolutions in Africa have not produced the desired results and quite often, what began with good reasons and excellent intentions desintegrated into little more than the 're-emergence' of the same deposed elite (if they survived) in shifted responsibilities. "A revolution which is not more technically proficient and more effective than the regime which it supplants is lost" (Revel 1971:13). Important and drastic changes in economics, administration and moral values would have to accompany

the revolution. Martin argues that drastic overhaul in the copper mines and other large corporations is "at best irrelevant and at worst pernicious" (1972:219). His solutions would be "rapid rural development, ... compulsory return of the urban unemployed to the land and very rigorous wage restraint for the fortunate few in paid employment" (1972:220).

Short of a violent revolution, there could be 'mini-revolutions' in many fields to improve Zambia's predicament. Reformation of the elite, diversification of industries and markets, and re-organization of agriculture would be preliminary and fundamental accomplishments in the domain of the material-physical, while further explication, individual acceptance and actual living of the principles of Zambian Humanism (or correspondent ideological directions) would constitute elementary preparations in the sphere of the ideal-spiritual. (Cf. Dumont 1980:98-101; 104-106).

1. Reformation of the Ruling and Bureaucratic Elites

The transmission of political power in October 1964 meant the transfer of good jobs from Whites to Zambians with concomitant salaries, houses, secretaries, and numerous prerogatives. Many Zambians accepted the transition as a succession which included the emulation of privileges and profits to insure power and status. Independence was not a rebirth, but a substitution where the material frills were preconditions for moral and social responsibilities. Zambian leaders, in general, were not adequately prepared to deal with foreign executives, company representatives and lobbyists who were ready to compromise for further considerations. There were also those many poor relatives who kept visiting or writing. The temptation to be influenced in decision making by immediate advantages was overpowering. The elites must place the rights and interest of the people before their own and the benefits of foreign missions and enterprises:

"Zambia is likely to confront its dependence and to construct a national economy only when the ruling class places the interests of its internal constituency above those of its external

associations" (Shaw 1976a:16).

The whole process is really a 're-formation', a changing of form, a metamorphosis of mind and heart and consequently a 'correction' of attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. Welch gives, as one reason of the successful modernisation of Japan in the last century, the commitment and devotion of the bureaucratic class which decided to abandon its privileges to become totally dedicated to the country, the leaders and the people. (1967:51). The political and economic climates of Zambia will be altered and improved when the leaders forsake their own well-being and become servants of the people, and accept the tenets of Humanism to become hard workers, willing to share their wealth and benefits in an egalitarian society.

2. Diversification of Industries and Markets

As long as Zambia remains tied to the export of one product and its price fluctuation, the country will vacillate. The introduction of new measures to assure more control over all corporations was the beginning of serious efforts to diversify and stabilise the economy. But, that must be pursued to reach the desired goals:

"However, the actual, concrete financial results will depend upon the long-term operational effectiveness of the new system, involving such factors as the expansion of mine capacity, the stabilisation of copper prices, the efficiency of marketing methods, and the establishment of copper-related industries" (Sklar 1975:29-30).

Mostly, the Government must encourage small businesses with their programme of decentralisation and the creation of localised communities with a new type of village and sector economic structure based on local production and consumption. (Cf. Papworth 1973:76 and 108). To give a rather sad example, there must be something very wrong with the basic economy of a country, when villages which used to produce hundreds of bags of ground-nuts have to import peanut butter and cooking oil. The problems of the dependence on copper, the emerging and thriving elites and the neglect of small industries and local development by lack of decentralisation have been identified correctly:

"In terms of strict adherence to the Philosophy of Humanism this has been, in the main, a false start. It is a false start in the sense that we have been unable to establish our own standards and our own values and tastes, largely because of the powerful influence of the giant mining industry on Zambian life...

Not only have the economic and social gaps between the urban and rural areas been widened over the past four years, but the distribution of personal wealth has exhibited an alarming trend. A sizeable proportion of personal wealth is concentrated more and more in the hands of a relatively small group, another large slice goes to the emerging middle class, and what is left over finds its way in small fragments to the majority, i.e. to the masses of our people...

It rather lies in the fact that these trends signal the rapid emergence of a powerful Zambian elite whose thoughts and actions are couched in terms of the very rapine system which Humanism in Zambia was meant to combat...

By the same token, there is always strong resistance to the implementation of the national policy for the location of industry which is based on decentralisation" (Kaunda 1974:109-111).

3. Agriculture

Dumont after his study of agriculture in Zambia in 1967 (which he was asked not to publish; Dumont et Mazoyer 1969:127) concluded that a completely revamped organisation was needed with: (1) education, instruction and demonstration (teams going around showing better methods of planting, harvesting new crops, the use of fertilisers, etc.), (2) the surfacing of roads to make them all season roads, and (3) the establishment of small industries all over the rural areas (Dumont et Mazoyer 1969:118-127). New and different programmes of production of export crops and crops for home consumption must be devised for the large scale commercial farmers, the emergent farmers and the subsistence farmers. The latter should receive constant help and advice, and little success should be expected until they have received and put into practice educational and technical information. (Cf. Roberts 1971:275-297). Above all, emergent and subsistence farmers will require motivation not only to start a new garden or a field, but to persevere for a few years without immediate rewards. Cooperatives put together with loans and free machinery proved to be unsuccessful. (Cf. Dumont and Mazoyer 1969: 117-119; Hatch 1976:218). Zambians are often immersed in grandiose

achievements, probably from the presence of huge smelters at the mines and powerful tractors on commercial farms. The development of local agriculture by the rural peasants must be accomplished in humble beginnings and pursued in modest 'continuations' with the acceptance of realistic rewards. (Cf. Kaunda 1966:33).

4. Values and Meanings

It is easier to point out failures and contradictions than offer alternatives and choices for change. Moreover, suggestions and plans are only probabilities, often untried under concrete circumstances. The limitations on drastic innovations come from all sides: lack of resources and manpower, rising popular demands for more services, pressure from regions and tribes, demands by civil service employees, party organisers and elites. Few would be ready to risk a "thoroughgoing revolution" (Apter 1976:210). Probably, it would be more of the same, not only new wine in old bottles but 'old wine in old bottles:

"they circulate the elites, change the ideological symbols and recreate the old system in a new image. Few developing countries in Africa have the inner resources, human or material, for such drastic overhaul of the community" (Apter 1973:134).

It becomes easier to recognise the need for some principles of mental and affective organisation framed in an ideology. People have simply lost the values "that used to give meaning to life" (Berger 1974:11). This does not deny the urgency and necessity of objective appraisals of the situation and realistic descriptions of applications of programmes. But determinate policies for concrete situations are not enough for people. There must be some recognition of themselves, their belonging to a new nation, the comprehension of the descriptions of who they are, what they are doing and why. They must participate in values which give meaning to themselves and their world:

"The need for meaning is almost certainly grounded in the constitution of man. Man is the animal that projects meaning into the universe. Man names things, attaches values to them, and constructs vast orders of significance (languages, symbol systems, institutions) that serve as the indispensable guideposts for his existence...

The need for meaning has both cognitive and normative dimensions. Put differently, human beings must know both what is and what ought to be. Every society thus provides for its members both a 'cognitive map' of reality and an applicable morality... The right to meaning thus necessarily extends to 'philosophy' as well as morality—people have a right to live in a world 'as they see it to be'. Respect for the 'conscience' of others necessarily implies respect for their 'definition of reality'" (Berger 1974:166-167).

Kaunda's appraisal of Zambia and the lack of meaning of Zambians coincide with Berger's views:

"For in spite of various important reforms, something basic seems to have gone wrong. Irrespective of socially significant changes, Zambia today is in a state of acute unease. Were the causes of this unease merely such technical problems as fiscal difficulties or a shortage of foreign exchange, there would not be too much reason for worry. Serious as these are, such matters are of transitory nature and can usually be handled by the application of the right kind of expertise, as indeed is being done. The unease in Zambia has much deeper roots. It revolves on a crisis of meaning. Even the most sympathetic observers cannot but ask whether Humanism is indeed the driving and directing force in Zambia's development" (1974:2-3).

It might have been more precise to admit that there has been little development and blame the situation on the fact that Zambian Humanism, as representation of the beliefs and values of the people, has been accepted only but not interiorised, not lived: "Indeed few of us now disagree with the need for a Humanistic approach to our problems. But many of us still only pay lip-service to the philosophy" (Kaunda 1974:130). People may have in front of their eyes limpid programmes of development and rich rewards; if they do not understand the relationships between themselves and those activities, if their own values do not dictate the desirability of those actions, nothing will be done. In other words: "Man does not live by bread alone. He also needs the life-giving and meaning-giving sustenance that no 'materialist' view of the world can provide" (Berger 1974:43; cf. p. 53); "a humanist believes that it is impossible for Man to live by bread alone" (Kaunda 1974:8; cf. p. 117; also Tordoff 1974:396; Roberts 1971:279; Pettman 1974: 69-70; Martin 1972:108-111).

But people do not live by 'meaning' alone; they need 'bread';

the union of 'meaning' and 'bread' is not a symbiosis of two distinguishable elements, but a monophysitic union of the spiritual and the material which negates the existence of both parts in the absence of one. It may be asked whether Zambian Humanism and its implementation will succeed in solving the problems of Zambia by propaganda, explication, motivation, renewed pride and identity, programmes of actions and rewards, or if physical coercion will be required. Some believe that force should be used to reduce the benefits and profits of the elite, to curb the power of foreign corporation and to compel villagers to stay where they are and force the unemployed in towns either to return to rural areas or be enrolled in forced work camps:

"Because of the prevalence of the capitalist and consumer ethic in Zambia, it is unlikely that the institutionalization of a socialist Humanism can be achieved single-handed by the President; a greater degree of political education and coercion may be necessary" (Shaw 1976a:20).

"We are forced to the conclusion that Humanism cannot be taken much further unless the level of coercion is increased. Humanism involves a revolution in the values of Zambian society and, therefore, a frontal attack on the interests of the middle class" (Tordoff 1974:398).

These authors do not mention how much coercion and under what form. Kaunda admits that force would be used only as a last resort, after education and persuasion and only for the people's good and "if the very existence of the nation is threatened; if there is real danger of national unity fragmenting into tribal and regional anarchy" (1973: 82-83). This is, of course, what every politician says; even Trudeau of Canada proclaimed those 'high ideas' during the Quebec crisis of October 1970. Still, Humanism condemns all forms of exploitation by thieves, able-bodied beggars, lazy people and 'parasites' (Kaunda 1967:50 and 35; 1968a:7; 1974:xiv, 13 and 80). It is certainly possible to classify profiteering elite with thieves and punish them according to their evil deeds, especially when these people, who have received an education financed by the people, refuse to share their talents, benefits and privileges with their fellow country-men.

In spite of efforts at control and regulation, there is an indolent attitude of *laissez-faire* which cannot last indefinitely; some changes of mind and heart should occur before physical reaction, coercion or force under any form appear in an attempt to establish what Humanism propagates which is egalitarianism, sharing and the end of all exploitation.

c. **Zambian Humanism as Ideology. Extent and Limitation**

Several African leaders have felt the necessity of formulating or adapting some form of ideology; they include Nkrumah, Senghor, Touré, Mobutu Sese-Seko, Nyerere and Kaunda among others. It is difficult to assess the place the different ideologies play as realities of the African world. In the theoretical approach of several observers, ideologies are mirrors, images and representations; but the mirror exists before the reflection and the image has an existence in potentiality. If ideologies can be described as romantic idealism, grandiose dreams or pious reflections, their frequency must be explained as well as their rôle and utility. It is true to assert that it will take more than Humanism to solve Zambia's problems; it will also take much more than economic plans, especially programmes drawn from European and American models.

The urgency of ideologies may be increased by the pressure of satisfying certain needs. In third World countries, people are faced with the possibility of being unable to fulfil basic necessities for survival, a cause of anxiety and despair. Needs can be graded as essential, necessary, important, useful, superfluous and luxurious according to their relation to survival and the comfort of human life. Water is essential, while 'clean' water is necessary or essential in some cases; then, there can be well water and running water with different degrees of necessity, usefulness and superfluity according to circumstances. When a North American middle class woman declares that she badly need a new pair of shoes, it

might not be at all because her only other pair is worn-out; instead, it could be that she has no shoes to match her new dress. Westerners, in general, would have difficulty to imagine the perpetual state of hand-to-mouth existence, because most of our essential needs are amply satisfied. Our consumer's ethic and the well orchestrated propaganda which sustains it, create many artificial needs for more comfort or the demonstrated obligation to conform to mass standards of consumption. But people in periods of crisis, whether it be unemployment or a serious disease, will need more specific direction to give meaning to their existence. Some nations seem to be in a state of continual crisis. A newly independent state composed of juxtaposed groups of people, without national identity, with flagrant inequalities in standards of living, opportunities and choices, with a general stifling impression of hopelessness, may need some ideas and ideals, some organisations and directions which offer a new comprehension and vision of themselves and the world, with the hope of better days ahead. Africans construct ideologies which fundamentally concern the essential and necessary needs of the people. The ideologies of Western countries are interested in the obtention of more goods, more energy and more technical inventions to insure the comfort of the people and maintain their high standards of living. It is not surprising to see that several African nations are not impressed either by Capitalism or Marxism as practised in Socialist democracies. Both systems abuse people in some ways, either as tools for the aggrandisement of the state or for the benefit of the few. New systems are needed and proposed, resting on humanitarian principles, on the company of Man. "Let the West have its Technology and Asia its Mysticism! Africa's gift to world culture must be in the realm of Human Relationships" (Kaunda 1966:22). Or in more ideological terms:

"The tragedy of the twentieth century is that in the blind race for development and higher standards of material well-being, moral values and the riches of spirituality have been forgotten. We in Zambia still have time to turn our quest for development into a positive good if we recognise the need for

our own personal moral and spiritual responsibility through Humanism" (Kaunda 1974:124-125).

Berber expresses the same ideas:

"Whatever else may be said about the contents of 'Indian socialism', 'African socialism', or 'Arab socialism', they have in common an explicit, often virulent rejection of the 'materialism' of both the capitalist and the Soviet models of development. These ideologies have been dismissed (not least by Western Marxists) as intellectually vague and unsophisticated. Such dismissal side-steps the crucial point that they express a profound search for alternatives to the theoretical assumptions and practical consequences of the myth of growth" (1974:42).

Zambian Humanism, like several other African ideologies, fulfils mostly intellectual, moral and psychological functions which can be grouped as follows: national unity and solidarity, self-determination, equality, rejection of the colonial past and experience, rehabilitation of the personality with a new identity, return to the traditional past.

1. National Unity. Solidarity.

Zambia is really an agglomerate of distinct ethnic and sub-ethnic groups speaking some ten languages and another twenty dialects (Meebelo 1973:58-59). The first task of a national ideology is to give a sense of belonging and cohesion which will promote national unity. Zambians are Zambians mostly because of external factors like the British conquest and decisions made in Europe, and not because of some intrinsic characteristics like cognate languages, common origin or related customs and beliefs. The merging of the Zambian peoples was imposed by colonial rule and intensified lately under the pressure of the struggle for independence. A national ideology has as primary rôle to 'make' Zambians and unite them. As Benot contends, national unity is the fundamental element of the African ideological thought:

"Donc et en dépit de leurs prétentions déclarées, les idéologies ne sont-elles pas d'abord des instruments pour l'édification de la nation, avant d'être un instrument du socialisme scientifique

ou africain, ou de l'humanisme... Ainsi, la nation, l'unité nationale, sont la hantise première derrière toute pensée politique africaine" (I, 1975:81-82).

The responsibility of articulating ideals which will aid in achieving national unity rests with the leaders. Politicians, as members of the same colonised group as the rest of the people, have shared the same experiences. They are responsible for abstracting guidelines from the past, adapting them to present conditions and needs, and presenting them in forms acceptable for the people:

"So it was resolved that certain ideological guidelines were essential to provide... a concept of national identity (which) would be promoted and a cultural frame-work as a co-ordinating factor... (Kandeko 1977:10).

Politicians may appear like the creators or innovators of ideologies; but, as involved citizens, they have endured like the others, and may have sensed more acutely the injustices and the destruction of their culture and the need for some collective representations. The leaders of Zambia are responsible for the renewed and continued existence of their people like the prophets of ancient Israel who were the keepers and proselytisers of the faith and culture, especially in times of crisis:

"For it was the prophets and the cult that preserved and carried the national identity, and by doing so provided the basis for popular unity and collective response in times of crisis" (Salzman 1978:618).

Zambian politicians and other leaders share the same traditions and aspirations of all citizens and should translate them in ideological statements and directives; however, it is conceivable that certain leaders would formulate ideologies which would be more the products of their own imagination and personal idealisation than the interpretation of the collective thought and will. In that case, the ideological doctrine would be imposed on the people who could accept or reject it. (Cf. Saul 1973:153-155). The aim of such ideology would still be "to establish solidarity for society and identity for individuals within it" (Apter 1964:36; cf. p. 44; Davidson 1974:159; Martin 1972:112; Dresang 1975:189; Pettman 1974:70).

2. Self-Determination

Colonised and dominated people can hardly express and develop values and purposes outside the limitation imposed by the colonialists who control, direct and decide. One of the prime functions of independent countries is to establish new priorities and designs "which do not lie within the reach of the inherited situation, but which turn away in new directions" (Davidson 1974:154). The ideology should develop and introduce new behaviours and objectives like self-sufficiency, perseverant work, sharing, cooperative efforts, control of the land, new balance between the urban and rural sectors, leadership code, etc. (Martin 1972:108-111). The colonialists had previously decided and implemented every avenue of expression and every programme of activities. The leaders must now determine and prescribe what they want the nation to become and the methods to reach their goals. (Cf. Ake 1976:202-204; Apter 1973:210-212).

3. Equality

"As humanists we accept the equality of Man before God our Creator as well as before the law of the land. In many walks of life we have planned our society in such a way as to introduce equality both in theory and in practice" (Kaunda 1974:21).

"To ensure acceptance of the principles of equal opportunity for all races in all aspects of life including wages of workers, social and educational facilities and to protect trade union rights" (Kaunda 1967:10).

"To abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation based on colour, tribe, clan and creed and to maintain, protect and promote understanding and unity among the people of Zambia by removing individualism, tribalism and provincialism" (Kaunda 1967:11).

From liberal democracy and the philosophical ideals of Great Britain and other European countries, came the theory of the dignity of Man, the 'persona' with inalienable rights. This 'nobility' of Man and the belief that all men are 'created equal' lead to the supremacy

of Man as the centre of the universe and the centre of all human efforts (Mazrui 1967:121; Ake 1976:204). Unfortunately, the 'colony' was a perfect example of discrepancy between theory and practice with human inequalities entrenched and defended. The ideal of the newly independent country is as much a reaction against the hypocrisy and abuses of the former government as it is a determined intent to treat all persons as equal.

4. Rejection of the Colonial Past.

Colonialism had the effect of magnifying the efficacy and validity of imposed foreign values and institutions while slowly eliminating traditional systems, religious and moral beliefs and local economic organisations. The process of de-colonisation can be a long and arduous one:

"The colonial hangover which beset a lot of our developments in the last five years should be removed and eliminated as we Zambianise posts and institutions as well as procedures and practices in the period up to 1980" (Kaunda 1968b:43).

"Over ten years ago we succeeded as a people in removing a colonialist and oppressive government... We now have to use this power... to bring about a new social order—an order based on the noble principle of egalitarianism" (Kaunda 1974:x).

In fact, the formation and formulation of many ideologies is a profound improvement on the principles according to which people were treated following segregated laws, different opportunities and injustices. Or, as Benot explains:

"Il reste que le soubassement des idéologies... est bien à rechercher du côté des conséquences du colonialisme direct. Elles se sont constituées avant même les indépendances, comme une réaction en esprit à la négation coloniale de l'histoire africaine, à la négation des cultures africaines, à la négation des capacités humaines de l'Afrique qui a été la règle au temps du colonialisme direct" (I, 1975:49).

5. Rehabilitation of the Personality

It is impossible to evaluate the damage done to personalities

by invasion, conquest, occupation and forced imposition of foreign rules and systems of beliefs; the personality of the exploited becomes like the one of a battered child or of a defeated competitor who can be either submissive and servile, or rebellious and revengeful. Some studies indicate that most people with low goal-achievement have been from conquered or dominated groups; "for them neither the goals of the traditional or the new culture are meaningful" (Spindler 1968:329; cf. McLelland 1968:362 and LeVine 1966:13). An ideology must present specific purposes and new motivations to attain these goals, new attitudes towards fellow-men and society with the restoration or establishment of a particular and "unique way of viewing, sorting, and synthesizing the things and events believed to exist in the world" (Spindler 1968:338). The ideology must give directions to reestablish cognitive and emotional controls without which humans cannot understand, plan, choose, live and love. "The attempt to establish and maintain cognitive control is a universal and constant process in human life" (Spindler 1968:341); it is also an important function of any ideology as Apter observes:

"Confronted with a desintegration of the old authority systems, both traditional and colonial, developing man is in a state of conceptual confusion. Ideology provides a map to help him evaluate and perceive the meaning of complex, unfamiliar changes" (1973:191).

Zambian Humanism must shape the Zambian personality by "conditioning people's thinking and moulding their value system" (Kaunda 1969: 62), in an effort to regain "personal integrity, autonomy and dignity" (Okonji 1974:39).

6. Traditional values, Adopted and Adapted

Kaunda in his first official presentation of 'Humanism in Zambia' devoted several pages to establish unequivocally the dependence of the Zambian ideology on the traditional community. As the local society was based on mutual aid, acceptance of all people as persons, and inclusivity, so would the modern humanistic community (1967:5-9). Recalling and reviving the past does not

entail a regression or a blind imitation of the old days; it is not an idealisation of vestiges; it is the recognition that things were done differently before colonisation and what made that society work can be revived and adapted to conform to the constraints of the present time. (Cf. Augé 1979:191-193). As Kandeke commented:

"Past tradition is like a car's rear-view mirror. A Nation that keeps its mind fixed on past traditional ways of life without looking 'in front' is committing a crime against 'progress' and is more than likely to end up in a 'crash'... *Zambian Humanism's* interest in traditional way of life is not merely for historical purposes. It is rather for utilising the best elements of traditional way of life for the future development of the Nation" (1977:56-57; cf. Kaunda 1967:8).

Newly independent nations shape their ideologies in a 'mélange' of old and new, borrowed ideas and new creations:

"L'étude des processus de modernisation opérant en Afrique depuis la décolonisation révèle—après une courte période d'importation des modèles d'organisation—une reprise d'initiative et le recours à des modèles 'autochtones'. La tradition intervient dans le façonnage du présent, elle contribue à la réalisation des nouvelles combinaisons sociales et culturelles. Ce qui conduit à constater que toute modernité fait apparaître des configurations associant des 'traits' modernes et traditionnels; la relation entre ceux-ci n'est pas dichotomique, mais dialectique" (Balandier 1974:210).

For Kandeke, the traditional values which should be revived and adapted concern the "respect for Man, the centrality of Man in a society based on co-operative labour and mutual-aid living"...

"The emphasis of *Zambian Humanism* on the traditional way of life... involves the notion of continuity, gives people a feeling of national pride,... dispels the feeling of inferiority,... provides a refuge against the onslaught of adverse foreign cultures,... and provides a common cognitive orientation" (1977:29; cf. pp. 30-34).

Zambian Humanism is attempting to achieve a new socialisation through motivation, with convincing explanation and exhortation to affect and direct personal conduct. Humanistic values must be spread, discussed and improved upon to fashion the *Zambian* who must be prepare for hard work, cooperation and sacrifice. In short, based on traditional values, *Zambian Humanism* is presented as possessing the

solutions to the problems, and is expressed in arguments to convince and motivate in order to build a new and strong nation. (Cf. Pouillon 1978:10). Martin sums up how **Zambian Humanism** is perceived and appraised:

"Regarded as an economic blueprint, humanism planted few signposts other than those already implicit in the notion of economic nationalism along moderately socialist lines with some allowance for moderate capitalism. Regarded as an attempt to reconcile traditional African values with the demands of a rapidly changing and modernizing economy, it served some purpose in focusing attention on the dangers of social disruption that might result from the wholesale abandonment of old family and communal institutions and their replacement by an ethic of individual self-advancement" (1972:111; cf. Pettman 1974:40; Tordoff 1974:24; Sklar 1975:20).

- d. **Zambian Humanism:** must not be Capitalism; should be Socialism; could be Humanism

Martin in a chapter entitled "State Capitalism: Hyena or Hybrid?" (1972:203-221) tries to bring light on the economic philosophy of **Zambian Humanism**; for him, the difficulty lies in the fact that it does not concord with the usual unambiguous Western categories. First, Humanism rejects all forms of exploitation of man by man, all forms of profit for personal aims, and all competition between people for the sake of exclusive advantages, social and material. At the same time, **Zambian Humanism** encourages profits made for the group, self-reliance, hard work and initiative.

The **Zambian** ideology defines Capitalism as "the exploitation of one by another... making self-interest the driving force of one's life at whatever costs to others" (Kaunda 1974:13); the accumulation of capital comes from this exploitation:

"Our Humanism will not allow us to use our superior skills to exploit the less-endowed by organising them into a labour force which does not get a fair return for its work. A humanist accepts that capital must be rewarded, but capital alone, without labour, land and management, cannot produce anything. And since such capital is barren without these factors it must be treated accordingly" (Kaunda 1974:77).

It seems that it is not the profit motive and the accumulation of wealth which are condemned, but the excess in both; "a profit motive in the interest of society" is correct; but a "profit motive in the interest of an individual" is unacceptable in a humanist society (Kaunda 1974:77). Moreover, hard work is everywhere extolled as basic to Humanism (Kaunda 1967:17 and 27; 1974:48, 80-83, 108, 119, 128-129). But hard work produces material results and more hard work will produce more goods; it must be more work 'in society':

"The accumulated property, whether in the form of houses, food-stuffs, cattle, goats, pigs, etc. through the framework of a mutual aid organisation was completely Man-centred. Today, however, we need to extend this field further because of the introduction of a money economy.

Humanism in Zambia welcomes ownership of property. In other words, there is nothing wrong for a man to own a house, a car, or anything else that will bring security and stability to his mind, home or family...

The question is how does one accumulate that property? Does it come through exploiting one's fellow men or by being deceitful? Either way, a humanitarian approach to life does not condone this. In fact, it condemns this completely" (Kaunda 1967:49).

Consequently, Humanism accepts 'social' profits and controlled private enterprise. "Capitalism is regarded as objectionable by Zambian Humanism mainly because it is so individualistic that it becomes money-centred and not man-centred as Zambia's philosophy is" (Meebelo 1973:77). Martin argues that this distinction is nothing less than an excuse or a spurious device to harmonise doctrine with facts:

"(Controlled enterprises are) devices for reconciling the economic nationalism of Zambia, its political wish to have more control over the forces that determine its wealth, with the realities of business life and the necessity of maintaining efficiency" (1972:212).

Some commentators have used the expression 'State Capitalism' to describe the economic system of Zambia (Meebelo 1973:66-71), but "if it is capitalistic, it certainly is not all that unsocialistic or unhumanistic" (Meebelo 1973:68); the chosen terms are 'State Participation' and 'mixed economy': "Our present situation is one where the public sector is quite strong and where the private

sector survives—in some areas—it is also quite strong" (Kaunda 1974:87; also 88-95). In other words:

"State participation in industry, state land-ownership, co-operatives and price control are, it must by now be clear, important instruments for preventing incipient capitalism and exploitation in Zambian humanism" (Meebelo 1973:95).

After this short discussion, it is evident that (1) the word Capitalism must be banned and (2) that the uncontrolled accumulation of wealth in the hands of one individual is condemned. Moreover, Humanism being an ideology, it describes situations as they should be. There is a multiplicity of exploiters from the lazy people, the thieves, the drunkards, the able-bodied beggars, the greedy materialists, the unscrupulous self-seekers, the plunderous elites, the managers with the capitalist attitude (Kaunda 1974:xiii-xv; 1-6; 13, 44, 47, 52, 55, 73-76, 98, 104, 106, 108). The system may be strewn with abuses and failures but "we must stand together to fight against the animal in Man so that we can establish a better society—that is in keeping with the philosophy we propound" (Kaunda 1974:116). If it seems that the terminology used by the proponents of Zambian Humanism is little more than semantic manoeuvre, in real Zambian life, the disparate elements arrange themselves in orderly symmetry which represents the apparent contradictions. For instance, a person may work hard and accumulate, possess a large house, cattle, a store, a car, even a motor boat; that person may get some voluntary help from relatives and friends, but must share by feeding relatives, friends and helping them in every occasion; the key to the situation is sharing: how much, with whom and when. That person may become rich, be rich with several others, and quite often, does not remain rich for very long. Either that person will be ostracised with his/her wealth, or the goods and well-being will be shared. What appears confused and confusing in the combination of theoretically opposite elements, becomes a simple amalgam of concrete situations under the force of local customs and beliefs. But, the conditions are different and far more complicated in urban areas with the erosion of the extended

family in favour of the nuclear family, where the choice of goods and their accumulation are nearly limitless, then the state has to articulate policies even with apparent or real contradictions. (Cf. Benot I 1975:66-72; Tordoff 1974:388-389; Berger 1974:58, 61-63).

Zambian Humanism should be Socialism, like most ideologies in Africa attempt to be: "Ideology... is defined by three political components of our liberation movement—namely, Pan-Africanism, Nationalism and Socialism (Ochieng 1973:68). As integral parts of their ideologies, Africans include the unity of the nation, values like cohesion, cooperation and sharing, and ideals like "democracy, equality and the dignity of man" (Ake 1976:204). The nations must not grow only in economic production but must develop according to social and family needs and obligations and with respect to moral values and customs. Adrain sums up the main characteristics of African Socialism:

"African society embodies the humanistic essence of socialism—community welfare, concern for the people's needs, respect for human dignity, equality, and social justice. The economic aspects of African socialism include various forms, although there is a widespread preference for a mixed system of public and private sectors. All leaders reject the class struggle, which is relevant to Europe, and total nationalization, which characterized the Soviet Union's economy" (1964:198).

Under its economic aspects, Socialism is conventionally defined as "a system in which the basic means of production are under public ownership and administration... The basic means of production are not in the hands of private enterprise" (Berger 1974:73). At the same time, Socialism can exist with so many forms that a great deal of tolerance must be exercised in labeling the different types:

"Il n'existe aucune forme privilégiée du socialisme" (Dumont-Mazoyer 1969:81).

"L'exigence de plusieurs voies socialistes, au départ d'une même situation, de plus en plus divergentes, entre lesquelles aucun critère rigoureusement scientifique ne permet de choisir la meilleure, était un phénomène inéluctable" (Dumont-Mazoyer 1969:58).

The temptation of copying or imposing one form of Socialism practised under one particular model without taking into account historical and geographical conditions can be very strong and should be avoided. All models are historical, known a posteriori and 'événementiel'; if certain regularities are found, they are embedded in local, geographical and temporal circumstances which are often entangled with ideological theories and material concerns of local interest.

Zambian Humanism is said to be Socialism because (1) it is against the accumulation of wealth and the exploitation of Man by Man, (2) it has a mixed economy, that is state controlled and partially private and (3) it is against workers' alienation and tends towards workers' participation and ownership (Kaunda 1974:1-3, 52-53, 87, 128). Moreover, like Socialism, Humanism fights all capitalist influences, rejects the emergence of classes, the differences of wealth and the control of power in the hands of a few privileged people (Kaunda 1974:109-117; also 1967:10-12, 19; Meebelo 1973:72, 78-80 and 116-118; Kandeke 1977:23, 213 and 221).

Still, Zambian Humanism could be both Communism and Capitalism by its aspects of working and sharing collectively while storing and selling privately: "Indeed, one is compelled to say a strange mixture of nineteenth-century capitalism with communism" (Kaunda 1967: 13). Nevertheless, Zambian Humanism rejects both Capitalism and orthodox Socialism: "Zambia's destination is neither capitalism nor orthodox socialism... We are an independent country and we do not have to make a choice between one or the other " (Kaunda 1969:49); or as Meebelo explains:

"It is in defence of this principle of man-centredness that Zambian humanism rejects capitalism, because in the latter system there is organised exploitation of man by man, relegating man to a mere apparatus. Similarly, Zambian humanism deprecates communism or so-called orthodox socialism, because in a communist society ideology is not a servant of man but his master. Society, therefore, does not exist for man but man for society" (1973:39; cf. pp. 73 and 117).

However, it is not enough to condemn Capitalism and Communism

to establish a socialist society; Sklar doubts that Humanism can bring about Socialism:

"Experience elsewhere teaches that a non-doctrinaire strategy of development, which relies upon a combination of private, cooperative, and state enterprise, under the auspices of a managerial bourgeoisie and in partnership with multinational corporation, is unlikely to build socialism" (1975:213; cf. Benot I, 1975:63-65).

In fact, the Zambian ideology wants to be nothing else but Humanism:

"There is no doubt at all that the mutual aid society way of life is peculiarly African both in origin and pattern. Be this as it may, it borders on the one hand on capitalism, and on the other on communism... This is what makes us realise the importance attached to Man in that society. All was done for the good of Man as a Person. It could be done collectively, it could be held individually—Man was central. Hence the strange mixture which gives the present generation the right to claim that our socialism is humanism" (Kaunda 1967:12-13).

The essence of Humanism can be reproduced most precisely by a summary of the main statements of the book of Kaunda, Humanism in Zambia of 1974:

1. Humanism is a charter for the common Man, who is the centre of the universe and society; Man should never be used as a means to achieve social and economic goals; Man is appreciated for himself, because he is a human being, and not on account of success, efficiency, merit and status (pp. 1 and 3).
2. Humanism is a radical revolutionary programme to liberate Man from external domination and from internal abuse due to the animal nature of Man; Humanism tries to eliminate the 'parasites', the lazy, the greedy and the powerful elites (pp. xiii, 3, 5, 13, 15, 28, 31, 108, 113, 115).
3. Humanism combats external enemies like capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and racism. It also attacks internal problems like ignorance, poverty, hunger, disease, crime and the possible divisive aspects of tribalism (pp. 5, 11, 20, 40, 48, 80, 128-129).
4. In its first stage of development, Humanism is similar to

Socialism: it promotes a mixed economy with the private and public sectors under government control; it condemns all forms of exploitation; it establishes an egalitarian society (pp. xiii, 7, 15, 21, 52-55, 87). In a second phase, Humanism will be fully realised with the people's participation in and control of all political, social and economic institutions, with society being one large family and the actual practice of the mottos "do unto others as you want them to do unto you" and "love thy neighbour as thyself" (pp. 15-16).

5. Since Man is the centre of society, ideology is only a servant, although the first servant in importance for the success of Humanism (pp. 5, 8, 17, and 35).

6. Humanism constructs a political system which is a participatory democracy and a one party state in which everybody contributes; it is not a dictatorship since it is from and by the people; it encourages decentralisation of all sectors with emphasis on village life (pp. 8-10, 14-16, 23, 79, 97, 104, 106, 111).

7. Economic and material achievements are not the primary objectives, since the goal and end of Humanism is the betterment of Man who cannot live with bread alone (pp. 8, 52, 117-118). Man works and produces, but for the commonwealth (20). All must work hard to be self-sufficient (pp. 41, 65, 83, 108). The state controlled economy or the common ownership will be transformed into a workers' controlled economy (pp. 52-53).

8. The goal of Humanism is perfection and the total liberation of Man. At the moment, it is only the beginning in a long march towards the attainment of God's Grand Design for Man (pp. 5, 52-54 and 128).

"Humanism is looking at Man in global terms. Universally Man wants to love, to be loved, to seek truth and to create; he also wants peace, stability and progress, which translated into reality means, among other things, good food, good shelter, clean clothes and clean water, and he wants these things on the basis of freedom and justice" (Kaunda 1974:xii).

"In other words, the State and all its bureaucratic institutions will not be transcended until the stage is reached in Man's development when he is loving the Lord his God with all his heart, soul, mind and strength, and is also loving his neighbour as he loves himself and is doing unto others as he would have them do unto him. Then the teaching or prophesy

that 'Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven' will have been fulfilled. All institutions, including the State which binds Man, are transcended" (Kaunda 1974:53).

Most commentators' critiques centre upon the inability of Humanism to solve practical and physical problems. In such critiques, Humanism is not examined as an ideal-spiritual-normative ideology with moral and psychological goals and only incidental applications, as the last two pages confirm. Only a moral and spiritual perspective will allow a correct evaluation of the statements, intents and purposes of Zambian Humanism.

CHAPTER IV

BEMBA PROVERBS CLASSIFIED AND EXPLAINED

The proverbs contained in the present chapter have been collected over a period of about fifteen years (cf. pp. 4-6). Out of a personal collection of some 2,200 proverbs, 510 were retained, mainly because they are used more frequently, and not at all in view of trying to prove a point. I am convinced that these proverbial expressions represent correctly and adequately the attitudes, beliefs and values of the Bemba speakers as expressed in their proverbs. The content classification should help to understand the general message of a proverb; it is not intended to demonstrate definitively the exclusive meaning and usage of an expression in particular. There are seven categories which are in turn sub-divided into more specific topics. These general subjects cover most of the themes discussed in cultural Anthropology; they are (A) the spiritual life, (B) the family life, (C) the social life, (D) the economic life, (E) the political life, (F) moral values and (G) traditional expressions. It might be useful to refer to pages 51 to 53 for the mechanics of quoting, translating and explicating which functions as follows: (a) word by word translation; (b) literal translation; (c) some explanations; (d) lexical and grammatical explanations; (d) references as SM to Mpashi's book, *Icibemba cesu na mano ya ciko*, and as WF to *The White Fathers' Bemba English Dictionary*.

A. THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.

From the proverbs and sayings, one cannot elaborate a Bemba theology. All that can be said is that proverbs refer to a knowledge of and belief in Lesa, a superior or supreme being, force or

principle which has made humans, care for them and will judge them. The same word is used by the Ambo (Stefaniszyn 1964:134-136) and the Plateau Tonga (Colson 1954:60). As far as is known, there is no official national, regional or even familial cult to Lesa. There is no mention of personal ceremonies in honour of Lesa, but there are personal 'invocations' or recourses in instances like grave accidents, diseases and death. The word lesa means also 'thunder' and signifies the actual noise produced in the sky. Thunder was seen as a direct effect of Lesa's power and an evident manifestation of supreme might. Catholic missionaries fearing the god-thunder metonymy adopted the word mulungu for Supreme Being, God, hoping to isolate the word lesa with one meaning only, thunder. Mulungu never meant a supreme principle or one powerful transcendent being, but signifies divinities linked with natural phenomena. Mulungu is used as Supreme God in Nyanja (Ci Cewa) and under the form of Mungu in Swahili. Intermediary gods, divinities or spirits have different terms: milungu (sing. mulungu) are either divinities with mysterious origins or spirits of famous ancestors and chiefs incarnated in natural phenomena and forces like epidemics, scourges, falls, etc.; ngulu are spirits of chiefs and kings incarnated in trees, hills, rivers, etc. not far from their burial mounds; and mipashi (sing. mupashi) are manes or spirits of recently departed people and may be floating around former residences and fields. Mipashi are also protecting spirits inhabiting people. Lesa is good for all, cares for every life and will judge with absolute justice because he/she knows every human heart. Lesa is not associated directly in the unfolding of human events and actions; these are the domains of the mipashi, ngulu and milungu.

Since every event and action was or could be linked with some supernatural power or influence, there was place for several classes of religious specialists. The bashimapepo (sing. shimapepo) are called in English 'priests'; etymologically, they are the 'fathers of worship'; they were performing for the chiefs and offering to the Milungu for important occasions and scourges. The bakasesema

(sing. kasesema) can be called 'prophets' because they predict, denounce and threaten. They mumble words which are interpreted as valuable information coming from the spirits who possess them. The mfumu sha mipashi are persons temporarily possessed who communicate some information or simply utter sounds which are unintelligible; still, everybody listens attentively in case some names of evil-doers would be recognised. The bashinghanga (sing. shinganga) or nghanga can be described as the medicine men who deal with all forms or ailments with or without recourse to spirits. They are consulted for all sorts of reasons like accidents, human failures and deaths. The term shinghanga can also be used for 'priest', meaning anyone associated with the supernatural; he is the religious specialist for all occasions.

Even if there are no sanctuaries properly speaking, there are places of worship built in honor of divinities and spirits, especially the ngulu; those small huts or elevations are called mfuba (sing. lufuba). People will deposit offerings like flour to placate the spirits. (Cf. Labrecque 1946).

There is no indication of gender in the word Lesa, except that it belongs to the first class which contains nouns related to persons as a rule. For instance, it is Lesa Mukulu, Lesa great or supreme; the pronoun 'it' is used to refer to neuter rather than to a thing. This section includes only proverbs about Lesa and spirits; moral values are discussed in sections H and I.

1. Apatebeta Lesa: tapafuka cushi.

- a. There/cook God: not/there/rise smoke.
- b. Where God cooks: no smoke rises.
- c. God is like a fire without smoke, and therefore cannot be seen. God's works and ways are hidden and unknown; so it is impossible to know what God is preparing for people.
God acts without warning.
- e. SM:9. WF:142-cushi.

2. Icipa Lesa: tacishibwa. Or: Icikupa Lesa: teti ushishibe.
 - a. That/give God: not/it/be-known. Or: That/you/give God: it-is-impossible you/may-know.
 - b. What God gives cannot be known.
 - c. The future cannot be predicted and one never can be sure of what is in store for oneself.
 - e. WF:204-ishiba.

3. Ku bwito bwe pala ni kwa Lesa: e kupwila milandu yonse.
 - a. At end of baldness it/is at God: it/is to-end cases all.
 - b. The last tribunal is at God's where all cases end.
 - c. God's tribunal is the last one. Whatever happens to cases here, at last one just settlement will take place in front of God. There is always a final judgment in front of God whatever happens to human decisions and condemnations.
 - d. Bwito bwe pala. End of baldness; a court of justice in appeal. Lipala; old age manifested by baldness.
 - e. WF:71-bwito.

4. Lesa akupangukile.
 - a. God it/you/may-unmake.
 - b. May God unmake you.
 - c. May God who has made you, destroy you. (A malediction and a form of cursing).
 - e. WF:588-pangukila.

5. Lesa lushinga lwandi: ulushiputuka.
 - a. God bow-string my: which/not/is-broken.
 - b. God is my bow-string which is not broken.
 - c. God is my defense and never breaks down. God is my constant protector and does not fail in time of needs.
 - e. WF:388-lushinga.

6. Lesa mufushi: tafulila umo.
 - a. God blacksmith: not/it/forged-for one.
 - b. God is the blacksmith who does not forge for only one.
 - c. God is the powerful worker and doer who works and cares for all. God cares for all without exception.
 - e. SM:35. WF:447-mufushi.

7. Lesa: mufimbwa na mpukutu.
 - a. God: the-one/is-covered with dry-leaves.
 - b. God is like a person covered with dry leaves.
 - c. God is hidden and cannot be seen but its presence is no less true. Nobody can see God who is not seen and even if nearby is hidden to human eyes.
 - d. Lupukutu, mpukutu; dry leaves.

8. Lesa ni malyotola: e ukandyotwela.
 - a. God it-is avenger: it-is who/will/me/avenge-for.
 - b. God is the avenger who will avenge me.
 - c. Whatever happens now, here on earth, God will avenge me and rectify every wrong done to me. (Expression often used as a curse).
 - e. SM:35. WF:403-malyotola.

9. Lesa: talaba ciminine.
 - a. God: not/it/forget which/is-standing up.
 - b. God does not forget what stands up.
 - c. God helps those who help themselves. As long as a person does something, God will do its share and help.
 - e. SM:35. WF:323-Lesa.

10. Lesa: tona cakwe.
 - a. God: not/it/destroy thing/its.
 - b. God does not destroy its own.

- c. God does not destroy what it made and is its. God conserves what it has done.
 - e. SM:35. WF:323-Lesa.
11. Lesa tumbanambo: mutima kayebele.
- a. God: full-of-riches: heart let/it/tell/to.
 - b. God is rich and independent and does what it likes with it.
 - c. God is the possessor of everything and does what it likes with it. Nobody tells God how to dispose of its riches.
 - e. SM:35. WF:323-Lesa.
12. Ni Lesa tula: uwatŭlile mulondalonda nga aliputwike.
- a. It-is God help: it/who/has-helped wasp when it/would-have-been-burst.
 - b. It is God the helper who helped the wasp which would have burst.
 - c. God is the helper who helps all creatures. God cares even for a little wasp and certainly far more for men.
 - d. Mulondalonda (banulondalonda); a kind of wasp.
 - e. SM:35. WF:323-Lesa.
13. Ubwile ubwapika Lesa: tabupikululwa.
- a. Riddle which/puzzle God: not/it/is-unpuzzled.
 - b. A riddle made by God is not solved.
 - c. The things that God has made are not explainable. God's mysteries are incomprehensible.
 - e. WF:323-Lesa.
14. Ukwimba kati: kusansha na Lesa.
- a. To/dig root: to/mix with God.
 - b. To dig up medicinal root, one must mix it with God.
 - c. To make a good medicine, one needs God's help. Whatever

the value of the medicine, the cure comes from God.

e. WF:323-Lesa.

15. Umupashi usuma: tawenda na ciwa.

- a. Spirit nice: not/it/travel with bad-spirit.
- b. A nice guarding spirit does not go along with an evil spirit.
- c. A spirit cannot be both good and bad, favourable and unfavourable. A spirit will protect you or will harm you.
- e. WF:481-mupashi.

16. Umupashi uwaishibikwa: taulya muntu.

- a. Spirit who/is-known: not/it/eat man.
- b. A known spirit does not eat a man.
- c. The remembered and revered spirit does not harm a person.
If someone prays to the protecting spirit, that person is well cared for.
- e. WF:481-mupashi.

17. Uweco wa nkoko: uli ku mwine uwashitaka.

- a. Soul of hens: it/is at owner he/who/then/keep.
- b. The souls of the hens belong to their owner.
- c. The lives of the hens are the responsibility of their keeper who may decide to kill one as he pleases. Man's life is in God's hand as the lives of hens in the owner's hands.
- e. SM:71. WF:514-uweco.

18. Uwabuka mupashi wakwe: cifungalashi.

- a. Who/consult spirit his: itching-sensation.
- b. He who evokes his spirit feels itchy at the most.
- c. The person who cares about his spirit may have some small diseases or accidents, but nothing very serious will happen to him/her.

B. FAMILY LIFE

This section is sub-divided into eight categories which outline the primary relationships, rights and duties among people. They are a. family life in general; home; clan; b. marriage; husband-wife; c. mothers; d. parents; children; e. elders; f. orphans; g. affines. h. family duties; i. diverse customs.

B. - a. Family Life in General. Home. Clan.

The word lupwa is used to translate the European concept and institution of 'family'. Clan is mukowa. The clan (mukowa) is composed of people related to a common ancestor and through a clan-name; the clan-name is not only a name; it is the symbolic reality of clan-ship and the bond between members. With the introduction of christian and European practises, the word family lupwa began to be used to signify the nuclear family or the extended family with members of both sides; however, as a rule, a married woman referring to her 'lupwa' will not include her husband; if she wants to refer to her husband and children, the English 'family' will be used. Lupwa would be a portion of closely related members of a mukowa. Obligations of hospitality and cooperation exist between members of the same mukowa, even from different groups and are, of course, more rigorous in the lupwa. (Cf. p. 17). Myabo (rarely used in sing. mwabo) refers to 'home' not only as a house or residence, but as a village, section of village, island or area.

Proverbs extol the beauty, comfort and security of the native village, where people eat well and could do no wrong. For migrants, the famines and hard times are forgotten and the return journey will be easy. People may travel and wander around; the souvenir of the native homeland perdures.

19. Akacila ka mbushi: kapyanga apo kalele.
- a. Little/tail of goat: it/sweep where it/is-laid.
 - b. The little tail of the goat sweeps the place where it lies.
 - c. The goat starts by cleaning the place where it lies. Home and the family must be the first place one keeps clean and cares about.
 - e. SM:2. WF:212-kacila.
20. Akafumo katila: uko'lya. Akanwa katikila: uko'lya.
- a. Little/stomach it/twitch: where you/eat. Little/mouth...
 - b. The little stomach (or mouth) twitches where it eats.
 - c. The stomach and the mouth are activated where they eat. Home is the place to eat well and feel good.
 - d. -Tikila; applicative of -tika; twitch, twinge.
 - e. SM:5. WF:214-kafumo.
21. Akanyelele pa mwabo: kaba no bushipa.
- a. Little/ant at its/place: it/be with courage.
 - b. The little ant at its hole is full of courage.
 - c. When one is at home, one is courageous.
 - d. Bushipa, from -shipa; be courageous, strong.
 - e. WF:60-bushipa.
22. Akashi walilile: takalabwa.
- a. Little/village you/ate-in: not/it/is forgotten.
 - b. The little village you ate in well is not forgotten.
 - c. One always remembers the small village where one ate to one's fill. That little village where your mother and grand-mother prepared for and gave you so much food is never forgotten.
 - e. WF:250-kashi.

23. Akaya myabo: takelilwa.
- a. He/will/go his/places: not/he/will/be-dusked upon.
 - b. The person going home is not stopped by the dusk.
 - c. When one is on one's way home, one is not prevented from walking on in spite of the dangers (wild animals) of being out at night. Nothing prevents a person who is going home.
 - d. -Ilila; an applicative of -ila; fall (for the night).
24. Icifulo cisuma: cilakola.
- a. Abode nice: it/used-to/intoxicate.
 - b. A nice residence makes one drunk.
 - c. A nice place to live in is as good as being drunk. A good residence intoxicates, that is it makes you very happy and makes you forget your obligations of working and providing for your family.
 - e. WF:89-cifulo.
25. Iyvenu: bafuluka ne ibi.
- a. Your/places: they/long-for and bad.
 - b. Your home; they long for it even if it is bad.
 - c. There is no place like home. However poor or bad may be your home, it is yours and you will always miss it.
26. Inama shilunga fye: shibwelela kwiteko.
- a. Beasts they/hunt only: they/come-back to/lair.
 - b. Beasts go out for hunting and come back to their lairs.
 - c. One leaves home for urgent needs and then comes back home. One may drift from place to place but always comes back home some day.
 - e. WF:377-lunga.

27. Ubwikalo busuma: bulakola.
- a. Residence good: it/used-to/make drunk.
 - b. and c. (same as in proverb 24).
 - e. SM:53. WF:70-bwikalo.
28. Ulwabipa pakuya; pakubwela lwawana.
- a. It/be-bad at to/go: it to/come-back it/is-good.
 - b. To go away is bad; to come back is good.
 - c. It is always hard to leave home and go on a journey, but it is nice to come back.
 - e. WF:33,34-bipa.
29. Uwana ashili obe: takongwa nshima na nama.
- a. Child he/not/be yours: not/he/is-lured mush and meat.
 - b. The child who is not yours is not seduced by food.
 - c. The child which does not belong to you is not seduced and charmed by food. It takes more than food to replace family ties.
 - d. -Konga; lure, entice, seduce.
 - e. SM:68. WF:270-konga.
30. Uwana pabo: ushibipilwa masha.
- a. Child at/them: who/not/is-made-bad dance.
 - b. The child of the village whose dancing is not seen as being bad.
 - c. In one's own village, nothing is really bad, not even a bad dancer. Whatever happens in one's village, one is always condoned and forgiven, even something as easy as dancing.
 - e. WF:410-masha.

B. - b. Marriage. Husband-Wife Relationships.

The initiation ceremonies for girls, the betrothal and marriage rites vary a lot, not only in importance, but in length, obligation to perform them and complexity, from region to region. Only a few important points are brought up here.

Marriage negotiations can be initiated by the young man, at times the young girl and even the parents; but the future married pair must like the idea and agree to the marriage. Residence rules, work duties, financial obligations and gifts differ from place to place. For instance, the ndalama ya cisungu (money for menstruation that is intercourse) and the lupango (present, dowry), could never be eluded, but the time of remittance, the amounts and forms of gifts depend on the partners' education, status, standard of living and also generosity. Even a finance Minister would have to sit down personally or through a representative (shibukombe) to listen to and comply with the material arrangements negotiated with the girl's parents. In rural areas, young men will try to go and find work in order to fulfil their obligations; this can be done at any time from the betrothal to the final ceremonies. Before any official ceremony, the couple will live together which is known as ukwishibana, to know each other. The marriage ceremonies proper could be celebrated several months or even a few years after betrothal. The word uku-upana, to get married, is not used exclusively for formally married people only; it is used for all persons living as married people. Divorce often causes trouble for families and clans, with intricacies as to what is kept or returned among the gifts, the dowry and direct payments; the question of keeping and caring for the children does not arise since the children belong to or rather are the mother's clan; the mother's brothers often advise and help.

For the wife, faithfulness, love and child-bearing are praised, while the husband is exhorted to love and respect his wife, and to work hard. The recommendations contained in proverbs are only broad statements about married life in general, without any provision for

the legal aspects distinguishing different degrees of marital unions.

31. Cayansha: ashile nghanda.

- a. It/me/overcome: he/left house.
- b. 'It overcomes me' left the house.
- c. The man who cannot stand it any longer must leave. When there is too much trouble with one's wife and relatives, one must leave the place. (This is applied to a man's situation; a woman may also leave the house and run to her mother or other relatives, bringing along the children; but since she usually lived with other relatives in her parents' village, the man was the one who went away, leaving wife and in-laws).
- e. SM:10. WF:14-ansha.

32. Icitemenwe nyina: na bāna.

- a. What/liked mother: and children.
- b. What liked the mother must also liked her children.
- c. If a man wants to marry a woman who has children he must accept the children and love them too.
- e. SM:17.

33. Ilyashi lya nsaka: taliuminwa mukashi.

- a. Conversation of rest-hut: not/it/cause-to-be-beaten wife.
- b. The words said in the rest hut are not sufficient to give one's wife a beating.
- c. What one hears at the rest hut is not a sufficient proof to condemn a wife and beat her. People must not rely on gossip to judge people, especially wives, without further evidence. Before beating one's wife, there must be evidence.
- d. -Uminwa; applicative passive of -uma; beat.
- e. WF:820-uminwa.

34. Imiti ipalamene: taibula kulila nghwema.
- a. Trees they/be-near: not/they/lack to/cry squeaks.
 - b. Trees which are near to one another do not fail to scratch one another.
 - c. People who live together must expect differences and occasional arguments. Married life is not without troubles.
 - e. SM:23. WF:582-palamana.
35. Impulu ipya: isukulo mulomo.
- a. Whistle new: it/peel lip.
 - b. A new whistle peels off the lip.
 - c. A person who has a new whistle uses it all the time and gets sore lips. People at times abuse a new marriage and become tired of it. New things like a new marriage should not be abused because this might bring tiredness and sorrow.
 - e. SM:24.
36. Ingulube iyabulo mufyala: icena ne nkashi ne mwipwa.
- a. Wild-pig it/lack cousin: it/play and sister and niece.
 - b. The wild pig which has no cousin plays with members of its own family.
 - c. The person who has no cross-cousin will marry a parallel cousin, and a maternal uncle will marry a niece. People who have very small families may be forced to break laws and rules to be able to marry.
 - d. Mufyala (bamufyala); child of the father's sister or the mother's brother to whom one can get married; cross-cousin.
- Mwipwa (abepwa); a nephew or niece, the son or daughter of a man's sister to whom no marriage is allowed. That is, the maternal uncle calls his niece or nephew mwipwa wandi.
- Nkashi; sister; used by a man talking of his sister.
- e. SM:25. WF:533-ngulube.

37. Mu nghanda ya mubiyo: tamubikilwa buomba.
- a. In house of your/friend: not/in/set-for hot-meal.
 - b. In the house of your friend, they do not set a hot meal for you.
 - c. In the house where your wife is not, there is nobody to wait and cook for you. A person should not expect to be treated elsewhere as he/she is at home. A man's wife is not replaced.
 - d. Buomba; night bwali (mush, meal) prepared for husband coming back at night after a hunt.
 - e. SM:37; WF:30-bika.
38. Mukolo: alombele akalesêla.
- a. First-wife; who/asked little/swinging-piece.
 - b. The first wife who asked for the little dangling piece of meat.
 - c. The first wife (mukolo, opposed to mwinga, second wife) who asked for the little piece of meat; that piece of meat would have most probably been given to her anyhow. The first wife was bold enough to ask for a favour, knowing how her husband loved her. The greedy first wife who wants a piece of meat before it is divided and given away.
 - d. -Kalesêla; from -sêla; swing, oscillate, dangle.
 - e. SM:58. WF:451-mukolo.

B. - c. Mothers.

It is not surprising to find proverbs describing the devotion, hard work and courage of the Bemba mothers as well as the filial love and affection they deserve. Several years ago, A. Richards wrote: "Bemba women seem to have high status. Daughters become founders of new lines since the succession passes through them" (Richards 1956:49).

Among Bemba speakers, the responsibility of caring for infants and young children rests with the mother who is helped by a grand-mother, an aunt and even a sister. The child uses the word 'mayo' mother, not only for his natural mother, but also for his maternal aunt (mayo mwaice) younger than his mother, and mayo mukalamba for a person older than his mother. Mayo senge is the maternal uncle.

Mothers, grand-mothers and adult women in general work very hard from morning to evening, caring for their husbands and children, going to the fields, fetching water, getting fire-wood, pounding grains or cassava, keeping the house clean, washing the clothes, looking after the sick, fishing, planting gardens, plastering the interior of the house, and doing many more tasks. They also give the impression that they are happy when they are in good health. They do not seem to go fast, whether walking or pounding grain, but their constancy would tire anyone because they never stop. One may pass by for a chat, and they will talk and laugh while carrying on with their job. Any description of a Bemba mother would seem poetic, and it more prudent to let the proverbs speak for themselves.

39. Akâna ka mfubu ukwibila: ni nyina akalanga.
- a. Little-child of hippopotamus to-dive: it-is its-mother she/it/show.
 - b. It is the mother hippopotamus which shows the little one how to dive.
 - c. The children's education is provided by the mother. It is the mother's duty to instruct the children in the customs and ways of her people.
 - e. SM:4.
40. Akâna ka nsha: takalaba muti nyina alileko.
- a. Little/one of duiker: not/it/forget tree its/mother she/ate/from.
 - b. The little duiker does not forget the tree from which its mother ate.

- c. One does not forget the place where a mother found food for the children. What the mother has taught, like how to get food, is not forgotten, especially in time of hardship and famine.
- e. SM:3,4. WF:552-nsha.

41. Akana nghombe: pa mwana takaya.

- a. Little/child cow: at child not/will/it go.
- b. The little cow at her offspring does not go.
- c. A young cow will not abandon its calf. A mother will never abandon her child whatever the danger may be.

42. Icũla na menshi ya ciko: taciya.

- a. Frog and water of itself: not/it/go.
- b. A frog does not go from its water-hole.
- c. A mother will not abandon her child and her rights.
- e. WF:141-cũla.

43. Lubemba na noko: wabula noko lwakubembula.

- a. Lubemba and your/mother: you/are/without your/mother it/you/repulse.
- b. The Lubemba country with your mother; without her it repulses you.
- c. The Lubemba country is a good place as long as your mother lives there; without your mother it means nothing to you.
- d. -Bembula; reversive of -bemba, entice, seduce. Pun on the words Lubemba and -bembula.
- e. WF:27,28-bembula.

44. Nansofu pa mwana: taya.

- a. Mother/elephant at child: not/she/go.
- b. and c. same as proverb 41.
- e. WF:555-nsofu.

45. Noko akota witfla: taembele bulindu.
- a. Your-mother she/grow-old not/say: not/she/was-endowed beauty.
 - b. Your mother is growing old; don't say she never had any beauty.
 - c. Your mother is not beautiful any more due to hard work; but do not think that she was not pretty. Beauty is short-lived and old age comes soon for everyone.
 - d. -Eba, or -yemba; be pretty, be beautiful.
Bulindu; beauty.
46. Noko: tafita minwe.
- a. Your-mother: not/she/is-black fingers.
 - b. Your mother has not dirty hands.
 - c. Your mother's hands are always clean whatever she does.
What your mother does is always perfect.
 - e. SM:42.
47. Noko wa mubiyo: ushikatilwa pa lwino.
- a. Your-mother of your-friend: who/not/is-touched on self.
 - b. Your friend's mother is not treated with familiarity.
 - c. Your friend's mother cannot replace your own mother. If your mother is replaced by a step mother, it will not be the same.
 - d. -Ikata pa lwino; hold at self; be familiar; have sexual relations.
 - e. SM:43. WF:197-ikatila.
48. Tapafwa noko: apesa umbi.
- a. Not/there/she/die your mother: she/there/come another.
 - b. At your mother's death another one will not come.
 - c. When your mother is dead, nobody will ever take her place.
 - e. SM:47. WF:184-iwa.
49. Ukukana lya musha: kano uli na noko wa kuonkako.
- a. To/refuse of slave: except you/are and your/mother of to/suek/to.

- b. To refuse the breast of the slave only when you have a mother.
- c. One can be proud and difficult as long as one's mother is alive. As long as one's mother is alive, one can be independent and fussy, knowing that someone is there to turn to for understanding and help.
- e. SM:55. WF:579-onka.

50. Umwana ashenda: atasha nyina ukunaya.

- a. Child he/not/travel: he/thank his/mother to/cook.
- b. The child who has not traveled thanks his mother's cooking.
- c. The child who has not been away from home, loves his mother's cooking. The person who has never eaten anything else, thanks every bit of food cooked and given by his mother.
- e. SM:68. WF:753-tasha.

51. Umwana mubi: taluba nyina.

- a. Child wicked: not/he/forget his-mother.
- b. The wicked child does not forget his mother.
- c. However bad a person may be or become, he/she will not forget his/her mother.
- e. WF:508-mwana.

52. Umwana mukulu: cikanga na nyina.

- a. Child big: nearly and his-mother.
- b. A big child is nearly a mother.
- c. A big daughter often replaces the mother. In a large family the grown up daughters often take the place of the mother and help in nearly everything. In a family the daughters help their mother in all the tasks that must be done, especially carrying younger children who will remember the devotion and care of their sisters.
- e. WF:508-mwana.

53. Ushili noko: akutonya mu mbafu.
- a. Who/not/is your-mother: she/you/feel in ribs.
 - b. She who is not your mother can feel your ribs.
 - c. The person who is not your mother can do nothing more but touch your ribs and see how thin you have become from lack of food and care. Nobody knows how to care for a child as a mother. Nobody replaces a mother.
 - e. SM:74. WF:787-tonya.
54. Ushili noko: takutonya mutwe.
- a. Who/not/is your-mother: not/she/you/feel head.
 - b. She who is not your mother does not feel your head.
 - c. The person who is not your mother will not feel your head and see if you have a fever and are sick.
 - e. SM:74. WF:787-tonya.
55. Uuli na nyina: e uuli na filamba mu mensa.
- a. Who/is and his-mother: it-is and tears in eyes.
 - b. He who is with a mother has tears in his eyes.
 - c. As long as one's mother is alive, one can cry about her; when she is dead there are no tears left. When one's mother is dead, there is nobody to care for one's tears and sorrows.
 - e. WF:569-nyina.

B. - d. Parents. - Children.

Children have a different up-bringing depending on their being male or female. The little girls will stay with their mothers or woman relatives and share in all the chores while learning how to become wives and mothers; they also eat with the other women. The little boys stay with their parents until about 4 or 5 years of age when they usually join other boys, spending a lot of time with them, sharing a hut, and eating with them or with the adult men. Parents seem to care more for girls who often get better and more food and

stay with their mothers and other female relatives, learning how to work and about the customs and practices of the group.

As in many other matrilineal peoples, it is difficult to ascertain the role of the natural father towards his children, at least in practice; many duties concerning education and up-bringing belong to the mother's family, grand-mother, sisters and brothers. However, when the children are small and live around the father's house, the father is the master, has authority, and commands respect, particularly when he gets along well with his wife's relatives. In urban areas, the fathers' roles are expanding, and they are the ones who usually care for the material well being of their children by paying for school fees, clothes, etc. They may also help their sisters' children, but to a lesser extent.

Like everywhere else, parents are admonished to care for their children and keep an eye on them. Children are expected to resemble their parents morally, even though it is known that the contrary is also frequent, as in proverb 66.

56. Abâna ba mbwa: tabapishanya ménô.

- a. Children of dog: not/they/bite/each-other teeth.
- b. Children of one dog don't bite their teeth at each other.
- c. Pups from the same mother do not fight seriously. Brothers and sisters may disagree and quarrel, but big trouble should never arise among them.
- d. -Pishanya: reciprocative causative of -pita; pass, introduce.
- e. SM:1. WF:417-mbwa.

57. Abâna lubansa: abasha mimena, ilamuka.

- a. Children courtyard; slaves germinated-grain, it/go-away.
- b. Children are like the courtyard; slaves are like the grains which are blown away.
- c. Children stay around the house a long time while servants go.

One may rely on children who will stay around while servants are unreliable and may go away like grain at the first wind.

- d. -Amuka; go away quickly.
- e. WF:9-amuka.

58. Akabushi kali shilya: bakakumbwa mpapa.

- a. Little/goat it-is the-other-side: they/it/desire skin.
- b. They desire the skin of the little goat which is on the other side of the river.
- c. From far away a goat appears a good game, and it is only after having killed it that it is realized that it was your own. One must keep the children near if one wants to avoid misfortunes.
- e. SM:2. WF:211-kabushi.

59. Akôni kamenene nsuka: mulomo mu mbali ya lingo.

- a. Little/bird it/grew tail: lip on side of eye.
- b. The little bird grew a large tail; the lip is in the wrong place.
- c. That person had a large family but a wicked tongue which drove away all the children. It is not enough to beget children, one must be kind and care for them. A wicked tongue will destroy the best of things.
- e. SM:6. WF:270-koni.

60. Amâno yafuma mw'ifwasa: yaya mu cûlu.

- a. Brains they/come-out of/small-ant-hill: they/go to ant-hill.
- b. Intelligence comes out of the small ant-hill and goes into the large one.
- c. Ideas and new plans come from young people to enlighten elders.
- d. Lifwasa - mafwasa; small ant-hill of only one or a few feet high. Used here to signify young people.
Culu - fyulu, large ant-hill which can be from a few feet to

some twenty feet. Here, means older people.

e. SM:7. WF:407-mang.

61. Batila kafyalweni: tabatila kapalaneni.

- a. They/say let/you/be-born: not/they/say let/resemble/each-other.
- b. They can say to be born but cannot say to be or look alike.
- c. Parents have children who do not always take after them. Children of the same parents are not always alike; some may be good, others bad.
- e. SM:9.

62. Ifyuma filanonkwa: abana tabanonkwa.

- a. Goods they/used-to/be-acquired: children not/they/be-acquired.
- b. Goods can be acquired, not children.
- c. If one has no children, nothing can be done to acquire them. No amount of money or trade can make up for the lack of children.
- e. WF:547-nonka.

63. Imbwa taifwa kuli shikulu wakwe.

- a. Dog not/it/die from owner his.
- b. A dog does not die at the hand of its owner.
- c. A dog which has been living with a person is not killed by that person. (The owner of the dog will at times take the dog in the bush and tie it to a tree or will give the dog to someone who will dispose of it). Parents can punish their children, but to a limit.
- e. SM:22. WF:417-mbwa.

64. Imiti ikula: e mpanga.

- a. Trees they/grow: it-is forest.
- b. The trees which are growing are to-morrow's forest.

- c. The growing generation will assure the survival and continued strength of the family, clan, and country.
 - e. SM:23. WF:501-nuti.
65. Kakokota na yama: aba ni tata nga ampêle.
- a. Little/rat and my-maternal-uncle: he/be it-is my-father when he/me/would-have-given.
 - b. The little rat of my maternal uncle; my father would have given it to me.
 - c. The maternal uncle keeps all the relish for himself while my father would give some. (The maternal uncle has the duty to bring up and scold his sisters' children; the natural father can spoil his own children).
 - d. Kakokotwa; small rat; more used are the words mpuku and kapuku.
 - e. WF:218-kakokotwa.
66. Mamba taifyala mamba mbiye.
- a. Black-mamba not/it/beget black-mamba another.
 - b. The black mamba does not beget another black mamba.
 - c. Parents do not have children who take after them, physically or morally. (It is believed that black mambas do not beget other mambas).
 - e. WF:404-mamba.
67. Mulekele mwaice isembe: nga aikoma aleliposa.
- a. Be/leave/to child axe: when he/himself/hit he/is-going/it/throw.
 - b. Leave the young child with the axe; after hitting himself he will throw it away.
 - c. Young people must be left to learn by experience and not be told everything.
68. Nshimba cipasho: apasha banâ.
- a. Civet resemblance: he/resemble children.

- b. The civet and the "look alike"; he looks like the children.
 - c. Children and parents look alike and often behave similarly.
 - d. Cipasho, from -pasha, resemble.
 - e. SM:48.
69. Tondo ukuuma mushita: ca pa luko.
- a. Small-mouse to/hit small-track: of on family.
 - b. The small mouse to hit the small track; it is in the family.
 - c. The children follow the habits and traits of their parents.
Like the small rat who hits the family path by instinct,
so children take after their parents in many ways.
 - e. SM:48.
70. Ubukota bwa mubiyo: tababulesha bange.
- a. Help of your-neighbour: not/they/it/forbid hemp.
 - b. The helper of your companion; they do not forbid him from smoking hemp.
 - c. One is not entitled to correct the neighbour's children's faults. One must care for one's own children and leave the correction of others to their own parents.
 - e. SM:50. WF:45-bukota.
71. Ubukulu bwa nkoko: masako.
- a. Bigness of hen: feathers.
 - b. The bigness of a hen comes from its feathers.
 - c. The respectability of a mother comes from her children. A large family brings honour and security.
 - d. Lisako - masako; feathers, hair.
 - e. SM:50. WF:46-bukulu.
72. Ubululu bwatulile ku kana ka nama.
- a. Enmity it/came-from at small-child of animal.
 - b. Hard feeling was caused by the small animal.
 - c. Hard feelings and hatred between families often come from

fights of children. Children are often the cause of disputes among families.

- e. SM:51. WF:49-bululu.

73. Ubunga bushipèlele noko: mito.

- a. Flour which/not/ground your-mother: ashes.
- b. The flour which is not ground by your mother is like ashes.
- c. There is nothing comparable to the food your mother gives you.
- d. -Pela; grind.
- e. SM:51. WF:54-bunga.

74. Uwalima mwana noko: tabubashilwa mwiko.

- a. What/cultivate son your-mother: not/it/carved/for wooden-spoon.
- b. What is cultivated by the son of your mother is not worth making a wooden spoon out of.
- c. From your brother's work you cannot expect much. Don't rely on your brother or brothers for your eating and living. Children of the same family must not expect to get much help from each other.
- d. -Bashilwa; possessive applicative of -basa; carve, plane.
- e. SM:32. WF:336-lima.

75. Uwana bwa nsato: bulasatula.

- a. Offspring of pythons: it/usually/scatter.
- b. The offspring of pythons scatter away.
- c. Children sooner or later scatter and leave their parents. Parents must be ready to face the day when their children will be scattered.
- d. -Satula; send off, scatter. Lusato, nsato; python. (Pun between the words -satula and nsato).
- e. WF:67-wana.

76. Ukufunda mwana: kufikako.

- a. To/teach child: to/reach/there.
- b. To teach a child, to be there.

- c. If one hopes to teach a child, one must be present where the child is.
77. Ukukwata akāna kamo: kutanganina na Lesa.
- To/have child one: to/struggle/one-another and God.
 - To have only one child is to struggle with God.
 - Having only one child is dangerous since God can call it back and the parents are left without posterity. People must have several children.
 - Tanganina; applicative reciprocative of -tanga; compete.
 - SM:56. WF:748-tanganina.
78. Ukupila tuntunshe: na bāna ni bantuntushe.
- To/marry fat-spider: and children they/are fat/spiders.
 - To get married to a fat spider and the offspring will be fat spiders.
 - If one marries a person who is fat or has physical defects, one may expect that the children will be likewise.
 - Tuntushe - batuntunshe; venomous spider with large belly.
 - WF:809-tuntunshe.
79. Uwana kasembe: nelyo kakukoma, wakobeka pa kubea.
- Child small/axe: even it/hit/you, you/put on shoulder.
 - A child is like an axe; even if it hurts you, you still carry it on your shoulder.
 - A child is always your child even when it causes trouble; you still love him/her and care.
 - Kobeka; hook, hang up, suspend.
 - SM:68. WF:249-kasembe.
80. Uwana ashibūsha: alile musumba wa kwa wishi.
- Child he/not/ask: he/ate large-bwali of his/father.
 - The child always inquires before eating a bwali not to eat the father's bwali.
 - The child must inquire in case of uncertainty to avoid big blunders. (There is a bwali (mush) with relish reserved

for the father, and to eat it without permission is a serious offense).

- d. Musumba; large bwali, that is, flour mixed with water and served hot.
- e. SM:68. WF:59-busha.

81. Umwana noko: awana libili.

- a. Child your mother: he/is-nice twice.
- b. The son of your mother is twice over nice.
- c. Your brother is nicer than anyone else, especially if he is of the same mother. Members of one's family should be first in affection.
- e. WF:508-mwana.

82. Umwana wa bubeli: cikanga na nyina.

- a. Child of first-born: nearly it-is his-mother.
- b. The first born child is nearly a mother.
- c. The first child (especially if a girl) is like a mother.
- d. Bubeli, abstract noun from libeli, first born child.
- e. WF:38,39-bubeli.

83. Umwana wa mpumfi: ekuta bushiku nyina apulile.

- a. Child of beggar: he/eat-fill day his-mother she/has-begged.
- b. The child of a beggar eats when his mother has begged successfully.
- c. The child of a beggar is a beggar. The children have the same fate as their parents. Children depend on their parents for their food and survival.
- d. Mpumfi, from -pumba, beg, work for food.
- e. WF:439-mpumfi.

84. Umwana wa nsoka: ni nsoka.

- a. Child of snake: it-is snake.
- b. The child of a snake is also a snake.

c. Children take after their parents. The child of your enemy is also your enemy.

e. SM:67.

85. Uubûtile: e uletelela uffitile.

a. He/who is white: it-is who/bring/to who/was-black.

b. The white one brings trouble to the black one.

c. Young people often bring trouble to old people. Children are often the cause of trouble for their parents and grand-parents. (To be white means to be young, since many infants are light-coloured at birth).

e. SM:73. WF:62:bûta.

86. Uwafyala: taliwa na mbwa.

a. Who/beget: not/he/is-eaten by dogs.

b. He who has children is not eaten by dogs.

c. The person who has children will not be abandoned and will be cared for.

e. SM:75.

B. - e. Elders.

Bemba society, like others in Zambia (cf. Kaunda 1967:6 and 28), has great respect for elderly people; they are acknowledged as intermediaries in the transmission of life and the embodiment of wisdom and experience. Elderly persons are usually well taken care of, unless they have lost all their close relatives; then, they may suffer physically and mentally. Old people depend on their children and grand-children for the building and up-keep of their huts, for food, clothes, water and fire-wood; if they can, they share in the communal chores; others are simply at the mercy of their children, and occasionally of relatives and neighbours. It is rare to find elders who are completely satisfied with the way in which they are treated

even if their people do their best. They spend a lot of time together talking about past achievements and the good old times. Old men may have developed skills like weaving fish nets, making axe handles, drums, etc.; otherwise, they may be idle most of the time. Old women will try to help with all kinds of home chores like pounding grain, cleaning the house, washing clothes, and playing with infants and small children. Elderly women are also very important persons to be consulted on many issues like teaching the young, treating diseases, planning girls' initiations, and advising on about every issue related to customs and traditional life.

87. Akape kakote: tabakasûla.

- a. Little/basket it-little/old: not/they/it/reject.
- b. They do not reject the little old basket.
- c. People do not discard or despise old people; rather they keep and cherish them.

88. Apo lusengeleke: taluputuka.

- a. Where it/is-thin: not/-it/break.
- b. Where the bowstring is weak, it does not break.
- c. Old people may appear weak, but they are not the first to die.
- c. -Sengeleke; be thin, slim; lu stands for lushinga, bowstring.
- e. WF:674-sengeleka.

89. Kolwe wakota: asabilwa na banga.

- a. Monkey who/is-grown old: he/is-gathered/for and children.
- b. The old monkey has fruits gathered for him by his children.
- c. In a family, older members who can no longer obtain food are cared for by younger ones.
- e. SM:32. WF:266-kolwe.

90. Nakulu wakota: tabika nkunka ku bëshikulu.
- Grand-mother who/is-old: not/she/place branches for grand-children.
 - The old grand-mother does not put aside branches for her grand-children.
 - The grand-mother is now too old to prepare little 'things' for her grand-children, and she is not expected to do so because all know of her devotion and work.
 - Nkunka; branches to be burnt into ashes as seasonings.
 - WF:544-nakulu.
91. Ubukota: bufuma pa numu.
- Help: it/come-out from back.
 - Help comes from the back.
 - Help will come later on from the infant carried on the back. Parents may expect to be helped in their old age by the children they have carried on their backs.
 - SM:50. WF:43-bukota.
92. Ubuta bwa mukalamba: bulashila pa bulele.
- Bow of old-person: it strike at it/is-lain.
 - The bow of the old man strikes where it rests.
 - An old man cannot go hunting any longer, but his experience of the hunt is still useful. An old man, by his presence, has the right to share in the kill.
 - Lashila; applicative of -lasa; wound, strike.
 - SM:52. WF:62-buta.
93. Umukalamba apusa kabwe: tapusa kêbo.
- Old-person he/miss little/stone: not/he/miss little/law.
 - An old person may miss at throwing a stone, but does not break the law.
 - An old man may not be skilled at hunting, but his advice

about what is right and wrong is indispensable.

e. SM:60. WF:449-mukalamba.

B. - f. Orphans.

For children who have lost their mother, there might be difficult time, unless there are maternal aunts or a grand-mother alive. There are no abandoned children, but in cases of shortage of food and poverty, some orphans were not always treated as well as children living with their mothers.

94. Umwana wa nshiwa: talya nyanje nkulu.

- a. Child of orphan: not/he/eat ear-of maize big.
- b. The orphan does not eat large ears of maize.
- c. An orphan often gets what he can get and is not expected to be difficult. An orphan must be happy with the food given to him, usually after the other children are fed.
- d. Nshiwa, orphan; a child without relatives.
- e. SM:69. WF:554-nshiwa.

B. - g. Affines.

People speak about and refer to the many customs and practices imposed on in-laws, whether followed or not. Especially stringent, were the obligations and relationships between the bride-groom and the mother and father of the bride. The young man was not allowed to look at or speak to his future mother-in-law even though she could address him, mainly to scold, rebuke or, at times, insult him. Any angry retort by the young man would have brought that proposed union to an early termination, unless a substantial fine could be paid. This situation can last until after the birth of one child or two. Even then, there will always be reciprocal avoidance; the mother-in-law will remain

bitter at having lost a daughter; the son-in-law will remember what he had to go through to obtain a wife.

Towards the father of the bride, the future husband must show great marks of respect, such as offering a small gift if he must address him, and being ready to do the tasks at hand. Some time after the marriage ceremony, this extravagant respectful attitude and the servitude decrease to be replaced by respect and occasionally friendship.

Towards the nalume (maternal uncle), the same marks of respect as shown to the bride's father are exacted. All other relatives, especially on the mother's side, must also be treated with deference without the obligation of offering gifts.

The bride (future wife) is obliged to show respect to her in-laws when she meets them, which may be quite rare.

The marriage ceremony and contract are completed with the kwingisha (to cause to enter) rite, in which the young man enters his wife's parents' house with eating, drinking and other ceremonies. The wife must remain absolutely still while being admonished and rebuked on her past behaviours (real or imaginary) by every guest who presents a small gift at the same time. In theory, the obligations of the mako (in-laws) are terminated with the kwingisha (cause to enter) ceremony in relation to all in-laws, except the mother-in-law who will keep her prerogatives and can carry on rebuking her son-in-law.

95. Akalimo ushishi: takatwalwa ku buko.

- a. Little/work you/not/know: not/it/is-carried to in-laws.
- b. The little work that you do not know is not carried to your in-laws.
- c. The job that you know nothing about is not done in front of your in-laws. Don't try to show off in front of your in-laws; if you fail, you will be despised.
- d. Ushishi for ushishibe.
- e. SM:3. WF:223-kalimo.

96. Icine nkashi: cikala na mashinshi ku musengele.
- Owner sister: it/sit with execra on bed.
 - The sister's brother sits with execra on the bed.
 - The wife's brother can do all kinds of silly and insulting things that one has to bear on account of the wife. A man has to be strong and bear with the antics of the in-laws who have all kinds of rights.
 - Cine nkashi; owner of sister, that is, brother of the wife.
 - SM:16. WF:112-cine nkashi.
97. Ifya ku buko: fyatumbwile kabundi amenso.
- Things of in-laws: they/made/stick/out lemur eyes.
 - The things with the in-laws made the eyes of the lemur stick out.
 - Often the obligations towards the in-laws are very exacting and tiring to the point of being so fatigued that the eyes drop out. Be careful with your in-laws who may profit by you; you must help and serve them but not to the point of endangering your health.
 - Kabundi, tubundi; small tree lemur.
-Tumbilwa, applicative of -tumbula; reveal, stick out.
 - SM:19. WF:44-buko.
98. Ku buko ni kwikoshi: bafwenako libili.
- At in-laws it-is at/neck: they/scratch/to twice.
 - With the in-laws it is as with the neck; they scratch twice.
 - Before undertaking anything towards the in-laws, one has better think twice, since one may lose one's neck.
 - SM:33. WF:44-buko.
99. Mushebwa: aile na mashinshi kwa banafyala.
- He/not/is-told: he/went with execra to-home his/mother/in-law.
 - He who did not listen went with execra to his mother-in-law.

- c. The man who would not listen and finished by exceedingly insulting his mother-in-law. Not listening to advice will bring the most despicable mistakes which will bring an end to the marriage.
- d. Mashinshi; filth, excreta, from -shinda, wipe oneself.
- e. SM:39. WF:475-munshabwa.

100. Uwama nanyala: amunina lino.

- a. He/who/hit his/mother-in-law: he/her-hit once.
- b. He who decides to hit his mother-in-law must hit her well.
- c. If one decides on hitting one's mother-in-law, it must be done thoroughly, because there will not be another chance, for the marriage will evidently be broken.
- e. SM:76. WF:404-nanyala.

101. Wikabala muko: taulafla.

- a. Don't/go/start in-laws: not/you/yet/eat-in.
- b. Don't provoke your in-laws before sleeping with your wife-to-be.
- c. Don't insult your in-laws before ratification of the marriage. Be sure that the marriage ceremonies are all completed before insulting your in-laws.
- d. -Lila (cisungu); lit. eat menstruations; that is, to have first sexual relations with bride.
- e. WF:450-451-muko.

B. - h. Family Duties. Fidelity. Work. Understanding.

What has been said in the introduction of section B. - a (p. 179) need not be repeated here. Fidelity for the wife and to a lesser degree for the husband is the rule. A known and provable case of adultery would ordinarily require a divorce with the ensuing material complications of returning some of the gifts. The ndalama sha cisungu

(money for menstruations) which constitutes the main gift is never returned. There may be some trouble as to other donations like clothes, bicycles, radios, etc. Most of the time, there is a friendly arrangement with a fine paid and a few insults traded, but the marriage is not broken.

Community work between husband and wife is always recommended; marriage imposes obligations to two people to live and work together in duties which must be performed by the two, with perseverance and understanding.

102. Amenso ya mukundilwa: yengi.

- a. Eyes of he/is-fornicated/against: many.
- b. Many are the eyes of the person whose spouse commits adultery.
- c. There are always eyes to see a person committing adultery and ready to inform the spouse.
- d. -Kundilwa; passive applicative of -kunda; fornicate.
- e. SM:8.

103. Icinci wa babili: te kuba cinci uli weka.

- a. Work of two: it-is-not to/be work you/are you/alone.
- b. The work of two is not meant to be done by one alone.
- c. Once married, the work must be done in cooperation and nothing should be carried on independently.
- e. SM:11. WF:110-cinci.

104. Ifyakulyo bushiku: fitulikila ku malushi.

- a. Those/things/to/eat night: they/are-pierced in vomits.
- b. What is eaten at night it comes out by throwing up.
- c. What you do at night will be known by the effects. Adultery is made known by pregnancy, disease or death.
- d. -Tulika; causative of -tula; pierce, come out.
Malushi, from -luka, vomit.
- e. SM:19. WF:795-tulika.

105. Inghanda ya buci balengilamo: cikali kutumpamo munwe.
- a. House of honey they/used-to/go/in: wicked to/dip/in finger.
 - b. People may enter a house of honey; it is wicked to touch it.
 - c. One may get to a bee-hive; what is bad is to eat from it.
One may enter a house with due consideration; what is bad is to try to be familiar with the people living in it and to take liberties.
 - e. WF:571-nghanda.
106. Inkutu ya lupwa: itwala ku mwa.
- a. Touchiness in family: it/conduct to death.
 - b. Irascibility in a family leads to destruction.
 - c. Over-sensibility in family relationships leads to destruction of the family.
 - e. SM:26. WF:385-lupwa.
107. Ku lupwa ni ku mupya: takulube mbule.
- a. At family it/is at burnt-place; not/in/is-lost piece-of-wood.
 - b. In the family it is as in the burnt place; nothing is lost, not even a little piece of wood.
 - c. In a family nothing is forgotten. With relatives one must be careful since all is remembered.
 - d. Mupya; a place cleared by bush fire or burnt for sowing.
Mbule; a little piece of wood.
108. Ni kalulu wa matanda ayengi.
- a. It/is rabbit of mats many.
 - b. It is the hare with many mats.
 - c. It is the person who has many sleeping places and many partners. (Said of a regular adulterer or fornicator).
 - d. Kalulu, tululu; hare, rabbit; cunning person.
 - e. WF:225-kalulu.

109. 'Pita uko': te mubiyo wa nshila.
- a. 'Pass there': it-is-not your/companion of road.
 - b. Pass over here; this is not your traveling companion.
 - c. One does not speak brutally to one's marriage partner, not in the same way as one would talk to a traveling companion. Husband and wife must be considerate and talk to each other kindly.
 - e. SM:44. WF:613-pita.
110. Ubucende mafi: tupōsa ukutali.
- a. Adultery dung: we/throw far.
 - b. Adultery is like dung; one goes far to do it.
 - c. To commit adultery one must go far to hide it.
 - e. SM:49. WF:39-bucende.
111. Ukufyala: kulisha mafi.
- a. To/beget: to/cause/to-eat dung.
 - b. To beget means to have to deal with dung.
 - c. To have children entails many difficult and unpleasant tasks. Parents must be ready to endure a lot to bring up children.
112. Ukutea: no kulengula.
- a. To/set-trap: and to/keep-watch.
 - b. To set a trap and watch it.
 - c. It is easy to beget children, but one must bring them up with care.
 - e. WF:755-tea.
113. Umucende: tapoka nghanda.
- a. Adulterer: not/he/take house.
 - b. The adulterer does not take the house.
 - c. The adulterer has no right over the woman or the child born of him. Adultery gives no right of paternity, and

the child, especially a girl cannot be claimed at the time of marriage (to share in the dowry and other gifts).

e. SM:59. WF:444-mucende.

114. Umuto pa lupwa: tawitika.

- a. Sauce of family: not/it-is-spilled.
- b. The family sauce is not spilled.
- c. The family troubles are not to be spread around, should remain within and never extended to involve strangers.
- d. -Itika; intransitive of -itila; spill, pour.
- e. SM:67. WF:385-lupwa.

B. - 1. Customs About Women, Marriage, Children, Youth, Polygamy.

The following proverbs are comments, pieces of advice or generalizations about some aspects of married life, about the fact that there are many partners to choose from, that returning to a former partner has little chance of success, that having two or more wives is a difficult predicament, etc.

115. Abanakashi: mafi ya mpombo.

- a. Women: dung of duiker.
- b. Women are as numerous as duiker dung.
- c. There are many women; if this one does not want you, leave her and go choose another one. It is useless to fight over a marriage partner, since there are many others who may be as good. (This is said by men whose spouses have gone home, divorced or even refused them; men have no power to resume married life unless the women want it; women are also the ones to agree to a marriage. Often, the only resort left to men is to dismiss the whole affair and go somewhere else).
- e. SM:1.

116. Akabwelelo: kalalye.
- a. Little/return: it/used-to/eat.
 - b. What comes back eats up.
 - c. To come back to a former wife has very little chance of success. Coming back to a former partner eats someone up.
 - e. SM:2. WF:212-kabwelelo.
117. Icupo ga musana: ica mutwe caba na bene.
- a. Marriage of loins: of head it/is and owners.
 - b. The marriage is of the loins; the head always belongs to each partner.
 - c. In marriage, the right to physical relations exists, but the right of life and freedom remains. Married life gives physical rights but no absolute rights to thinking and talking.
 - d. Musana; loins, waist.
 - e. SM:18. WF:142-cupo.
118. Impapa: taipapa musha.
- a. Skin: not/it/carry slave.
 - b. The skin does not carry a slave.
 - c. The child, even if born a slave, is not legally a slave if the father is a free man. The child takes the status of the father. It can also mean that even if the mother is a slave, the child is not. Slavery is not transmitted from parents to children.
 - e. SM:23-24. WF:434-mpapa.
119. Inghombe: shupana mwitanga.
- a. Cows: they/marry/each-other in/stable.
 - b. Cows get married in their stable.
 - c. People get married in the same ethnic group. It is advisable to marry around one's village.
 - e. SM:20.

120. Mukolwe pa kukula: epo afune pindo.
- a. Cock in to/grow: there-it-is he/broke wing.
 - b. In growing up is when the cock broke its wing.
 - c. Young people often get into trouble before they become adults. During adolescence it is the time to make mistakes which should not be repeated during adulthood.
 - e. SM:38. WF:343-lipindo.
121. Ukutangalila kubili: kwaipewe cimbi.
- a. To/stretch-legs two-ways: it/killed hyena.
 - b. To stretch the legs towards two places killed the hyena.
 - c. It is dangerous to do two things at the same time. To have two wives and to care for them and their parents may be a difficult undertaking.
 - d. -Tangalila; applicative of -tangala; stretch legs apart.
 - e. WF:748-tangalila.
122. Uwana wa nghwena: akulila ku matete.
- a. Child of crocodile: he/grow in reeds.
 - b. The little crocodile grows among the family reeds.
 - c. A little crocodile does what crocodiles do in the reeds.
(A way of explaining some possible sexual behaviours during youth).
 - e. SM:69. WF:574-nghwena.
123. Uwaikete fibili: afwile ku menshi.
- a. He/who/caught two-places: he/died in water.
 - b. He who was busy with two things drowned.
 - c. With two interests at the same time, it is very dangerous.
Having to care for two wives may bring hardship.
 - e. WF:184-fwa.

SOCIAL LIFE

The ancestors are considered as the links between the present and the past and as the founders of the society. They were the owners of the land and their spirits protect it. (C.- a). The elders, men and women who are great-grand- or grand-parents, are respected and listened to because they have lived long years sharing the joys and sufferings of all. From their activities and toils, they have acquired experience in dealing with spirits, in court-cases, marriage practices and at times in curing diseases. (C.-b).

Persons yielding power command obedience but they have responsibilities and must serve the people. Hard work and justice are required of chiefs, head-men and other persons in authority, while the subjects must show loyalty and obedience. (C.-c).

The village life used to be relatively easy-going and free; one could stay on or move away; it was possible to go away in order to establish a new village or simply join in with other people. The establishment of a new village requires the permission of the chief and of course, a few people must be willing to accompany the founder.

Proverbs mention class distinctions such as those between 'aristocrats' and 'common' people. Except for a few important chiefs and their immediate families, all shared the same life and were subject to the same laws. The chiefs and head-men were the administrators of the land, garden plots, beaches, and had influence and power to decide in matters of justice and in the appointments to some positions. Proverbs, because they belong to all people, are critical of higher class persons and remind them of their obligations. (C.-e).

Great importance is attached to conversation, to listening and sharing ideas which are the source of knowledge, wisdom and understanding; whoever does not talk and listen is left in darkness if not in his/her own stupidity. (C.-g).

Two aspects of the social life are especially stressed in proverbs: first, solidarity and sharing, and second, the law of hospitality towards visitors and travelers and the corresponding obligation for guests of not abusing hospitality. (C.-h and i).

Proverbs deal with laws, regulations, treatments of culprits, duties of judges, behaviour of the accused and injustice towards the poor; the control of legal practices by 'independent' proverbs could be very efficient.

C. - a. Ancestors.

The fikolwe (sing. cikolwe) are the ancestors who founded the villages, owned the land and established the customs. They are also remembered as manes when their spirits are incarnated as mentioned in page 173. The word fikolwe, ancestors, refers to people of old, in general; however, among the ancestors, a few names are still known in legendary narratives based in part on historical facts.

124. Apabola Bunde: ne micila ya kwa Bunde.

- a. Where/rot Bunde: and tails of Bunde.
- b. Where Bunde decays and the tails of Bunde decay there too.
- c. Where an ancestor dies, his descendants will also die there.
People expect and hope to die and be buried where their ancestors did.
- d. Bunde; name of a legendary person; an ancestor in general.
- e. SM:8. WF:53-Bunde.

125. Ifikolwe: ne calo.

- a. Ancestors: and country.
- b. The ancestors and the country are one.
- c. People of the past and those of the present time are one.
What the ancestors have established and decided upon must be carried on to-day.
- e. WF:93-cikolwe.

C. - b. Elders' Wisdom and Experience.

There are several words used to mean elders. Mukulu (bakulu) and mukalamba (bakalamba) imply a person of a certain age who would be a grand-father or grand-mother with experience and a good name. Mukote (bakote) refers mainly to age, to persons who are not able to follow the younger generations either physically or mentally. A sentence which starts with the words "fwe bakote", we old-timers, will be followed, quite often, by statements about the way things should be done, about how everything has changed and how difficult it is to live with the people of to-day. As indicated in the preceding page, fikolwe (cikolwe) are ancestors who died a long time ago and were founders of villages; at times, old people use that term to refer to themselves as old and very important.

Proverbs mention the knowledge, experience, honesty, foresight, carefulness, success in consulting spirits and prudence of elders. They must be listened to and taken care of. However, they must also show respect to others.

Elders are proud of their people, their land and their achievements; most of them are skilled conversationalists and will talk at length about past events and customs which are often embellished for the benefit of the listeners. However, with the rapid changes occurring, many old people are lost and complain about the fact that they are not consulted any longer.

126. Akakulu kakulu kacinda amasha: kafenenkesha.

- a. Little/old-man little/old-man he/dance a dance: he/dance/ completely.
- b. The old little man when he dances, he dances thoroughly.
- c. What an old man undertakes, he does it well. If an elder decides to dance, it is because he knows that dance and will perform well. Experience counts in many situations.
- d. Masha; kind of dance with a lot of bodily motions.

-Fenenkesha; do until the end; do properly.

e. SM:2-3. WF:218-kakulu.

127. Akanwa ka mwefu: takabepa.

a. Mouth of beard: not/it/lie.

b. The mouth which has a beard does not lie.

c. An elder says the truth. Nothing but the truth is expected from elderly people.

e. SM:4. WF:511-mwefu.

128. Apali abakulu: insengo tashipotama.

a. Where/are elders: horns not/they/get-twisted.

b. Where there are elders, the horns do not get mixed up.

c. In the presence of elders, the consultation of spirits is well done and brings good results. In important endeavours, one should avail oneself of the knowledge of elders. (To consult spirits, horns are used).

d. -Potama; be twisted, bent, curved.

e. SM:8. WF:622-potama.

129. Apesula citundu: tapesula lupe.

a. Where/fill small-basket: not/where/fill large-basket.

b. What fills the small basket does not fill the large one.

c. A few words might satisfy a young person but it takes a long explanation to satisfy an elder. It takes a lot to fool an elder.

d. Citundu (fitundu); small basket. Lupe (ndupe); big, round basket.

e. WF:205-isula.

130. Icikelwe: tacikolwa bowa.

a. Ancestor: not/he/get-drunk mushroom.

b. An ancestor does not get intoxicated by a mushroom.

c. An experienced elder knows the difficulties and is not

easily taken off-guard or placed in an inextricable position.

- d. Bôwa (amôwa); mushroom.
- e. SM:15. WF:93-cikolwe.

131. Likanga likote: litalishe misolo.

- a. Guinea-fowl old: it/bring-trouble young-ones.
- b. The old guinea-fowl brings trouble to the young ones.
- c. Old people at times bring trouble to their children by their behaviour and remarks. Younger persons must bear with the troubles brought upon them by elderly people.
- d. Musolo (misolo); young of birds.
- e. SM:20. WF:330-likanga.

132. Impuni nkulu: yalombele sembe.

- a. Forehead old: it/asked/for axe.
- b. The forehead of the old man asked for an axe.
- c. The look of an elder suffices to make known a wish or a need. Old age is more effective to obtain what is needed than asking or anything else.
- e. SM:24. WF:439-mpuni.

133. Inkwale ya cilalu: taifwa.

- a. Partridge of old-age: not/it/die.
- b. The old partridge does not die.
- c. An elderly person does not die of hunger and always finds something to eat. Experience saves from peril.
- d. Cilalu; old age; from -laluka, last long.
- e. SM:26. WF:97-cilalu.

134. Insalu taikokola ku bupya: ikokola ku bukote.

- a. Cloth not/it/last-long at newness: it/last at oldness.
- b. A piece of cloth is not new for long; it is old for long.
- c. A garment is new for a few days only. (A warning to young people to remind them that youth is short-lived and that

old age comes soon and lasts long).

e. WF:58-bupya.

135. Kacindincindi: cindiko mwana wa mubiyo, iwe ng'akucindike.

- a. Let/me/respect: respect child of your/companion; you when' he/you/may/respect.
- b. Mutual respect; respect the child of your neighbour and he will respect you.
- c. Elderly people must respect youngsters if they want to be respected. Old people who are always scolding and insulting younger persons may expect to be treated likewise.
- e. SM:131.

136. Mwitumba lya mukulu: tamubula kambala.

- a. In/pocket of elder: not/in/lack little-relish.
- b. In the pocket of an elder there is always a 'leftover' of food.
- c. Elderly people foresee what is coming up and are prepared in advance. In time of famine the experience of elders is a security.
- e. SM:42. WF:227-kambala.

137. Nshumfwa fya bakulu: amenene uwefu kwikoshi.

- a. I/not/listen things/of elders: he/grew beard at/neck.
- b. I don't listen to the elders' advice; he grew a beard around the neck.
- c. Something terrible is likely to happen to someone who does not heed elders' advice.
- e. SM:43. WF:331-likoshi.

138. Tufunda cili mw'ifwasa: tatufunda cili mu cûlu.

- a. We/teach it/is in/small-ant-hill: not/we/teach in big-ant-hill.
- b. We teach to small ant-hills (children) and not to big

ant-hills (elders).

- c. One teaches children but not elders. The old people are often hard-headed and cannot be taught to change their ways.
- e. WF:329-lifwasa.

139. Ukulomba kwa mukalamba: mënso.

- a. To/beg of elders: eyes.
- b. The elders ask with their eyes.
- c. An elder makes known by his eyes what he needs. An elder does not have to be explicit in what he needs and wants.
- e. SM:56. WF:355-lomba.

140. Ukusebe pala: kutesha, kutekanya.

- a. To/clear-out baldness: to/listen, to/take-care.
- b. To become bald means to listen and be careful.
- c. With old age a person has learned to listen and be careful.
- e. SM:57. WF:342-lipala.

141. Umukalamba: talangwa cintelelwe.

- a. Elder not/he/is-shown shade.
- b. One does not indicate the shade to an elder.
- c. An elderly person knows what he or she wants and can get it. Old people must not be pushed around and forced to get or do things against their will.
- e. SM:61. WF:116-cintelelwe.

142. Umujilo ucingile abakalamba: taoca.

- a. Fire which/screen elders: not/it/burn.
- b. The fire which is screened by elders is not dangerous.
- c. If one is protected by elders, even a bad case will be dealt with advantageously. With the elders on your side, whatever wrong was done will be overlooked.
- d. -Cinga; screen, shelter, protect from.
- e. SM:63. WF:461-mujilo.

143. Ukanya mukulu: takota.

- a. He/who/refuse/to elder: not/he/grow-old.
- b. He who refuses an elder dies young.
- c. Persons who are stingy and harsh towards elders die young.
- e. SM:73. WF:465-mukulu.

G. - c. Authority, Respect for Authority. Duties of Persons
in Power.

There is no technical word to translate authority. Ubufumu means chieftainship, the fact of being a chief, being in power; ukuba na maka, to be with force, to have authority, is applied to persons who have personal or delegated power; ukuteka means to govern, to be in charge. The concept of 'being in charge', of having responsibility for governing, of having power for the better good of all, is found everywhere in Bembaland. The idea of a dictatorship, of absolute power, does not exist. Persons must be in authority and they must be respected; on the other hand they must work for and serve the people under them.

144. Butembele: ngo bulile.

- a. It/treat-well: when it/eat-from.
- b. Treat it well if you want to eat from it.
- c. Treat authority well if you want to get something from it.
Respect the chiefs if you want favours from them.
- d. Butembele; bu stands for bufumu, chieftainship. -Temba,
treat well.
- e. SM:10. WF:760-temba.

145. Icikulu: taçalululwa.

- a. Greatness: not/it/is-changed.
- b. Greatness is not changed.

- c. What is great stays great. Greatness and authority remain all the time whatever happens. A born leader stays that way.
- d. -Aluluwa; passive applicative of -alula; change, turn over.
- e. SM:15. WF:94-cikulu.

146. Imfumu: taifvala mfumu mbiye.

- a. Chief: not/it/beget chief his/companion.
- b. A chief does not beget another chief.
- c. A chief is not succeeded by his children. (A chief, except among the Lwapula people of Kazembe, is succeeded by a nephew, a brother or a sister). A chief is not responsible for the blunders and mistakes of his successor.
- e. WF:421-mfumu.

147. Ukufutula mukulu: kunakilila.

- a. To/subdue important-man: to/be meek.
- b. To win an important person over requires meekness.
- c. Meekness and kindness may overcome greatness and might. To obtain something from an important person one has to be humble.
- e. SM:55. WF:182-futula.

148. Ukuli ubukulu: bwine buyeba.

- a. Where/is greatness: itself it/say.
- b. Where there is greatness, it shows itself.
- c. Greatness is evident and one should not have to mention it. If a person is an aristocrat and is really great, that person's actions and behaviours will be great too.
- e. WF:46-bukulu.

149. Umuti ukulu: tabunina ku mabula.

- a. Tree big: not/it/climb-in at leaves.
- b. A big tree is not climbed by the leaves.
- c. To approach an important person, one must proceed with

care and civility. To reach an important man, the right steps must be followed; just as one must use the big branches to reach the top of a large tree.

e. WF:501-muti.

C. - d. Village. Clan.

The village, unushi (imishi), is a unit of a few families at its founding, led by a head-man. It can develop into a large agglomeration of a few hundreds, rarely into the thousands like Kazembe's; the average village would be between 50 to 300 persons.

Villages can be isolated as in the Northern Province or connected one to the other as on the shores of lake Bangweulu and along the Lwapula river.

There are many ties of kinship and friendship in a village but none which determines how a village is initially established and on what lines it will develop and for how long. Some villages are permanent, some last only a few years, some move from place to place.

The clan, unukowa (imikowa) (cf. pp. 16 and 17) contains the people related to a common ancestor (often lost in the distant past) and belonging to the one group possessing the same emblem or clan-name which is transmitted matrilineally.

150. Akôni kekala muti katemenwe.

- a. Little/bird it/stay tree it/loved.
- b. The little bird rests where it likes.
- c. A person is free to go and live in the village he/she chooses. Like a bird free to stay in the tree of its choice, everybody is free to go and live in the village which pleases. Nobody can be forced to stay and live

in a village.

- e. SM:6. WF:270-koni.

151. Shacepa nshimu: shingila lupako lumo.

- a. They/are-few honey-bees: they/enter hole one.
- b. The bees are few they enter in the one hole.
- c. When the bees are too few to make a hive they join in with another bee-hive. When a village becomes too small, its people join in with another one. The minority follows the majority.
- d. Lushimu, nshimu; honey bee.
- e. SM:29. WF:381-lupako.

152. Umukowa wa mu bwalwa kape: kalasapuka.

- a. Clan of in beer small-basket: it/used-to/be-worn-out.
- b. A clan made up of beer will soon be worn out.
- c. Family relationships based on beer drinking or other similar advantages are soon destroyed. Family ties should not be based on material privileges alone.
- e. WF:663-sapuka. Cf. SM:61. Umukowa wa pa nsaka: kape kala-sapuka.

III. - E. Social Ranks and Statuses.

In Bemba traditional society, there were and still are differences in authority, privileges and wealth. These people in 'high' positions acted as individuals, and not as a group which would have exploited the other groups. For instance, it is common to find a chief's brother or other relatives in small villages working like everyone else.

It is an open question as to whether the village head-man (mwine mushi) is an aristocrat with some privileges or status; it is indeed very difficult in the ordinary daily life to notice

any difference at all between the head-man and other villagers; he may work harder and must see to the general well-being of everyone; he must organise some communal chores such as repairing bridges and roads, thatching public building roofs, without personal benefit.

Bemba speakers use several expressions to designate those in authority like chiefs and now people in Government positions; aba butâko (those of the governing) are people running the country on whatever capacity; mfumu, bamfumu, bashamfumu (chief - chiefs) are terms used for chiefs and polite expressions employed towards government people.

The word mupabi (bapabi) means commoner, ordinary village people who have to work without privilege or honour, obeying orders. It is a self-applied term for everyone who is not in a position of authority, follows commands and performs menial jobs; fwe bapabi means we the commoners, the lowly, we who work, in opposition to the others who order people around as supervisors or leaders who are believed to do very little work.

As pointed out earlier (pp. 136-139), differences exist between rich and poor; some people have salaried jobs while others live on a subsistence level, or are unemployed. It is not always precise to speak of the people who live in urban areas as richer than the rural people, although there are more opportunities for work in towns; there are also more chances of exploitation and failure. Proverbs are at times critical of people in authority and the rich (cf. 387-389).

The common people may not have much property and real influence, but they still form the mass of the country which cannot exist without their work and support. Common village people may be poor and have little power; but they have the right to speak, and often they get very vocal and persistent in their demands which may go as far as getting rid of some inefficient and corrupt leaders.

153. Apasâmikila umutali: umwipi teti asâmune.

a. Where/place-high tall-man: short-man cannot he/put-low.

- b. Where a tall man puts up a thing, a short one cannot get it down.
 - c. A commoner cannot make a person in higher rank change a decision. When decisions are made by the authority, it is final.
 - d. -Sāmikila: -sāmika; place up high; place on top.
-Sāmuna; take down.
 - e. SM:9. WF:653-sāmika.
154. Fwe bapabi tuli mbule: tatubfipilwa pa buta.
- a. We common-people we/be arrow-heads: not/we/are-bad at bow.
 - b. We common people are like arrow-heads which are good on a bow.
 - c. Common people are of little importance in daily affairs except when it comes to war. Don't disregard ordinary people who are of great importance in cases of necessity.
 - e. WF:416-mbula.
155. Icikulu: cikala ku cibiye.
- a. Greatness: it/stay at its/companion.
 - b. Greatness stays with greatness.
 - c. Important people stick together and stay that way. Aristocrats and important leaders do not mix with commoners.
 - e. WF:94-cikulu.
156. Mukolwe wa musumba: tangala na wa mfula.
- a. Cock of capital: not/he/play and of rain.
 - b. The cock of the capital does not play with commoners.
 - c. An important person from the capital does not associate or become familiar with commoners.
 - d. Mfula; rain; village in the bush with an unimportant head-man.
 - e. SM:38. WF:421-mfula.
157. Mukolwe wa musumba: ushikompe nsenga.
- a. Cock of capital: who/not/peck sand.

- b. The rooster of the capital who does not peck the sand.
- c. People living in the capital enjoy the good life of the chief. Rich people do not share in the same hardships as the poor.
- d. -Kompa; peck, look for food. Lusenga (nsenga); sand.
- e. WF:268-kompa.

158. Nine tete: nshangila mu lya munghomba.

- a. It's/I small-bird: I/not/play on of big-bird.
- b. It's me the small bird who do not need the wings of the big bird.
- c. I am a small person, but I do not need the help of a big one. I am a commoner and I can fend for myself. I may look weak and unimportant but I don't need the help of anyone.
- d. Tete, batete; very small bird. Lya, stands for lipindo, wing; Munghomba, minghomba; hornbill; large bird.
- e. WF:12-angila.

159. Umwipi: tafunda mutali.

- a. Short-man: not/he/teach tall-man.
- b. A short man does not teach a tall man.
- c. A commoner does not rebuke a person of high rank.
- e. SM:72. WF:517-mwipi.

C. - f. Legal life. Court Cases. Justice. Punishments. The Poor.

Since there was no written legal code in Bembaland, many sayings regarding laws and regulations were stereotyped and transmitted orally. There are rules and laws known by the people who work with the chiefs and the councilors at the court; they are specialists in court procedures.

The word cilye (filye) meeting, court, is most often used; the word koti from English is also heard.

A case of whatever form is called a mulandu (milandu), which

means having done something wrong, illegal, a reprehensible action.

One must notice that the poor people often seem to be presented as having little chance to win a court case; a poor person is not only materially deprived but also without social status and power.

160. Akanwa bukota: kalapokako.

- a. Mouth helper: it/used-to/redeem/of.
- b. The mouth is the helper and can redeem.
- c. The mouth is a good advocate which can save. In a court case, a convincing argument will win the case.
- e. SM:4. WF:240-kanwa.

161. Akanwa kali milandu: kalaibalabala.

- a. Mouth it/be cases: it/used-to/itself-provoke.
- b. The mouth with cases provokes itself.
- c. The person who is guilty will be very touchy and will talk a lot. Guilt is soon discovered by the contradictions and the many words uttered by the accused.
- d. -Ibalabala; reflexive reduplicative of -bala, provoke, start.
- e. SM:4. WF:19-balabala.

162. Akanwa kamo: takomfwa nshama ukupya.

- a. Mouth one: not/it/hear peas to/be-cooked.
- b. Only one mouth cannot feel if the peas are cooked.
- c. It takes more than one mouth to appreciate good food. It takes more than one mouth in a court case and the judge must be ready to listen to several testimonies to decide impartially.
- d. Lushama, nshama; ground-peas (word used mainly by the Bisa).
- e. SM:4. WF:240-kanwa.

163. Akapiso kanya: kemuna no tulêle.

- a. Little/piece-wood new: it/put-upright and little-ones/slept.

- b. The new little piece of wood causes the pieces which were sleeping to stand up.
- c. A new case brings in the open other cases which were forgotten. A new mistake might bring to life all the other mistakes and can make a big affair. One mistake is condoned, but there is a limit to forgiveness.
- d. Kapûso, diminutive of lupiso, mpiso; piece of wood.
-Imuna; reversive of -imika; remove what is placed upright, revive.
- e. SM:4. SM has -sâmuna instead of -imuna. WF:200-imuna.

164. Akatanshi takalisha: akalekelesha kalalisha.

- a. First-one not/it/ring: last-one it/always/ring.
- b. The first one does not ring; but the last one will ring for a long time.
- c. A first mistake is not noticed, but a series of faults will raise suspicion. There is a certain amount of offenses which can be tolerated, but there comes a point when it is just too much.
- e. SM:5. WF:254-katanshi.

165. Amakunkutu: tasosa ico bamutâtele.

- a. Mutilated-one: not/he/say why they/him/mutilated.
- b. The mutilated one does not say why he has been mutilated.
- c. A mutilated person does not have to explain his mutilation and narrate his faults; it is evident for all to see. (Condemned criminals had a limb amputated).

166. Amenshi ayaitika: tabakusa.

- a. Water that/is-spilled: not/they/pick-up.
- b. Spilled water is not picked up again.
- c. An affair which is divulged cannot be hidden and forgotten. Once a case is made known, it cannot be denied. It is useless to try and hide a wrongdoing.

- e. WF:418-menshi.
167. Icikate mpuku: tacifutuka libili.
- a. What/catch rat: not/it/spring twice.
 - b. What catches a rat springs only once.
 - c. A snare springs only once. A punishment is administered only once for the same offense.
 - d. -Futuka; spring (for snare).
 - e. WF:182-futuka.
168. Icilomo (icona) ca ngulube: caipeneka.
- a. Big-lip (big-nose) of wild-pig: it/itself/curl-up.
 - b. The snout of the wild pig curls itself up.
 - c. Some cases cannot be hidden and will reveal themselves. Guilt is often self-admitting as in the case of pregnancy.
 - d. -Ipeneka; reflexive of -peneka; curl back, turn up.
 - e. WF:139-cona.
169. Ifilala: e fibika.
- a. Those/lie-down: it-is those/wake-up.
 - b. The animals which sleep, they also wake up.
 - c. Wild animals may be sleeping but may rise up quickly. A case may seem to be buried, but it is never totally finished and may come to light any time like a fierce animal.
 - e. WF:305-lala.
170. Imfunu: tailya cilukwa.
- a. Chief: not/he/eat vomit.
 - b. A chief does not eat vomitus.
 - c. A chief does not call back the same case twice. Once a case is heard and judged by a chief, it will have to go to another chief to be heard again, or simply be dismissed.
 - d. Cilukwa, from -luka, vomit; figuratively, a man acquitted.
 - e. WF:104-cilukwa.

171. Imipini ibili: yalishishe ngulube.
- a. Axe-handles two: they/made-squeak wild-pig.
 - b. Two axe-handles made the wild pig squeal.
 - c. Too much punishment will only make the punished person seek revenge. Punishments must be just and adequate, not overdone.
 - d. -lisha, causative of -lila; squeal, cry.
 - e. WF:346-lisha.
172. Kunakilila: aile na matwi yakwe.
- a. To/be-docile: he/went with ears his.
 - b. To be meek went home with his ears.
 - c. The meek person went home without mutilation. Meekness and docility are the rule in a case.
 - e. SM:33. WF:521-paka.
173. Lufwinyemba: aliwa pa kantu.
- a. Chameleon: it/is-eaten at something.
 - b. The chameleon is eaten for a reason.
 - c. The person forced to eat a chameleon has a case where he must show his/her innocence. (Allusion to the custom of forcing an accused to eat a chameleon to prove his/her innocence).
 - e. WF:365-lufwinyemba.
174. Ubushiku bumo: tabubosha nsofu.
- a. Night one: not/it/make-rot elephant.
 - b. One night does not suffice to make an elephant rot.
 - c. It takes more than one day to settle a court case. A case takes a long time before being forgotten completely.
 - e. SM:51. WF:37-bosha.
175. Ubushiku wamona mwana: elyo umone ne mpapa.
- a. Day you/see child: then you/see and skin.
 - b. The day you see the child then you find a skin for it.

- c. One must wait and have evidence before making a case. If one is accused of adultery, one must wait to see the child before providing for the skin; that is, paying the fine.
 - e. WF:508-nwana.
176. Ukonke ngulube: ikulile mumbu.
- a. You/follow wild-pig: it/ate/you/of potatoes.
 - b. Follow the wild pig which ate your potatoes.
 - c. Before accusing anyone of theft, make sure that it was not caused by something or somebody else.
 - e. WF:534-ngulube.
177. Ukushinina wa fikansa: amaboko yali pa numa.
- a. To/convince of troubles: arms they/are at back.
 - b. To convince a trouble-maker, his/her arms must be tied in the back.
 - c. To overcome a troublesome person, force must be used. To have to deal with a troublesome person, ways and means must be used which will prevent retaliation.
 - e. WF:696-shinina.
178. Ukusumina kwa wa miya: kutalala.
- a. To/agree of insolence: to/shut-up.
 - b. The way of admitting of the insolent is to shut up.
 - c. An insolent or proud person often admits his/her guilt by not talking and refusing to answer the questions.
 - d. Miya; insolence, contempt, pride.
 - e. SM:57. WF:423-miya.
179. Ulubuli: talwabuka mumana.
- a. Fight: not/it/cross river.
 - b. A fight does not cross a river.
 - c. A fight like another case must not be carried away to other peoples' families or villages. A case must be kept

small limited to the people immediately involved.

e. SM:59. WF:363-lubuli.

180. Ululumbi lwa mulanda; kukakata.

- a. Fame of poor: to/be-dissolute.
- b. The fame of the poor is that he is dissolute.
- c. Poor persons are often accused of all kinds of vices. The poor cannot defend themselves and are easily accused and condemned.
- d. -Kakata; be dissolute, vicious.

181. Umulanda: afwa ne fyebo mu kanwa.

- a. Poor: he/die and commandments in mouth.
- b. The poor dies with the laws in his mouth.
- c. The poor man is condemned because he had no means of proving his innocence, and nobody would believe him. The poor is condemned though he could have given the evidence to prove his innocence.
- e. WF:240-kanwa.

182. Umulandu lini lya nkoko: uwamuna mubili.

- a. Case egg of hen: it/is-nice on/both.
- b. A case is like an egg which looks nice all around.
- c. A case at first sight looks good from both sides. In a case, one must always listen to both parties.
- e. SM:61. WF:458-mulandu.

183. Umulandu: taubola.

- a. Case: not/it/rot.
- b. A case does not rot.
- c. An affair is never forgotten completely.
- e. SM:62.

184. Umulandu uli ku mfula: pamo na ku musumba.
- a. Case it/be to rain: same and to capital.
 - b. A case is the same at the rain and at the capital.
 - c. A case has the same importance for commoners and aristocrats. Commoners and aristocrats are judged the same way for the same kind of offence.
 - d. Mfula; rain. Here means ordinary villagers, commoners.
 - e. WF:421-mfula.
185. Umulandu wa batšba: umo.
- a. Case of they/gather: one.
 - b. The case of the wood-gatherers is one.
 - c. The case involving people who were together in an affair must be the same case for all. People involved in one and the same case get the same treatment.
 - e. SM:62. WF:458-mulandu.
186. Umulandu wa mbushi: bafute mbushi.
- a. Case of sheep: they/compensate sheep.
 - b. The case involving a sheep is paid back by a sheep.
 - c. The punishment for an offense must correspond to the offense. Any crime requires a just and equivalent punishment.
 - e. SM:62.
187. Ulutambile: e ululwile.
- a. He/who/it/watched: it-is who/it/fought.
 - b. He who watched the fight, fought it.
 - c. The person who remained to watch the fight is also involved in the fight and will later be accused of having fought. If an affair does not concern you, go away and do not get involved; otherwise you could be called as a witness or an offender.
 - e. SM:73.

C. - g. Conversation. Talking. Listening.

Conversing is a very significant aspect of life among Bemba people. It is never considered a useless or idle activity, but a social necessity. There were tasks done in common like cultivating the fields, building a hut or making a dug-out canoe, during which conversation never stopped. There were rainy days and celebrations during which people would sit around a calabash of beer to discuss and argue. Conversing is more than a pastime; it is an obligation which forces people to share ideas and emotions, describe events and recall past incidents, make predictions, tell stories, etc. Talking with people often implies a certain friendship which existed or is in the making; it creates an atmosphere of closeness. Meeting with people who do not talk, refuse to talk, or have no time for that, may be a cause of dissension, or a sign, if not a proof, of hostility. The excuse 'I have no time, I am busy' is not a good reason. President Kaunda summarised the practice accurately:

"First on the list I would place the African's enjoyment of people for their own sake. Our love of conversation is a good example of this. We will talk for hours with any stranger who crosses our path, and by the time we part there will be little we do not know about each other... Our curiosity does not stem from a desire to interfere in someone else's business but is an expression of our belief that we are all wrapped up together in this bundle of life and therefore a bond already exists between myself and a stranger before we open our mouths to speak" (1966: 32; cf. 1973:47).

One has only to listen to the many varied ways of greeting and saluting to realise the personal implications of the words used to wish good health, good hunting, happiness in having a child, joy after a success, compassion in suffering and death, hope for a safe return home, etc. A foreigner may need several months to be able to understand the greetings and learn to answer correctly. There is nothing like the stereotyped 'how do you do - how do you do', or the 'how are you' in which the greeter does not even expect an answer and certainly does not wait for one.

Conversation is still an important part of Bemba life and even in urban areas people will take time to stop working to greet and talk; they will visit beer halls and markets not only to drink and buy vegetables but also to talk. Conversation is partaking of and sharing wisdom, and he who does not talk and listen is a fool.

188. Aka nsoni: kafwilile mwifunda.

- a. Little shyness: it/died in/bundle.
- b. The little shy man died with the bundle.
- c. The man who was too shy to talk died, though he had all the evidence for him. Timidity is not recommended and one must speak up.
- e. SM:4. Aka nsoni: kafwilile mu ibula. WF:328-lifunda.

189. Amano: mambûlwa.

- a. Brains: things/are-received.
- b. Brains are made to receive things in.
- c. Brains need information to function. One must listen all the time to get new knowledge and know what is going on.
- d. -Bûlwa; passive of -bûla; receive, take, fetch.
- e. SM:7. WF:407-mano.

190. Amatwi mapuli: yapulapula fye.

- a. Ears beggars: they/beg/beg only.
- b. The ears are beggars; they beg all the time.
- c. The ears are like beggars who get all they have from outside. One must keep on listening to learn.
- e. SM:8. WF:409-mapuli.

191. Icintomfwa: tekala ku muba.

- a. Who/not/listen: not/he/stay at council.
- b. He who does not listen does not sit at the council.
- c. The person who cannot listen will not sit at the council of elders. To be an elder or a leader one must be able

to listen to the people.

- e. WF:117-cintomfwa.

192. Icitondo ca bwalwa: e nsokolola twebu.

- a. Big/calabash of beer: it-is revealer small/words.
- b. From the calabash of beer come out many words.
- c. Out of the beer pot come out many truthful statements.

193. Kabûsha: takolelwe bowa.

- a. The-one/ask: not/he/got-poisoned mushroom.
- b. The one who asked did not get poisoned with a mushroom.
- c. The person who inquires in times of uncertainty might save his life. (There are many kinds of mushrooms and in doubt one must ask whether they are comestible or poisonous).
- e. WF:59-busha.

194. Mwapoleni: akûlile mushi.

- a. 'Good-morning': he/built village.
- b. Greeting people built a village.
- c. The person who always greeted others, was polite and considerate, succeeded in building his own village. Greeting and speaking with people can achieve great things.
- e. SM:41. WF:510-mwapoleni.

195. Pa cabu: betapo uo wishibe.

- a. At ford: they/call/at whom who/know/may.
- b. At the ford, they call someone who knows about it.
- c. In a difficult situation, one must call upon people with experience and know how. Asking and getting information is important in a difficult undertaking.
- e. SM:44. WF:73-cabu.

196. Uulanda na bantu: e wishiba mano.

- a. Who/talk with people: it/is who/know brains.

- b. He who talks with people has brains.
- c. It is by talking and listening that a person gets to be well informed and obtains knowledge.
- e. WF:407-manq.

197. Ulebuusha mbwa: inga ifwele.

- a. You/are-asking dog: as-if it/dress-be.
- b. You are asking the sex of a dog as if it was dressed.
- c. Don't ask stupid questions especially when you can observe and find the answer yourself. Some questions are not asked since the evidence is there for all to have.
- e. WF:59-buusha.

198. Umukutu ali eka: taikutulula.

- a. Lion he/is alone: not/he/see-mistakes.
- b. The lion which is alone cannot see his own mistakes.
- c. A person living alone, cannot see his/her mistakes.
The person who lives alone without talking and listening, cannot hear about his/her failures and shortcomings.
- d. Mukutu; one of the many names for lion.
-Ikutulula; reflexive of -kutulula; enlighten, remind.
- e. SM:39. WF:299-kutulula.

199. Umwaume ashiikala nsaka: akumbwe nshima ku banankwe.

- a. Man he/not/stay rest-hut: he/covet meal to his/companions.
- b. The man who does not listen in the rest hut, will soon covet the food of his companions.
- c. He who does not listen and be informed will soon suffer from famine and other disasters.
- d. Nshima; food in general. Now, the specific word for Zambian national food.
- e. SM:69.

200. Umweo wa muntu: waba mu kutwi.
- a. Spirit of man: it/is in ear.
 - b. The spirit of a man lies in his ears.
 - c. The soul of a man resides in his listening. By listening, a person can save his life.
 - e. SM:71. WF:299-kutwi.
201. Uwatwala pa nsaka: tonaula.
- a. He/who/take at rest-hut: not/he/destroy.
 - b. He who takes his troubles to the rest hut saves himself.
 - c. If you consult others for advice, you will be saved and succeed. The rest hut is the place where one must take his problems and projects as well as his intentions of court-cases and revenge.
 - e. SM:70. WF:547-nsaka.
202. Uwenda no ulwele pa mutima: alambukilwa.
- a. He/who/travel with who/is-sick in heart: he/usually/is-infected.
 - b. He who travels with a mentally sick person, catches the disease.
 - c. By the company of friends you have, one may determine what kind of person you are. One must choose people one associates with. If you are with mentally sick persons, what you will hear are nothing but silly things.
 - d. -Ambukilwa, passive of -ambukila; spread; communicate, infect.
- C. - h . Solidarity - Sharing.

For people living in rather small villages of some 50 to 100 people, there is a continued life and work in common, even though the benefits of the work are personal. For instance, several men would make bricks while the women would bring water; the women would get the grass and the men would make the roof of the hut.

But the house belonged to that one person who had decided to build it. He or she had to obtain beer and food for all who helped. Sharing was done all the time even though people were expected to be self-sufficient for most things such as food, fire-wood, water, clothes and shelter. But there are always emergencies, sickness, death, accidents, too many visitors, a bad crop, etc. during which help would come from relatives, friends and neighbours.

Bonse pamo (all together), ukuba pamo (to be together), ukubomba pamo (to work together), are expressions often used to indicate that people are expected to continue working together and helping one another.

Ukwananya and ukuakanya (to divide, to share, to portion among) are expressions used to indicate how people must share and give to those in necessity. People in urban areas may have material superiority over their rural relatives; however, in case of disease, unemployment, old age or even after a few years, they may return to the villages where they will be housed and fed, without having contributed directly to the benefits received, except through gifts.

In a village, there is a constant sharing, asking, giving, taking more or less as in a household in the Western world; people will ask for tobacco, will take fruits from a neighbour, will help himself to a cassava root, etc. This may at times cause some hard words, but nothing serious will develop. Only taking more than the immediate needs is unanimously condemned. The philosophy behind this state of affairs seems to be the following: if you are a brother, an aunt, a relative of some sort, a neighbour or a friend, you are a part of me and I am yours, your orange tree is yours and mine and my cassava field is yours too, so that there is nothing to prevent me from taking a few oranges or a cassava root, nothing to prevent you from helping yourself. In fact, we have things that we share, from ground-nuts to dug-out canoes. But if one never works, never has anything to share because of laziness, then, he/she will have trouble eating, having a hut, getting married, etc., because all must reciprocate some way or other.

In the proverbs as in the Bemba society, the situations and problems arising from having to work hard, ambition, personal property, accumulating goods, sharing, giving, begging, are not solved to the satisfaction of all.

203. Bakolwe abaishibana: bāpelana mabungo.
- a. Monkeys who/know/one-another: they/give/one-another fruits.
 - b. The monkeys who know one another share fruits.
 - c. Members of the same group support one another. Reciprocal assistance is needed among people of a family or village.
 - d. Libungo (mabungo); a kind of fruit.
 - e. WF:266-kolwe.
204. Icuma ca mushi; babika no mukāya.
- a. Wealth of village: they/deposit with villager.
 - b. The wealth of a village is entrusted to a villager.
 - c. People entrust their property and possession to a person from the village and not to a stranger.
 - e. WF:141-cuma.
205. Inghanda imo: tayafya ukulāmba.
- a. House one: not/it/is-hard to/avoid.
 - b. It is not difficult to avoid one house.
 - c. It is easy to overcome one house or one family, but several families linked together make a forceful opponent. To succeed and be strong people must be together.
 - e. WF:390-lāmba.
206. Insofu pa bwingi: kalulu.
- a. Elephant at many: rabbit.
 - b. The elephant in front of many becomes like a rabbit.
 - c. In front of a crowd, might disappears. Strength and

power come from togetherness.

e. SM:28.

207. Kolwe ali eka: tateya nghonso pa bwingi.

- a. Monkey he/is alone: not/he/play ball at many.
- b. The monkey who is alone does not amuse himself in front of many.
- c. The lone monkey will not fool around in front of a crowd. The fact of being many will overpower anyone and anything.
- e. SM:32. WF:266-kolwe.

208. Kwindi ali eka: asongela abali abengi.

- a. Rat he/is alone: he/bring/trouble those/who/are many.
- b. One rat alone can bring trouble to many.
- c. It takes only one person to bring trouble to a village. One misdeed is sufficient to harm a whole community.
- e. SM:34. WF:715-songela.

209. Mumembe uwiminine: asongesha ishile.

- a. Buck which/is-stood-up: he/trouble/cause those/which/lie-down.
- b. The buck which stands up can trouble those which lie down.
- c. The mistake of one animal may bring disaster to the herd. One member of the group may cause trouble to all by thoughtless actions.
- d. Mumembe (bamumembe); buck of the lechwe antelope variety.
- e. SM:39. WF:465-mumembe.

210. Mwikalano: taubipa muntu.

- a. Staying/together: not/it/is-bad man.
- b. Staying together is not bad for a man.
- c. Life and work in common are good.
- e. WF:515-mwikalano.

211. Ubwingi busuma: bwabifiya pa kushinko munani.
- a. Crowd nice: it/is-bad at to/eat relish.
 - b. A crowd is good; it gets bad at the time of eating relish.
 - c. A crowd of people is good and helps a lot, but they have to be fed a good meal in which relish can be scarce.
 - d. -Shinka; eat relish.
 - e. SM:53. WF:71-bwingi.
212. Ubwingi busuma: nasanga mukashi na kafumo.
- a. Crowd nice: I/find wife and little/belly.
 - b. A crowd is nice; I just found my wife with a little belly.
 - c. It is good to live with many friends, because in my absence they cared for my wife so well that she is a little fat.
 - e. SM:54. WF:53-bwingi.
213. Utumishi utupalamene: tupya tubili.
- a. Little/villages which/are-near-each-other: they/burn little/two.
 - b. The little villages which are close, burn together.
 - c. People living together share the same lot, good and bad.
 - e. WF:231-kamushi.

C.- 1. Hospitality. Travelers. Guests. Visitors.

The customs concerning hospitality were quite strict and it was an obligation and often an honour to receive visitors. The guests and travelers had customs of their own, such as accepting what was at hand and offered by the people of the place, of not staying too long, of behaving well and minding their own business.

It is said by some observers that Zambian hospitality concerns itself mainly with receiving parents and relatives. This is quite normal since it is rare that a complete stranger drops by in a village and comes to a villager without visiting the head-man or the chief first. It is also mentioned that hospitality is rendered because the same treatment is expected some later day. This may be true also and it is very human; not many people do things without expecting any mutual sharing, any reward or gratitude.

Aba lwendo are those on a journey; umweni (abeni) is a stranger, a traveler, but also a visitor and guest. Ukusekelela means to be very hospitable, to receive very well, to host with cordiality; ukusengela means to welcome someone.

214. Abenda: e baleta makasa ya nkalamo.

- a. They/who/travel: it/is they/bring spoors of lion.
- b. The travelers are the people who bring news about the spoors of lions.
- c. The travelers are the people bringing news and information, often about some imminent danger. Travelers are people who see things, and their knowledge is very valuable to all.
- e. WF:145-146-enda.

215. Abeni mimena: ilamuka.

- a. Strangers germinated-grains: it/always/go-away.
- b. Strangers are like germinated grains which go away.
- c. Strangers do not stay around for long, but sooner or later they go away.
- d. -Amuka; intransitive of -amuna; go away soon; depart.
- e. SM:1. WF:9-amuka.

216. Abeni ni nkwa: bakakilwa pamo.

- a. Strangers it-is bark-cloth: they/are-tied together.
- b. The strangers are like bark cloth which is tied up in a bundle.
- c. Strangers must stick together and protect each other's interests. People who are strangers in a foreign land must stay together like a bundle.
- d. Lukwa (nkwa); slab of bark cloth; a piece of cloth.
- e. SM:1. WF:370-lukwa.

217. Akoshokele kalifikile: akalungeme e kwaifile.

- a. Little/went-around it/reached-to: little-thing/went-straight it-is it/died.
- b. What went around reached the place; what went straight, died.
- c. In traveling, the straighter way is not always the safer.
- d. -Shoka; take a roundabout way.
-Lungama; go straight, be straight.
- e. WF:704-shoka.

218. Apo ulala: palala nkwa.

- a. Where you/sleep: there/sleep bark-cloth.
- b. Where you sleep there also must sleep your bark-cloth.
- c. Hospitality demands that you give your sleeping place and also your bark-cloth to a visitor. The best place must be given to a visitor.
- e. WF:306-lala.

219. Iceni eni: e cilishe kanga lya musuma.

- a. Thing/foreign foreign: it-is it/ate guinea-fowl of nice.
- b. The ugly foreigner ate the nice guinea-fowl.
- c. The visitor got to eat the nice guinea-fowl even if he/she was not a welcome visitor. The best food must be given to visitors whatever they may be.

- e. SM:13. WF:180-zeni eni.
220. Icikupempula: e cikulya.
- a. Thing/you/visit: it-is thing/you/eat.
 - b. What visits you eats you up.
 - c. Too much hospitality may be bad. Constant visitors may ruin you. There is a limit to hospitality.
 - e. SM:15. WF:600-pempula.
221. Icitfla 'linda': cili ku bweni.
- a. What/say 'wait': it/is a fact-of-visiting.
 - b. What says 'wait' depends on the visitor.
 - c. The welcome and hospitality a visitor gets depend on his/her behaviour.
 - e. WF:69-bweni.
222. Kanyebelele kasungu mukaya: we mweni cenjela.
- a. Black-ant it/bite resident: you foreigner be-wise.
 - b. The black ant bites the resident and so the alien must beware.
 - c. Troubles, accidents and misfortunes happen to residents and a fortiori to strangers who have none of their people to protect them.
 - e. WF:241-kanyebelele.
223. Lango mweni ku cushi: alakulangako ameno.
- a. Show stranger to smoke: he/is-going-to/you/show/to teeth.
 - b. Show smoke to a stranger and he/she will show you his/her teeth.
 - c. If you are inconsiderate to a stranger or a visitor (by giving him/her a place full of smoke) he/she will show discontent and anger. Strangers expect good treatments

and have the right to react strongly if they are not treated according to customs.

224. Tête nsuka: ku calo ca bene tabênda na nsuka.
- a. Cut tail: in country of others not/they/go-around and tail.
 - b. Cut your tails; in a foreign place people don't go about with tail.
 - c. There should be no impudence or showing off in a foreign region. Foreigners should behave with simplicity in a strange land and so avoid provoking local people.
 - d. Nsuka; tail of bird; impudence.
 - e. SM:48. WF:557-nsuka.
225. Ubumululumba: tabumweshâ calo.
- a. Vagrancy: not/it/possess/cause country.
 - b. Vagrancy does not cause to possess a country.
 - c. A traveler has no right to the places he goes through. Too much traveling makes one to become homeless and landless.
 - e. WF:52-bumululumba.
226. Ubwamba bwandi lâlâ: tumone milile ya bakâya.
- a. Fishing-weir mine sleep: we/see/let eatings of residents.
 - b. Fishing weirs of mine sleep; first let us see the ways of eatings of the residents.
 - c. In a foreign land, one must see what the people eat and if they loathe or do not eat fish, it is useless to bring fishing apparatus. In a foreign place, do as the residents do and do not try to impose your ways and habits.
 - d. Bwamba (mamba); fishing weir.

227. Ugundenwa: ufuno bulalo.
- Abuse-of-hospitality: it/break bridge.
 - Abuse of hospitality breaks the bridge.
 - Constant visiting and begging will break friendship.
Hospitality must not be abused.
 - Mundenwa; abuse of hospitality; constant begging.
 - WF:472-mundenwa.
228. Uweni ashishibe kwifwe: atapa pa cintimpwe.
- Stranger he/not/knew at/spring: he/draw-water at muddy-hole.
 - The stranger who does not know where the spring is will draw water in a dirty pool.
 - In a foreign place, one should inquire about customs. A foreigner should be forgiven mistakes since he cannot have all the information of the residents. (In a village, it is often impossible to know where is the source or place of drinking water; there may be several paths leading to the river or lake for washing, obtaining 'some kind' of water, but only one place, often difficult to find, for drinking water).
 - Cintimpwe; pool of stagnant water.
 - SM:70. WF:513-nweni.
229. Uweni lifupa: banwipika kasuba kaciliko nga alinaka.
- Stranger bone: they/him/cook sun it/still/is/there when he/is-tender.
 - A stranger is like a bone; they cook it when the sun is still up.
 - A visitor, especially an important one, should come rather early to allow his host plenty of time to prepare sufficient food.
 - WM:70. WF:513-nweni.

230. Uwenni mukulu: lishiko.
- a. Stranger important: fire-place.
 - b. An important stranger makes the fire-place.
 - c. A visitor of importance is always a joy since everyone will join in and share in the good meal prepared in his/her honour.
 - d. Lishiko (mashiko); fireplace, hearth, kitchen.
 - e. SM:70. WF:347-lishiko.
231. Uwenni wa kolwe: alyo 'to kolwe alyako.
- a. Stranger of monkey: he/eat little-things monkey he/eat/to.
 - b. A stranger of monkey eats the same little things that monkeys eat.
 - c. A visitor shares in the food of the residents without demanding or expecting special treatment.
 - e. SM:71. WF:533-mwenni.
232. Uwenni wa mpapa ntali: asendama pa mpapa yakwe.
- a. Visitor of skin long: he/sleep on skin his.
 - b. The visitor who needs a large skin sleeps on his own.
 - c. The visitor in need of a large bark cloth or requiring special treatment should travel prepared with his/her own equipment which must not be expected from his hosts.
 - e. SM:71. WF:513-mwenni.

D. ECONOMIC LIFE

There is no theory of economic, not even economic programmes in Bemba culture. Proverbs, without being specific, advise and comment about the production and distribution of all the things necessary to live in society and survive as individuals. Proverbs emphasise and praise the self-reliance and independence which come from perseverant hard work, early work and foresight to anticipate natural disasters and human mishaps, and cooperation. Begging is strongly condemned.

D. - a. Self-Help. Self-Reliance.

Every family (lupwa) should produce enough food to feed every member, visitors and for feasts and celebrations. The first law of a community, is that everyone must contribute according to one's ability.

233. Akafumbe: kantu kali pa bwali.

- a. Little/rat: little/thing it/is at 'mush'.
- b. The little rat is what is with the mush.
- c. Even if you have only a little meat to eat with the mush.
- d. Even if you have only a little meat to eat with your mush, it is better than dreaming about a big piece of meat that you cannot have. One must be happy with what is at hand.
- e. SM: 4. WF:214-kafumbe.

234. Akalimba ka kwashima: takapwa misango.

- a. Little/guitar of to/borrow: not/it/finish ways.
- b. The little borrowed guitar does not have all the ways.
- c. With a borrowed guitar one cannot play all the tunes one knows. What one borrows is never like what one owns and it cannot fulfil all one's desires. To perform well, one should get and possess personally what is needed.
- d. Kalimba: diminutive of cilimba; a musical instrument,

especially a guitar.

- e. SM:3. WF:223-kalimba.

235. Ako wikete: eko bomako imbwa.

- a. Little/thing you/holding/be: it-is/from they/hit/to dog.
- b. It is the little thing you hold that will hit the dog.
- c. It is with the stick you are holding that you can defend yourself. It is better to rely on what one has at hand than dream about better things which are impossible to get.
- e. SM:6.

236. Ifita fya kwita: tafilwa nkondo.

- a. Soldiers of to/call: not/they/fight war.
- b. Soldiers that are called for, do not fight a war.
- c. Mercenary soldiers are not good fighters. If one has to force people into doing something, the results are poor. People must not be forced to work or fight and must be able to fend for themselves without relying on others.
- e. WF:157-fita.

237. Inghombe ku Ilala: shaba na bene.

- a. Cows in Ilala: they/be and owners.
- b. The cows in Ilala country have their owners.
- c. If one wants cattle, it is useless to dream of getting someone else's cattle. If you want to enjoy something, get it yourself.
- e. WF:573-ngombe.

238. Mumbwe aitulile mpashi: no kumubumba shanubumba.

- a. Jackal he/called red-ants: and to/him/cover they/him/cover.
- b. The jackal called the red ants and they covered him.
- c. The jackal which called the red ants for help found

himself covered by them. If you call for help, make sure it is help which will not turn against you. One must be self sufficient to be secure.

e. SM:39. WF:469-numbwe.

239. Ndi lunshi: nsambila ku numa.

- a. I/am house-fly: I/wash at back.
- b. I am the house fly which washes its back.
- c. Like the house fly which cares for its own back, I can fend for myself. A way of saying that a person is independent and does not need unsolicited help.
- d. Lunshi (balunshi); common house-fly.
- e. WF:380-lunshi.

240. Pungwa ukunona: kano uo wipeye.

- a. Hawk to/be-fat: only-if the/one you/killed.
- b. The hawk which is fat is the one you killed.
- c. One can speak only about what one has, without dreaming about the impossible. One must profit by what one has.
- d. Pungwa (bapungwa); black hawk.
- e. WF:546-nona.

241. Sembe ashikwete wa kumukulika: alaikulika.

- a. He-goat who/not/had of to/him/get-tied: he/used-to/himself/get-tied.
- b. The he-goat which has nobody to tie him, ties himself.
- c. If you cannot find help, do it yourself. If your relatives do not want to help you pay a fine, find other means.
- d. Sembe (basembe); he-goat; same as sawe (basawe).
- e. WF:670-sembe.

242. Shiwalya kakwe: tominwa mbila.

- a. Father/who/eat little/his/own: not/he/be-hit legal-proclamation.

- b. He who eats his own stuff; is not affected by the law.
- c. The person who has his own food is not laughed at by the drum calling for some obligation to give food. The person who has his/her own food is independent whatever happens.
- d. Mbila, from -bila, proclaim, shout proclamations.
- e. WF:414-mbila.

243. Shiwalya kakwe: talimbwa nu nghoma.

- a. Father/who/eat his/own: not/he/be-jeered at drum.
- b. The man who eats his own food is not poked fun at by the drums.
- c. One must have one's own food and necessities of life. One who is self-sufficient is never affected by emergencies.
- d. -Limba, passive of -limba; make fun at; jeer.
- e. SM:46.

244. Umulume wa mbwa: tankila mubiye.

- a. Male of dog: not/he/catch-food/for his/companion.
- b. A male dog does not get food for his companion.
- c. One must be self-sufficient and rely on nobody. One cannot rely on friends or neighbours for food or other requirements.
- e. SM:63. WF:13-ankila.

245. Uwita fita: alaitilila.

- a. Who/call soldiers: he/used-to/call/against.
- b. He who calls soldiers does it against himself.
- b. Before calling for aid one must make sure that the helpers will not turn the calling into obligations and slavery for those who called.
- d. -Itilila; reversive of -ita, call.
- e. WF:157-fita.

D. - b. Work. Perseverance.

Ukubomba (to work), is the general word meaning all manual tasks. Incito and umulimo (imilimo) are the nouns for all kinds of work, jobs, tasks, chores, etc. Umute means perseverance, patience, continuity in an undertaking; it is also used as an adverb in ukubomba umute, to work with perseverance.

Perseverance in work is one of the most consistently advised qualities. Hardly anything in the lives of the Bemba could be accomplished without patience, whether it be tree lopping, field clearing, fishing, hunting, pounding grain or cassava.

It is questioned whether activities like teaching, working at the court, studying, or other mental efforts should be considered as ukubomba (to work) and ncito (working). Ukusambilila (to study), ukufunda (to teach), ukulemba (to write), along with jobs in offices and administrative duties, do not imply the physical difficulties of jobs done in villages. Cultivating, building houses, sowing, fishing and many more are manual labours which Bemba consider truly working; they think that office work is like resting.

246. Apali umunwe: e pali ibala.

- a. Where/be finger: it-is there/be garden.
- b. Where there is a finger there is a garden.
- c. Where there is a hand and desire to do some work, there will be some results. Any effort however small brings some success.
- e. SM:8. WF:478-munwe.

247. Bukula mwana wa mbusa: tabukula bwangu.

- a. Garden child of initiation-symbols: not/it/grow fast.
- b. A garden is like a babe; it does not grow fast.
- c. Any undertaking takes time, perseverance and hard work.

- d. Mwana wa mbusa; a very small child; a new born infant.
 - e. WF:45-bukula.
248. Conde: afuta abamwendamo.
- a. Forest: it/repay who/it/walk/in.
 - b. The forest repays those who walk in it.
 - c. Those who carry on walking in the bush will probably kill game. Perseverance achieves success.
 - e. SM:11. WF:140-conde.
249. Icalo cino: te ca kukwikila mēno luse.
- a. Country this: not of to/fix-to teeth hoe.
 - b. This country is not to fix teeth on as a hoe does.
 - c. One can put a hoe in the soil but not teeth. This country is not a place to fix your teeth into as you would fix a handle to a hoe. The land does not give unless one works hard.
 - d. -Kwikila; applicative of -kwika; set a handle to a tool.
 - e. SM:13. WF:302-kwika.
250. Icilefye nshila: mulêle wa kwenda.
- a. What/make-long road: laziness of to/walk.
 - b. What makes the road long is laziness to go.
 - c. Laziness in walking makes the road appear much longer. Lack of courage will ruin any undertaking.
 - d. -Lefya; causative of -lepa; lengthen, make longer, be long.
 - e. SM:16. WF:459-mulêle.
251. Ico utemenwe: e cikoshe mbafu.
- a. What you/liked: it-is it/strengthened ribs.
 - b. What you liked strengthens the ribs.
 - c. What you love and want gives you strength to work hard in order to obtain it.
 - e. SM:16.

252. Ifyuma: tafitôlelwa mumo nga nda.
- a. Wealth: not/it/be-picked-up in/here like lice.
 - b. Wealth is not picked up like lice.
 - c. Wealth does not come by itself and is not found everywhere but demands much work.
 - e. WF:780-tôlela.
253. Ilyashi lisuma: lyalâlike cimbi pa cishala.
- a. Talk nice: it/sleep/made hyena on rubbish-heap.
 - b. Nice talk made the hyena sleep on the rubbish heap.
 - c. Talking does not achieve much. Spending all the time talking will not bring food, but sleep from hunger.
 - d. -lâlika, causative of -lâla, sleep.
 - e. SM:21.
254. Iminwe ikate fibi: ilasamba.
- a. Fingers they/catch dirty-things: they/used-to/wash.
 - b. Fingers which catch dirty things can be washed.
 - c. There is no dirty work and every kind of work must be done properly. A person who has done some bad actions may regret them and be forgiven.
 - e. SM:22. WF:478-munwe.
255. Imisontwe sembe: taitemwa.
- a. The-ones/pointed-out axe: not/they/are-cut-down.
 - b. The trees which are pointed out by the axe do not cut themselves down.
 - c. When a piece of work has been decided upon, it must be carried out by hard work.
 - e. WF:495-musontwe sembe.
256. Inghanda ushilâla: baikumbwo mutenge.
- a. House you/not/sleep: they/it/desire roof.
 - b. The house in which you don't sleep is desired by its roof.

- c. One may desire a house by looking at the roof and thinking that it does not rain inside, though often it does. One often desires what belongs to others if only it could be had without work.
 - e. SM:19-20.
257. Inghuni iyacenjela muno: taipika cinza acikosa.
- a. Bird which/is-clever here/in: not/it/make nest would/which/be-strong.
 - b. The clever bird does not build a strong nest.
 - c. A clever talker is often a poor worker. Mere talk does not achieve anything.
 - e. SM:20. WF:574-nghuni.
258. Inkose shibili: tashipusa.
- a. Snares two: not/they/miss.
 - b. Two snares do not miss.
 - c. It is better to make sure and be diligent if one wants success. To succeed one must take precautions and work twice as hard.
 - d. Lukose (nkose); snare for birds.
 - e. SM:25. WF:368-lukose.
259. Insala ni ndiminwa: te mpulilwa.
- a. Hunger it-is I/am-cultivated-for; not I/am-begged for.
 - b. Hunger means cultivating not begging.
 - c. Hunger must generate hard work, not begging. In time of hunger, cultivation should be started instead of going begging.
 - d. -Liminwa; applicative passive of -lima; cultivate.
-Pulilwa; applicative passive of -pula; beg, ask for.
 - e. SM:26. WF:548-nsala.
260. Inshiku mutanda: tashilingana shonse.
- a. Days six: not/they/equal/each-other.

- b. There are six days which are not equal.
- c. Days come one after the other but with many different problems and events. It is impossible to foresee the future, and one must be ready to make up for hard days.
- e. SM:27.

261. Lufwinyemba: uwapwishishe malonda muli lino lino.

- a. Chameleon: which/finished wasps in one one.
- b. The chameleon which finished the wasps by eating them one by one.
- c. Perseverance and steady work achieve all.
- d. Lilonda (malonda); wasp.
- e. WF:365-lufwinyemba.

262. Mwenda cungulo: tatobela muto.

- a. Who/travel evening: not/he/eat sauce.
- b. The night traveler does not eat sauce.
- c. The lazy traveler will get only the rest of the food and no relish sauce.
- e. WF:779-tobela.

263. Na pakulu: palapitwa.

- a. And at/big: there/it/is-passed.
- b. And at big things it is passed.
- c. Difficult situations arise and difficulties are overcome. No difficulty is unsurmountable.
- e. WF:582-pakulu.

264. Nkulange nshila ya lupili: nkulange no kulamba amabwe.

- a. I/you/show/should way of hill: I/you/show/should and to/avoid stones.
- b. I must show you the way to the hill and how to avoid stones.
- c. One may help but is not expected to do all the work. An informed person should set to work without expecting others to do it.

- d. -lamba; avoid, shun.
 - e. SM:42. WF:553-nshila.
265. Nshimba kwima: ima ne cipala.
- a. I/delay to/stand-up: stand-up with arrow.
 - b. I delay to go; I go with an arrow in the back.
 - c. The lazy person often gets into trouble. The person who is slow to start work is often punished.
 - d. Cipala; shaft of arrow. -Shimba; be lazy, delay, postpone. (There may be a reference to the nshimba, a small civet which is supposed to be lazy in running away from danger).
 - e. WF:553-nshimba kwima.
266. Sakasaka: ni mwibumba.
- a. Work-very-hard: it/be in/group.
 - b. To work very hard there must be a group.
 - c. Hard work is achieved while working with people in a group. Communal work is easier than lone work.
 - d. -Sakasaka; be active, work very hard.
 - e. WF:647-sakasaka.
267. Shimucita panono: apokele mwikalafye umukashi.
- a. Let/you/do a-little: he/took you/sit/only wife.
 - b. You do a little and can take the wife of the one who does nothing.
 - c. To do a little work is much better than doing nothing at all.
 - d. SM:45. WF:691-shimucita.
268. Tabuca bumo: alubwile nkashi.
- a. Not/it/dawn here: he/redeemed sister.
 - b. There-is-no-dawn-here redeemed his sister.
 - c. The person who was not stopped by the dawn saved his sister from being brought at night to slavery. With patience and perseverance one succeeds in achieving all.
 - e. SM:46. WF:72-ca.

269. Tapalabwa mpuma: palabwe sembe.
- a. Not/there/is-forgotten honey: there/is-forgotten axe.
 - b. The honey is not forgotten but the axe is.
 - c. One does not forget pleasant things or happenings but easily forgets the difficult and hard ones.
270. Ubulimi bwa kale: tabutalalika mwana.
- a. Farming of former-time: not/it/calm/cause-to child.
 - b. Former farming does not satisfy the present hunger of the child.
 - c. Former crops from former work do not help during the actual famine. One must be perseverant and cultivate year after year.
 - e. SM:51. WF:48-bulimi.
271. Ukucilo mulando: kutangalala.
- a. To/go-over log: to/spread-legs.
 - b. To pass over a log means to spread the legs.
 - c. Any undertaking needs effort and courage.
 - d. Mulando (mulando); log. -Tangalala; spread legs.
 - e. SM:55. WF:96-cila.
272. Ukupangile nsufu: kano uli ne fumo.
- a. To/threaten elephant: unless you/be with spear.
 - b. To threaten an elephant you must carry a spear.
 - c. To threaten and boast, one must have the courage and ability to do it. Words are useless if one has no means to carry on the proposed endeavours.
 - e. SM:57. WF:588-pangila.
273. Ukwikalisha: e kutule filundu.
- a. To/sit/much: it/is to/pierce bark-cloths.
 - b. Sitting a lot ends by making holes in clothes.
 - c. Laziness brings misfortune. Without work nothing is

achieved.

- d. Gilundu (filundu); bark cloth.
- e. SM:58. WF:196-ikalisha.

274. Umufungufungu: walalika kapoli nsala.

- a. Sausage-tree: it/sleep/has-caused wild pig hunger.
- b. The sausage tree made the wild pig to sleep hungry.
- c. The wild pig had hoped that the pods from the tree would fall by themselves and waited and then slept without eating.
- d. Mufungufungu (mifungufungu); kind of tree with hanging pods.
- e. SM:60. WF:307-lalika.

275. Umulêle: ukashisha mênô.

- a. Laziness: it/make-yellow teeth.
- b. Laziness causes the teeth to become yellow.
- c. Starving is believed to make the teeth yellow and is often attributed to laziness.
- e. SM:63. WF:459-mulêle.

276. Umulondalonda apwishishe abana: gu kusenda umo umo.

- a. Wasp it/ended children: in to/send one one.
- b. The wasp finished the children sending them one by one.
- c. The wasp saved up all its children by bringing them one by one. Patience and perseverance achieve success.
- d. Mulondalonda (basulondalonda); a kind of wasp.
- e. SM:39. WF:464-mulondalonda.

277. Umupashi: taupa wikele.

- a. Spirit: not/he/give who/sat-down.
- b. The protective spirit does not give to the one who just sits.
- c. God does not help the lazy person. To get something one must help oneself.
- e. SM:67. WF:481-upashi.

278. Uweshi: tautôlwe nama.
- a. Moon: not/it/is-found game.
 - b. The moon is not found in a game.
 - c. The moon is good but is hopeless in many undertakings. The moon is helpful at night but does not make one find game, so that one has to work hard to hunt.
 - e. SM:71. WF:514-weshi.
279. We wa makunkutu ombela umo ombela: amênso ya bantu tayalya.
- a. You of mutilation work where work: eyes of people not/they/eat.
 - b. You the mutilated one, work; on-looking eyes won't eat you.
 - c. Whatever handicap a person may have, it is better to carry on working and let people look and say what they like.
 - d. -Ombela, applicative of -omba, work.
 - e. SM:44. WF:577-ombela.

D. - c. Early work. Foresight. Prevention.

Ukubangilila (to begin early, to do a job in time and with speed), is the verb used most often to mean that any endeavour must be started early and carried on swiftly. Ukucelela means to rise and be ready very early; ukutangila is translated by to be ahead, to arrive first. Ukwenekelela (to foresee, to think in advance), is not very much in use. Ukutontontanya ntanshi, ukutontontanya kabela are expressions meaning to think first or beforehand, and are currently used.

In places where people seem to live on a day-to-day existence, it would seem superfluous to speak about foresight and prevention. However, many times there are shortages of food, fire-wood, covering materials for huts. People with foresight would always have a little reserve, especially of foods, so much that a large, filled grain-bin is more important than a large and beautiful house without food reserve.

280. Akabangilile: e kepeye pulu.
- Little/thing/was-early: it-is it/killed mongoose.
 - The little early thing killed the mongoose.
 - Diligence and early work pay. Active and early beginning give better chances in hunting.
 - SM:1. WF:22-bangilila.
281. Akabangilile: katamba masha ya cungulo.
- Little/thing/was-early: it/watch dance of evening.
 - The little early thing could watch the evening dance.
 - By starting work early, one was then free to go to the dance. Good opportunities favour the active person.
 - Masha; a kind of dance.
 - SM:2. WF:22-bangila.
282. Akatanshi ukunwa: takanwa mfundwa.
- Little/first to/drink: not/it/drink dregs.
 - The first one to drink does not drink dregs.
 - The first one in a meal will get the best part. One early at work is early at the beer party.
 - Mfundwa; dregs, sediment, deposit.
 - SM:6. WF:254-katanshi.
283. Alya imo: no kushika bucinga.
- He/eat one: and to/bury game-pit.
 - He eats one game and buries the game pit.
 - After having caught one animal, the improvident hunter buries the game pit. Improvident persons care only for the day forgetting that tomorrow will also bring hunger.
 - WF:394-lya.
284. Bangilila: mu nshila tamutelela.
- Make-haste: in road not/in/yet/be-slippery.

- b. Make haste before the road gets slippery.
 - c. One must start on a journey early before it gets rained out. Early work always pays.
 - d. -Telela; be slippery, greasy.
 - e. WF:759-telela.
285. Cili fye: e cimfimfye mukonso.
- a. It/is only: it/is it/swell/caused leg.
 - b. It does not matter made the leg to swell.
 - c. Lack of care may have disastrous results.
 - d. -Fimfya, causative of -fimba; swell, cause to be swollen.
 - e. SM:10. WF:99-cili fye.
286. Mangilile: mulamba talatulula.
- a. He/start-early/let: waters not/he/yet/overflow.
 - b. Let me go early before the flood comes.
 - c. Let me prepare myself right now before the waters rise to flood my fields and house. Prevention avoids the consequences of disasters.
 - d. Mulamba (banulamba); torrent of water; water coming in house due to rain. -Tulula; overflow, flood, be in flood.
 - e. WF:22-bangilila.
287. Mubala kale: alayafwilisha.
- a. Who/begin long-time-ago: he/used-to/himself/help/much.
 - b. He who begins early helps himself a lot.
 - c. An early beginner is a sure winner.
 - d. -Iafwilisha; reflexive intensive of -afwa; help.
 - e. SM:37. WF:19-bala.
288. Nkalya mailo: apile numa.
- a. I/shall/eat tomorrow: he/burnt back.
 - b. I shall eat tomorrow burnt his back.

c. What you can do now, do it, since you don't know what the future has in store for you.

e. WF:394-lya.

290. Nkatinkati; alashilwa apo ekele.

a. Lazy person: he/is-speared where he/sat.

b. The lazy person was speared where he sat.

c. Laziness brings misfortunes. Misfortunes happen to all, but more often than not to persons who are lazy and don't care.

d. Nkatinkati, from -katakata, be slow, clumsy.

e. WF:nkatinkati-538.

291. Nkaya nobe; abale cungulo.

a. I/shall/go and/you: he/start evening.

b. I will go with you starts in the evening.

c. When a person is traveling with another, he/she must start the preparations the evening before and get ready early in the morning.

e. SM:42. WF:19-bala.

292. Tafipwa ukulowa alile; kamfipilile balimwikete.

a. Not/things/finish to/taste-good he/went: let/me/finish/all they/him/caught.

b. Those things which are so tasty are not yet finished, and finishing them caused the man to be caught.

c. The one who went before the food was finished, was spared, but the enemies caught on with the one who wanted to finish it all. In beer parties, the person who leaves early, usually avoids trouble.

d. -Fipilila; intensive of -fipa; drink to the last drop; eat to the end.

e. SM:47.

293. Ubushalila numu: bwabunshishe nghoma.
- The/lagging behind: it/capsize/cause drum.
 - Lagging behind caused the drum to fall in the water.
 - People who delayed had to paddle very fast and the drum fell in the water. Lazy people get into misfortunes.
 - Busha, causative of -bunda; capsize, drown, lose in water.
 - WF:680-shalila.
294. Ucili uleimba fulwe: nakucenama.
- You/still/are you/are-digging tortoise: it/is/opened.
 - You are still digging to get the tortoise but the hole is opened.
 - A person who is trying to dig in the tortoise hole but leaves an opening unclosed from where it can escape. A person who is foolish and improvident works without thinking.
 - Nakucenama; ku stands for preposition subject.
 - WF:170-fulwe.
295. Ukukokola pa nengo: malole.
- To/stay-long at ant-bear: vague-stares.
 - To stay looking at the ant-bear produces stares.
 - To stay looking at the ant-bear which works all the time, brings nothing but fatigue. Wasting time is useless.
 - Nengo; ant-bear.
 - SM:55. WF:402-malole.
296. Ukukomene nsofu: kuli ulububa.
- To/kill elephant: there/is thicket.
 - To be able to kill an elephant there must be a thicket.
 - To achieve certain difficult undertakings, the right conditions must be present. It is useless to dream about impossible achievements.

- d. Lububa; thicket.
 - e. SM:56. WF:362-lububa.
297. Ukupangile nsofu: kano uli ne fumo.
- a. To/threaten elephant: only you/are and spear.
 - b. To threaten an elephant you must have at least a spear.
 - c. When starting an undertaking, one must foresee what will be necessary to bring it to a successful end.
 - e. SM:57. WF:588-pangila.
298. Ulukasa ukulwinya mwanwe: ukulutêka male yakulu.
- a. Foot to/it/lift early-millet: to/it/put-down millet big.
 - b. To lift your foot means early millet; to put it down, late millet.
 - c. If you start cultivating early, you will have an early crop; if you delay, the harvest will be late.
 - d. Mwanwe; early millet. Male yakulu; late millet.
 - e. WF:367-lukasa.
299. Uwaiwe balemulango mweshi: alemono munwe.
- a. Child they/are/him/showing moon: he/is-seeing finger.
 - b. When you show the moon to a child, he sees only your finger.
 - c. One must not expect a child to see far or understand difficult things. One must foresee the implications of certain undertakings and behaviours.
300. Uwabingo kowa: teminina.
- a. Who/intend to/swim: not/he/stand-up.
 - b. He who decides on swimming does not just stand up.
 - c. Once something is decided upon, it should be carried on without delay.
 - e. SM:74. WF:33-binga.

D. - d. Cooperation. Sharing. Work in Common. Giving.

Cooperation, sharing and work in common are necessary qualities in villages which have a subsistence agriculture in a rather narrow locality. In a small village, it seems that everyone knows what the others are doing. There are very few tasks which are done by individuals alone; everything is done in common, from building a house to pounding grain. People who have witnessed the making of a dug-out canoe will attest to this fact. Usually, a 'fundu' (expert) is called to be in charge; he manoeuvres the axe himself or tells an assistant what to do, always in view of several spectators who talk and give a hand if necessary. There is no such thing as a lone kabasa (carpenter) who would try to make a canoe all by himself. The whole process, from choosing a tree, bringing it to an adequate location, taking it to its launching, is a series of operations necessitating the help of many under the direction and instruction of the expert. Most activities in rural areas are of this kind. Even in jobs which could be performed by one person, there is habitually a congregation of a few people to talk with, to help or just be there.

What has been said in Section B. - h. about togetherness and sharing (pp. 206-210) applies here too, along with the expressions ukwananya and ukwakanya, which mean to divide, to share.

301. Abantu babili na m&icaron;o yabili: umuntu umo ne lyano limo.

- a. People two and brains two: person one and brain one.
- b. Two people make two brains and one person only one.
- c. Work in common, in cooperation, is always better than individualistic efforts.
- e. SM:l. WF:395-lyano.

302. Aka kubika: kalasasa.
- a. Little-thing to/put-aside: it get/sour.
 - b. The little thing you put aside, gets sour.
 - c. Things which are kept exclusively for yourself and are not shared often get spoiled. Refusal makes people bitter and sour.
 - e. WF:30-bika.
303. Ake fupa katanisha: aka munofu.
- a. Little bone it/refuse/much: little meat.
 - b. The little bone that you refuse; the little meat will be refused also.
 - c. You refuse to give a little bone and people will refuse to share meat with you later on.
 - e. WF:749-tanisha.
304. Akiso ka mulembwe: kakonka kabiye.
- a. Little/dish of mulembwe (relish): it/follow its/ companion.
 - b. The little dish of relish follows another one.
 - c. A small gift calls for a return. One good turn deserves another.
 - d. Akiso (twiso); diminutive of ciso; a vessel made of a dried pumpkin rind. Mulembwe, relish made of dry leaves.
 - e. WF:259-keso.
305. Amaka ya buweka: tayapela apatali.
- a. Strength of fact/aloneness: not/it/reach far.
 - b. The strength of one person only does not go far.
 - c. The strength of one cannot achieve much. To produce good results, there must be work together.
 - e. WF:65-buweka.
306. Amāno uli weka: tayashingauka ikoshi.
- a. Brains you/are alone: not/they/go-around neck.

- b. Brains of one person do not know what is going on in the back of your neck.
- c. One man's brains do not go far. A single man's wisdom is very limited.
- d. -Shingauka; go around, spin, rotate.
- e. SM:7. WF:407-mano.

307. Cinci wa babili: te kuba cinci uli weka.

- a. Work of two/persons; it-is-not to/be work you/are alone.
- b. The work meant to be performed by two cannot be done by one alone.
- c. Some tasks have to be performed in cooperation. In married life especially, chores must be done by the two.
- e. SM:11. WF:110-cinci.

308. Icikupe mpuku: cibala ku cisu.

- a. What/you/give rat: it/start at bladder.
- b. What gives you the rat started by giving the bladder.
- c. A small gift may bring a more important one. One should not despise a small gift, since something more important may follow.
- d. Mpuku; rat.
- e. SM:15. WF:19-bala.

309. Icilebololo muntu: ni nsala.

- a. What/reveal man: it-is hunger.
- b. What reveals a man is his behaviour in time of hunger.
- c. Famine and other disasters reveal the real value of a man. In time of suffering, people are asked to share and help one another.
- d. -lobolola; make known, unravel.
- e. SM:16. WF:353-lobolola.

310. Icitemenwe nama: cilekatilila.
- What/liked game: it/is-holding/much.
 - What liked the game is holding on to it.
 - When one wants a share in the meat, one must have had a share in the kill and hold fast to it while it is cut. To profit by a kill, one must have participated in the hunt.
 - Ikatilila; intensive of -ikata, touch, catch, hold.
 - WF:197-ikatilila.
311. Kapokela: talumbwe nsupa.
- The-one/help: not/is-given calabash.
 - The one who just helps is not given a calabash of beer.
 - A little work is rewarded by a small remuneration. Salary or food is given in proportion to the work done.
 - Pokela; applicative of -poka; take from, receive, help out.
 - WF:245-kapokela.
312. Mupa tunono: alatûsha.
- The-one/give little-things: he/used-to/feed.
 - The one who gives a little feeds people.
 - The person who gives little at a time satisfies the needs of people. Better to give a little than nothing at all.
 - Tûsha; causative of -tûka; satiate, satisfy hunger, help with food.
 - SM:40. WF:810-tûsha.
313. Ubutani: tabalinganya.
- Refusal: not/they/make-equal.
 - Refusal is not returned.
 - Refusal should not be repaid by another refusal. If someone refuses to share with you, you should not do the

same to him.

- e. WF:62-butani.

314. Ukupa: kubika.

- a. To/give: to/put-aside.
- b. To give is like to put aside.
- c. To give is an investment. To give now is to prepare to be given later.
- e. WF:580-pa.

315. Ulushimu lubi: luntu lushele ku mwabo (ku maluba).

- a. Bee bad: the-one it/stayed at home (at flowers).
- b. The bad bee is the one which stayed home (in the flowers).
- c. The bad person is the one who stays home doing nothing or just caring for personal needs, or doing what he/she likes.
- e. SM:59. WF:387-lushimu.

316. Ulya ni kapēkapē: takanka pa kupēla.

- a. That one it-is generous-person: not/he/be-stingy at to/give.
- b. That one is the generous person who is not stingy in giving.
- c. This is the generous person who does not count what he/she gives.
- d. Kapēkapē; very generous person. -Kanka; be stingy, refuse to give.

317. Umukalamba ushifūkisha. kubangulo munga: kutininkisha.

- a. Old-man who/not/share, to/extract thorn: to/press down.
- b. For the old man who does not share, you press down the thorn which should be removed.
- c. An old niggard will not be helped easily and if possible will be harmed. Stinginess breeds hard feelings and is repaid by wickedness.

- d. -Fukisha; share with. -Bangula; remove, extract.
-Tininkisha; press down, hold down.
 - e. WF:166-fukisha.
318. Umuntu mubi wa kupa: wasunako.
- a. Man bad of to/give: you/break-off-to.
 - b. When one has to give to a bad man, one breaks a piece.
 - c. The person forced to give something to a bad man, gives only a small piece. A wicked person cannot expect generosity.
 - d. -Suna; break off a piece; take out a portion.
 - e. WF:729-sunu.
319. Umusuku ushipona: balaunyanta.
- a. Musuku tree which/not/fall: they/used-to/it/trample.
 - b. The musuku tree which does not fall, they kick it.
 - c. When a person refuses to share, he/she is likely to be badly treated.
 - e. SM:66.
320. Umwana wa mupe: tafwa nsala.
- a. Child of generous-person: not/he/die hunger.
 - b. The child of a generous person does not die of hunger.
 - c. Generosity begets generosity.
 - e. SM:69. WF:482-mupe.
321. Umwani ashifumba: no 'ko atula, tafumba.
- a. Stranger who/not/is-generous: and where he/come-from, not/he/is-generous.
 - b. The stranger who is not generous, is not generous in his own land.
 - c. A miser is a miser everywhere he goes, whatever the stories he tells.
 - d. -Fumba; be generous, give generously.

322. Uwakāna ukwela; akāna no koča.
- Who/refuse to/fish: he/refuse and to/roast.
 - He who refuses to go fishing refuses to roast.
 - One who does not join in the work, does not join in the meal.
 - Kla; fish with basket.
-oca; burn, bake, roast.
 - WF:144-ela.
323. Uwakupe calo; talabwa.
- Who/give country: not/he/is-forgotten.
 - The person who gave you the country is not forgotten.
 - The person who is very generous is not forgotten.
 - WF:304-laba.
324. Uwakupšla akufinya; uwakutana akwangusha.
- Who/you/give he/you/be-heavy/cause: who/you/refuse he/you/be-light/cause.
 - He who gives makes you heavy; he who refuses you makes you light.
 - The generous person puts you in the situation of being obliged to return the favour; he who refuses, removes all further obligations from you. One always feels obliged towards someone who has given gifts.
 - WF:745-tana.
325. We shiko tatukwa; lishiko likamufutula.
- Of kitchen not/he/is-insulted: kitchen it/will/him/redeem.
 - The person who has a kitchen will not be insulted; he will be saved by his/her kitchen.
 - A generous person who has been hospitable and fed people will not be offended even when he/she behaves rudely; his/her generosity will bring forgiveness and salvation

in time of trouble.

- d. Lishiko; fire-place, hearth, kitchen. -Futla; applicative of -futa; pay, compensate, redeem.
- e. WF:347-lishiko.

D. - e. Eating. Working. Hunger. Famine.

Having enough food to eat and eating well are concerns of subsistence agriculturists not as individuals, but as families or groups, so that every capable person must contribute to the common effort. Only the very young, the very old and the very sick will get food without somehow helping to get it. Food is not produced by specialists, but by all. No wonder that people who want to eat must also work for that food, and parasites are not welcome at all.

There were not many periods where there was a dire shortage of food in the region but it happened when there was too much rain or not enough, and when locusts ate the crops. For instance, after the floods of 1962, many gardens and fields especially near rivers and lakes were inundated; most of the crops in the Bangweulu swamps and on the shores of the Lwapula river were destroyed. But there were enough cassava and maize on higher fields to allow for the bartering of flour against fish and meat which did not eliminate hardship and suffering in several villages.

Hunger may happen at several times and under different forms as when there is not enough flour or too little munani (relish) which is in fact anything eaten with the bwali (mush), and includes meat, fish, vegetables). It is impossible to eat bwali (mush) alone. There may be too many people and not enough food for all and some will be hungry. The fact is that many people have experienced hunger (that is not having a good meal for one

or several days), a few times during their lives.

326. Akabomba akabiye: ka mu nda.

- a. Little/work little/its-companion: of in stomach.
- b. The little thing which works with its companion lies in the stomach.
- c. To be able to work one must have eaten. One does not do much on an empty stomach. Workers will not work hard at all if they are not well fed.
- e. SM:2. WF:35-bomba.

327. Icibi: cibakile mfumu mweco.

- a. Bad: it/looked-after chief soul.
- b. The bad food took care of the chief's soul.
- c. The food, though bad, kept the chief alive. Bad as it may be, some kind of food is better than nothing and keeps people alive.

328. Icikula butala: nghanda taikula.

- a. What/is-big grain-bin: house not/it/is-big.
- b. What is big is the grain bin not the house.
- c. What is important is the size of the grain bin, not the size of the house, especially if there is nothing to eat. A lot of food is better than a fancy house.
- e. WF:281-kula.

329. Icilobololo muntu: ni nsala.

- a. What/reveal man: it-is hunger.
- b. What reveals a man is hunger.
- c. Hunger gives the real value of a man who may be tempted to steal or eat more than his share.
- e. SM:16. WF:353-lobolola.

330. Imikolele ya nshe: ne mifile.
- a. The/pickings of locusts: and the/eatings.
 - b. The gathering of locusts and eating them.
 - c. Food is related to the work done; one cannot eat more than what one has picked up. Food according to work.
 - d. Nshe; locusts. (Makanta more often used).
 - e. WF:424-mikolele.
331. Inghombe kuwame lamba: kulya.
- a. Cows to/be/nice skin: to/eat.
 - b. Cows to have good fat skin must eat.
 - c. To be healthy and good looking one must eat and eat well.
 - d. Lilamba (malamba); hide.
 - e. WF:572-nghombe.
332. Inkalamo nga yapelelwa: ilya ne fyanj.
- a. Lion when it/is-finished: it/eat and grass.
 - b. The lion which has come to the end of its means, is forced to eat grass.
 - c. When in hunger, a person will eat anything.
 - d. -Pelelwa; applicative passive of -pela; reach, end.
 - e. SM:25.
333. Insala: taikongwa mwevu.
- a. Hunger: not/it/is-lured beard.
 - b. Hunger is not influenced by a beard.
 - c. Hunger knows no age and gets to all even elders. Food is not produced by anything but work and the absence of food has the same effects on all.
 - d. -Kongwa; passive of -kongwa, lure, entice, influence.
 - e. SM:26. WF:270-kongwa.

334. Insala: tailya uwasakunya.
- Hunger: not/it/eat who stir.
 - Hunger does not eat the one who stirs himself.
 - Work is the remedy for hunger. In time of famine, people work harder.
 - Sakunya; move, stir, do something.
 - WF:548-nsala.
335. Kolokondwe ukuwana umusunga: ni nsala nkali.
- Bad/herb to/improve gruel: it/is hunger wicked.
 - The bad herb to improve the gruel, it is a period of dire hunger.
 - In time of need, one eats what one finds and cannot be fussy. In time of hunger, any kind of relish is acceptable. Hunger is the best sauce.
 - Kolokondwe; fibrous herb used mainly to make nets and really not comestible.
 - SM:32. WF:264-kolokondwe.
336. Ubwikushi: tabubomfya kalimo.
- Eating-to-one's fill: not/it/work little/work.
 - Eating to satiety does not accomplish the little work.
 - Too much eating is not good for working. Eating all the time will not produce the food required in the future.
 - WF:36-bomfya.
337. Umûba ukulila: ni pa mafito.
- Bellows to/make-noise: it/is at charcoals.
 - The bellows to start squeaking, there must be charcoals.
 - To be able to start work, one must have had something to eat. One cannot work on an empty stomach.
 - Umûba (inyuba); bellows. Lifito (mafito); charcoal.
 - SM:59. WF:398-mafito.

338. Umulanda akule fumo: takula kanwa.
- a. Poor he/grow-big stomach: not/he/grow-big mouth.
 - b. The poor has a large stomach and a small mouth.
 - c. The poor man thinks more about eating than about talking.
The poor man worries about food not about discourses.
 - e. SM:61.
339. Umulandu wa nsala: ulongole mpanda.
- a. Case of hunger: it/explain honest-man.
 - b. The case of famine explains the honest person.
 - c. Honesty is tried in time of famine when people suffer together and when taking food is a serious crime.
 - d. -Longola; explain, interpret, show value.
 - e. SM:63. WF:357-longola.

D. - f. Begging. Self-Help.

Ukupula (to beg), is the word commonly used for all kind of begging, for money, food, clothing, etc.; the derivatives, ubupushi (the action of begging) and umupushi, abapushi (beggar/s) are also used.

Beggars are often afflicted by some physical diseases; some are lame, blind or very old; some are mentally retarded. What is said about begging in proverbs does not apply to them. It was very rare to see able bodied persons begging. There are occasionally very lazy people who try to get things from people all the time; they are not accepted in the community, are reprimanded and often insulted. Self-help and self-reliance are the law, and it brings independence and the possibility of enjoying a decent living. Still, there were and are a few beggars everywhere.

There is however, a friendly begging which is rather a way of exchanging and sharing things; people ask for fwaka (tobacco), a drink of beer, a hand-full of ground-nuts, etc. Because of the present difference in living standard and wealth, several Bemba persons have taken the habit of begging from salaried workers fruits, meat, clothes, planks, etc. Children will ask for candies (sweets) and money. This is because there is no possibility of exchanging things when some people seem to have everything; the only recourse is begging. For instance, an old man may come along and ask for a pair of trousers; you probably say 'no' because you need it; but he needs it more than you; that is alright but it is yours and you must have and keep it; he will retort that you only refuse and like to refuse (ukutana fye, ubutani); if you remember proverbs 340 and 341, it would be very useful indeed. This procedure may also be created to embarrass people who have more than the majority.

Whatever the situation, people are advised to get for themselves what they need, and begging is not encouraged at all.

340. Anafuta ya kulomba: tayakumana mubili onse.

- a. Oil of to/beg: not/it/suffice body all.
- b. The oil that is begged never suffices to cover the whole body.
- c. Begging is not sufficient to fill all the needs. Beggars often go hungry and should try to get by working what they need. Instead of begging for things, get them yourself.
- e. SM:7. WF:355-lomba.

341. Insala ni ndiminwa: te mpulilwa.

- a. Hunger it/is I/am cultivating: it-is-not I/am/begging/for.
- b. Hunger means cultivating not begging.
- c. If one goes hungry, one should start cultivating and not begging.

e. SM:26. WF:548-nsala.

342. Umulila-ndya: taba na mulandu.

- a. Who/cry-I/eat: not/he/be and case.
- b. He who cries to eat has no court case.
- c. A poor beggar is not causing trouble and has no case.
A beggar who begs to have food to eat is not troubled.
- d. Mulila-ndya; from -lila, cry and -lya, eat.
- e. WF:461-mulila-ndya.

343. Umupelwa: temika butala.

- a. Who/is/given: not/he/build grain-bin.
- b. He who is given does not build a grain bin.
- c. A beggar should not hoard and should beg only for what he needs to survive. A beggar gets what he can and should not hope to accumulate food.
- e. WF:482-mupelwa.

D. - g. Poor. Rich.

Umukankala (bakankala) is a rich person and umulanda (abalandu) is used to refer to a poor one, materially and at times physically, an infirm, a blind, or a crippled person, probably to signify that those people are at a disadvantage and are often unable to cultivate and care for their own needs. In every society there are some members who are less favoured, being less intelligent, less healthy, weaker; these find it much harder to exist and share the obligations and pleasures of the community.

There are references to people of the capital (umusumba) and close to the chief as being bakalamba (singular: mukalamba), not only rich, but important, honourable, powerful, which of

course is often associated with government and influence. To-day, government people are also being called bakalamba. In the past as in the present, people as individuals could have more wealth or power, but this came from being associated with a chief as a relative or a trusted worker. All had and have the obligation of sharing and giving which comes from the Bemba ethics and from the fact of constant uncertainty; the rich individual of to-day will need the poorer relatives and neighbours sometime.

344. Ifibalāla: tafitula kumo.

- a. Variegated/pieces-of/cloth: not/they-come-from there/one.
- b. Variegated pieces of cloth come from many places.
- c. Wealth does not come from only one source. Wealth is not reserved to one person or one place.
- d. Fibalāla; from -balāla, be spotted, variegated.
- e. SM:18,19. WF:20-balāla.

345. Talwenda mubusu.

- a. Not/it/go poor.
- b. The poor man does not go on a journey.
- c. The poor do not travel because they cannot afford it. A traveler is not poor since he may get a lot of help.
- d. Talwenda; lu stands for lwendo, travel.
- e. SM:47. WF:443-mubusu.

346. Umulanda akule fumo: takula kanwa.

- a. Poor he/has/grown stomach: not/he/grow mouth.
- b. A poor man has a large stomach not a large mouth.
- c. A poor man cares about his stomach, not about speeches.
- e. SM:61. WF:240-kanwa.

347. Umulanda alulubalo mushishi: mu nda, naulala.
- a. Poor he/has-long hair: in heart it/sleep.
 - b. A poor man has long hair but his heart is quiet.
 - c. A poor man looks dirty and unkempt, but often his heart is at peace. Peace and happiness are not judged by money and appearance. Money does not always bring happiness and peace.
 - d. -Lulubala; be tall, long.
 - e. SM:61. WF:458-mulanda.
348. Uwele wa mulanda: waba mu kanwa.
- a. Knife of poor: it/be in mouth.
 - b. The knife of the poor is in his mouth.
 - c. A poor person may have to use a knife and steal to feed himself. The poor may resort to violence to survive. A pauper may know a lot and talk, because he has nothing to lose.
 - e. WF:511-nwele.

E. POLITICAL LIFE

As already mentioned on pages 12 and 15, there are some differences in the applications of a similar political system, especially in relation to the intensity and exactness of its execution. All the groups have chiefs, a royal clan, some aristocratic clans, rules of succession, etc. The Bemba of Chitimukulu are very strict in the order of succession and the Paramount chief has great might and receives corresponding obedience and respect; on the other hand, the Nghumbo of lake Bangweulu have chiefs who are not very powerful, can be elected through various procedures and do not have much authority, and it is still not clear who is the lawful senior chief among them; between these two extremes, are the Kazembes of the Lwapula. Authority and power exist, but to a different degree, whether one is a Bemba chief or a Bisa chief.

However, proverbs are used in all groups, probably with more acuity and relevance according to the needs of each region. Proverbs stress the value of authority and also the duties to serve and go to the people in order to understand their needs. People are reminded of their obligations to obey and show respect. At the same time, chiefs are criticised for making decisions which are useless, onerous, capricious and oppressive. Chiefs and leaders who do their best and perform their functions conscientiously, who are just in their decisions, benevolent and understanding, receive admiration and are obeyed. Those who are harsh, unfair, stingy and proud can expect to be reprimanded, openly opposed and even deposed. A chief and a leader can and do enjoy glory; they also bear the responsibilities of the well-being of all. In times of drought, flood, locusts, diseases, poverty, they are blamed, accused and cursed. In truth, some chiefs have nice houses, servants and several wives; they can be lavishly received during their village visitations and greeted with the right knee on the ground (mud and dust); they can also be insulted for not doing their job and not caring for people. That 'mélange' of respect and criticism is clearly indicated in the following proverbs.

E. - a. Leadership. Authority. Power. Leaders.

Ntungulushi (leader) and the abstract noun buntungulushi (leadership) are derivatives of ukutungulula, to/guide, lead, show the way, direct; these words are used all the time to mean everything related to leaders and leadership. Anaka (strength, power) is widely utilized to mean physical strength as well as any other kinds of force.

Leaders of all categories were to serve the people and be obeyed; the people chose them, kept them in power and could dispose of them.

349. Abantu lisabi: likonka mënshi.

- a. People fish: it/follow water.
- b. The people are like fish; they follow the water.
- c. People follow their leaders like fish the rivers. The leaders must be good leaders because often their directives are followed blindly.
- e. WM:1. WF:345-lisabi.

350. Bangoshe babili: tabekala culu cimo.

- a. Green-mamba two: not/they/stay ant-hill one.
- b. Two green mambas do not live in the same ant-hill.
- c. Two leaders cannot govern one place, just like two mambas cannot hunt successfully in the same ant hill. People cannot obey or serve two leaders and only one must be in power.
- e. WF:533-ngoshe.

351. Ubufumu: busheta amenshi.

- a. Chieftainship: it/chew water.
- b. Chieftainship can chew water.
- c. A chief can do what he wants even decide to chew water if he so desires. A chief in authority may decide to do as

he pleases even if at times it makes no sense at all. Chiefs may abuse their authority stupidly.

e. SM:50. WF:42-bufumu.

352. Ukwapa: takucila kubea.

- a. Armpit: not/it/surpass shoulder.
- b. The armpit is not over the shoulder.
- c. Everywhere there is a hierarchy, and it cannot be changed. A second in command cannot over-rule decisions made by the first leader.
- e. WF:301-kwapa.

353. Umushi wa baice: ulawa.

- a. Village of children: it/always/fall.
- b. A village of children falls.
- c. Where there is no leader, the place cannot last long. In every village, a head-man or elder is required and decisions cannot be left to children.
- e. WF:507-nwaice.

354. Uwina musumba: tabipila ngala.

- a. Resident capital: not/he/is-bad feathers.
- b. The resident of the capital is not bad looking with his feathers.
- c. The man who comes from the capital may have an unpleasant message to convey, but his authority makes him acceptable.
- e. WF:34-bipa.

355. Utangile: e kulango bwabuko.

- a. Who/preceded: it-is to/show crossing-place.
- b. He who precedes is the one who shows the crossing place.
- c. The leader must have experience and know where to go and how to lead in the right direction. A good leader can accomplish what he orders.

- d. Bwabuko; from -abuka; cross a river, wade across, ford.
- e. WF:749-tangila.

356. Uwaoba amato yabili: alashika.

- a. Who/paddle canoes two: he/used-to/sink.
- b. He who paddles two canoes, sinks.
- c. The leader must be in charge of only one village or one group. Serving two masters will result in disaster.
- e. WF:68-bwato.

E. - b. Responsibilities of Leaders. Duties of Hard Work and Service.

The obligations of the leaders, working hard for their people and serving them, are expressed quite strongly. It is pleasant to 'wear the panache' but not always interesting to carry on the work and bear the worries. There are harsh times, disasters, diseases and deaths which can be attributed to chiefs; they can be accused of using shinganga (priests, medicine men) to harm people. They must organize and direct communal jobs which are never very popular.

There are no specific words to mean responsibility; ncito and mulimo (milimo) mean primarily job, duty, task, chore; in expressions like ni ncito wenu, ni mulimo wenu fye, they can be translated as 'it is your duty, it is your responsibility'.

People may show external respect for their chiefs—expressed differently according to regions—, but they will not fail to remind them of their obligations and demand things to be done regarding water holes, schools, dispensaries, bus service, etc. Nowadays, it is difficult to evaluate the roles of chiefs and whether they are being displaced by elected local politicians and charismatic leaders.

357. Akashi kalapya: no mwine kashi apilamo.

- a. Little/village it/used-to/burn: and owner village he/burn/in.

- b. The little village burns and also the owner of the village.
 - b. A leader must remain in charge and share the fate of his people.
 - e. SM:5. WF:250-kashi.
358. Icikete nghoma: no kupilibuka nacishiba.
- a. That/held drum: and to/turn-around it/has-known.
 - b. The person who beats the drum must also know how to dance.
 - c. The person who leads in the drumming, knows also how to lead in the dance. A leader must have experience to govern his people in all the necessary undertakings.
 - e. SM:14-15. WF:572-nghoma.
359. Icikete nghoma: no lwimbo cileschi.
- a. That/held drum: and song it/know.
 - b. The person who beats the drum must also know the song.
 - c. The person who leads the drumming knows also the accompanying song. A leader must have experience and know all the jobs to govern well.
 - d. Cileschi, stands for cileshiba.
360. Icikolwe ne ngala: cikolwe ne milandu.
- a. Ancestor with feathers: ancestor with cases.
 - b. The ancestor who has the feathers has the troubles.
 - c. A person in authority has the honour but also the responsibilities and worries.
 - e. SM:15. WF:533-ngala.
361. Icingala ca busole: bamufumbila kabŕla.
- a. Big/panache of messenger: they/him/put-on before-hand.
 - b. The messenger wears his large feathers before-hand.
 - c. A messenger or a subordinate leader must always be ready for work or service.
 - d. Cingala, augmentative of lingala; feathers, panache.

-Fumbila, applicative of -fumba; give generously; stick feathers in hair.

e. WF:61-busole.

362. Kabilo wa nsoni: tapwa milandu.

- a. Minister of shyness: not/he/finish cases.
- b. The shy minister does not finish the cases.
- c. One in authority must be bold enough to make decisions and accomplish all of his duties.
- e. SM:30. WF:209-kabilo.

363. Ku musumba: takwabikilwa nkwa.

- a. At capital: not/in/is-put-for bark-cloth.
- b. At the capital bark cloth is not soaked for you.
- c. At the capital, there is no time to soak your bark cloth since one may be called up for service at any moment.
- d. -Abikilwa; applicative passive of -abika; soak, put under water.
- e. SM:33. WF:2-abika.

364. Mfunda buteshi: e iwa.

- a. I/teach deceitfulness: it-is it/fall.
- b. The preacher who teaches double-talk and falls.
- c. The person who teaches and preaches must be consistent with his doctrines lest he himself transgress some rules. A leader must practice what he teaches and demands. A leader is not above the law and may be caught also.
- d. Mfunda buteshi, 'I teach deceitfulness' means an inconsistent and illogical person.
- e. WF:63-buteshi.

365. Mpyana ngo: apyana na mabala.

- a. I/succeed leopard: he/succeed and spots.
- b. The successor of the leopard succeeds also the spots.

- c. The successor of a leader takes all the responsibilities, duties and honours.
 - d. Ngo, obsolete for mbwili, leopard. Libala (mabala); spot on animals.
 - e. WF:325-libala.
366. Munshifika ku bwingi: tapêlwe shina.
- a. Who/not/reach to many: not/he/is-given name.
 - b. He who does not reach the people is not given a name.
 - c. The person who does not get to the people cannot be known and is soon ignored. The leader who does not come near the people is not honoured.
 - e. WF:348-lishina.
367. Mwamina nghuni alanaka: mwamina bantu tanaka.
- a. Who/protect birds he/used-to/get-tired: who/protect people not/he/get-tired.
 - b. The person who protects crops from birds gets tired; not the person who protects people.
 - c. The guardian of men must be at his duty all of the time. A chief in charge of his people cannot afford to get tired, and his responsibilities follow him all the time.
 - d. -Amina; protect crops; scare away birds from garden.
 - e. SM:41. WF:8-amina.
368. Nacimbûsa afwele ngala: no kubwalabwala.
- a. Matron she/has/worn panache: and to/dance/dance.
 - b. The matron has the feathers and has to dance a lot.
 - c. The matron (at the initiation ceremony) has the honours but has to work hard and dance to exhaustion. Leadership and honours rarely go without hard work.
 - d. -Bwalabwala; dance with frenzy; exert.
 - e. WF:520-nacimbûsa.

369. Ubufumu: bukishisha amenso.
- a. Chieftainship: it/red/make eyes.
 - b. Chieftainship reddens the eyes.
 - c. Hard work comes with honours and brings worries and lack of sleep. The chief must spend long nights without sleep to carry on his work.
 - e. WF:42-bufumu.
370. Ubukosa kanwa: tabutêka inghanda.
- a. Hardness mouth: not/it/govern house.
 - b. The harshness of the mouth does not govern a house.
 - c. Shouting and disputing is no good to rule a household. To govern one must use kind talking rather than harsh words.
 - e. WF:45-bukosa.
371. Ubuta bwauma: bwaumina ukufunika.
- a. Bow it/stretch: it/is-stretched to/break.
 - b. A bow which is stretched to the limit breaks.
 - c. An exacting person is often broken. A leader must be understanding and ready to make concessions before waiting for the situation to break.
 - d. -Uma; be dry; uma (mpapa); stretch a skin.
 - e. SM:52. WF:62-buta.
372. Umufuililwa mubi: mubula kanwa.
- a. Who/is-forged/for bad: who/lack mouth.
 - b. He who is forged for badly lacks a mouth.
 - c. If one needs work to be done, one must say how it must be done. When needs be, one must talk and reprimand.
 - e. SM:60. WF:446-mufuililwa.
373. Ugulangishi wa muntu: alapelama.
- a. Shower of man: he/used-to/get-near.
 - b. Who wants to show man must get near.

- c. The person who wants to direct, lead, educate, must be there to show how to do it.
- d. Mulangishi, from -langa; show, instruct, oversee.
- e. SM:63. WF:459-mulangishi.

374. Umushi wa mukali: upya ku mbali.

- a. Village of severe-man: it/burn at side.
- b. The village of the severe man burns from the side.
- c. In a village where the head-man is too severe people will not inform him of the incoming fire which will destroy his village. A head-man must be kind and considerate if he wants to preserve his village intact.
- e. SM:65. WF:490-mushi.

E. - c. Obedience and Respect Due to Authority.

Ukubela (to/obey) is used to refer to the situation where orders or advice have been given and must be followed. Ukuumfwa (to/understand, to/hear) means that what has been said is accepted and will be carried on. Ukusumina (to/agree, to/believe) refers to explanations or reasons given for a course of action which are received as true often because of the authority or special knowledge of the speaker. Umuginshi (respect) is a derivative of ukucindika (to/respect) and signifies all forms of consideration and reverence.

Among the Bemba of Chitimukulu, there were many marks of respect and deference which were shown to chiefs at every occasion, and not only at official actions and ceremonies. Other ethnic groups like the Bisa and Nghumbo for instance, were far less demonstrative; chiefs and their entourage were treated with the consideration which could be described as polite civility. When chiefs did not do their jobs properly and abused their authority, some people would become quite aggressive and arrange for their dismissal.

The Bemba royal salute (ukutota panshi), lying on one's back and clapping hands, is no longer practised; the standard greeting is done on one knee down or both while clapping hands (ukutota makuku).

375. Nshumfwa fya bakulu: amenene umwefu kwikoshi.
- a. I/not/listen those/things elders: he/grew beard at/neck.
 - b. I-do-not-listen to elders; he grew a beard around his neck.
 - c. He who does not listen to elders is liable to do very stupid things. One must be obedient to elders.
 - e. SM:43. WF:331-likoshi.
376. Ubufumu: bucindikoko bwine.
- a. Chieftainship: it/respect itself.
 - b. Chieftainship is self-respecting.
 - c. Leadership to be respected must show itself respectable.
 - e. SM:50. WF:42-bufumu.
377. Ukuli ubukulu: bwine buyeba.
- a. Where/is greatness: itself it/itself/say.
 - b. Where there is greatness, it shows itself.
 - c. Greatness is self-evident and does not need any speech or further demonstration.
 - e. WF:46-bukulu.
378. Umutuka mfumu: tatuka imo.
- a. Who/insult chief: not/he/insult one.
 - b. He who insults a chief, does not insult only one.
 - c. The person who insults one chief will insult other chiefs and other people also. Insulting a chief means insulting what the chief stands for: all the people and their country.
 - e. SM:41. WF:421-mfumu.

E. - d. Peace.

Icibote (peace) is a state which is wished and desired everywhere but very strongly in places where wars used to destroy crops and lives and brought lots of sorrow and misery. Icibote means tranquility, quietness and good understanding in families, villages, and in the whole country. The greeting Gibote, Mukwai means peace be to you, happiness and a good life.

379. Icalo: tacitalala ngo musunga.

- a. Country: not/it/is-quiet as gruel.
- b. The country is not as peaceful as gruel.
- c. Peace and tranquility do not always reign in a country.
- d. -Talala; be at peace; be quiet.
- e. WF:73-calo.

380. Umwikala patalala: mwine apatalalika.

- a. Who/stay where/it/is-quiet; himself where/it-is-quiet.
- b. He who stays where it is quiet, himself is quiet.
- c. He who lives in a peaceful place is a peaceful man. That which makes peace is not the place but the people living there. Peace does not come from the place, but rather from the people living in it.
- e. WF:740-talala.

F. MORAL VALUES.

Among Bemba speakers, there has never been an official code of morality as found in some societies especially in the Near East. Still, a collection of beliefs and attitudes controlled or at least influenced the behaviours of the people. Myths, legends and stories would narrate and declare how things were done and had to be done, the rights and duties of groups and individuals; court decisions, based on oral traditions often transmitted by experts in the field of legal procedures, determined in practice the rights and wrongs. Proverbs, because they can be used by all and towards all, have a particular role in maintaining the social order and conducts; they do not punish physically, but they ridicule and isolate the violators and offenders, those who misbehave and those who fail to perform good deeds. Proverbs act more like warnings to induce conformity, reduce and correct abuses, than strict precepts and regulations to be blindly obeyed. Many proverbs are exhortations, counsels or statements about ethics and correct conduct.

Proverbs extol positive qualities and ensuing practices like kindness, meekness, gentleness towards all and particularly the blind and infirm, pride, courage and the keeping of promises. On the other hand, sayings censure negative attitudes and actions like stealing, hypocrisy, ungratefulness, egotism, suspicion, rash judgment, anger, and keeping bad company. Insults, even though they do not kill, are never accepted nor condoned.

F. - a. Kindness. Gentleness. Meekness. Special Treatments for
Blind and Infirm.

There are several sayings about the ideas of kindness and gentleness. The adjectival suffix -suma is translated by good, kind, beautiful. Ukuwama means to/be-good, to/be-kind, to be nice and gentle.

Ukutenba can be translated by to/be-kind, to/be-gentle, to/be-meek, to/treat-kindly. Ukunakilila is to/be-meek, to/be-humble.

The blind and infirm cannot fulfill the normal useful role in their group and they have difficult times; they must be treated with the attention and care required if they are to survive; in several instances, they are favored and given special treatment as in court cases.

381. Akanwa takafina: uwafina mutembo.

- a. Mouth not/it/is-heavy: what/is-heavy load.
- b. The mouth is not heavy to carry; the load is.
- c. A message is not hard to take to someone, while a heavy load is. You may ask someone to take a message for you, but don't ask him to carry a heavy load. Don't exploit the kindness of people.
- d. Mutembo (mitembo), pole to carry two loads. Mutembo means also meekness, affability, from ukutenba, to/be-kind.
- e. WF:153-fina.

382. Impofu ishimona: ilanyanta.

- a. Blind it/not/see: it/used-to/walk-on.
- b. The blind man who does not see, tramples upon.
- c. A blind man does not see with his eyes but can always feel with his feet. There are always some advantages somewhere, and a person has some hope in life whatever his/her disadvantages.
- e. WF:437-mpofu.

383. Impofu: yapokele iyuma ku ulolola.

- a. Blind: it/took wealth to who/is-seeing.
- b. The blind man took the wealth from the man who can see.
- c. A blind man is often favoured and gets the possessions of the man who sees. In court cases, the blind person is

often advantaged over others.

e. WF:437-mpofu.

384. Lembalembe aipeye nkalamo: mu kunakilila.

- a. Black-spider he/killed lion: in to/be-meek.
- b. The black spider killed the lion by being meek.
- c. Gentleness achieves the most difficult tasks.
- d. Lembalembe (balembalembe); big flat spider.
- e. SM:34; WF:319-lembalembe.

385. Museka ndema: nobe ikakuseka.

- a. You/laugh infirm: and/you it/will/you/laugh.
- b. You laugh at an infirm and it will laugh at you.
- c. One should never laugh at the misfortunes of others.
- d. Ndema, from -lema; be crippled.

386. Temba fulwe: ngo mukake ukulu.

- a. Treat-well tortoise: it you/tie leg.
- b. Be kind to the tortoise if you want to tie its leg.
- c. To perform a difficult job, one has to be kind and careful.
Kindness achieves more than force.
- d. Fulwe (bafulwe); tortoise, turtle.
- e. SM:48. WF:760-temba.

387. Ukufumyo kuboko ku lupako: kunakilila.

- a. To/get-out arm at hole: to/be-gentle.
- b. To get the arm out of the hole; to be gentle to do it.
- c. To get out of a difficult predicament, one must use gentleness and patience.
- d. Lupako (mpako); hole in a tree.
- e. SM:55. WF:278-kuboko.

388. Ukupoke cinsenda ku nkoko: kunakilila.

- a. To/take white-worm to hen: to/be-gentle.

- b. To take the white worm from the hen, means to be gentle.
- c. Difficult undertakings require kindness and patience.
- d. Cinsenda (finseenda); large white worm.
- e. SM:57. WF:115-cinsenda.

389. Umuti wa fikansa: kutalala.

- a. Medicine of troubles: to/shut-up.
- b. The best medicine against troubles is to keep quiet.
- c. Often the best way to prevent more trouble and argument is to keep quiet and say nothing; since hard words will only aggravate the situation.
- e. SM:67.

F. - b. Friendship. Lost Friendship.

Ubucibusa is the abstract word for friendship while cibusa (bacibusa) means friend as well as friendship. Like everywhere else, friends are made among persons of the same sex, of similar age and comparable working conditions. It is not rare to see a few men going fishing together, working and celebrating together. Similar observations can be made about women too. Friends may or may not be related by kinship ties, though in villages friends are also relatives.

390. Icena muselwe: kubûlapo.

- a. What/destroy friendship: to/take-from.
- b. What destroys friendship is to take from.
- c. Repeatedly taking things away from a friend will destroy the friendship. Friendship must not be based on material advantages and gifts.
- d. Muselwe; friend, friendship.
- e. SM:18. WF:489-muselwe.

391. Umukowa wa balunshi: cilonda.

- a. Clan of house-flies: sore.
- b. The clan of the flies is a sore.
- c. Friendship based on interest lasts as long as the interest lasts.
- e. SM:61.

F. - c. Pride. Courage.

This paragraph concerns itself with the positive side of pride, that is the fact of being endowed with certain qualities of strength and decisiveness which make a person stand for his/her rights. There are also negative sides to pride and courage when these qualities are not controlled by reason and common sense. Icilumba may be translated by pride, conceit, haughty independence, ideas of superiority. Ubushipa, from ukushipa (to/be-strong) can be translated as force, courage, bravery. At times, it is hard to distinguish between courage and pride and the limits are usually drawn by the observers who would conclude that pride replaces courage when some action trespasses the bounds of reason. Moreover, what is pride in a region, may be courage elsewhere.

392. Ilisenbe talitwa: icitwa, mutima.

- a. Hoe not/it/is-sharp: what/is-sharp heart.
- b. What is sharp is the heart not the hoe.
- c. The tool matters little as long as there is courage to work and achieve something. Courageous persons, whatever the circumstances, will achieve something.
- d. -Twa; be sharp, cut well.
- e. WF:346-lisenbe.

393. Intu yalemana: taibula cilaso.
- a. What it/is-stubborn: not/it-lack wound.
 - b. What is stubborn does not fail to have wounds.
 - c. Stubbornness and pride may lead to trouble. Pride and obstinacy often cause sufferings and troubles.
 - d. -Lemana; be stubborn, cling to ideas or habits, be proud. Cilaso (filaso), from -lasa (hit); wound.
 - e. WF:319-lemana.
394. Ubucenjeshi bwa mpelembe: cifulukutu pa nuna.
- a. Cleverness of roan-antelope: round-bundle at after.
 - b. The clever pride of the roan antelope and the round bundle.
 - c. The roan antelope is clever but also very proud which often leads her into trouble and to death. Being too proud and too courageous may be dangerous.
 - d. Cifulukutu (fifulukutu); round bundle used to describe a man about to be buried.
 - e. WF:40-bucenjeshi.
395. Umulumu wa mbwa; tafwa ku kulu.
- a. Male of dog: not/he/die at leg.
 - b. The male dog does not die from a leg wound.
 - c. It takes more than a broken leg to kill a strong man. A man of courage is not stopped by some slight discomfort. It takes a lot of adversity to stop a man of courage.
 - e. SM:63. WF:417-mbwa.
396. Waba ne fikansa: ifya kukoshe nsuka.
- a. You/be and troubles: those to/make-hard tail.
 - b. You have so much troubles as to make a tail hard.
 - c. You are cheeky and proud like a young cock whose tail

hardens when opposed and contradicted. (Said to a proud and unreasonable person).

- d. -Kosha, causative of -kosa; be hard.
- e. WF:149-fikansa.

F. - d. Promise.

Icilaayo (ifilayo), a promise, from ukulaya (to/promise) means to give someone the assurance that some action or obligation will be done or fulfilled without doubt. To go to the trouble of making a promise usually means that some important business is at hand and that it will be accomplished without fail.

397. Akalayo walaile: tabalaba.

- a. Little/promise you/promised: not/they/forget.
- b. The little promise you promised is not forgotten.
- c. If one promises something it must be fulfilled because people will not forget it. You may pretend to forget what you promised, but the people who heard you, will never forget it.
- e. WF:221-kalayo.

398. Uutile nkakunaila: akakunaila.

- a. Who/said I/will/you/cook/for: he/will/you/cook/for.
- b. He who said I will cook for you, indeed he will do it.
- c. When one has promised something, even it is something trivial, it must be done.
- e. SM:74.

F. - e. Bad Company.

In every village, there are good people and bad ones, at least as judged by others. Bad people are those who use witch-craft, the lazy ones, the adulterers and the regular thieves; to these, in some cases, may be added people using crude language and insulting people. They must be avoided: being seen with them or worse, being their friends, will surely bring trouble.

399. Isiku: tacipalamana na mulilo.

- a. Old-piece-of-cloth: not/it/is-put-near and fire.
- b. An old piece of cloth is not put near the fire.
- c. One does not put tow near the fire. Who loves danger and bad company will perish.
- d. Ciku (fiku); piece of old bark cloth.
- e. WF:94-ciku.

400. Umusuku ubi: utushe mpanga.

- a. Musuku bad: it/curse forest.
- b. The bad musuku tree which makes the whole forest to be cursed.
- c. One bad tree is enough to contaminate a forest. One bad friend in a group is enough to bring trouble to all.
- e. SM:66. WF:496-musuku.

401. Uwaenda na ngoshe: no kumubea amubea.

- a. Who/walk and green-mamba: and to/him/shave he/him/shave.
- b. He who goes along with a green mamba, can shave it.
- c. By being always with a dangerous person, you will get friendly and be like him/her.
- d. Ngoshe (bangoshe); the green mamba, most feared snake in Zambia.

e. SM:77. WF:533-ngoshe.

402. Uwapyana ngoshe: apyana no busungu.

- a. Who succeed green-mamba: he/succeed and venom.
- b. He who succeeds the green mamba, succeeds his venom.
- c. Your friends and companions determine what you are and what you do. A person who befriends snakes will do like snakes.
- d. Busungu; venom of snakes, same as butanshi.

F. - f. Insult.

The words lusele (nsele, nasele, fimasele), insults, big insults, ukutuka, to/insult, ukutuke nsele, to/utter insults, are all very common expressions to describe language used to offend, scorn and humiliate.

Insults are statements about events, true or false, descriptions, accusations. Often insults include names of animals like dog (mbwa) and goat (mbushi), parts of the body, and not having brains. When animals, parts of the body, not having brain, and relatives are all put together, it becomes a very serious insult. There are also words like stupiti or shitupiti (from stupid), boys, and similar expressions of the colonial era, which are often interpreted as insults.

Whatever the word or expression, if it is interpreted as an 'insult', it may be serious, and at times, very grave. The insulting person is taken to court and can be fined. Needless to say that when a fine is paid, the memories of the case linger on, and enmity settles in for a long time. Proverbs admonish people not to care too much about insults; but the fact remains that insults may have disastrous effects.

403. Insele: tashitula kalonda.
- a. Insults: not/they originate small/sore.
 - b. Insults do not cause a sore.
 - c. Whatever the importance of insults they do not hurt physically. One must try and ignore insults.
 - e. SM:27. WF:387-lusele.
404. Kakosa te mukali: kalundulula e mukali.
- a. Sayer is-not wicked: explainer it-is wicked.
 - b. The sayer is not wicked but the spreader is.
 - c. The spreading of unfortunate events is worse than actually divulging them. The one who utters the insult is less guilty than the one who spreads the news about it.
 - e. SM:32. WF:376-lundulula.
405. Takalabe mwebwa.
- a. Not/will/he/forget he/is-told.
 - b. The one who is told off is not forgotten.
 - c. The person who is insulted will remember it. Insults are never forgotten.
 - e. WF:304-laba.
406. Ukwambe nkalano: ili pa cisonso.
- a. To/slander lion: it/is in bush.
 - b. To slander the lion which is in the bush.
 - c. To slander a man who is nearby. Slanders always reach the slandered person. To speak against a person who may be faraway but who eventually will hear about the insult.
 - e. SM:58.
407. Uwambwa: ninshi akula.
- a. Who/is-slandered: therefore he/is-great.
 - b. He who is slandered is great.
 - c. When a person is slandered, it is because he/she is

worth it. A great person is not affected by slander;
on the contrary, it shows greatness.

e. SM:77. WF:7-amba.

F. - g. Stealing. Thieves.

Thieves are people who take the property of others not to calm their immediate needs, but to get more than they actually require, and so, deprive others of their rightful possessions. There is no person more hated than the thief who is caught in the act and is beaten up right there on the spot.

Ukwiba (to/steal) is the generic word for taking what does not belong to the person taking it and not for immediate needs. There are many words to designate a thief, umupupu (abapupu) being the most widely used; but words like cinutongo (finutongo), ponpwe (bapompwe), lole (balole) and many others are heard.

408. Icisongo ukwalye landa: tabulapo.

- a. Bushbuck where/it/eat lentils: not/it/lack/to.
- b. Where the bushbuck ate lentils, it will come back.
- c. A thief who has found food will come back. A thief will remain a thief.
- e. WF:131-cisongo.

409. Ilicungwa lya kwiba: licila pa lyobe ukulowa.

- a. Orange of to/steal: it/surpass at yours to/taste-good.
- b. A stolen orange is better tasting than your own.
- c. Things that are not yours appear better than your own.
- d. SM:18.

410. Mpũpu; ni pa kuboko.

- a. Thief; it-is at arm.
- b. A thief is at the arm.
- c. A person who is supposed to be a thief must be seen taking the stolen object by his/her arm. If one accuses a person of stealing, one must have material proof. A thief must be caught in the act.
- e. WF:278-kuboko.

F. - h. Lying. Hypocrisy. All is Revealed.

Ukubepa (to/lie), uwa bufi (of lie) and ubufi (a lie) are terms which mean that the statement expected was not said or is not exact or does not correspond to reality. It is useless to philosophize as to whether the Bemba speaking peoples require that the mental word must correspond to the vocal word (as it is supposed to be in the Western world) or not. Many people will say that on a lot of occasions, conversation is not about facts which are or are not, but for the pleasure of talking; often people will say what seems to be more appropriate at the moment whether it is the point expected by the interlocutor(s) or one more suited to the time and place.

Uwa ndimi shibili (aba ndimi shibili), of two tongues, refers to a person who is unreliable and untrustworthy, who can be nice in front of you, and betray you right after. Whatever happens to the statements about facts, sooner or later all is made known, and the liars are discovered.

411. Akanwa kano: ulishemo mpulu no munsôli.

- a. Mouth one: it/play/at mpulu and munsôli.
- b. One mouth can play the mpulu and munsôli.
- c. With the same mouth one can utter praise and insult.

The same mouth can be nice for you and can slander and defame you. It is dangerous to listen to and trust nice words.

- d. Mpulu; munsôli; two different kinds of whistling with mouth.
- e. WF:240-kanwa.

412. Bepo mwanakashi: mwaume mubiyo mukenda nankwe.

- a. Lie woman: man your/friend you/will/walk with/him.
- b. Lie to a woman but not to your companion.
- c. One may lie to a woman who is not able to check what is said, while the person you travel with knows what happened. Hunting feats can be narrated to a wife or other women but not to people you were with.
- e. WF:29-bepa.

413. Ifyakulya bushiku: fitulikila ku malushi.

- a. Foods night: they/are-revealed at vomitings.
- b. The foods of the night are known by the vomits.
- c. One cannot hide the truth, because sooner or later it will become openly known. Actions committed at night or in the dark come to light sooner or later.
- d. Malushi; from -luka; throw up, vomit. -Tulika, be pierced, be known, be revealed.
- e. SM:19. WF:795-tulika.

414. Mufisa mwa: malilo yalatumbula.

- a. You/hide death: wailings they/are-going-to/make-known.
- b. You try and hide a death which will be made known by the wailings.
- c. Death will be known by the cries and wailings whatever is done to try and hide it. Evident events cannot be hidden.
- d. -Tumbula; open the eyes, reveal, make known a secret.
- e. SM:38. WF:402-malilo.

415. Ubufi: bulabwela.
- a. Lie: it/used-to/come-back.
 - b. A lie comes back sooner or later.
 - c. A lie is remembered and one day the truth will be known.
 - e. WF:41-bufi.
416. Ukwendele mpānga: kulengula kwa mipini.
- a. To/walk/into forest: to/look/for of handle.
 - b. To walk into the forest looking for a handle.
 - c. One can always find a reason or an explanation for one's actions. There may be a pretext for every action, especially foul actions.
 - e. WF:322-lengula.
417. Ukwite mbwa: na kamuti nufumbata.
- a. To/call dog: and little/stick you/hold.
 - b. To call a dog while holding a stick.
 - c. To entertain or invite a person that you want to betray or harm. To be a hypocrite.
 - d. -Fumbata; close the hand; grasp in the hand; hold firm.
 - e. WF:172-fumbata.
418. Umulandu nga wapitile pa mputi: na pa kuushimika eko upite.
- a. Case when it/passed at anus: and at to/it/narrate is/ where it/pass/must.
 - b. The case which passed by the anus must mention the anus in the narration.
 - c. To know the truth in a court case, nothing must be hidden and even unpleasant events or items must be revealed.
419. Uwa bufi: talengula fita.
- a. Of lie: not/he/watch soldiers.
 - b. The liar does not watch soldiers.

- c. A liar is not sent to scout the movements of the enemies.
A liar is not trusted even in very important affairs.
- e. SM:75.

420. Uwalya noko te mukali: mukali untu atile noko aya kwi?
- a. He/eat your/mother is/not wicked: wicked when he/said your/mother she/go where?
 - b. He who eats your mother is not wicked; the wicked one is the one who asked "where was your mother?"
 - c. To do a wicked action is bad but to hide it and pretend to be friendly is far worse.
 - e. SM:76. WF:449-mukali.

421. Uwenda na mbwa abepa: uwenda na bantu tabepa.
- a. Who/travel and dog he/lie: who/travel and people not/he/lie.
 - b. He who travels with a dog may lie, but not one who travels with people.
 - c. It is easy to boast about hunting feats witnessed by a dog only, and much harder if men were there too.
 - e. WF:417-mbwa.

F. - 1. Ungratefulness.

Ukwanya (to/be-grateful, to/thank) is the word used in relation to gratefulness. Ukusantika, ukutasha, ukutotela (to/thank) are used also. Gestures like clapping hands while bowing slightly were also expressions of gratitude. Receiving objects was done with both hands and a little bending of the knees; even if nothing was said, this was a manifestation of gratefulness without using words.

There was a large amount of sharing and exchange going on all

the time, and someone who would always receive and obtain things without returning some of the favours was soon known as stingy and ungrateful. The proverbs about ungratefulness remind people that a person who is not grateful and ready to share is not to be trusted.

422. Mwanya: fili kwisaya.

- a. You/thank: things/are in cheek.
- b. You are thankful while the foods are in your cheek.
- c. The ungrateful person who profits by you but will do nothing in return. Said about a person who is thankful as long as the benefits of food or gifts are still felt.
- e. SM:41. WF:14-anya.

423. Ukulu undapa mulwele: e kwakunyanta.

- a. Leg you/cure sick: it-is it/you/kick.
- b. The leg you cure will be the one which will kick you.
- c. Ingratitude is often the reward of a good deed.
- e. SM:56. WF:283-kulu.

424. Ukupokelela uwa matakho yakulu: akakupoke cipuna.

- a. To/receive of buttocks big: he/will/you/take seat.
- b. To receive a person who has big buttocks and will then take your seat.
- c. To be kind to a person who then profits by your kindness. To abuse the kindness of people.
- e. SM:57.

425. Ukumeshe nsoka anabale.

- a. To/grow/cause snake breasts.
- b. To cause a snake to grow breasts.
- c. To work for an ungrateful person. There are persons for whom whatever good you do, they will turn against you.
- e. SM:56. WF:419-mesha.

426. Uluse: lwalile nkwaile (mbulu).

- a. Mercy: it/ate partridge (lizard).
- b. Mercy destroyed the partridge (lizard).
- c. Too much kindness may be dangerous. Mercy is at times rewarded by hatred.
- e. SM:59.

427. Umunshanya: uwalilike bala.

- a. Who/not/thank: who/to-be-fallow/caused garden.
- b. He who would not thank caused the garden to be fallow.
- c. Ungratefulness caused your being left alone without help to work on your gardens. Don't expect people to be grateful for your good work and repay you.
- e. WF:475-munshanya.

F. - j. Egotism. Self-Centredness.

Ukuitenwa (to/oneself/love) is the best term to describe egotism, the state and actions of thinking about and working for oneself, often at the detriment of others.

There is a tendency to favour people who are self-sufficient, who do and have things for themselves with perseverance and determination; this is reflected in some proverbs which could be interpreted as praising those who are self-centred. (Cf. contra, C - h. pp. 238-242). It is true that survival must be assured by ourselves first. Concerns and worries must be about ourselves before being concerned about the others; concerns and worries in Bambaland meant staying alive. The following proverbs tell people to care about themselves first.

428. Abajima: tabatêba nkuni.

- a. Who/stand-up: not/they/gather fire-wood.

- b. Those who stand up do not gather firewood.
- c. Persons going on a trip do not gather firewood and do not care for the needs and necessities of the people left behind.
- e. WF:199-ima.

429. Imfula pa kuya: epo yone miti.

- a. Rain at to/go: is/there it/destroyed trees.
- b. The rain before going, destroyed the trees.
- c. The last rains often destroy the crops and so must do a man going away; he must destroy crops and belongings. A man going away must not leave anything for others to enjoy.
- e. SM:22.

430. Insala ya mubiyo: taifufya tulo.

- a. Hunger of your/companion: not/it/hinder sleep.
- b. The hunger of your friend does not hinder sleep.
- c. Even if your companion is hungry you can still sleep well. Each person must mind about his/her own hunger.
- e. WF:548-nsala.

431. Kabuće: ni muka mubiyo eketwe.

- a. Let/dawn: it/is wife your/companion she/was-caught.
- b. Let it be dawn; it is only the wife of your companion who was caught by the lion.
- c. Let sleep quietly since the misfortune happened to someone else. Another's trouble can wait.
- e. SM:31. WF:72-ca.

432. Mayo mpāpa: na ine nkakupāpa.

- a. My/mother me/carry: and I I/will/you/carry.
- b. Mother carry me and I will carry you.
- c. Do carry me now on your back if you want me to help you

when you are old.

- e. SM:36. WF:590-papa.

433. Tabasha: balona.

- a. Not/they/leave: they/used-to/destroy.
- b. They do not leave things; they destroy them.
- c. People going away do not leave their belongings there to be used by others; they destroy.
- e. WF:577-ona.

434. Umulumu wa mbwa: tayankila mubiye.

- a. Male of dog: not/he/catch/for his/companion.
- b. The male dog does not hunt for his companion.
- c. One does not gather food for one's companions or neighbours.
- d. -Ankila, applicative of -anka; catch.
- e. SM:63. WF:13-anka.

435. Uwikwite: asontelo bwali ku kanwa.

- a. Who/has-eaten-his-fill: he/indicate mush at mouth.
- b. He who is satiated indicates the mush with his mouth.
- c. The person who is satiated carelessly indicates where the rest of the food is to those who are hungry. When hunger is concerned, it is to each his own.
- d. -Sontela; applicative of -sonta; point, show.
- e. SM:77. WF:197-ikuta.

F. - k. Suspicion. Judging Without Proof.

Ukutunganya (to/suspect, to/accuse-without-proof) and its derivatives, muntunganya and buntunganya (suspicion) are extremely serious matters. As mentioned earlier (p. 305, proverb 410), mpupu: ni pa kuboko, a thief, it is by the arm, that is that one must never be accused unless some physical proof and

an eye-witness can be produced. Nothing will hurt a person more than accusing someone of wrong doing without valid proof.

People must not be judged unless they are caught doing something wrong; then and only then can court actions be started. People have good names and good reputations as long as the contrary is not proved. It is the not-guilty-until-proved system and it pervades every situation in everyday life.

436. Akalulu: munshipuswa mu nshimi.

- a. Hare: he/who/not/is-missed in fables.
- b. The hare who is not missed in the fables.
- c. The rabbit which is always mentioned in the fables and accused of being clever and bringing trouble. Some people, like the rabbit in the fables, are often suspected of foul behaviour due to their ways of being and acting.
- d. Lushimi (nshimi); fable.
- e. WF:225-kalulu.

437. Apashintuka mênshi: pali inghwená.

- a. Where/is-receded water: there/is crocodile.
- b. Where the water recedes, there is a crocodile.
- c. From the lack of water in a hole, one may conclude to the presence of crocodiles. From certain indications, one may suspect someone or something.
- d. -Shintuka; reversive of -shinta; reach. -Shintuka, fail to reach, withdraw.
- e. SM:9. WF:700-shintuka.

438. Ciya tatwala: bunda bwa maluba.

- a. Ciya tree not/he/bear-fruit: bunch of flowers.
- b. The ciya tree does not bear fruits, only flowers.
- c. One cannot judge a tree from its flowers nor a person

by his/her exterior appearance.

- d. Ciya (baciya); a kind of tree.
- e. SM:11.

439. Mu kulolekesha: e mukutobolwa.

- a. In to/stare: it-is in/to-be-thrown-dust-into-eyes.
- b. In looking too much is then that dust is thrown into the eyes.
- c. Being too inquisitive, too suspicious, may have adverse consequence. Mind your own business.
- e. SM:37. WF:354-355-lolekesha.

440. Mu nda ya mubiyo; tanwingsilwa.

- a. In soul of your/companion; not/it/is-entered.
- b. Inside of your companion, one does not enter.
- c. One is incapable of knowing what is going on inside another person's head. One is not allowed to question the thinking and desires of friends.
- d. Nda; stomach, inside, soul.
- e. SM:37. WF:528-nda.

441. Tabulumina: nsupa nkulu.

- a. Not/it/is-strong: calabash large.
- b. The beer is not strong in a large calabash.
- c. The size of the calabash does not determine the quality of the beer. Quality is not judged by size and appearance. Don't judge.
- d. -Lumina; applicative of -luma; be strong, heavy.
- e. SM:46. WF:558-nsupa.

442. Tatusanga mpulumushi: yamene nsengo.

- a. Not/we/find fornicator: it/grew horns.
- b. We do not find a fornicator with horns.
- c. A rogue or thief has no recognizable signs and must not

be judged by appearances.

e. WF:439-mpulumushi.

443. Ubwendo bwingila ngoshe: bamona ku mafute.

- a. Hole it/enter/into mamba: they/see at trodden-grass.
- b. The hole in which the mamba enters is seen by trodden grass.
- c. One can always recognize someone by his/her ways and habits.
A bad habit cannot be hidden and is traced by its effects.
- d. -Bwendo; hole of rat. Mafute; from -fute cani; trample grass.
- e. SM:52.

444. Ukonke ngulube: ikulilile mumbu.

- a. You/follow wild-pig: it/ate/you sweet-potatoes.
- b. Follow the wild pig which ate your sweet potatoes.
- c. Don't judge too soon, and, before accusing people of having stolen your goods, make sure it is not something or somebody else. Do not accuse anyone before obtaining the truth from some evidence.
- e. WF:534-ngulube.

445. Ukuli inama: takubula makubi.

- a. Where/is meat: not/there/lack vultures.
- b. Where there is meat, the vultures congregate.
- c. From certain obvious signs, one may deduce accurately.
- d. Likubi (makubi); vulture.

446. Uluni lûlipo: pali ulupako.

- a. Honey-guide it/is/there: there/is hole.
- b. If there is a honey-guide, there is a hole in the tree.
- c. From the honey-guide, you may conclude the presence of a hole in the tree and also honey. Exterior appearances often lead to concrete facts.
- d. Lûni (nghuni); honey-guide.
- e. SM:59. WF:379-lûni.

447. Umulilo mulapwilwa pa kantu: amenshi mutapwatapwa fye.
- a. Fire you/use-to/be-fetched at something; water you/fetch/fetch only.
 - b. You get fire for a reason; water you can fetch anytime.
 - c. A pretext may always be found to explain some actions. (One must have a good reason to go get fire in a house, while one may go to fetch water without reason; to enter a house one must have a very good reason, but not to go to the river).
 - d. -lapwilwa; applicative passive of -lapula; fetch live embers.
 - e. WF:315-lapwila.

448. Wituka mwanakashi: talafula.
- a. Do/not/insult woman: not/she/yet/has-undressed.
 - b. Do not insult a woman before she has undressed.
 - c. Don't judge by the exterior only. Before judging, one must know a person really well.
 - e. SM:78.

F. -1. Anger.

Ubukali (anger) from ukukalipa (to/get-angry) is more like a state, a permanent quality in someone who often gets angry. Ukufulwa (to/get-angry) is the action of getting very upset or infuriated at something or someone. To lose one's temper is interpreted as a sign of weakness and demonstrates a lack of control over self and events. In fact, anger never achieves anything and often generates contempt.

449. Icinani: cisapule mpapa.
- a. Anger: it/wear skin.
 - b. Anger wears out the skin.
 - c. Anger wears out even the skin in which the child is carried. Bad temper and anger destroy everything, even people around.
 - e. WF:110-cinani.

G. TRADITIONAL THOUGHTS

Any study of proverbs will reveal the existence of ideas and remarks which cover dimensions of thought and belief not easily classifiable. Some statements cannot be entered in any category. The headings which follow present some Bemba proverbs which appear to be important and have not been included in the preceding sections. Most of them could be referred to as popular wisdom, that is shared experience and opinion about people and events.

Proverbs say that women's talk is non-sensical, but they must be listened to in case some information of a culprit or evil-doer is revealed. Medicine men must be called up in time and treated well. Differences in taste exist everywhere and must be respected. Experience is learned by trial and error. Common sense is to be used to measure the relative importance of different actions. People acquire habits which they keep for ever. Discretion is advised at all time; at times, it is better to keep quiet; on another occasion, talking and argumenting may be required. Good luck and bad luck run side by side, and nobody controls his/her fate. To be happy and stay happy, one must live well, profiting by every day as it comes. Sickness and misfortune, along with joy and happiness are shared by all; most of the time, people reap as they sow as early pleasures often bring later tears. For every human, death comes inexorably, for the old and for the young; often indeed, the young are taken away before the old. Death is not feared because it becomes serious only when it is your own. Whether it is the life of a hen or a cow, it is in the hands of the maker or owner.

As may be seen, this is not a logical description of a system of beliefs and practices, nor a consistent and comprehensive exposition of considerations and judgments, given local conditions; rather, it is a series of disparate expressions and attitudes, one could say, an existential approach to life.

G. - a. Women.

The role of women is very important in all Bemba speaking societies (Cf. proverbs 39-53). Women, most of the time, are by themselves, like at work and even during meals. But, there are occasions, like traveling, walking to and from work, after meals, beer drinking, around the fire in the evening, where men and women are together and talk. Even alone, women can talk pretty loud so that other working women can hear, whether in the fields or in the village. If men want to listen in, it is up to them.

450. Ifisosa abanakashi fya buwelewele: nomba uushiteshako, cipuba.

- a. Things/say women of nonsense: but who/not/listen/to fool.
- b. What women say is nonsense; but he who does not listen in is a fool.
- c. Women are said to say brainless things at times; but in the middle of it all, there is a lot of truth and information. There is also some truth in women's rumours and people know about it.

451. Ifya kuumfwa ku banakashi: filoca.

- a. These/things to/hear at women: they/used-to/burn.
- b. Things heard from women burn.
- c. Women's gossip and conversations are often harmful. A lot of what women say is so true that it hurts, and it would be foolish to ignore it.
- e. WF:509-mwanakashi.

452. Ifya nghumba: filasasa.

- a. Those/things sterile-women: they/used-to/be-sour.
- b. Behaviours of the childless woman are sour.
- c. A childless woman is often very bitter, bad-tempered, and

quite sad; she may complain all the time about her plight.

e. SM:19. WF:573-nghumba.

G . - b. Medicine Men.

The nghanga, shinghanga (bashinghanga) is the medicine man, the person responsible for the health of the people who come to consult him. He may be very good indeed, and may have good knowledge of several medicines, using roots, herbs, leaves or whatever. Formerly, the nghanga was consulting the spirits before prescribing a remedy; to-day, some people say that some rural doctors do not always have recourse to the spirits due to the influence of Christian missionaries. It is impossible to know for sure, but consulting the spirits was an important part of the process of diagnosing not only the ailment but also its causes and the ways to the cure.

453. Inghanga ishifwa: ilakũka.

- a. Medicine-man it/not/die: it/used-to/move.
- b. The medicine man does not die but changes residence.
- c. One must hurry up to call upon the medicine man who always moves from village to village.
- e. WF:572-nghanga.

454. Inghanga tailile: muti uli ku lupili.

- a. Medicine-man not/he/ate: medicine it/is at hill.
- b. The medicine-man did not eat, the medicine is on the hill.
- c. Treat your medicine man well if you want to get the medicine you expect. Without food, a doctor cannot supply medicine.
- e. SM:20. WF:572-nghanga.

G . - c. Different Customs, Various Tastes.

Imibele, customs, ways of being and acting, differ from group

to group and from people to people. Umusango (imisango), manner, is used in the same way also. There are differences in what people do and eat and like, and these should be respected.

455. Abalya mbulu: balapalamana.

- a. Who/eat lizard: they/usually/get-near/each-other.
- b. People who eat lizard usually live near one another.
- c. People with similar customs live together. When living with people, follow their customs; if they eat lizard, then eat some too.
- d. Mbulu; a kind of lizard.
- e. WF:416-mbulu.

456. Icifu ca ngulube: citemwa mwine.

- a. Stomach of wild-pig: it/like itself.
- b. The stomach of the wild pig is liked by some.
- c. Some people like some food. Tastes are not discussed.
- e. WF:88-cifu.

457. Ifilyo: tafyaba na cishala.

- a. Foods: not/they/be with remains.
- b. Foods have no remains.
- c. Foods are finished and nothing remains, and the relish is never thrown away. (The bwali, mush, which is not finished is thrown away to hens or dogs, because it cannot keep till the next day).

458. Umunani wabe: cifukushi.

- a. Relish which/be-may: discontent.
- b. Relish of little value; dissatisfaction.
- c. Always the same relish will cause bitterness. (This applies to both husband and wife who share in the work of obtaining relish, fishing and hunting for the husband, gardening for the wife).

- d. Cifukushi: a state of displeasure and unhappiness due to constant dissatisfaction about something or someone.
- e. WF:89-cifukushi.

G. - d. Experience. Trial and Error.

- 459. Unwaice ushilafimbilwa; atobela tobela fye.
 - a. Child who/not/yet/had-indigestion: he/eat eat only.
 - b. The child who has never had indigestion eats and eats.
 - c. There are things which are learned through experience only. To know something personally and well, one has to try and discover how it works and what it is.
 - d. -Fimbilwa, from fimbila, here meaning be satiated, have indigestion.
 - e. SM:68. WF:152-fimbila.
- 460. Ifintu kwesha besha: mukashi wanti anjipikile sembe.
 - a. Things to/try they/try: wife mine she/me/cooked/for axe.
 - b. New things, they truly try; my wife has cooked me an axe.
 - c. Some people will try anything, even cooking axe-handles, hoping they will turn out like cassava roots.
 - e. WF:148-esha.

G. - e. Common Sense.

- 461. Amëshhi: balinga no búnga.
 - a. Water: they/size-up with flour.
 - b. They measure up water with flour.
 - c. To make a good bwali (mush), one must measure well the amount of water with the quantity of flour. There must be common sense, balance and control in every undertaking.
 - e. SM:8. WF:338-linga.

G. - f. Changes.

462. Icabu ca kale: cilabunsha.
- a. Ferry of old-time: it/uses-to/capsize.
 - b. An old pontoon often capsizes.
 - c. Something may have been good in the past, but may be dangerous now. One must be careful and be ready for changes. Changes and improvements must be carried on.
 - e. SM:12. WF:73-cabu.

G. - g. Habit.

To take up a habit, usually means to contract a bad habit. Ukukalema (to/acquire a bad habit) is the verb most commonly used. There is no similar word that I know of about good habits. Umubele (imibele) and umusango (imisango) signify ways, manners, customs.

463. Inputi isula: taileka.
- a. Anus it/break-wind: not/it/stop.
 - b. The anus which breaks wind does not stop.
 - c. One who has taken up a habit cannot stop it. Once a person is used to doing something, he/she will not stop easily, whatever the circumstances.
 - e. SM:24. WF:440-puti.
464. Mukolwe uko atola bubenshi: eko akafwila.
- a. Cock where it/pick white-ants: there-it-is it/will die.
 - b. Where the cock picks the white-ants, there it dies.
 - c. A person will die as he/she has lived. (Said about adulterers who often return to their same partners).
 - e. SM:38. WF:451,452-mukolwe.

465. Tapakafimbwe: pakaloka.
- a. Not/there/will/be-thatched: there/it/will/leak.
 - b. The roof will not be thatched and will go on leaking.
 - c. When someone promises to repair the roof but never does anything, it will always rain in the hut. A way of saying that whatever the promises of reforming, there will be more of the same, because old habits die hard.
 - e. SM:47. WF:151-fimba.
466. Umupalu wa nsofu: afwa ku nsofu.
- a. Hunter of elephant: he/die at elephant.
 - b. The elephant hunter dies by an elephant.
 - c. Habits are carried on until death. It is very difficult to change life style.
 - d. Mupalu (bapalu); skilful hunter.
 - e. SM:64.
467. Umuti uko wasendamina: eko ukawila.
- a. Tree where it/incline: there/is it/will/fall.
 - b. The tree where it inclines, there it falls.
 - c. One dies as one lives. If you are contracting a bad habit now, you may be sure you will die with it.
 - e. WF:673-sendamina.

G. - h. Discretion.

There are several rules of étiquette in Bembaland, and one of them is the care taken about entering neighbours' houses. One must shout 'oti', to which the people inside answer 'karibu'. People don't stay too near houses either, so as not to hear what is going on inside.

468. Inghanda ushilala: tabateamo matwi.

- a. House you/not/sleep: not/they/set/at ears.
- b. The house in which you do not sleep in, they do not listen.
- c. One is not supposed to listen to people's conversation in a neighbour's house. One should be discreet at all times and not try to find out other people's problems and secrets.
- e. SM:19-20. WF:755-tea.

G. - 1. Silence and Conversation.

Conversation is very important among Bemba speakers (Cf. Kaunda-Morris 1966:32; cf. above, C.-g. pp. 234-237). People must take the time to be with people and talk. However, there are things that must not be said and once in a while it is advisable not to talk.

469. Akanwa ni mbwa: balakulika.

- a. Mouth it/is dog: they/use-to/tie-up.
- b. The mouth is like a dog and is tied up.
- c. The mouth must be controlled and kept in a leash since it can bite and be dangerous. Occasionally, one must shut up.
- e. SM:5. WF:240-kanwa.

470. Icũla abwebweshwa kanwa: aletula ne fyo alile.

- a. Frog it/move-to-and-fro mouth: it/is-revealing and things it/ate.
- b. The mouth of the frog moves from side to side and shows what it ate.
- c. Too much talking will reveal personal matters and secrets which should not be mentioned.
- d. -Bwebweshwa akanwa (mulomo); move lips without sound;

mumble.

- e. WF:68-bwebweshu.

471. Ilyashi ushiliko: litandula kanwa.

- a. Conversation you/not/are/in: it/open mouth.
- b. The conversation in which you are not spreads the mouth.
- b. If you know nothing of an affair, don't talk, otherwise you might get involved too.
- d. -Tandula; open wide.
- e. SM:21. WF:747-tandula.

472. Uwa kanwa: takutula.

- a. He/of mouth: not/he/eat-mush-alone.
- b. He who can talk does not eat mush without relish.
- c. The person who can ask in time of needs will be helped. The person who is a good conversationalist has many friends.
- d. -Kutula; eat mush alone, without relish.
- e. WF:240-kanwa.

473. Uwenda na kanwa: taluba.

- a. Who/travel with mouth: not/he/get-lost.
- b. He who travels and talks does not get lost.
- c. One who inquires and asks has no problem whatsoever.

G . - j. Reflexion at Night.

474. Ubwaca: bwakwata m̃ano.

- a. Dawn: it/have brain.
- b. Dawn has brains.
- c. One must take the night to think about important matters. Don't hurry up on a decision; sleep on it.
- e. WF:65-bwaca.

G. -k. Good and Bad Luck.

Ukushuka (to be lucky) and ukushama (to be unlucky) are two expressions very much in use. So many things happen, and why some are good and others bad is the ever-unsolved problem. Why is it that this good or bad thing happened to this person at that particular time and place? For Bemba peoples, everything is somehow caused by personal agents, which does not explain how misfortunes hit some people without apparent explanation. People who behave similarly do not fare the same at all. There is a strong attitude of fatalism in the face of events which cannot be avoided no matter what is tried or done.

475. Fve bashama: ciwa cikonka na mu kupula.

- a. We who/are-unlucky: evil-spirit it/follow and at to/beg.
- b. We who are unlucky, the evil spirit follows us even in begging.
- c. When bad luck starts, it may continue in all kinds of activity even if people took to begging instead of stealing. If you are unlucky, whatever you do will bring bad luck.
- e. WF:680-shama.

476. Fve bashama: tatukonka nghuni, aitulanga mupepi.

- a. We who/are-doomed: not/we/follow bird might/it/us/show near.
- b. We who are unlucky, we do not follow a bird which might show us a place near-by (for honey).
- c. When one is unlucky, nothing goes well, and there is not even a chance of finding a honey bird.
- e. WF:680-shama.

477. Icowa nswa: citula ku mwela.

- a. What/destroy winged-white-ants: it/come at wind.
- b. What destroys the winged white ants comes from the wind.

- c. Misfortune can come from everywhere without notice, like the wind which brings death to the winged white ants.
 - d. Luswa (nswa); winged white ant.
 - e. SM:18. WF:511-nswela.
478. Ilishamo lilabola: ukusuka washuka.
- a. Bad-luck it/used-to/rot: to/end-up you/rejoice.
 - b. Bad luck rots and in the end one rejoices.
 - c. Bad luck comes to an end sooner or later, and there is joy then. Don't worry, bad luck does not last forever.
 - e. WF:347-lishamo.
479. Impofu ishinyanta: mu nshiku ikanyanta.
- a. Blind it/not/trample: in days it/will/trample.
 - b. The blind man has not trampled; in the days he will trample.
 - c. One should never get discouraged, even an unfortunate person; good luck will appear and bring happiness. The blind person may not have walked on nice things yet, but it will come.
 - e. WF:437-mpofu.
480. Inshiku mutanda: tashilingana shonse.
- a. Days six: not/they/equal/each-other all.
 - b. There are six days which are not all equal.
 - c. Changes occur all the time and no two days are alike in what they bring. Said to a person who has been unlucky for a long time.
 - e. SM:27. WF:553-nshiku.
481. Kolwe ubushiku alefwa: apuse misambo yatelela.
- a. Monkey day it/is-going/die: it/miss branch they/are/slippers
 - b. The monkey the day it dies, just misses on slippery branches.
 - c. Bad luck and death come unexpectedly even while doing things one used to do.

- d. -Telela; be smooth, greasy, slippery.
- e. SM:32. WF:266-kolwe.

482. Ubushiku usheme: ne cimbála ciloca.
- a. Day you/are-unlucky: and rest-of-food it/burn.
 - b. The day you are unlucky, even the cold food burns.
 - c. On an unlucky day, nothing goes well, even what is expected to be fine.
 - e. SM:52. WF:106-cimbála.

483. Ubushiku usheme: wakolwa no mwela.
- a. Day you/are-unlucky: you/get-drunk and wind.
 - b. On the day you are unlucky you get drunk with wind.
 - c. On an unlucky day everything goes wrong.
 - e. WF:263-kola.

484. Uwawa: bamuseka fye, tabamuuma.
- a. Who/has-fallen: they/him/laugh only, not/they/him/hit.
 - b. He who has fallen they laugh at him, they don't beat him.
People may laugh at others' misfortunes but should not do anything to add to them.
 - e. SM:77.

G. - 1. Live Well for Happiness.

As for good or bad luck, happiness is not guaranteed to anyone and comes by unexpectedly. However, a good life and the concern for staying within the limits of reason, may help bring the happiness that everybody longs for.

485. Tembe nshiku: inshiku nasho shikutemba.
- a. Treat-well days: days and/they they/you/treat-well.
 - b. Treat the days well and they will treat you well.
 - c. Behave well and the days will bring happiness to you.

- d. -Temba; treat kindly, speak gently to.
- e. SM:48. WF:760-temba.

G. - m. The Value of Time. The Present and the Future.

The idea behind time is that days are going by without any visible regularity and nothing can be foreseen with accuracy. Planning can be good but only up to a point since too many things remain unknown, like what an egg will produce and whether tree flowers will bear fruits or just blossom. In fact, it is probably better to care for the present moment without dreaming about the future which has its own master.

486. Inshiku: shapashishe mpapa.

- a. Days: they/have-made-supple skin.
- b. The days made the skin supple.
- c. Time will arrange everything. Time is an important factor and will make the seemingly impossible possible.
- e. SM:28.

487. Inshiku: tashisabilwa.

- a. Days: not/they/are-picked-up.
- b. The days are not picked up.
- c. Days are not chosen like fruits, and one takes what comes up.

488. Tatwishibile mukolwe mu lini.

- a. Not/we/knew: cock in egg.
- b. We do not know the cock in the egg.
- c. Many things are not known and cannot be foreseen. The future is hidden and cannot be known.
- e. WF:340-lini.

489. Utama mupundu: taceba kwiluba.

- a. Who/lop mupundu-fruit-tree: not/he/stare at flower.

- b. He who lops down a fruit tree does not stare at the flowers.
- c. One must care for the work at hand and at the moment, without dreaming about the future.
- d. Mupundu (mipundu); a kind of fruit tree.
- e. WF:335-liluba.

G. - n. Sickness. Suffering. Pleasure.

Ubulwele (malwele) is a disease of whatever kind; ukulwala means to be sick, and as everywhere else, there is little to do in time of sickness except hope that things will get better.

As mentioned before (p. 326), all forms of sickness originate from personal causes. Some local medicines were taken, then recourse was had to a shinganga (medicine-man) to discover the cause of the disease and try to find remedies (cf. p. 319).

Taking care of sick people is difficult especially when everybody has daily chores (often away from home) whether it be getting food, fire-wood or water. But some relatives would stay around. Sick persons like to sit or lie outside in the sun if they can; the houses may remain humid and chilly. It is also more relaxing to stay out-side watching the movements and listening to the conversations of passers-by. Relatives and friends will come around to show their affection or care, and try, by their presence, to alleviate the suffering. There has been and still is difficulty in the hospitalization of people, because European hygiene and treatment demand isolation, which is unthinkable for the Bemba. Sick people like to be with their own, and need all the help possible to feel sustained, liked, needed. Human beings not only feel pain, but they suffer also, and this must be done in common, like other actions, from birth to death. (Cf. Kaunda 1966:43-44).

490. Akafupa utemenwe: e kakushe micene.

- a. Little/bone you/liked: it-is it/big/made cavities.

- b. The little bone you liked enlarged the cavities.
- c. The pleasure you have may bring some later sufferings. No pleasure without pain.
- d. Mucene (micene); hole, cavity left after the extraction of a tooth.
- e. SM:2. WF:215-kafupa.

491. Akanama ka nseko: tabakepaya.

- a. Little/animal of laughter: not/they/it/kill.
- b. The little animal of laughing they do not kill it.
- c. Going hunting and laughing will not make hunters find games. Nothing is achieved with laughter and fun only.
- e. WF:551-nseko.

492. Muli sekaseka: e mutula lilalila.

- a. In laugh/laugh: it-is where/come cry/cry.
- b. In laughing and laughing comes crying a lot.
- c. Laughter and fun often end up in crying. Laughter accomplishes nothing.
- e. WF:667-sekaseka.

493. Ukutamfya mumbwe ne nseko.

- a. To/chase jackal and laughter.
- b. To chase a jackal with laughter.
- c. To do a job without seriousness. (Among other things, jackals are supposed to be used to laughter, and this is a stupid way of chasing them).
- e. SM:58. WF:551-nseko.

494. Umucinsha nsengwa: tabula kalonda.

- a. Who/spin top: not/he/lack little/sore.
- b. He who spins a top is not without sores.
- c. Many pleasant things are followed by trouble and pain.
- d. -Cinsha; causative of -cinda; dance, spin. Nsengwa: a spinning top.

495. Umulopa: ufuma pa lulembo.
- a. Blood: it/come-out at tattoo-mark.
 - b. Blood comes out at the tattoo mark.
 - c. If you want pleasures and ornaments, you must pay the price.
 - d. Lulembo (nembo); from -lemba; write, tattoo mark, design.
 - e. WF:371-lulembo.
496. Umulwele: tafise tako.
- a. Sick: not/he/hide buttock.
 - b. A sick person does not hide his/her buttocks.
 - c. When one is sick, one forgets about evident customs and practices. In time of sickness, one thinks only about necessary things like getting well again.
 - e. SM:63. WF:350-litako.
497. Uuli ne mpepo: talangwa mulilo.
- a. Who/is with cold: not/he/is-shown fire.
 - b. He who is with fever is not shown to the fire.
 - c. A person in sickness knows what to do and should not be told evident things to do.
 - e. SM:73.

G. - o. Death.

Imfwa (death) and ukufwa (to/die) mean the end of the life as known and experienced on earth. Death is feared but accepted as inevitable; it is also desired in some cases mainly to punish a guilty partner.

The body disintegrates in the ground while the mutima or nweo (soul, spirit) lives on around villages and graves to become a mupashi (protecting spirit) or a ciwa (bad spirit). (Cf. p.173).

Death brings separation and a state of pollution through which the village, relatives, and very specially the married partner

suffer, and from which they must be purified.

498. Ilipompo lilapona; libonge lyashala.

- a. Green-fruit it/use-to/fall: ripe-fruit it/stay-on.
- b. The green fruit falls and the ripe one stays on.
- c. The young people die while elders live on. Death knows no age.
- d. Lipompo (napompo); green, unripe fruit.
Libonge (nabonge); over-ripe fruit, rotting in tree.
- e. WF:344-lipompo.

499. Imfwa ya mubiyo: ili akasekelo.

- a. Death of your-friend: it/is little/laugh.
- b. The death of your neighbour; it is a laughing matter.
- c. Death is a serious matter when it comes to a close relative or to yourself; otherwise, it is quickly discarded.
- d. Akasekelo; from -seka; laugh.
- e. SM:22. WF:423-mfwa.

500. Inghombe nkulu: ipaya cibinda.

- a. Cow big: it/kill owner.
- b. The big cow is killed by its owner.
- c. The right to kill belongs to the owner; and so, God is the master of life and death.
- e. WF:572,573-nghombe.

501. Kolwe ubushiku alefwa: apuse misambo.

- a. Monkey day it/is-dying: he/miss branches.
- b. The monkey the day it dies misses the branches.
- c. Death comes unexpectedly.
- e. SM:32. WF:266-kolwe.

502. Sungu mukoshi: ubulungu tabubula.
- a. Keep neck: beads not/they/lack.
 - b. Take care of your neck, beads are plentiful.
 - c. Take care of your life first and the fineries will take care of themselves.
 - e. SM:46. WF:453-mukoshi.
503. Takuya mabwe: abantu e bayako.
- a. Not/there/go stones: people it-is they/go/there.
 - b. Stones don't go there; people do.
 - c. Death is for men not for stones. Death is for intelligent beings only.
504. Tuli samfwe: tumenena ukubola.
- a. We/are mushroom: we/germinate to/rot.
 - b. We are mushrooms; we germinate to die.
 - c. Our lives are short and we grow to die.
 - d. Samfwe (basamfwe); small mushroom of short life.
 - e. WF:653-samfwe.
505. Umubili mutaba: ulalemba.
- a. Body mutaba tree: it/use-to/put-on-new-bark.
 - b. The body is like the mutaba tree which puts on a new bark.
 - c. The body has life with force to renew itself. As long as there is life there is hope of continued existence.
 - d. Mutaba (mitaba); kind of ficus tree.
 - e. WF:319-lemba.
506. Umufwi mu mulu ulunga fye: panshi e pa mwabo.
- a. Arrow in sky it/hunt only: on-ground it/is at its-home.
 - b. The arrow in the sky hunts only; on the ground is its home.
 - c. An arrow flies for a short time only and soon comes down. Life is short; the ground is the real abode.

- d. -Lunga; hunt, stroll, go for a walk.
- e. SM:60. WF:377-lunga.

507. Umuti ukulu: tauwa nga kaice.

- a. Tree big: not/it/fall as little/child.
- b. A big tree does not fall like a little child.
- c. An adult does not die like a child but makes known his/her last wishes and suspicions regarding those who may have bewitched him/her. The death of an adult is an important event.
- e. SM:67. WF:501-muti.

508. Uwaka ushili obe: taucilwa ibaka.

- a. Year which/not/is yours: not/it/overcome jump.
- b. The year which is not yours is simply not jumped over.
- c. There is no way you can avoid the year of your death.
- d. Libaka (mabaka); jump, leap.
- e. SM:68. WF:97-cila.

509. Uweo wa nkoko: uli ku mwine uwashiteka.

- a. Spirit of hens: it-is at owner who/them/care-for.
- b. The spirit of the hens are in the hand of the one who cares for them.
- c. The right to kill hens belongs to the owner. The right to life and death belongs to the rightful owner.
- e. SM:71. WF:514-uweo.

510. Ushilanda mwa: ni muka mwenso.

- a. Who/not/talk death: it-is spouse fear.
- b. He who does not talk about death is the spouse of fear.
- c. People should not be afraid of mentioning death since it comes to all, and speaking about it should make no difference.

I. SUMMARY (RECAPITULATION) OF BEMBA PROVERBS AND SAYINGS.

1. The Supernatural Life.

God is the maker of everything, the supreme protector and helper of all. His power has no limits and he does what he likes even if his activities are concealed.

God is immensely rich and does according to his heart's pleasure (11). He is the blacksmith who forges for all (6). He is the great succourer who has helped the wasp and prevented it from bursting (12). God is hidden and covered with dry leaves (7); where he cooks, there is no smoke (1). God is just and does not forget the person who stands on his/her feet (9). He is an unbreakable bowstring (5).

In every undertaking, like digging a medicinal root, God must be included (14). The worst which could happen to a man would be to be undone by God (4), more or less like being un-created. Nothing can happen without God's decision, since the soul of man like the soul of the hen lies with the owner and keeper (17).

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1. Apatebeta Lesa: tapafuka cushi.
 4. Lesa akupankukile.
 5. Lesa lushinga lwandi: ulushiputuka.
 6. Lesa mufushi: tafulila umo.
 9. Lesa: talaba ciminine.
 11. Lesa tumbanambo: mutima kayebele.
 12. Ni Lesa tula: uwatulile mulondalonda nga aliputwike.
 14. Ukwimba kati: kusansha na Lesa.
 7. Lesa: mufimbwa na mpukutu.

An unknown spirit does not eat a man (16), and a good spirit does not travel with an evil one (15). One who consults his protective spirit might suffer at most some mild itching sensation (18), but nothing serious.

2. Family Life.

In General. The Home.

Your home even bad is desired and longed for (25). When going back home, one is not stopped by the dusk or the falling night (23). Going away on a journey is bad, but coming back is good (28). The wild animals go out for hunting, but they always come back to their lairs (26).

Home is where one cares to stay and live. The little tail of the goat sweeps where it lies (19). The little ant, at home, is full of courage (21). The child who is not yours is not lured home by mush and meat (29), because there is more to a home than food.

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- 15. Umupashi usuma: tawenda na ciwa.
 - 16. Umupashi uwashibikwa: taulya muntu.
 - 17. Umweo wa nkoko: uli ku mwine uwashiteka.
 - 18. Uwabuka mupashi wakwe: cifungalashi.

 - 19. Akacila ka mbushi: kapyanga apo kalele.
 - 21. Akanyelele pa mwabo: kaba no bushipa.
 - 23. Akaya myabo: takelilwa.
 - 25. Inyenu: bafuluka ne ibi.
 - 26. Inama shilunga fye: shibwelela kwiteko.
 - 28. Ulwabipa pa kuya: pa kubwela lwawama.
 - 29. Umwana ashili obe: takongwa nshima na nama.

Marriage. Husband - Wife.

Married life has its good and inevitably its difficult times. Like a new marriage, a new whistle peels off the lips (34). The man who loves the mother enough to marry her must love also her children (32).

Trees which are close to one another will not fail to squeak on occasion (34). The gossip of the village hut is not sufficient evidence to allow a husband to beat his wife (33).

In a friend's house, one does not expect a hot meal at night (37) which is the privilege of the husband.

A man should marry cousins and avoid behaving like the wild pig who, having no cousins, sleeps with sisters and nieces (36).

Mothers.

The little mother cow or the little mother elephant does not abandon her child (41, 44), just like the frog, which does not abandon her water hole (42). Bembaland without a mother who lives there is a rather uninteresting place (43).

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- 32. Icitemenwe nyina: na bana.
 - 33. Ilyashi lya nsaka: taliuminwa mukashi.
 - 34. Imiti ipalamene: taibula kulila nghwema.
 - 35. Impulu ipya: isukulo mulomo.
 - 36. Ingulube iyabulo mufyala: icena ne nkashi ne mwipwa.
 - 37. Mu nghanda ya mubiyo: tamubikilwa buomba.

 - 39. Akana ka mfubu ukwibila: ni nyina akalanga.
 - 41. Akana nghombe pa mwana: takaya.
 - 42. Icula na menshi ya ciko: tacaya.
 - 43. Lubemba na noko: wabula noko twakubembula.
 - 44. Nansofu pa mwana: taya.

If one has still one's mother, there are tears in the eyes; when she is gone, there are no tears left (55). A mother never has dirty fingers and all she does is perfect (46). After your mother's death, do not expect to have another one like her (48), because the person who is not your mother will not feel your ribs to see how thin you are (53) and will not touch your forehead to see if the fever has come down (54).

The child of the hippopotamus learns to dive from its mother (39).

The child who has never traveled praises his mother's cooking whatever there is to eat (50). The child can be proud and refuse the slave's breast, knowing that the mother is there (49).

Your mother is getting old; do not say that she has never been a beautiful woman (45).

Even the wicked child does not forget his mother, whatever happens (51).

45. Noko akota, witi: taembele bulindu.

46. Noko: tafita minwe.

48. Tapafwa noko: apesa umbi.

49. Ukukana lya musha: kano uli na noko wa kuonkako.

50. Umwana ashenda: atasha nyina ukunaya.

51. Umwana mubi: taluba nyina.

53. Ushili noko: akutonya mu mbafu.

54. Ushili noko: takutonya mutwe.

55. Uuli na nyina: e uuli na filamba mu menso.

Parents. Children.

The little lamb (goat) standing on the other side of the river is desired for its nice skin, only to find out, after having killed it, that it is your own (58).

It is said: "beget"; it is not said: "look alike", and in fact children can differ a lot from their parents (62). A black mamba does not engender another black mamba (67). The small mouse gets back to the family track as a family trait (70).

Leave the child with the axe and after having hurt himself he will put it away (68).

A dog does not die at the hands of its owner (64).

The large size and beauty of the hen come from the feathers (72), like the mother's beauty comes from her many children. The offspring of the python soon scatters away (76). If one gets married to a fat spider, the children will be fat spiders (78). The children of a snake are also snakes (84).

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- 56. Akana ka mfubu ukwibila: ni nyina akalanga.
 - 58. Akabushi kali shilya: bakakumbwa mpapa.
 - 62. Batila kafyalweni: tabatila kapalaneni.
 - 64. Imbwa: taifwa kuli shikulu wakwe.
 - 67. Mamba: taifyala mamba mbiye.
 - 68. Mulekele mwaice isembe: nga aikoma aleliposa.
 - 70. Tondo ukuuma mushita: ca pa luku.
 - 72. Ubukulu bwa nkoko: masako.
 - 76. Ubwana bwa nsato: bulasatula.
 - 78. Ukupila tuntushe: na bana ni bantuntushe.

He who begets will not be eaten by dogs (86) and will have someone to defend him. A child is like an axe; even if it hurts you, you still carry it on your shoulder (79).

The children of the same litter do not bite each other very hard (56). What is cultivated by your brother is not worth trying to carve a spoon out of (75).

The little duiker will not forget the tree which fed its mother and itself (40). Brains often come out of the little ant-hill to go in the large ant-hill (61). The growing trees make the forest (65). The little rat that my maternal uncle had would have been mine if my father had had it (66). The child who did not inquire ate his father's meal (80). The child of a beggar eats the day the mother has begged successfully (83). The white one (young one) often brings trouble to the black ones (elders) (85).

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- 40. Akana ka nsha: takalaba muti nyina alileko.
 - 56. Abana ba mbwa: tabapishanya meno.
 - 61. Amano yafuma mw'ifwasa: yaya mu culu.
 - 65. Imiti ikula: e mpanga.
 - 66. Kakokotwa na yama: aba ni tata nga ampele.
 - 75. Ubwalima mwana noko: tabubashilwa mwiko.
 - 79. Umwana kasembe: nelyo kakukoma, wakobeka pa kubea.
 - 80. Umwana ashibusha: alile musumba wa kwa wishi.
 - 83. Umwana wa mpumfi: ekuta bushiku nyina apulile.
 - 84. Umwana wa nsoka: ni nsoka.
 - 85. Ubutile: e uletelela ufitile.
 - 86. Uwafyala: taliwa na mbwa.

Elders.

The bowstring often does not break where it is weak (88). The old monkey gets fruits from its children (89). The old grandmother does not have to prepare little branches for her grandchildren (90) because they love her without these services. The old man's bow strikes where it lies (92) simply by experience and wisdom (Cf. III. - B.Elders).

In-Laws.

Don't provoke your in-laws before having slept with your wife-to-be (101). At the in-laws, it is as if your neck was in danger; you must scratch twice before doing anything (98). But your brother-in-law can very well sit on your own bed with execra (96). He who would not listen went to visit his mother-in-law with execra (99). He who wants to beat his mother-in-law must hit her well (100) because there will not be future opportunities.

88. Apo lusengeleke: taluputuka.

89. Kolwe wakota: asabilwa na bana.

90. Nakulu wakota: tabika nkunka ku beshikulu.

92. Ubuta bwa mukalamba: bulashila pa bulele.

96. Icine nkashi: cikala na mashinshi ku musengele.

98. Ku buko ni kwikoshi: bafwenako libili.

99. Munshabwa: aile na mashinshi kwa banafyala.

100. Uwauna nafyala: amuumina limo.

101. Wikabala muko: taulalila.

Family Duties. Fidelity. Work. Understanding. Children.

The work which is intended for two persons should not and cannot be done by one person only (103). "Pass over here!, this is no way to talk to your life companion (109). Marriage gives right to the loins but not to the head (117). Touchiness in a family leads to death (106). To have children means to be ready to wipe dung (111).

This is a rabbit of many sleeping mats (108). The eyes of the person whose partner commits adultery are many (102). What you eat at night is made known later in the vomitings (104). In a house of honey you may enter, but it is bad to dip the finger in it (105). Adultery is like dung and one goes far to do it (110). The adulterer does not take the house (113) and the children he may have are not his.

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- 102. Amenso ya mukundilwa: yengi.
 - 103. Icinci wa babili: te kuba cincini uli weka.
 - 104. Ifyakulyo bushiku: fitulikila ku malushi.
 - 105. Inghanda ya buci balengilamo: cikali kutumpamo munwe.
 - 106. Inkutu ya lupwa: itwala ku mwa.
 - 108. Ni kalulu wa matanda ayengi.
 - 109. 'Pita uko': te mubiyo wa nshila.
 - 110. Ubucende mafi: tuposa ukutali.
 - 113. Umucende: tapoka nghanda.
 - 115. Abanakashi: mafi ya mpombo.
 - 117. Icupo ca musana: ica mutwe caba na bene.

Returning to a former spouse usually means failure (116). The skin does not carry a slave (118), whatever the social status of the mother.

The cows get married in the same stable (119) and people should marry people of the same ethnic group. The little crocodile grows in the reeds (122) and learns crocodile ways. The young cock in growing up breaks its wing (120).

To stretch the legs into two directions killed the hyena (121). He who wanted to catch fish in two places died in the water (123). Women are like dung of duiker (115), there are many of them; if one does not please you you can try to find another one elsewhere.

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- 115. Abanakashi: nafi ya mpombo.
 - 116. Akabwelelo: kalalya.
 - 118. Impapa: taipapa musha.
 - 119. Inghombe: shupana mwitanga.
 - 120. Mukolwe pa kukula: epo afune pindo.
 - 121. Ukutangalila kubili: kwaipeye cimbwi.
 - 122. Umwana wa nghwena: akulila ku matete.
 - 123. Uwaikete fibili: afwile ku menahi.

3. Social Life.

Ancestors. Elders.

Where there are elders, the horns do not get twisted (128), just like the fire which is screened by elders is not very dangerous (142). The ancestor does not get poisoned by mushrooms (130).

The old forehead by itself asks for an axe (132). An elder asks by his eyes (139), without saying a word.

In the pocket of an elder, there is always a little relish (136). When the little man starts dancing, he dances well (126). You don't show the shady spot to an elder (141).

A piece of cloth does not remain new and beautiful for a long time, but it lasts long as old (134). The old guinea-fowl often brings trouble to the young ones (131).

He who refuses something to an elder does not grow old (143).

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- 126. Akakulu kakulu kacinda amasha: kafenenkesha.
 - 128. Apali abakulu: insengo tashipotama.
 - 130. Icikolwe: tacikolwa bowa.
 - 131. Ilikanga likote: litalishe misolo.
 - 132. Impuni nkulu: yalombele sembe.
 - 134. Insalu taikokola ku bupya: ikokola ku bukote.
 - 136. Ukulomba kwa mukalamba: menso.
 - 141. Umukalamba: talangwa cintelelwe.
 - 142. Umulilo ucingile abakalamba: taoca.
 - 143. Ukanya mukulu: takota.

Authority. Classes.

Greatness is not changed (145), it is. Where there is greatness, it speaks for itself (148). A chief does not beget another chief (146) and greatness does not necessarily go from father to son.

A large tree is not climbed by the leaves (149) but by the branches. To subdue an important person, one must be meek (147).

When the bees are too few, they join in with another hive (152). A clan or a family based on beer only is like a small basket which is easily broken (153).

A little bird can rest on any tree or branch of its choice (150); it can also fly on its own without the help of large wings (158).

We commoners, we are not too bad as arrow-heads on a bow (154); in time of war, the aristocrats can readily make use of us as soldiers. Of course, the cock of the capital does not play with the cocks of common villages (156); moreover he does not have to peck in the sand to get food (157) like common cocks must do.

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- 145. Icikulu: tacalululwa.
 - 146. Imfumu: taifyala mfumu mbiye.
 - 147. Ukufutula mukulu: kunakilila.
 - 148. Ukuli ubukulu: bwine buyeba.
 - 149. Umuti ukulu: tabunina ku mabula.
 - 150. Akoni kekala muti katemenwe.
 - 152. Shacepa nshimu: shingila lupako lumo.
 - 153. Umukowa wa mu bwalwa kape: kalasapuka.
 - 154. Fwe bapabi tuli mbule: tatubipilwa pa buta.
 - 156. Mukolwe wa musumba: tangala na wa mfula.
 - 157. Mukolwe wa musumba: ushikompe nsenga.
 - 158. Nine tete: nshangila mu lya munghomba.

Legal Life.

One mouth alone is not enough to appreciate whether the peas are good (162) and well cooked. A case is like an egg which looks good from both sides (182); to judge a case well, both sides must be examined and at times two judges are required.

The water which is spilled cannot be picked up again (166). What lies low can always stand up again (169). One day is not enough to rot an elephant (174). In fact, a case does not rot (183), and sooner or later, it will come to life again.

The guilty mouth provokes itself and cannot keep quiet (161). The mutilated person does not say the reason he/she has been punished (165). The chameleon is eaten for a reason (173). While the meek person went home with his/her ears (172), the proud one was punished.

He who watched the fight, fought it (187). As a rule, a fight does not cross the river (179) and must be kept as small as possible.

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- 161. Akanwa kali milandu: kalaibalabala.
 - 162. Akanwa kamo: takomfwa nshama ukupya.
 - 165. Amakunkutu: tasosa ico bamutetele.
 - 166. Amenshi ayaitika: tabakusa.
 - 169. Ifilala: e fibuka.
 - 172. Kunakilila: aile na matwi yakwe.
 - 173. Lufwinyiamba: aliwa pa kantu.
 - 174. Ubushiku bumo: tabuboshe nsoku.
 - 179. Ulubuli: talwabuka mumana.
 - 182. Umulandu lini lya nkoko: uwamina mubili.
 - 183. Umulandu: taubola.
 - 187. Uulutambile: e ululwile.

The chief does not eat vomit (170) that is, the same chief does not hear the same case over again. The rat trap does not spring twice (167) and a person is not punished two times for the same offence. The affair of the wood-gatherers belongs to all of them (185). The case of one sheep is compensated with only one sheep (186).

A fine is paid when you are found guilty, that is, the day you see the child of adultery, then you start looking for the skin to carry that child (175).

Nobody should be accused lightly and one should run after the wild pig which ate the potatoes before accusing the neighbours (176).

The poor are famous and renowned as being dissolute (180). The poor man dies with the law in his mouth (181) unable to tell the truth which would have saved him.

167. Icikate mpuku: tacifutuka libili.

170. Imfunu: tailya cilukwa.

175. Ubushiku wamona mwana: elyo umone ne mpapa.

176. Ukonke ngulube: ikulile mumbu.

180. Ululumbi lwa mulanda: kukakata.

181. Umulanda: afwa ne fyebo mu kanwa.

185. Umulandu wa bateba: umo.

186. Umulandu wa mbushi: bafute mbushi.

Talking. Conversation.

"Good Morning" built a village (194). The ears are beggars; they beg and beg all the time (190) to learn more and more.

He who talks with people knows and has brains (196). He who does not listen to people does not sit at the council table (191). The man who does not spend time in the rest hut covets the meal of his companions (199). He who takes his problems to the rest-hut does not destroy (201) and learns the truth. He who asked did not get poisoned by mushrooms (193).

The lion which is always alone does not see its own mistakes (198). At the ford, people call the person who is experienced and know the job (195).

The large calabash of beer reveals a lot of little words (192).

You are asking about a dog as if it was dressed (197).

He who travels and talks with a mentally sick person, gets the same disease (202).

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- 190. Amatwi mapuli: yapulapula fye.
 - 191. Icintomfwa: tekala ku muba.
 - 192. Icitondo ca bwalwa: e nsokolola twebu.
 - 193. Kabusha: takolelwe bowa.
 - 194. Mwapoleni: akulile mushi.
 - 195. Pa cabu: betapo uo wishibe.
 - 196. Uulanda na bantu: e wishiba mano.
 - 197. Ulebuusha mbwa: inga ifwele.
 - 198. Umukutu ali eka: taikutulula.
 - 199. Umwaume ashiikala nsaka: akumbwe nshima ku banankwe.
 - 201. Uwatwala pa nsaka: tonaula.
 - 202. Uwenda no ulwale pa mutima: alambukilwa.

Togetherness. Sharing.

The monkeys which know each other well share fruits (203).

It is easy to avoid and overcome a single house (205). The elephant in front of many becomes a rabbit (206). The lone monkey does not play ball in front of many (207). The rat which is alone can bring trouble to many (208). The buck which stands up can cause trouble to those who lie down (209).

To be many is beautiful; it becomes difficult at the time of finding relish (211). To be many is good; I found my wife with a little belly of fat (212).

The two little villages burn down together (213).

The wealth of the village is entrusted to a resident (204).

Hospitality. Travelers.

The visitor eats the fat guinea-fowl (219). The travelers bring information about lion spoors (214). What went around reached its destination; what went straight died on the way (217).

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- 203. Bakolwe abaishibana: bapelana mabungo.
 - 204. Icuma ca mushi: babika no mukaya.
 - 205. Inghanda imo: tayafya ukulamba.
 - 206. Insofu pa bwingi: kalulu.
 - 207. Kolwe ali eka: tateya nghonse pa bengi.
 - 208. Kwindi ali eka: asongela abali abengi.
 - 209. Mumembe uwiminene: asongesha ishilele.
 - 211. Ubwingi busuma: bwabifya pa kushinko munani.
 - 212. Ubwingi busuma: nasanga mukashi na kafumo.
 - 213. Utumishi utupalamene: tupya tubili.
 - 214. Abenda: e baleta makasa ya nkalamo.
 - 217. Akashokele kalifikile: akalungeme e kafwile.
 - 219. Iceneni: e cilishe kanga lya musuma.

What visits you, eats you up (220). Abusing the hospitality of people breaks the bridge (227).

The important visitor is like the fire-place; it produces good meals for all to share (230).

Show a smoky place to a visitor and he will show you his teeth (222). The stranger who does not know where the spring is, draws water from a muddy pool (228).

The traveler is like a bone; it must be cooked early so that it has time to soften (229). The visitors to monkeys eat what monkeys eat (231). The stranger who needs a large bark cloth sleeps in his own bark cloth (232). "Cut your tail"; in a foreign land, they do not go about with tails (223). "You my fishing kits", sleep and let us see what the residents eat (225). The little black ant bites the resident, so you foreigner, beware (221). Travelers are like a bark-cloth, one piece, and must be tied up together (216).

216. Abeni ni nkwa: bakakilwa pamo.

220. Icikupempula: e cikulya.

221. Kanyelele kasumo mukaya: we mweni cenjela.

222. Lango mweni ku cushi: alakulangako ameno.

223. Tete nsuka: ku calo ca bene tabenda na nsuka.

225. Ubwamba bwandi lala: tumone milile ya bakaya.

227. Umundemwa: ufuno bulalo.

228. Umweni ashishibe kwifwe: atapa pa cintimpwe.

229. Umweni lifupa: banwipika kasuba kaciliko nga alinaka.

230. Umweni mukulu: lishiko.

231. Umweni wa kolwe: alyo 'to kolwe alyako.

232. Umweni wa mpapa ntali: asendama pa mpapa yakwe.

4. Economic Life.

Self-help. Self-reliance.

The little rat is the little thing one has with the mush (233).
The fat hawk must be the one you killed yourself (240).

The little guitar that one borrows does not play all the tunes
one knows (234).

The cows in Ilala country have their owners (236) and must
not be coveted.

Soldiers called as mercenaries do not fight a good war (235).
The jackal called the red ants to help and they covered him (238).

The he-dog does not catch food for another dog (244).

He who eats his own food is not afraid of the law (242) and
is not poked fun at by drums (243).

"I am the house fly and I can wash my back myself" (239).

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- 233. Akafumbe: kantu kali pa bwali.
 - 234. Akalimba ka kwashima: takapwa misango.
 - 235. Ako wikete: eko bomako imbwa.
 - 236. Ifita fya kwita: tafilwa nkondo.
 - 238. Mumbwe aitolile mpashi: no kumubumba shamubumba.
 - 239. Ndi lunshi: nsambila ku numa.
 - 240. Pungwa ukunona: kano uo wipeye.
 - 242. Shiwalya kakwe: tominwa mbila.
 - 243. Shiwalya kakwe: talimbwa mu nghoma.
 - 244. Umulume wa mbwa: taankila mubiye.

Work. Perseverance.

Where there is a finger, there can be a garden (246). The forest repays those who walk in it (248). What a person likes strengthens the ribs (251). Two snares do not miss (256). Hunger means to cultivate and not to beg (257). Whatever big it may be, there will be a way to pass over it and overcome it (261). "I will show you the way to the hill and should I show you how to avoid the stones on the way? (262)".

Dirty fingers can be washed (266). "Do-a-little" took the wife of "do-nothing" (269). To pass over a log, one has to spread the legs (271). To threaten an elephant, one must have a spear (272). You, the mutilated one, carry on with your work; watching eyes will not eat you (279).

There are six days which are not all equal (258). The house in which you do not sleep, you covet its roof (254).

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- 246. Apali umunwe: e pali ibala.
 - 248. Conde: afuta abamwendamo.
 - 251. Ico utemenwe: e cikoshe mbafu.
 - 254. Inghanda ushilala: baikumbwo mutenge.
 - 256. Inkose shibili: tashipusa.
 - 257. Insala ni ndiminwa: te mpulilwa.
 - 258. Inshiku mutanda: tashilingana shonse.
 - 261. Na pakulu: palapitwa.
 - 262. Mkulange nshila ya lupili: nkulange no kulamba amabwe.
 - 266. Iminwe ikate fibi: ilasamba.
 - 269. Shimucita panono: apokele mwikalafye umukashi.
 - 271. Ukucilo mulando: kutangalala.
 - 272. Ukupangile nsifu: kano uli ne fumo.
 - 279. We wa makunkutu, ombela umo ombela: amenso ya bantu tayalya.

The trees which have been pointed out by the axe, do not fall by themselves (267). What makes the road long is laziness in walking (250). Nice talking put the hyena to sleep on the rubbish heap (253). The clever fast talking bird does not build a nest which is hard and solid (255).

Who travels at night does not eat the good sauce (260).

Farming of old days does not calm the actual hunger of the child (265). Honey is not forgotten but the axe is (270). Sitting too much eventually pierces the bark cloth (273). The sausage tree put the wild pig with its hunger to sleep (274). Laziness yellows the teeth (275).

A spirit does not give to a person who always sits down (277).

A garden is like a baby; it does not grow fast (247). People cannot take hold on the country like a handle holds to a hoe (249).

One does not pick up wealth as one picks up lice (252). The chameleon finished all the wasps one by one (259). "It-is-never-dawn-here" saved his sister (264). The wasp saved her children carrying them one by one (276).

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- 247. Bukula, mwana wa mbusa: tabukula bwangu.
 - 249. Icalo cino: te ca kukwikila meno luse.
 - 250. Icilefye nshila: mulele wa kwenda.
 - 252. Ifyuma: tafitolelwa mumo nga nda.
 - 253. Ilyashi lisuma: lyalalike cimbwi pa cishala.
 - 255. Inghuni iyacenjela mumo: taipika cinsa acikosa.
 - 259. Lufwinyemba: uwapwishishe malonda muli limo limo.
 - 260. Mwenda cungulo: tatobela muto.
 - 264. Tabuca bumo: alubwile nkashi.
 - 265. Ubulimi bwa kale: tabutalalika mwana.
 - 267. Imisontwe sembe: taitemwa.
 - 270. Tapalabwa mpuma: palabwe sembe.
 - 273. Ukwikalisha: e kutule filundu.
 - 274. Umufungufungu: walalika kapoli nsala.

Early Work. Foresight. Lack of Foresight.

The provident worker was on time to watch the evening dance (280), and early enough to kill the mongoose (281). The first person to drink does not drink the dregs (282).

The person who says "I'll go with you" starts getting ready the evening before (291). The person who did not stay to finish all the food escaped; the person who finished all the food was caught (292).

He ate one animal only and then buried the game pit (283). He who says "I'll eat to-morrow" burnt his back (288) or ended up in an abandoned village (289). The lazy person got speared right there where he sat (290).

You are digging out a tortoise while the back hole is still open (294).

A child is shown the moon but he sees only the pointing finger (299).

275. Umulele: ukashisha meno.

277. Umupashi: taupa wikele.

280. Akabangilile: katamba masha ya cungulo.

282. Akabangilile: e kepeye pulu.

283. Alya imo: no kushika bucinga.

288. Nkalya mailo: apile numa.

289. Nkalya: ni mu fibolya.

290. Nkatinkati: alashilwa apo ekele.

291. Nkaya nobe: abale cungulo.

292. Tafipwa ukulowa aliile: kamfipilele balimwikete.

294. Uelili uleimba fulwe: nakucenama.

299. Umwaice balemulango mweshi: alomono munwe.

Cooperation. Sharing. Work in Common. Giving.

Two people and two brains; one person and one brain (301).
The brains of one person alone do not go around the neck (306).
You obtain a whole rat now, but it started by a bladder only
(208). The strength of being alone does not reach far (305).

The one who gives a little feeds a lot of people (312). To
give is to put aside (314). The child of a generous person does
not die of hunger (320). The person who gives you the country
is not forgotten (323). The person who gives to you makes you
heavy; the person who refuses you makes you light (324).

He who has a good kitchen is not insulted; his kitchen will
always redeem him (325).

What is big is the grain bin; the house does not have to be
big (328). The quantity of locusts picked up will determine how
much one will eat (330).

301. Abantu babili na mano yabili: umuntu umo ne lyano limo.

305. Amaka ya buweka: tayapela apatali.

306. Amano uli weka: tayashingauka ikoshi.

308. Icikupe mpuku: cibala ku cisu.

312. Mupa tunono: alatusha.

314. Ukupa: kubika.

320. Umwana wa mupe: tafwa nsala.

323. Uwakupe calo: talabwa.

324. Uwakupela akufinya: uwakutana akwangusha.

325. We shiko tatukwa: lishiko likamufutula.

328. Icikula butala: nghanda taikula.

330. Imikolele ya nshe: ne milile.

Refuse a little bone and a little meat will be refused to you later (303). The bad bee is the one which stayed home or in the flowers (315).

The elder who does not share will have the thorn of his feet pushed in (317). If one has to give to a bad man, one breaks a small piece only (318). The musuku tree which does not drop its fruits is trampled upon (319).

The stingy visitor in a foreign land is also stingy in his homeland (321).

He who refuses to fish refuses to roast and eat (322).

What reveals a man is hunger (307), just like famine reveals honesty (333). The lion at its wits end will eat grass (334). Hunger is not influenced by a beard and old age (335). The poor man has a big stomach but must have a small mouth (339).

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303. Ake fupa katanisha: aka munofu.
 307. Cinci wa babili: te kuba cinci uli weka.
 315. Ulushimu lubi: luntu lushela ku mwabo (ku maluba).
 317. Umukalamba ushifukisha, kubanguko munga: kutininkisha.
 318. Umuntu mubi wa kuupa: wasunako.
 319. Umusuku ushipona: balaunyanta.
 321. Umweni ashifumba: no 'ko atula, tafumba.
 322. Uwakana ukwela: akana no koca.
 333. Umulandu wa nsala: ulongole mpanda.
 334. Inkalamo nga yapelelwa: ilya ne fyani.
 335. Insala: taikongwa mwe fu.
 339. Umulanda akule fumo: takula kanwa.

The oil which is begged never suffices to cover up the whole body (340). The beggar does not build a grain bin (343).

Poor. Rich.

The poor man has a big stomach, but cannot afford to have a big mouth (339) and defend himself in time of trouble.

He who cries and begs to eat has not court case (342). The person who is given to does not build a grain bin (343).

Wealth, like variegated pieces of cloth, comes from many places (344). The poor man does not travel (345) because he cannot afford to.

The poor man has long dirty hair but in his heart all is at peace (347).

The knife of the poor is in his mouth (348) and may use it if he cannot obtain food.

340. Amafuta ya kulomba: tayakumana mubili onse.

343. Umupelwa: temika butala.

339. Umulanda akule fumo: takula kanwa.

342. Umulila-ndya: taba na mulandu.

343. Umupelwa: temika butala.

344. Ifibalala: tafitula kumo.

345. Talwenda mubusu.

347. Umulanda alulubalo mushishi: mu nda, naulala.

348. Umwele wa mulanda: waba mu kanwa.

5. Political Life.

Leadership. Authority.

People are like fish; they follow the water (349).

A village of children will fall (353). The person who leads must show where the river can be crossed (355). Two black mambas do not stay on one and the same hill (350).

The armpit is not over the shoulder (352). Chieftainship chews water and can be autocratic (351).

Responsibilities of Leaders.

The teacher who admonishes is often the one who transgresses (364). A person with a hard mouth does not succeed in governing a house (370). The village of the severe man burns on the side (374). He who does not get near the people is not given a name (366).

At the capital the bark cloth is not soaked (363), since one may always be called for duty.

The person who is badly forged for lacks a mouth (371), and should talk and scold to obtain results.

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- 349. Abantu lisabi: likonka menshi.
 - 350. Bangoshe babili: tabekala culu cimo.
 - 351. Ubufumu: busheta amenshi.
 - 352. Ukwapa: takucila kubea.
 - 353. Umushi wa baice: ulawa.
 - 355. Utangile: e kulango bwabuko.
 - 363. Ku musumba: takwabikilwa nkwa.
 - 364. Mfunda butemhi: e iwa.
 - 366. Munshifika ku bwingi: tapelwe shina.
 - 370. Ubukosa kanwa: tabuteka inghanda.
 - 374. Umushi wa mukali: upya ku mbali.

The village burns and also the head man with it (357). Who holds the drum knows how to dance (358) and knows the songs well (359). The lady in charge of the initiation ceremonies wears the panache and must truly work for the honours (368).

The ancestor with the feathers is the ancestor with the troubles and cases (360). He who succeeds a leopard succeeds to the spots (365). The protector of birds gets tired but not the protector of people (367). Chieftainship makes the eyes red (369) from overwork. The bow which is stretched too hard breaks (371).

The man who wants to show and conduct man must get near (373). Greatness is not advertised; it speaks by itself (377). He who insults a chief does not insult him only but the whole country (378).

Peace.

A country is never quiet like gruel (379). He who lives in a peaceful place is a peaceful man indeed (379).

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- 357. Akashi kalapya: no mwine kashi apilamo.
 - 358. Icikete nghoma: no kupilibuka nashishiba.
 - 359. Icikete nghoma: no lwimbo cileshi.
 - 360. Icolwe ne ngala: cicolwe ne milandu.
 - 365. Mpyana ngo: apyana na mabala.
 - 367. Mwamina nghuni alanaka: mwamina bantu tanaka.
 - 368. Nacimbusa afwele ngala: no kubwalabwala.
 - 369. Ubufumu: bukishisha amenso.
 - 371. Ubuta bwauma: bwaumina ukufunika.
 - 373. Umulangishi wa muntu: alapalama.
 - 377. Ukuli ubukulu: bwine buyeba.
 - 378. Umutuka mfumu: tatuka imo.
 - 379. Icalo: tacitalala ngo musunga.
 - 380. Umwikala patalala: mwine apatalalika.

6. Moral Values.

Kindness. Gentleness.

A message is not heavy to carry; what is heavy is a load (381).

The black spider killed the lion by meekness (384). Treat a tortoise well if you want to tie its legs (386). To get the arm out of a hole, one must be gentle (387), just as one must be to take a worm out of a hen's beak (388).

The blind man took the wealth from the one who could see (383).

The clan of house flies is a sore (391). You may laugh at an infirm person, but one day he/she will laugh at you (384).

Pride. Courage.

The hoe is not sharp; what is sharp is the heart (392). The male dog does not die from a leg wound (395). The supposedly clever roan antelope stands up and ends in a round bundle (394).

381. Akanwa takafina: uwafina mutembo.

383. Impofu: yapokele fyuma ku ulolola.

384. Lembalemba aipeye nkalamo: mu kunakilila.

386. Temba fulwe: ngo mukake ukulu.

387. Ukufumyo kuboko ku lupako: kunakilila.

388. Ukupoke cinsenda ku nkoko: kunakilila.

391. Umukowa wa balunshi: cilonda.

392. Ilisembe talitwa: icitwa, mutima.

394. Ubucenjeshi bwa mpelembe: cifulukutu pa numa.

395. Umulume wa mbwa: tafwa ku kulu.

Bad Company.

The old piece of cloth is not placed near the fire (399).
The bad musuku tree caused the whole forest to be cursed (400).
He who travels with a black mamba ends by shaving a black mamba (401), just like the person who succeeds to a ngoshe succeeds to the venom (402).

Insults.

Insults do not cause wounds (403). You slander a lion which is right there in the bush (406). Who is slandered is great (407).

The sayer of insults and lies is not really wicked; the wicked one is the person who circulates what happened (404).

Stealing.

Where the bushbuck ate lentils, there it will come back (408).
The stolen orange is better tasting than the one in hand (409). A thief is caught by the arm (410).

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- 399. Iciku: tacipalamana na mulilo.
 - 400. Umusuku ubi: utushe mpanga.
 - 401. Uwaenda na gnoshe: no kumubea amubea.
 - 402. Uwayana ngoshe: apyana no busungu.
 - 403. Insele: tashitula kalonda.
 - 404. Kasosa te mukali: kalundulula e mukali.
 - 406. Ukwambe nkalamo: ili pa cisonso.
 - 407. Uwayambwa: ninshi akula.
 - 408. Icisongo ukwalye landa: tabulapo.
 - 409. Ilitungwa lya kwiba: licila pa lyobe ukulowa.
 - 410. Mpupu: ni pa kuboko.

Lying. Hypocrisy.

With one and the same mouth one can whistle different kinds of whistles and tunes (411). Every lie will return (415). One pretext to walk in the forest can be to look for a handle (416).

Hide a dead person, and the wailings will make it known (414).

The hypocrite calls a dog while holding a stick (417).

If a case passed through the anus, the description of the case must mention the anus (418).

He who eats your mother is not wicked; the wicked one is the person who came and asked where has your mother gone? (420).

One can lie to a woman but not to a traveling companion (412). He who travels with a dog can lie, but not the person who travels with people (421).

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- 410. Akanwa kamo: ulishemo mpulu no munsoli.
 - 412. Bepo mwanakashi: mwaume mubiyo mukenda nankwe.
 - 414. Mufisa mwa: malilo yalatumbula.
 - 415. Ubufi: bulabwela.
 - 416. Ukwendele mpanga: kulengula kwa mipini.
 - 417. Ukwite mbwa: na kamuti nufumbata.
 - 418. Umulandu nga wapitile pa mputi: na pa kuushimika eko upite.
 - 420. Uwenda na mbwa abepa: uwenda na bantu tabepa.

Ungratefulness.

Mercy ate the partridge and the lizard (426). You are thankful as long as it lasts in the cheeks (422).

The leg you care for will kick you (423). Receive a person with big buttocks and he/she will take your seat (424). It is possible to do something as rewarding as making the breasts of the snake grow bigger (425).

He who did not thank caused his fields to become fallow (427).

Egotism.

"Mother, carry me if you want to be carried later" (432). Those who go on a journey do not gather firewood for those who stay (428). The rain before going away ruins all the trees (429). People do not leave anything before going away; they destroy (433).

The hunger of your companion does not disturb your sleep (430). "Let the dawn come"; it is only the wife of your neighbour who has been caught (431).

422. Mwanya: fili kwisaya.

423. Ukulu undapa mulwele: e kwakunyanta.

424. Ukupokelela uwa matako yakulu: akakupoke cipuna.

425. Ukumeshe nsoka amabele.

426. Uluse: lwalile nkwalé (mbulu).

427. Umunshanya: uwalalike bala.

428. Abaima: tabateba nkuni.

429. Imfula pa kuya: epo yone miti.

430. Insala ya mubiyo: taifufya tulo.

431. Kabuce: ni muka mubiyo eketwe.

432. Mayo mpapa: na ine nkakupapa.

433. Tabasha: balona.

The male dog does not catch food for its companion (434).

He who is filled up shows the rest of the food with his mouth, careless of the hunger of others (435).

Suspicion. Judgment.

Where there is a game there are vultures (445). The beer is not stronger in a larger calabash (441). The hole into which a black mamba enters is recognized by trodden grass (443). Where the water recedes there is a crocodile (437).

It is the wily hare which is not missed in fables (436).

In the heart of your companion, it is impossible to enter (440).

We don't find a fornicator who has grown horns (442).

To fetch fire in a house a pretext is needed; but to borrow water no reason is needed (447).

Do not insult a woman before she undresses (448).

434. Umulume wa mbwa: tayankila mubiye.

435. Uwikwite: asontelo bwali ku kanwa.

436. Akalulu: munshipuswa mu nshimi.

437. Apashintuka menshi: pali inghwena.

440. Mu nda ya mubiyo: tamwingilwa.

441. Tabulumina: nsupa nkulu.

442. Tatusanga mpulumushi: yamene nsengo.

443. Ubwendo bwingila ngoshe: bamona ku mafute.

445. Ukuli inama: takubula makubi.

447. Umulilo mulapwilwa pa kantu: amenshi mutapwatapwa fye.

448. Wituka mwanakashi: talafula.

7. Traditional Thoughts.

Women.

What one hears from women burns (451). The complaints and meanings of the barren woman are sour and sad (452). What women say is nonsense, but who does not listen is quite stupid, because the information is invaluable (450).

Medicine-Men.

The medicine man is not dead; he has changed residence (453). The medicine man has not yet eaten; the medicine is still on top of the hill (454).

Customs. Different Tastes.

People who eat lizard get together (455). The stomach of the wild pig is eaten by some people (456).

Bad relish brings discontent and bitterness (458).

Foods are not left over and thrown away (457).

450. Ifisosa abanakashi fya buwelewele: nomba uushiteshako cipuba.

451. Ifya kuumiwa ku banakashi: filoca.

452. Ifya nghumba: filasasa.

453. Inghanga ishifwa: ilakuka.

454. Inghanga tailele: muti uli ku lupili.

455. Abalya mbulu: balapalamana.

456. Icifu ca ngulube: citemwa mwine.

457. Ifilyo: talyaba na cishala.

458. Umunani wabe: cifukushi.

Trial and Error. Common Sense. Changes. Habit. Discretion.

They sure try a lot of new things; my wife just tried to cook an axe (460).

Water is measured in proportion to the amount of flour (461).

An old pontoon capsizes (462).

The anus which breaks winds does not stop (463). The hunter of elephants is killed by an elephant (466). The tree where it inclines, there it falls (467). The cock where it picks up white ants, there it dies (464).

That roof will not be thatched and will keep on leaking (465).

The house in which you don't sleep, one does not put the ear at (468).

460. Ifintu kwesha besha: mukashi wandi anjipikile sembe.

461. Amenshi: balinga no bunga.

462. Icabu ca kale: cilabunsha.

463. Imputi isula: taileka.

464. Mukolwe uko atola bubenshi: eko akafwila.

465. Tapakafimbwe: pakaloka.

466. Umupalu wa nsofu: afwa ku nsofu.

467. Umuti uko wasendamina: eko ukawila.

468. Inghanda ushilala: tabateamo matwi.

Silence. Conversation.

The mouth is like a dog; at times, it must be muzzled (469).
 The conversation which is no concern of yours expands the mouth (471).
 The frog moves its mouth to and fro showing what it ate (470).
 He who has a mouth does not eat mush without relish (472).

Good and Bad Luck.

We who are unlucky, we do not find a bird to show us honey near-by (476). The monkey, the day it dies, simply misses a slipper branch (481). The day you are unlucky, even the cold food left over the day before, burns (482); on days like that, you could get drunk with the wind (483).

He who falls they laugh at him; they don't beat him up (484).
 What destroys the winged white ants comes from the wind (477).
 Bad luck rots and goes away and soon there is good luck (478).

There are six days, never equal (480).

Take care of the days and they will take care of you (485).

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- 469. Akanwa ni mbwa: balakulika.
 - 470. Icula abwebweshwa kanwa: aletula ne fyo alile.
 - 471. Ilyashi ushiliko: litandula kanwa.
 - 472. Uwa kanwa: takutula.
 - 476. Fwe bashama: tatukonka nghuni aitulanga mupepi.
 - 477. Icona nswa: citula ku mwela.
 - 478. Ilishamo lilabola: ukusuka washuka.
 - 480. Inshiku mutanda: tashilingana shonse.
 - 481. Kolwe ubushiku alefwa: apuse nisanbo yatelela.
 - 482. Ubushiku usheme: ne cimbala ciloca.
 - 483. Ubushiku usheme: wakolwa no mwela.
 - 484. Uwawa, banuseka fye: tabamuuma.
 - 485. Tembe nshiku: inshiku nasho shikutemba.

Time.

Days are not picked up and chosen at will (487). We don't know a cock in the egg (488). He who wants to lop down a mupundu tree does not look at the flowers, thinking of possible fruits (489).

Sickness. Suffering.

A sick person does not have to hide his/her buttocks (490). He who has a cold and fever is not shown to the fire-place (491).

The little bone you liked to chew on enlarges the cavity (492).

From laughing a lot comes crying a lot (494).

He who spins tops is not without finger sores (496).

Blood comes out at the tattoo marks (497).

487. Inshiku: tashisabilwa.

488. Tatwishibile mukolwe mu lini.

489. Utema mupundu: taceba kwiluba.

490. Umulwele: tafise tako.

491. Uuli ne mpepo: talangwa mulilo.

492. Akafupa utemenwe: e kakushe micene.

494. Muli sekaseka: e mutula lilalila.

496. Umucinshi nsengwa: tabula kalonda.

497. Umulopa: ufuma pa lulembo.

Death.

The body is like the mutaba tree; it puts on new bark (505).

The big cow is killed only by its owner (500). The soul of the hen belongs to the owner who cares for it (509).

He who does not speak of death is the wife of fear (510). In fact, the death of your friend is a little laugh (499), because only yours matters.

Care first for your own neck because there are plenty of beads (502). The year which is not yours is not jumped over (508).

Stones do not go; people go (503). The green fruit falls while the ripe one stays on (498).

We are little mushrooms; we germinate only to die (504).

The arrow in the sky flies only; on the ground is its true abode (506).

498. Ilipombo lilapona: libonge lyashala.

499. Imfwa ya mubiyo: ili akasekelo.

500. Inghombe nkulu: ipaya cibinda.

502. Sungo mukoshi: ubulungu tabubula.

503. Takuya mabwe: abantu e bayako.

504. Tuli samfwe: tumenena ukubola.

505. Umubili mutaba: ulalemba.

506. Umufwi mu mulu ulunga fye: panshi e pa mwabo.

508. Umwaka ushili obe: taucilwa ibaka.

509. Umweo wa nkoko: uli ku mwine uwashiteka.

510. Ushilanda mfwa: ni muka mwenso.

CHAPTER V

COMPARISONS AND RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BEMBA PROVERBS AND ZAMBIAN HUMANISM

In his book Political Myth and Epic, Cuthbertson depicts the trouble he had, trying to "explain to laymen how dirty old-fashioned politics could get itself involved with epic myths". His answer was that "myth serves as the vehicle of political ideas" (1975:1). The same skepticism could be raised concerning presumed relations between proverbs and ideologies: how can common-sensical, witty, practical and well-turned sayings be associated with political assertions that are emotive, veiled, moral, and utopian? A simple, if incomplete reply would be that proverbs are tribal, local and specific pieces of ideology, while national political ideologies can be seen as attempts to invent national proverbs.

Societies give meaning to their lives by symbolic representations; proverbs and national ideologies are two mechanisms used to that effect which can be compared and related. Comparisons here mean simply points of resemblance and divergence, similarities and differences; they provide common grounds for discussion about origins, contents, form, results and functions. Relationships does not include either essential causality or necessary concomitance between proverbs and national ideologies. It is quite possible that proverbs could exist without a subsequent national ideology and the latter could be formulated where there are but few proverbs. However, under relationships, it is possible to study the presence or absence of links, parentage, dependence, comparable structure and roles between proverbs and national ideologies. This inquiry might illuminate mechanisms by which ideologies originate and function, and ways to formulate ideologies so that they might achieve some results.

This chapter will compare and discuss Bemba proverbs and Zambian

Humanism in relation to tradition and modernity, orality and 'political culture'; subsequently, their respective forms, contents, functions, usages, aims, authorship, acceptance and results are examined. Nevertheless, as may be expected, several observations originate from intuitive impressions, assumptions and insight and are not theories or hypotheses at all. Arguments and remarks are confined primarily to Bemba proverbs and Zambian Humanism. When proverbs are related to ideologies in general, it is only as conjectural considerations.

A. CONTINUATION AND ACCOMMODATION

'Continuation' implies the persistent flow of activities in the directions already engaged in by a society and its institutions. It is not mere repetition which is lifeless reproduction or monotonous imitation, nor is it fixation which is an arrest signalling extinction. It is associated with traditional beliefs and practices which endure through time. 'Accommodation' would be a process of adaptation which makes use of the past in new and modern circumstances, advocating new solutions for change and improvement. Accommodation yields to internal and external pressures especially those encountered by a newly independent state. However, it does not entail revolutions or drastic alterations which would modify the character of a society and its culture. For the purpose of this dissertation, it is feasible to consider proverbs as 'continuation' and national ideologies as 'accommodation'. Zambian Humanism is described as being inspired, to some extent, by local Zambian beliefs and values as contained, among other symbolic forms, in Bemba proverbs.

Kaunda often alludes to the world-views and practices of the traditional past which are integrated into Zambian Humanism; these include social harmony, mutual aid, shared work, discouragement of individualism, care for the orphans, the old and weak (1967:5-8, 12-14, 27-28, 33, 38, 43; 1968b: 42-43; 1966:24-39). At the same time, changes must be achieved and traditional practices modified

to serve present conditions and needs:

"Culturally we are rich and now we must revive what we have inherited from the past and with our political mould adapt it as part of our general planning" (Kaunda 1967:30).

"Naturally, traditional African society and all its norms of behaviour and social values cannot be transplanted into modern Zambia. But this does not mean that there is nothing in the values of traditional society which cannot be successfully used to promote political, social and economic development" (Kaunda 1968. *Zambian Mail* of Jan. 5th.).

"The past is past... From the past we came and from it we learn. In the present we live and in it we apply the lessons and build for the future" (Kaunda 1974:xv; cf. 1967:8).

Zambian commentators point out that traditional values should be preserved inasmuch as they serve as a basis for a better present:

"Nations forge ahead not by duplicating the work of the ancestors but by modifying past work in order to solve present problems... " (Kandeke 1977:54; cf. p. 56; Van Velsen in Meebelo 1973:ix and xi).

"Students of 'African philosophy' would be advised to seriously examine African proverbs and figures of speech which are the quintessence of eloquence that represents centuries of tribal laws and philosophies, in the absence of written canons of traditional philosophies" (Kandeke 1977:59).

Several writers on Zambia will agree that *Zambian Humanism* is "grounded in African traditional, especially rural, values..." (Sklar 1975: 20) and that it "attempts to combine the advantage of modern technology and welfare with the purported qualities of traditional Africa, including the communal and man-centred life of the tribe" (Pettman 1974:40; cf. Martin 1972:111; Dumont 1969:126; Tordoff 1974:24).

The processes of social changes are called dynamics, dialectics and processualism and include innovations and creations, but not necessarily ruptures with the past. According to Balandier, Marxists call tradition the "grande force retardatrice" (1974:175; no reference given), indicating that innovations based on traditional values are not rapid enough and that quicker sequences should be induced and produced by the will of men (that is, some men). But, radical changes in the domain of norms, values and the socio-moral can be accomplished without separation from the past. In questions concerning social,

political and nationalist sentiments, to eliminate the past is tantamount to ignoring the origin of the present and to repudiating important segments of a cultural identity, as Fishman and Pye explain:

"The past is frequently an influential modifier of present and future ingenuity and nationalism has been one of the most common and lasting interpretive links between the past, present, and future of nationalities. As a result I have kept before me the hypothesis that nationalist builders and planners (who may differ in ever so many ways) tend to turn to and return to nationalist philosophies in the pursuit of their strivings, in the language arena as in others" (Fishman 1972:xi).

"The problems of development, viewed in terms of political culture, involve less the gross elimination of old patterns and values and more the successful discovery of how traditions can contribute to, and not hamper, the realization of current national goals" (Pye 1965:19; cf. 11-12 and 516-517).

Like other new nations, Zambia wants to and must change. The present condition is full of "frustration and vulnerability" (Pettman 1974: 235). Development based on European-style market model capitalism seems too open to possibilities of exploiting fellow men by profiteering or otherwise exploiting at the cost of others' suffering. So, Zambians remember their past social life which is envisaged as better suited to bringing about equality and happiness; they recall not only the good old days, but rather the best among the good old days. (Cf. Chieng 1973:58). Before Zambians is an image of an idealised past as it must have been. Some fundamental principles on which traditional life was constituted can provide support for the changes made necessary by independence, urbanisation and surplus production, and the coming together of several ethnic groups.

Proverbs are rather precise, well-turned, moral, common-sensical or philosophical expressions which are for the Bemba speakers what the sagas are for the Norsemen, the Vedas for the Hindus, the Pentateuch for the Hebrews, "that have served to inspire linguistic groups with corporate consciousness and to render them true nationalities" (Hays 1937:17 quoted in Fishman 1972:50). These sayings by the hundreds, and at times by the thousands, contribute to the establishment of a body of explanations, rules and directions which give meaning to a society:

"Poetry, songs, proverbs, mottos, and tales—these all involve basically language behaviors and language products and both history and authenticity are manifestly made and safeguarded by their recitation. Over and over again one finds that both the context and the form of vernacular oral and written literature are pointed to, by elites and laymen alike, as inspiring, unifying, and activating nationalist stimuli" (Fishman 1972:50).

There are legends and tales narrated by the Bemba; but they vary a great deal from region to region and are prone to more subjective interpretation than proverbs. Nathhorst contends that all the methods to study traditional tales (from Propp, Dundes, Lévi-Strauss and Leach) "must be dismissed from the scientific debate" (1970: 71). It is certainly much more difficult and arduous to interpret legends than proverbs. It is also true that this discussion is limited to Bemba proverbs; a national ideology incorporates other groups' proverbs as well. However, examination of several hundred proverbs possessed and used by Bemba speakers can serve as a basic guide-line for the study of relationships between traditional resources and their reflexion in modern national ideology.

B. PROVERBS AND IDEOLOGIES. (Their Modes of Being and Existing).

As explained above (pp.38 -48), proverbs exist in an area where the unconscious, the communal, the implicit and the general both of form and of composition meet the conscious, the personal, the explicit and the particular in their usage and functions; they are 'langage' and 'parole'. In a parallel if different manner, ideologies are also made up of intuitive apprehensions and experiences, idealisations and identifications of real conditions, where the social and the individual, the ideal and the material are constantly enmeshed as inspiration, elaboration, circulation and application. Both proverbs and ideologies, then, belong to the ideal and to the practical, the rule and the application, the 'what-should-be' and the 'what-is' without definite distinctions between the two aspects. In their dual approaches, ideologies visualise and explain why and project how society should be. Visions and desires are not only

fancies of the irreal (possibly real), but imagined plans to enact the possible. The apprehended link between the ideological and the material is what can influence and modify the relations of men to their conditions of existence, although the ideological is not a programme of actions, but a model for actions. For instance, there is an actual relationship between hard work, cooperation, self-reliance and some economic benefits. (Cf. Johnson 1968:78-80). In ideology, this link is represented in the imaginary where all persons work, cooperate, share and are self-sufficient; in the practico-material, many do not cooperate and few share yet. When steps are undertaken to change the situations and determine specifically the application of Humanism to concrete projects, the process ceases to be ideological; it is no longer a vision and a representation, but a definite plan to perform a series of actions with or without meaning. While the links between symbolic conceptions and concrete applications are far from clear, it is probable that the processes are concomitant and inter-influential to such an extent that ideologies are often made up of ideal representations to achieve material accomplishments. If it is easy to recognise the existence of links between ideologies and their applications, the understanding and explanation of the causal and temporal relationships between the two are quite difficult; in other words, how ideologies are at times actualised and capable of practical results and what made them capable of performing the transfer between the ideal and the material remain mysterious.

Proverbs are also representations of normative attitudes and ideal behaviours which state what should be assented to and practised without determining what a person will do in a precise occasion. The projection is clear enough; the application is left to the liberty of choice of the individual under the censorship of society.

Ideologies are centered on the ideational, the possible, visions of changes, dreams of accomplishments as possible reality; proverbs are concrete situations offered as ideal. Ideologies

often claim rationality or at least a certain logicity in their description of the possible; they are prescriptions for the future. Proverbs do not claim rationality nor accuracy of the situations they cope with; they are affirmations for the present.

C. CIVILISATION OF ORALITY.

A civilisation of orality consists of using and placing greater emphasis on the spoken word, the actual oral language, in all human dealings, from conversation to arts. It does not imply that people who are said to participate in a civilisation of orality do not use literacy or, more precisely 'scripturality'. Depending on historical and geographical circumstances, social and personal character, certain societies depend more heavily on orality; this may have caused the appearance and development of some special characteristics in their linguistic habits and cultural traits. Bozeman affirms that the condition exists even in places where literacy was known and could have been adopted:

"Nonliteracy refers to a cultural condition in which language, not being reduced to some form of writing, is used exclusively for purposes of speech. Africa's approximately eight hundred separate communities had existed for millennia in such a context, remaining resistant to literacy as represented by Egyptian, Arabic, and Coptic influences... (1976:69).

Negative labels using prefixes such as 'non' and 'il-' are often employed to portray 'others' with the absence of some 'advanced' quality or trait. The words 'non-literacy' and 'illiteracy' seem to indicate some retarded or deferred development in the evolutionary scale. At times, non-literacy is considered like some defect or disease reckoned after malaria and dysentery as a national problem. These descriptions smack of "spiritual imperialism" and "occidentalo-centrism" by presenting 'others' not simply as different, but as inferior by their lack of something and ignoring the presence of other qualities. (Cf. Augé 1979:15-16, 30-32, 157-160). The positive features of orality are summed up by Houis:

"Il faut comprendre ensuite l'énorme différence qui existe

entre la civilisation mondialiste d'origine européenne et la civilisation traditionnelle de l'Afrique à partir du critère des techniques de communication. La civilisation africaine est de ce point de vue orale. L'oralité n'est pas l'absence ou la privation d'écriture. Elle se définit positivement comme une technique et une psychologie de la communication à partir du moment où l'on réfléchit sur trois thèmes fondamentaux: la problématique de la mémoire dans une civilisation de l'oralité, l'importance sociologique, psychologique et éthique de la parole proférée, enfin la culture donnée, transmise et renouvelée à travers des textes de style oral dont les structures rythmées sont des procédés mnémotechniques et l'attention" (1971:9; cf. p. 47; also Bozeman 1976:69-71).

It is not a question of exclusivity: the speak-listen-ear complex does not ignore or repudiate the write-read-eye process. A civilisation of orality would simply give greater value to the human voice, the auditive faculty, the memory and the development of certain forms of language to insure retention. These linguistic forms will be found in special sounds and clusters of sounds, harmony and pronounceability, and they differ from language to language:

"A sentence in one language accords with a certain style of composition, as it were, and there are rules of harmony, counterpoint, and so on that govern its form and employment. In another language, however, it would of course be largely discordant, and might very well be utterly and totally so" (Needham 1972:237).

Whether African languages like Bemba possess mechanisms for the greater development of the techniques of oral communication, like certain rules of syntax to realise harmony and rhythm is an open question. (Cf. Houis 1971:65-69).

Proverbs, by their composition and usage, contribute to the civilisation of orality. They are meant to be spoken, usually at the right place and moment, in a conversation or a speech; they must be enunciated in the proper form and mistakes have negative effects. Even during some 'proverbifest', in which proverbs are used to entertain, show off and demonstrate knowledge, the important point is the oral production which includes retention, recall and proper articulation.

Ideologies, as already explained, consist of opinions, descriptions of adverse situations to be overcome, propositions of

ideal situations. These are asserted forcefully and often dogmatically to convince listeners. They can be composed and circulated under the form of theories and treatises. Often, the most powerful method of disseminating an ideology is through speeches, pronouncements, official proclamations, broadcasts, ceremonies and anniversary feasts. Again, one can conjure up the ghosts of Hitler, Mussolini and Churchill spreading their messages by haranguing at every occasion, from military parades to official ceremonies. Be- not suggests that Africa might be influenced by a long experience of orality through a tradition of public discourse and ancient civilisations which were essentially oral (I, 1975:30). In Africa and elsewhere, leaders and particularly politicians make much use of those "catch phrases, mottoes, aphorisms and partisan whoops that are continually coined and used by every segment of society" (Trippett 1979:59). The idea is to construct a proper sentence with a convenient cluster of sounds and balance which will be easily identifiable, striking if not sensational, catchy if not profound, with the possibility of being quickly identified with a programme, a party philosophy, an ideal or a candidate. "The slogan, is, after all, probably the best people mover this side of earthquakes, court orders and guns" (Trippett:1979:59).

Basic ideas of Zambian Humanism were already expressed in public meetings, as far back as 1959 (cf. p. 97), at the very beginning of the Zambian African Congress, the successor of the African National Congress and predecessor of the United Independence Party as confirmed by Kaunda:

"Our slogans became very popular. We invented and introduced easy slogans so that all our followers could repeat them, for the more people you had shouting them the better for the popularity and membership campaign of the party" (1962:99).

With the call to freedom and the "one man-one vote" motto, there were denunciations of British colonialism and Rhodesian control through the hated Federation. After Kaunda's release from prison, in early 1960, the main elements of Humanism—the importance of Man in society, unity, One-Zambia-One-Nation, cooperation,

self-reliance—became common utterances at every occasion. A series of assertions were enunciated and proclaimed in public appearances, over the radio, and by all leaders, national and local. Even recently, some of the catchphrases are preserved, including the following:

"If we want food, we must grow it
 If we want a shelter, we must build it
 If we want cloth, we must produce it
 If we want a road, we must construct it" (Kaunda 1974:82).

Even where there is no possibility of growing cotton, where there is no road as in the Bangweulu swamps, people will hear and repeat the same statements, which shows that the model of representation is the core of an ideology and not its description of precise actions.

Kaunda has now written several books on *Zambian Humanism* and other Zambians are commenting on the doctrine (Cf. Zulu 1970; Meebelo 1973; Kandeke 1977). Most people in Zambia have never read anything at all on *Zambian Humanism*, but they have all been exposed to the ideology on countless occasions. Proverbs are also transcribed and are becoming literary reading. In this section, the immense importance and influence of literacy and 'scripturality' are not denied or belittled, although the emphasis is put on the value of orality which is often discarded as a negative element. Both proverbs and ideologies are related primarily because they share certain aspects of orality like verbal transmission, positive evaluation of a proper style, and presence of listeners. They are not destined to convince by the strength of their logic or rationality, but by their appeal to passions like hope and security. Both are bound to the mechanisms of oral language such as the auditory faculty, memorisation, retention and recall and the special form and structure of each genre.

D. FORM and STRUCTURE

Form here means the manner of arranging the sequence of statements, utilising figures of speech and combining words and phrases

in the production of special sounds and rhythm, in order to achieve special effects like convincing and motivating. Structure refers more precisely to the balance and symmetry of words and phrases producing a certain rhythm. Some ideologies are composed and written down as doctrinal treatises and pamphlets adopting the form described above, at least to a certain point. However, most national ideologies are composed to be transmitted orally and should follow the rules of oral communication to be successful. Political campaigns are accomplished in orality, from stately speeches to intimate meetings which require certain characteristics of performance to succeed. The performance does not depend solely or even primarily on the brilliance or originality of thoughts, but on the speaker's personality, tone of voice, gestures, delivery and other auditory and visual symbols. The transmission of a political message can be affected by the hair, teeth and make-up of the speaker, and to a greater degree by his or her conviction, intensity, pleasantness, power, and the use of a well 'formed' text.

Proverbs are often endowed with a certain artistic character linking them to poetry (cf. pp. 36-40; Jason 1969:414); their form may include alliteration, assonance, parallelism and a balance of acoustic patterns (Lord 1960:56-65). Proverbs are also prose because they are pithy statements expressing norms, values and beliefs. Thus, proverbs are poetry and prose, an essential blend of form and content, which is also characteristic of ideologies. Few if any ideologies rest solely on the strength of ideals, logic and tight analysis of problems. Their power comes from a certain style, a formulation constructed with dynamic words, metaphors, comparisons and other tropes. The form can be multi-faceted, that is modified at will to appear to present cold facts and logical theories, as well as to disguise the arousal of violence, hatred or love. There is no uniformity of style for ideologies and the 'genre' will vary from political speeches to religious sermons while using some characteristics of orality.

The qualities of orality and, more precisely the power of words, are difficult to explain:

"... the absence of any analytical framework within which to deal with figurative language has reduced sociologists to viewing ideologies as elaborate cries of pain. With no notion of how metaphor, analogy, irony, ambiguity, pun, paradox, hyperbole, rhythm, and all the other elements of what we lamely call 'style' operate—even, in a majority of cases, with no recognition that these devices are of any importance in casting personal attitudes into public form, sociologists lack the symbolic resources out of which to construct a more incisive formulation" (Geertz 1973:209).

More studies should focus on the manner by which the potency of words is culturally determined to affect the cognition, emotions and needs of a group. For Edelman, linguistic structures and figures of speech evoke and create new perceptions and realities:

"A central theme in this literature (language as a dynamic influence upon social relationships) is the power of myth and metaphor to intensify some perceptions and screen others out of attention. Language does not mirror an objective 'reality', but rather creates it by organizing meaningful perceptions abstracted from a complex, bewildering world" (1971: 65-66).

"It is through metaphor, metonymy, and syntax that linguistic references evoke mythic cognitive structures in people's minds... Even the syntax of a sentence can evoke a whole structure of beliefs, perhaps in more subtle and powerful fashion than metonymy and metaphor do" (1977:16-17; cf. 1964:116-125).

Edelman, in his research on political language and its symbolic forms, has been confronted with "the challenge... to learn how language and gestures are systematically transformed into complex cognitive structures" (1977:3; cf. p. 20). The general study of complex cognitive structures as being shaped by language forms has not been fruitful and it may be more interesting to consider specific genres like proverbs and slogans. For instance, Trippett describes the force of slogans as follows:

"A first-rate slogan is potent indeed when properly contrived. It becomes as easy to remember as it is hard to forget. It plants itself in the consciousness by rhythm, rhyme, pith or brevity. Once there, it works not only by whatever imagery it carries but—more—by latent emotions it mobilizes. It

plays too on the verities and prejudices of its audience, balm-ing or inflaming them according to purpose. Just so, the slogan lurks as a sort of floating hook in the psyche. Properly tugged, it can impel people to coalesce, to divide, to fight, to sacrifice, to vote, to buy" (Trippet 1979:59).

Slogans like proverbs use rhythm, rhyme and brevity; they are easy to remember, they mobilise latent emotions and may arouse to action. In fact, those short rhythmic-rhymic phrases are often used, from nursery rhymes, catechetical responses, proverbs, to ritual formulae, although nobody seems to know the rules of their formulations (Hayakawa 1964:83). Whether the inner mechanisms are known or not, societies have ways to make their members memorise and use basic information which must be learned about the natural and supra-natural worlds, the rules of behaviour, and the principles of interactions between individuals. Studies and research on verbal learning and memory retentions are performed mostly under controlled laboratory conditions (Cf. Jung 1968:3; Kausler 1973; Wickelgren 1977). These authors mention four features used to enhance learning proficiency which are employed in proverbs, slogans and other formulae: (1) paired associates, syllables and sounds, clustering of sounds, pronounceability using alliteration, assonance and parallelism and other devices to aid the acoustic or semantic memory; (2) metaphors and hyperbolae which facilitate the episodic memory; (3) reinforcements by way of stimuli and circumstances of place and time, with rituals, re-enactment of historical events, etc. to impress the imagination and influence perception; (4) language of emotion, that is affective, expressive, representative and figurative language to inspire the hearers with the relevance and necessity of the subjects treated. (Cf. Leone 1973:1277-1280; Edelman 1971:2 and 70; 1977:16-17). It seems plausible to state that those verbal associations are used as mnemonic devices and retrieval cues along with images of speech and emotional re-inforcements to allow people to learn, retain and use what has been heard and taught more easily than by any other way. It is not surprising to find political leaders,

religious preachers and advertisers making use of some rhythmic-rhymic formulae not only to draw the attention of the listeners, surprise and possibly interest them, but also to motivate them to get involved, participate and act. The masters of advertisements have discovered that orality has powerful qualities to influence people. They did not have to wait for a scientific study of proverbs to coin 'clever' phrases in a balanced structural harmony like "try it/you'll like it", "live it up/with seven up", "don't toss/ring Ross", which have a lot in common with a political catch phrase like "I like Ike" and an English proverb like "rain before seven / fine before eleven". The Bemba language with the concord prefixes of the nine noun classes and the many kinds of suffixes for applied, causative, intensive, frequentative, reciprocal, re-verse forms of verbs has great facility in shaping phrases with alliteration and assonance. For instance akakulu kakulu kacinda masha / kafenenkesha (126) uses the concord particles; mulu sekaseka / e mutula lilalila (492) has a reduplicative verb stem. Many proverbs have the balanced symmetry; ilisembe talitwa / icitwa mutima (392); kakosa te mukali / kalundulula e mukali (404); umupalu wa nsofu / afwa ku nsofu (466). Zambian Humanism publications attempt at formulating slogans such as:

A Humanist hand
Is a working hand
A helping hand
And a friendly hand. (A Humanist Hand Book. 1976:46).

From the study of forms of oral genres and ideologies, it can be suggested that Humanism could be presented with a more expressive language. Too many affirmations are declarations of what traditional life was, and what should be done now in the transposition of that life to affect changes. Practically no linguistic devices and few figures of speech are used to help arouse interest and motivate. The public speeches I attended were paraphrases of the same affirmations referred to on pages 386 and 387, with attacks against the enemies of Zambia, calls to vigilance and hard work, with a few repeated

slogans from the crowd. The form of Zambian Humanism could be improved upon so that the doctrine could be more easily recalled, retained, and hopefully practised. (Cf. Edelman 1967:190; Verba 1967:547). The problem of the official version of Humanism and the translated versions will be treated later (pp.401-405).

Bemba proverbs and Zambian Humanism may not use the same forms nor use them with the same urgency; however, for both, some form is required which may influence the value of the content.

E. CONTENT

Since the detailed content of Zambian Humanism and Bemba proverbs is presented in chapters III (pp. 103-120) and IV (pp. 172-370), only general remarks and points of comparison are considered here. Some repetitions are deemed necessary for the sake of clarity.

Zambian Humanism is proposed as the national ideology and is made up of pronouncements about the socio-moral aspects for the building of the nation; it is based on a few observations and conclusions professing to represent a consensus of what life should be and the qualities and attitudes necessary to achieve the intended goals. Like other ideologies, it is composed of declarations that explain, try to convince and motivate, so that the people are encouraged to conform to the suggested behaviours:

"I have great faith in the power of ideologies to condition people's thinking, to mould their value system. That is precisely why we have devoted so much time to the formulation and propagation of our own ideology—Humanism" (Kaunda 1969:62).

Humanism is supposed to be an analysis of Zambia's problems, providing remedies to bring about improvements; it is an interpretation of events with solutions to accomplish changes:

"We in the Party have clearly defined not only our philosophy and principles, but also our objectives and policies... Success does not just occur; it is planned and organised by members of a community bound, not merely by law but also, by conscious obligations, philosophy, principles, objectives and policies" (Kaunda 1974:130).

Bemba proverbs are local moral and normative sentences expressed in a concise form; they are topical comments about particular situations and concerns, although their applications are often broad and general. They contain a mixture of universal and specific considerations grounded in local conditions. They seem to exist in a stable condition of established order. They assert categorically the beliefs and practices of the people whose conduct they sanction. While ideologies are mostly promulgated to impart directives for change and improvement, proverbs appear to be prescribing and proscribing what is. Ideologies demand reforms, exact sacrifices for the present and promise ameliorations in a better future; they promise; proverbs declare, confirm and sanction in the present. As a rule, Bemba proverbs and Humanism express the same basic understanding about life and how it should be lived as can be seen by a brief review of major themes.

1. Spiritual life. Zambian Humanism professes that Man is the centre of God's creation on earth. Proverbs assure Man that God cares for every soul and that spirits protect as well as can harm people.
2. Family life. In both Humanism and Bemba proverbs, individualism is discouraged in favour of the family; the poor, the sick, the old and orphans must be taken care of; what is important is Man, not what Man does.
3. Social life. Both Humanism and proverbs state that elders must be respected for their wisdom and experience not mostly for what they do; hospitality and mutual support must be practiced. Proverbs also hint at the existence of classes and denounce the aristocrats and the rich who are privileged in courts, have more food and rarely work.
4. Economic life. Zambian Humanism as well as proverbs say that all must work and become independent from the support of neighbours; they must be prepared for times of hardship. Begging, stealing and laziness are condemned openly. People must share and help one

another. For proverbs, hospitality must not encourage parasites and lazy people.

5. Political life. Zambian Humanism is involved with national re-construction, the well being of the whole nation, the one-party state, participatory democracy, the end of factionalism, and many more modern issues. In both proverbs and Humanism, leaders must be respected and must perform their duties which are grave and exacting.

6. Moral and traditional values. Both Humanism and Bemba proverbs encourage and praise similar values and norms; Man's self-realisation is achieved in the community by sharing and cooperating; courage, determination, discipline, kindness and honesty are qualities to acquire; hypocrisy, ungratefulness, egotism and suspicion must be eliminated because they cause dissension among people and bring trouble to the whole community.

There are instances where facts are supplanted in favour of ideal projections. For instance, Zambian Humanism affirms that traditional society was classless (Kaunda 1967:3; Meebelo 1973: 86-87; 6, 48, 72), that Zambian society must be egalitarian (Kaunda 1973:59-62; 1974:xiii, 21; Kandeke 1977:123), and denounces the aristocratic workers and the new elite, who, influenced by the capitalist philosophy, are endangering the 'classless' society (Kaunda 1974:19-21; 109-110). In Bemba proverbs, differences in privileges are mentioned: "we common people, we are like arrow-heads; we are good on the bow" (154), that is, when war comes, common people are very useful, although they are neglected in ordinary life to make place for the aristocrats; "the cocks of the capital (the aristocrats) do not play with commoners and do not have to pick their food in the sand as do the cocks in the villages" (156 and 157). Proverbs complain about the poor who have little to eat and no power at all: "the poor man dies with the laws in his mouth" (181); the poor, because they are powerless to defend themselves, are accused of low moral standards (180); in reality, their conscience is at peace (347). Chiefs are reminded of their

duties and obligations (370, 373, 367-369); but some of them are dictators who abuse their power; they are said to "chew water", that is, they are hard-headed and irrational (351); their decisions cannot be appealed and reversed (153 and 159). The poor and lowly, in traditional society, seem to have been people at the bottom of society, with little or no economic and political power. Another point of disagreement between Bemba proverbs and Zambian Humanism concerns sharing and community oriented dedication as opposed to self-interest and egotism. Humanism contends that "the traditional community was a mutual aid society..., individualism was discouraged..., all must act together" (Kaunda 1967:5-60); it was a society "not based on a profit motive, but on service to each other human beings" (Kaunda 1967:35; people were "expected to share" (Kaunda 1968: Feb. 6 Zambia Mail, quoted in Meebelo 1973:35). There are several proverbs about the duty of sharing (203-213), about working with others in cooperation (301-325) and about hospitality (214-232). There are also proverbs which express approval of self-interest and personal satisfaction at times at the detriment of others. Proverbs illustrate that the 'inclusive' family has limits in providing care and food for orphans and poor children who are thin (51) and may eat only when there is some left-over (83). Sharing was part of reciprocal transactions among closely related people, a few neighbours and friends. In any case, sharing was measured proportionately with the other person's contribution (311, 310, 322, 318); misers were treated harshly; the thorn in their feet was not removed but pushed in a little more (317). Several sayings describe egotism as the acceptable behaviour: "your sleep should not be disturbed since it is only your friend's wife who has been caught by the wild animal" (431; 430, 435); "those who are going away, do not gather fire-wood for those who stay" (428) and "people do not leave anything when they go away; they destroy everything" (433); so, the man going away for a few years will destroy his banana plantation; the reason they give is that the man has nobody of his lupwa (family) or mukowa (clan), since he is living in his

wife's village; that person has no obligation whatsoever, which means that sharing occurred among close relatives of the clan. The idealistic viewpoint of Zambian Humanism criticises all the profiteers who should not exist in a humanist society. Proverbs are more apt to accept Man as he is, with the tendencies for self-preservation and self-satisfaction. Proverbs recognise that people do not share with everybody except where inducement to do so is enforced by strong social sanctions or very powerful rewards. Humanism, because it proposes a doctrine for the building of the nation, demands and expects a lot from the people and is in general, more idealistic than proverbs.

Zambian Humanism started as the views and aspirations of a handful of politicians, particularly Kenneth Kaunda. Since its inception, the Zambian ideology has become redundant, rehashing the same ideas; Zambia should be a Man-centred society; Man as the centre of all human concerns; society for Man; a mutual-aid society, an accepting and inclusive community must develop; self-sufficiency; rejection of individualism, colonialism, capitalism and tribalism; humanism is socialism; the one-party state and the participatory democracy are like the traditional system of government; the old and the sick are well cared for; the lazy, the thieves and profiteers should be punished, etc.

This dissertation does not say that both contents of Bemba proverbs and Zambian Humanism are similar and that they are in direct dependence. It is simply mentioned that Zambian Humanism is inspired in many instances by the general values as expressed in the global message of Bemba proverbs, from family life, cooperation, care and respect for the old, perseverance, hospitality, self-reliance, hospitality, foresight, etc. At the same time, it is admitted that there are discrepancies mainly due to the different range of functions and purposes.

F. FUNCTIONS AND PURPOSES

Proverbs act as bonds of unity among the people of the respective tribes and national ideologies aim at unifying the different groups. Proverbs are expressions which are considered very special to a group; the ideas may be nearly universal at times; they can be also unique and typical to a group due to local conditions and linguistic forms. The knowledge and proper use of proverbs may serve as an introduction into the intimacy of the group by the unison of communication and understanding. Usually, only Bemba speakers possess and use Bemba proverbs; few others are willing to learn them. In any conversation, anywhere, the use of proverbs will manifest solidarity and a feeling of belonging.

Zambian Humanism is spread all through Zambia:

"Humanism is propagated in the schools, colleges, armed forces, and diverse public agencies. Besides the intrinsic appeal of its grounding in African traditional, especially rural values, Kaunda's 'Humanism', presented as an indigenous African doctrine, is intended to counter the potentially dangerous effects of foreign ideological competition in Zambia (Sklar 1975:20).

All over Zambia, even in the smallest and remotest village, propagandists, who may be politicians and party officials, explain and glorify Humanism which is presented as being synonymous with Zambia; people are asked to discuss certain topics and express their opinion on how to become Humanists, which is equated with being good Zambians. People seem to agree with the basic ideas and the moral applications; but, they are aware that Humanism is not practiced by the preachers and the people who should be the first to set the example. Humanism is then perceived as a device to force the poor to work hard without evident reward. There are certain proverbs used to criticise leaders or at least make comments: Ubufumu: busheta amenshi (351), chieftainship chews water,

people in authority decide what to do and often use their authority stupidly; umulangishi wa muntu; alapalama (373), the person who directs, leads other people should get near to them and participate in their lives and chores and sufferings (cf. proverbs 349-374). It is true that some Zambians have taken the places of the Europeans, have good jobs, are well off, do not seem to work hard for all they possess, and they do not share. Rural people ask for favours and loans, but what they get are sermons about self-sufficiency and hard work, as described by Dumont:

"Que reste-t-il d'autre à faire dans les villages sans espoir? Aux nombreux groupes rassemblés, nous parlons des deux grands slogans du gouvernement: "Retournez à la terre !" "Augmentez votre production !" Eclat de rire général: "Parlons-en ! Ils nous font rire les gros en Mercedes. Celui du Comité central du Parti qui nous dit de rester au village, il a d'abord emmené toute sa famille—il est d'ici—à Lusaka !" (1980:60).

In spite of that, Humanism is discussed by all Zambians; the same norms, obligations and ideals should apply to all. Whether accepted or rejected, Zambian Humanism plays a role—even if artificial—in creating a sense of nationhood, in making people believe in common traditions, rights, obligations and problems.

Proverbs and ideologies help maintain social order because they are instruments of social control. Proverbs are used to praise, encourage, ridicule and condemn; they indicate the right conduct which is approved by the community. Ideologies also prescribe certain behaviours and censure others. Zambian Humanism attempts to reinstate a social order which existed in traditional societies with the accommodations and modifications to face the constraints of the present. Changes are not embraced gladly unless some advantages are foreseen; there may ensue opposition and rejection from the subjects and pressure to conform from the leaders. On the other hand, proverbs do not insinuate any obligation for change because they affirm what must be done as already endorsed by the community. If a rectification is in order, it is because it was a situation in disaccord with what was already approved by the group. Nobody can spread and impose proverbs; they are there for all to

be used; nobody is really privileged and nobody is immune; a chief can recommend foresight and early work (280-284) and the people can tell him to come see his subjects and work harder too (366-368).

Examples can illustrate the efficacy of proverbs and ideological statements to control behaviours and impose conformity. On occasion, some U.N.I.P. organisers will require the people to provide food, shelter and beer on the basis of humanistic sharing, while their own efforts are limited to intimidation. People can stop a car and tell the driver to bring them to a destination even if the vehicle is already overloaded; to refuse to take them would show a lack of cooperation. The owner of the car can retort that it is anti-humanist not to be self-reliant, and that with self-help one should be able to proceed on one's own steam or, rather, legs; the argument can become heated by reminding would-be riders that they should be at home or in their gardens working hard instead of whiling away the time, loafing and visiting. A person can accuse another of being anti-humanist by not sharing cigarettes; of course, the answer is that everyone who wants to smoke must be self-sufficient and that it is anti-humanist not to be so; a humanist should grow his own tobacco. These cases do not represent the more serious instances of social control, but there is no doubt that certain attitudes and activities are praised and encouraged, while others are frowned upon and denounced. Quoting proverb 340 "the oil that is begged never suffices to cover the whole body", in the above instances, could have diverse effects, like terminating the discussion, arising admiration, or bringing the confrontation to a much more friendly level.

Zambian Humanism strives for the unity and the reconstruction of the nation, political stability, the end of factionalism, equality, hard work, cooperation and improvements in the spiritual and material lives of all. Proverbs for their part pronounce decisions on personal actions affecting the community, dealing with both the general and the particular in an absolute manner. Both proverbs and ideologies are advisors and regulators of conduct. If proverbs

are mostly equalisers, counsellors and moderators, ideologies are mainly stimulators, activators and innovators.

G. ORIGIN AND CREATION

Why do societies have proverbs and national ideologies? How can it be explained that some societies have thousands of proverbs and others very few?:

"It remains a mystery, moreover, why some civilisations are rich in proverbs and others are not. Why did the Incas, the Mayans and nearly all the Indian tribes of North America produce such a meager crop of proverbs, when the Spaniards, the Samoans, the Arabs and the Chinese were minting them by the thousands? The answers must await further exploration of the greatest mystery of all: the processes of the mind" (Time. March 14, 1969).

The same question can be raised about ideologies. Societies often give themselves ideologies in periods of crisis including wars, conquests, dominations and other kinds of threats, interior or exterior, real or fabricated. In most cases, ideologies serve to rebuild, revitalise, reorganise and save a nation from assimilation or destruction. Ideologies appear to be among the stronger means of rebuilding societies (Wallace 1966:157-166 and 209-210; Johnson 1968:78; Bendix 1964:297). It may be that every society must possess some forms of communication where norms, values, world-views and beliefs give meaning to their social system.

At first, it appears that proverbs and national ideologies are created differently. The author or authors of modern ideologies are known; there may be one principal author or a few collaborators who shared ideas, experiences and, usually, suffering. Together with their predecessors, they understood, in some particular way, the conditions they lived in and formulated new explanations which suggested solutions and remedies to ameliorate human existence. On the other hand, the origin of proverbs is clothed with uncertainty. It is hypothesised that a proverb was pronounced by one person, while others may have adjusted the wording and corrected its meaning if

necessary. It could be that one person phrased a sentence which made sense and could be repeated without effort. It is possible that a saying would be used for some time before obtaining a better symmetry and pronounceability. At least among Bemba speakers, it is inconceivable to imagine people who would be proverb makers or composers; people questioned about that laughed at the idea. It could be suggested that some people would have more talent to coin some happy expressions which would later be repeated and then accepted by the community. Along with proverbs, there are normative practices which have no known authors: who started a matrilineal residence? who decided that the clan (mukowa) name would be transmitted matrilineally? Similarly, most ideological doctrines become anonymous with the passing of time. At some period in time, the community seems to assimilate the authors and their creations to make them its own. Furthermore, it seems that the question of creation and authorship becomes important only with literacy. In most oral compositions, no authorship is claimed or attributed to someone in particular, as in the case for legends, myths, songs and proverbs. (Comparable observations can be made about folk songs and folk tunes; musical compositions are attributed to specific authors with the practice of musical notation). Authorship receives special attention when books are written and must be attributed to someone famous, like the Pentateuch to Moses, the Psalms to David and the Proverbs to Solomon, although it is very difficult to demonstrate who actually composed all or part of those narrations, songs and poetic works. Oral works are not confined to the 'known' compositions, but exist 'alive' through the singers, performers and reciters who re-produce and re-create them. Oral compositions can be modified, simplified and expanded according to the dispositions of the performer and the audience; the general impression is that some oral compositions belong to everybody, or that it was given by some ancestor or learned from some divinity or spirit. In some cases, probably because of the danger of distortion, societies will decree that songs, prayers and myths must be memorised perfectly and recited word for word

to have the desired effect. In civilisations of orality, the need for powerful controls through cohesion and shared contributions surpasses the value and recognition of individual talent. Civilisations of scripturality, even when they glorify individuals, apparently cannot tolerate the situation of appearing to be directed and controlled by mere humans; the compositions will in effect be attributed to supra-natural beings who used the 'human authors' more as messengers and scribes than creators. The true author is a deity; the humans are intermediaries, transcriptors and prophets. It seems that the influence and importance of human authorship are increased by 'scripturality' with its individual character. Societies must intervene to determine what is sacred, divine and unchangeable. Important, indeed, essential oral works and written messages must be under the control of the collectivity which hardly cares about individual 'authors' even the inspired ones; what is of supreme importance is collective control under special and divine guidance and assistance.

It seems easier to determine the creation of Humanism than to determine the authorship of Bemba proverbs, although a closer examination will reveal similarities of origin. First, the fundamental inspiration for both emanates from the traditions of the people. Second, national ideologies like Humanism are, to a certain extent, reactions to violent exterior forces which have threatened the specific characters of their societies; they are fabricated by authors who were familiar with the situations of privation and stagnation, and could envisage solutions. In other words, national ideologies are modern sayings, created in an opportune way to assure continuity and adaptations to changes. Proverbs, are created 'organically'; this process does not possess mechanisms so that proverbs can respond to sudden external influences as ideologies do; proverbs develop with a problem and its solution. Ideologies face the problem with a solution. Finally, proverbs and ideologies are submitted to similar controls of popular acceptance in response to needs. It is the society which controls, accepts, and sanctions both ideologies and proverbs that fulfil the requirements for development and permanence.

H. ACCEPTANCE

Acceptance means the process by which a society initiates, assents to, believes in ideas and world-views presented in myths, ideologies, proverbs, etc.

Proverbs are received when their content is consonant with the attitudes, beliefs and customs of a society, and when their form is agreeable. They become formulae which are added to the body of expressions concerning norms and values. Oral expressions can be sanctioned to the point where their form takes such precedence over the content, that their meaning and efficacy depend on exact recitation; any mistake in the reproduction of the form can eliminate the effect and can be deleterious to the performers and auditors alike. The message, once approved and specified exactly by the community, is dependent on the words and elocution. It would seem that originally, these songs, proverbs and ritual formulae came into existence because of a happy union between content and form which led to their formal acceptance; both content and form were important. It would seem that some institutions like ritual performances and songs must be preserved from individual innovation. Once the general meaning has been determined, the proper sequence of words and exact enunciation are all that matters, and societies do not have to worry about personal interpretations and additions.

Ideologies, even when required by the needs of a society, must receive some approval; this affords the conservative forces of the group some time for reflexion and adjustment to accommodate to the proposed changes. Ideologies appear at first as experiments in which the community is asked to cooperate under many different manners of influence from charismatic leaders, physical force, proposals of material benefits or eternal life. A new ideology develops and grows with its acceptance. An ideology may be sanctioned by the community as a whole, even if some segments of the population rejects it. With time, the ideology may become one standard form of

directions, a set of basic principles which control the life of the community. With both proverbs and ideologies, it is the people who ultimately acquiesce to, confirm, tolerate, sanction, ignore and discard them.

Another problem which concerns the acceptance of proverbs and ideologies is the question of belief; how do people believe? what is the evidence of belief? how can belief be observed? Needham has indicated that "reporting what people believe in, the inner state of individuals" is an impossible task. First, there is no consensus as to what belief is and comprises. Second, what people do does not necessarily correspond to what they believe in, and what they believe in cannot be correctly demonstrated by their actions. The act of belief is a multi-sequential act: first an act of will to consider the proposition, second an effort to study and understand, and finally another act of will to accept or reject what has been understood. Some statements can be understood and comprehended but will be rejected because they conflict with other beliefs and are perceived intuitively as false or faulty. Humanism is supposed to be "a true reflexion of the thinking of all our people—that is, of our society as a whole. Humanism in terms of policies implies that the only safe repository of power is the people themselves" (Kaunda 1974:xv). But, Humanism is mostly a conception of the situation of Zambia as envisaged by Kaunda, with his friends and advisors. Even if it originates and develops in the middle of Zambian needs and aspirations, Humanism as presented officially, must be considered, studied and accepted. Few people disagree with the general doctrinal statements concerning a united Zambia, the establishment of the Man-centred society and obligations like sharing and working together. But the abstract belief in principles does not suffice; actions and accomplishments must follow, otherwise the validity of belief is disputed. At first sight, it appears that Humanism is an object of belief but not of action. Furthermore, people can accomplish what Humanism asks for, without believing in it; they may be inspired by some other reasons or motives. Actually, the belief in an

ideology, its acceptance and the results observed remain difficult to evaluate, because success and failure in the spiritual and moral development of a society cannot be related with certainty to precise causes or definite origins.

Important discrepancies between Bemba proverbs and Humanism must be indicated. Proverbs are proverbs because they are accepted and popularised and consequently used; if they were not accepted, they would not begin to exist; if they are no longer used at all they become knowledge of some old people and experts. An ideology, on the other hand, can be invented, disseminated in many different manners by the authority of leaders and the power of the government. The leaders can pursue the establishment of their ideas and ideals and try to impose them on the people through propaganda and coercion. **Zambian Humanism**—according to reports from missionaries who have worked in rural areas and authors like Dumont—is not accepted in any practical way which would enable to operate betterment of the Zambian condition. Formerly, Bemba proverbs used to be taught in the 'nsaka' (open rest hut) by men to small and young boys. People believed in those sayings which were accepted as official statements. Even to-day, proverbs are not dismissed lightly, although they are used less frequently. In comparison, most leaders do not believe in Zambian Humanism, except in an official manner and if it serves them right. The sharing, self-reliance and hard work are mainly for the peasants and the other poor. The elites of Lusaka and other mining towns carry on with their enjoyment of luxury articles while malnutrition is rampant (Cf. Dumont 1980:47, 89-91). The aim of most is reaching the state of what is perceived as the English civilisation with a car, a mansion, several servants and lots of sun-down parties. Kaunda himself admits that Humanism is not accepted positively (cf. Kaunda 1974:110 and here page 139); elsewhere, he states that "many of us still only pay lip-service to the philosophy"; few are committed to the practice of Humanism in their daily lives (1974: 130). The atmosphere of the nation is stifled by an air of fatalism caused by greed. The international community will help. Meanwhile,

an observer like Dumont can point out that the country as a whole is sinking in ever deeper moral defeatism:

"Certains commencent à s'interroger, les gens ne savent plus où ils en sont; ceux des villes comme ceux des campagnes sont désorientés. Et le moral est bas. "Il n'y a pas d'atmosphère", gémissent les fonctionnaires—dont certains sont excellents—qui dès lors se réfugient dans l'apathie et se soucient plus de leur bien-être et de leur famille que de l'intérêt national. A quoi bon? Ils savent que quoi qu'ils fassent, ça ne redressera pas la situation que seule une ferme volonté politique peut améliorer. "Pourquoi se serrer la ceinture tandis que d'autres la desserrent?" (1980:87).

I. RESULTS

There is the tendency to gauge the acceptance and value of an ideology by some of its alleged effects. Since ideologies are predominantly in the domain of the ideal-spiritual-normative, their results should be of the same dimension, that is immaterial, estimable but hardly measurable. In truth, there is no satisfactory method to calculate the amount or degree of belief in a doctrine, theory or ideology, and no possibility of correlating with any precision belief and material actions or physical events. For instance, Roman Catholics have series of dogmas to believe in which should include specific practices; the Catholic Hierarchy has attempted to reckon the number of believers by the number of sacraments received—baptism, communions, confirmations and marriages. Can they label as 'unbelievers' the Catholics who take birth-control pills? Such measurements should be only for the sake of statistics because there is no procedure to calculate the number of believers and the amount of faith possessed by each member. Similarly, evaluations of ideology are not conducted on the value of principles and ideal in themselves, but on material achievements.

Since proverbs by the thousands do not exist in every society, where they exist, they must have a function; the same remark could be expressed about national ideologies. When proverbs are used, the results are multiple and include pleasure, surprise, change of behaviour and the end of an argument. Presently, proverbs like

other local institutions of the Bemba are partly immersed in the effort of nation building. It is possible that, on the national level, Bemba proverbs inspire the reflexions and propositions of the formulators of Humanism, but along with proverbs in other languages and possibly legends and customs. In public meetings, proverbs are used very frequently; no Bemba speaker would deliver a public speech without quoting several proverbs. Among village people, proverbs are used mostly by older people and educated persons, while in the Copperbelt area, a kind of Bemba lingua franca, with many English words and expressions, is very popular; proverbs are seldom used since too many people do not have a good grasp of Bemba.

Zambian Humanism is still being spread, taught and discussed. Fifteen years of existence may be old as far as ideologies go, but young for the building of a nation. As suggested previously, there is no adequate method to circumscribe, localise and identify mental, spiritual and emotional items; people cannot specify the amount and size of their feelings. If a basic theme like national unity is considered, it is possible to observe that great efforts were made towards its realisation. It cannot be demonstrated that the Baushi love the Ngoni, but in most places people seem to accept each other as Zambians with far more tolerance than in 1960 for instance. Even in Bemba strongholds like Mufulila, some housing sections are 'integrated' and people mix quite freely with much less animosity than they did before independence (1964). Often people will discuss the fact that they should all call themselves Zambians and no longer Lozi or Lala. There is still power play between groups for government power positions and tribal animosity which could lead to serious conflicts, as it does in Canada, Yugoslavia and many other countries with much longer political life as unified nations. Furthermore, the achievements of Zambian Humanism must be put in perspective: there remain obstacles to surmount like the lingering adverse effects of colonialism and subjection, technical ignorance, habits of servitude, and the loss and lack of responsibility, interest, self-respect and identity (Kaunda 1966:50-52). Even Dumont (1980:46-115) does not

refer to that situation and consequently does not take it into account at all. But, how long does it take for a colonised nation to recover from personal and social suffocation? A good example can be seen in Canada where the Québécois have been subjected to about two hundred years of rather mild semi-colonialism (compared to African nations); it is only in the last decade or so that they have recovered enough to emerge from their lethargy and assume their identity (or some of it), resume the actualisation of 'near-free' people and produce in the cultural and economic domains. How much more affected were and are the Zambians. Ideologies whether officially proposed or presented as aggregates of ideas, norms and actions affecting many aspects of life, are essential to the re-birth of colonised and subjugated nations if only to build up feelings of being standard citizens and human beings who belong to a group with responsibility and pride. That revival and renewal is often imperceptible and could take generations before being observable. This does not belittle the necessity, rather, the essentiality of technical and economic programmes, far from it. But unless culturally destroyed peoples re-animate their existence by the re-discovery of their 'soul', giving meaning to their lives, they are doomed to a long stagnation.

Few authors discuss the inherent value of the ideal-spiritual-normative ideals of Humanism preferring to evaluate economic accomplishments in Zambia. It is true that booklets on Zambian Humanism often contain a section on 'implementation' which is presented as proceeding from idealistic-moral affirmations. The position taken here in this dissertation is that there are no necessary links between the ideal principles and the proposed implementations which are best understood as corollaries. The Soviet Union's five year plans do not flow directly from Communism and still less from Marxism and must make concessions to human and natural conditions; otherwise, why would there be any difference between the economic programmes of East Germany and China? Besides, there are aspects like long term improvements and moral considerations which must not be forgotten. Apter affirms that some progress can be made which

is not readily apparent:

"A country may decide to concentrate its resources on building up its educational infrastructure or a suitable network of roads, ports, communications, or other facilities that will guarantee industrial opportunities in the future. Such forms of investment do not indicate 'growth' over the short run, but a country that boasts such improvements is 'getting richer' (1977:457).

Most evaluations of economic development, growth and success are measured from Western standards. The estimates bear on material efficiency, emulation, monopolisation and accumulation of goods which are proofs of success. Such evaluations imply that productivity is more important than family affairs. What is called patronage, nepotism and conflict of interest in the West, may be respect of kinship values in some regions of Africa:

"In African countries where national wealth is meagre and governments inefficient, and where personal, kinship and communal honour stands above service to an abstract and often unknown 'public interest', it scarcely seems surprising that patronage, nepotism, and other personal-particularistic forms of reciprocity should persist between public officials and their relatives and supporters (Jackson 1973:396).

"Car la morale africaine condamne plus sévèrement celui qui refuse d'aider sa famille que celui qui, notamment dans ce but, vole l'Etat" (Dumont et Mazoyer 1969:123).

Several social scientists stress the need for moral values and human ideals in the development of societies:

"Le rôle du facteur moral dans le développement nous semble sous-estimé par certains sociologues, comme par des économistes libéraux, qui souvent le nient... L'homme n'agit pas seulement en fonction de ses intérêts à court terme, cette conception d'un matérialisme étroit paraît beaucoup trop sommaire" (Dumont et Mazoyer 1969:69).

"In the end, it is widely seen today, all material advances are pointless unless they preserve the meanings by which men live, or provide satisfactory substitutes for the old meanings" (Berger 1974:167; cf. Tordoff 1974:371; Shils 1968:75; Geertz 1973:228-229).

Zambian Humanism cannot be gauged with accuracy as long as political, economic and historical constraints and obstacles are not identified and reckoned with, and as long as time and success are not evaluated

in African terms: "Let the West have its Technology and Asia its Mysticism! Africa's gift to world culture must be in the realm of Human Relationships" (Kaunda 1966:22; cf. p. 66). Appraisal of African ideologies should be directed towards the goals hoped for by African themselves. In fact, Zambian Humanism may have accomplished some positive results in spite of many shortcomings as summarised by Tordoff:

"The institutionalisation of these basic values of Zambian Humanism (the importance of each individual human being, his welfare, communal cooperation, social betterment and national security, etc.) has already been taken some way. Democratic forms have been preserved and local control over the economy increased, while some social inequalities have been removed. Steps have also been taken to bridge the rural-urban gap. But the importance of Humanism is not just that it has provided the guidelines within which improvements in the quality of life may take place. Humanism has also led Zambians to begin questioning themselves about the kind of society they want" (Tordoff 1974:371).

At the same time—and eight years later—it must be mentioned that observable facts point to results, which are clearly negative, that is, Zambian Humanism did not accomplish most of what it set itself to do, at least in the domain of material improvements for the 'common man'. It seems that people, in Bemba areas, used to eat better in 1948 and in 1964, than they do now, even if there were always some variations in quantity and quality of the foods, according to regions and years. (Cf. here, p. 274; Richards 1939: x, xi, 34-37; Dumont 1980:48, 60-64). Dumont affirms that the rural population of Zambia is more or less famished: "La majorité de la population zambienne est plus ou moins sous-alimentée et les gosses de Zambie meurent de malnutrition" (1980:47). Two missionaries—who have just returned from Zambia (May 1981) and must remain anonymous—told me that everything is going bad in Zambia: all the cooperatives have stopped operation, the agricultural segment is neglected, the roads in many rural areas are impassable, schools and dispensaries have no materials. In this Dumont concurs completely (1980:53-57, 62-64, 80-82). What is more tragic, is that Zambia appears to be morally and socially sick:

"La Zambie est malade, économiquement et socialement. Même si elle paie très cher le prix des principes à l'extérieur, elle est à l'intérieur devenue une société sans idéal autre que le profit immédiat..."

"Jamais en Zambie on ne rencontre la fierté d'être africain,... Société à la dérive. Comment changer radicalement tout cela? (Dumont 1980:110 and 111; cf. here p. 398).

To sum up with Pettman, Zambia is a land of frustration, and Humanism has not succeeded to any significant degree:

"Thus a vast gap between aspiration and capacity remained. A continuing and compound sense of frustration, vulnerability and impotence led to a growing reliance upon force at home, and to moves towards a one-party state. The achievement of such a state was hindered by the failure of Humanism as a mobilisation ideology, by the conflicts within UNIP, and by the variety and seriousness of other divisions within Zambia at large" (1975: 235 and 236).

J. PROVERBS, IDEOLOGIES AND LANGUAGE.

Zambians have been declaring 'One Zambia, One Nation' for about twenty years with the persistent hope of becoming 'a people and not a population'. They have never been heard to shout 'One Zambia, One Language'. Possibly, the Zambians realised that the linguistic question was not of immediate urgency and that the foreign language used in the Administration and Business was of world significance and not in direct competition with any Zambian language. There is some rivalry between groups especially when it comes to attempts made at imposing one language in some areas; for instance, in Kabwe (formerly Broken Hill), Bemba speakers try to promote their language as official language as do the Tonga and Cewa speakers with their own language. If the important national language like Bemba, Tonga, Cewa and Lozi may strive for influence in certain urban areas, there has been no serious effort to supplant English as the official language of the nation. English is the second language of the great majority of Zambians, but most of them cannot identify with it as a psychologically immediate language (Geertz 1973:242). Zambian Humanism in its official version is in English. Since ideologies are intimately linked with languages, this creates a problem.

Even for the elite who are conversant with English, Humanism might not be perceived as congenial, intimate, second-nature or attractive enough to be received 'with immediacy'. Furthermore, what about the translation of the major themes of Humanism into local languages? Can the concepts be adequately translated to carry the connotations and inspirations that the proper choice of words can have? What remains of the official doctrine once it is diluted into local languages:

"Et l'on peut se demander si, en Zambie par exemple, il reste grand chose de commun entre la pensée politique 'humaniste' de Kaunda lui-même et la manière dont elle est répercutée au niveau des provinces" (Benot I, 1975:108).

It is also possible that the politicians and elite are, on occasion, on a different level of abstraction when it comes to questions of achievement and needs. This different level of abstraction is more important than a semantic difficulty. (Cf. Converse 1964:231; Benot I, 1975:113). If Kaunda writes in a rather simple and clear English, commentators like Meebelo and Kandeke do not shy away from a sophisticated terminology for the satisfaction of the elite (Cf. Benot I, 1975:30-36). There is no doubt that great efforts should be made to adapt theoretical abstractions to local conditions using local languages. (Cf. Hountondji 1977:237, 245, 250-251). For instance, Humanism in Bemba becomes either Ubuntu (the essence of Man) or Ubwanyina (the essence of dividing and sharing between one another). Ubuntu means 'humanity' and in itself does not imply any theory or doctrine; the ideal that Man must be the central concern of all activities, before human institutions and theories, and above all programmes, has not been interpreted correctly in Bemba. Traditional and local practices and world-views must be used as a starting point to explain these concepts. Expressions like lupwa lumu (one family) for the whole of Zambia, and bantu besu (our people) for all Zambians are borrowed from the clan and extended to the nation to signify that all Zambians are relatives, like relatives of one clan (mukowa). Formerly, the expression Bonse Pamo (all together) was used to mean Humanism, but most of the time, people in Bembaland thought it meant all the Bemba together, and the Bemba only.

Since proverbs and ideologies depend on the proper formulation, symmetry and figures of speech, more emphasis should be given to the importance of words and their capacity to move and convince when one is formulating them. The message may be enhanced by the right combination of words and sounds; often, it is not the message, but the medium which creates better communicability and acceptance of the attempt at persuasion. The value of sounds like the appreciation of the rhythmical continuity in words and in the beat of drums varies from culture to culture; it would be interesting to study comparable patterns of sounds for possible similarities. Lévi-Strauss cites the example of the Hungarian who could visualise the vowels as follows: i, white; e, yellow; é, dark yellow; a, beige; o, navy blue; and u, red as fresh blood (1958:105). He could also have quoted the verses of Rimbaud in his poem 'Voyelles':

"A noir, E blanc, I rouge, U vert, O bleu; voyelles,
Je dirai quelque jour vos naissances latentes".

Only 'o' is blue for both the Hungarian and Rimbaud. If some people like poets can visualise individual phonemes and describe them, it could be because they are in a civilisation of literacy, where vision is of prime importance. However, the auditory effect of vowels is as important as their visual effect. Emphasis on visual effect is supported by the terminology to depict 'seen objects', sights and scenes which uses words such as 'visualise', 'envision', 'picture', 'view', 'see in the mind's eye', etc. In contrast, it is difficult to verbalise (at least in English and French) the process of recalling sounds and playing them back in the 'mind's ear'. People hear all kinds of sounds in their minds, from noises to music tunes, but there seems to be no specific word like 'auditorise' or 'auralise', and generic terms like 'conceive' and 'bring back to mind' must be used. That reproduction of sounds in the mind may be facilitated by special groups of sounds which makes it easier to repeat and memorise phrases with special emotional and intellectual effects. If words are arbitrary signs a priori, they can hardly be arbitrary a posteriori: in the conceptualisation of the users of a language, words, because of

a connotative force between sounds and meanings carry intuitive signification. Slogans, proverbs and verses take on added meanings because of the use of certain words and their combination. Frenchmen recite Lamartine's verses and speak of softness, fluidity, movement, melancholy, while Germans might recognise none of that. People in Rome could be aroused to loud applause and tears, love and hatred, sacrifice and devotion by the speeches of Mussolini which expressed nothing new and contained no profound ideas; for some, they were forceful allocutions, and for others, vicious harangues. Ideologues of all kinds, from politicians to preachers, present their messages knowing quite well that the formulation and delivery of the oration are of great consequence. The value of sounds and their arbitrariness have been studied by Lévi-Strauss (1958:230-231). He points out that phonemes make sense only in combination, in relation with each other: "it is the combination of sounds, not the sounds in themselves, which provides the significant data" (in Lessa Vogt 1979:187). This could be true not only for series of syllables, but series of words. Lévi-Strauss goes on to say that sounds are unrelated to meaning: "Everybody will agree to the Saussurean principle of the arbitrary character of the linguistic signs as a prerequisite for the acceding of linguistics to the scientific level" (ibidem p. 187). The scientific level does not provide explanation as to the relationship between sounds and their significance. What is learned is the mechanical arrangement of phonemes and syllables. It does not explain at all why, in certain occasions, users of a language will prefer a certain sequence of sounds to another. Still, Lévi-Strauss acknowledges the value of sounds by admitting that poetry cannot be translated, and the reason, which he does not give, would be that sounds in themselves impart a meaning which is different from and above the content itself. At the same time, he says that, for myths, sounds are totally unimportant and that any version and translation will do:

"Myth is the part of language where the formula 'traduttore, tradittore' reaches its lowest truth-value. From that point of view it should be put in the whole gamut of linguistic expressions at the end opposite to that of poetry, in spite of

all the claims which have been made to prove the contrary. Poetry is a kind of speech which cannot be translated except at the cost of serious distortions; whereas the mythical value of the myth remains preserved, even through the worst translation... It (myth) does not lie in its style, its original music, or its syntax, but in the story which it tells (In Lessa-Vogt 1979:188; 1958:232).

It is probably true that in translation some of the "mythical value of the myth remains preserved". However, one fact must not be overlooked: for years, if not centuries, those myths were passed on orally with linguistic manoeuvres such as alliteration, assonance, repetition and figures of speech to impress people and help them memorise the story. If any translation or version suffices to reveal the ideas and some of their structural arrangement, it represents an exclusively mental operation devoid of all sensorial activities. Translated myths may mean something to Lévi-Strauss, but they could mean very little to people who have known those stories in a certain form and have memorised their particular sequences of words. By ignoring the forms of myth, the combinations of sounds and sentences, the rhythm and symmetry, Lévi-Strauss may have neglected a very important element in their total comprehension. Proverbs and ideologies, because they are prose and poetry, cannot be understood and felt completely in translations. They are like the expression used by Lévi-Strauss: 'traduttore, traditore' which does not seem to signify the same thing as translator-traitor, or 'traducteur-traître'. Moreover, tight logical statements of facts and rational arguments do not suffice to persuade people. People do not operate by intelligence alone and the content of a proverb or some ideological statements must not only be in accord with the thoughts and desires of the people, it must also be formulated in a way which will interest, strike their imagination and help them memorise the formulae. A thorough study of the power of words and sounds, the rhythm and symmetry of phrases, and their delivery would be necessary to explore all the relationships between proverbs and ideologies and their influence over humans.

From general observation and appearance, it would seem that Zambian Humanism has not been very successful yet, at least if compared to other ideologies. Nazism, for instance, was far more successful during its main period of existence. "How could the German people have lent support to a movement with an ideology as brutal and authoritarian as that of the Nazis" (Converse 1964:253)? It is too simple to put the blame on the brutal methods of a sick man and a few henchmen. The sick man was applauded and obeyed by a majority in Germany. According to Dorson, the Nazis used folklore, rural values and peasant qualities of old to establish the German spirit of fortitude:

"The Nazis' use of folklore involved and interwove nationalism, politics and ideology. As a nationalistic strategy, folklore would restore the old peasant values of community bonds being weakened by urban impersonality; hence political folklorists sought to reverse the trend of migration from country to city. Hitler considered the 'preservation of our folkdom' dependent upon the preservation of the peasantry... Ideology underscored the special heroic qualities of the fighting German peasant, qualities needed to expand Germany's political boundaries in the drive for 'living space'" (1968-69).

Another example can be taken from the successful development of Japan which evolved into an industrial nation within the shell of traditional culture. Religion and education, community and family, found their natural and practical expression in the state" (Apter 1964:24). They built and maintained identity and solidarity within the bonds of mythical history, the cult to the Emperor, loyalty, familial and national harmony:

"Theirs is an explicitly traditionalist ideology, embodying instrumental ends, that was deliberately employed to make the identity and solidarity problems simpler... Nationalism in Japan was able to do what socialism in the developing areas could not do: to serve its functional purposes while transmitting a scientific temper" (Apter 1964:26).

Feudal discipline, hard work and modest remuneration, will and intelligence, patriotic mystique, unity of language, beliefs and aspirations, national devotion, all contributed to the Japanese Miracle (Cf. Dumont 1966:19-20; Welch 1967:69-90). These examples are

not quoted in view of condoning abuses of crimes, but to illustrate the force national ideologies acquire by being based on folklore and traditional values.

Bemba proverbs as a body of world-views, norms and moral directives constituted the basis for a general ideology; it united the Bemba as a nation and gave them meaning and inspirations. The Bemba are now one people with several other peoples in Zambia, and it is the Zambia of all Zambians which needs meaning expressed in ideals and purposes. Zambian Humanism is trying to continue, with the necessary accommodations, to provide all Zambians with ideological explanations, directives and motivation as existed in Bemba proverbs for the Bemba. Zambian Humanism might not be as powerful and functioning as Zambians and observers would like it to be; still, there is hope that the effort at finding inspirations and directions will succeed in the future:

"It is clear that ideologies which do not seem operative in practice must not be discounted by the observer on that account. Today's ideology, no matter how seemingly irrelevant, may be tomorrow's reality. Culture, after all, provides the vocabulary of the self-fulfilling prophecy. If people do not organise the way they say they do, perhaps they are simply waiting for the opportunity to do so. We must surely attend to what people do, but we must not neglect what they say, for what they say might indicate what they will do next" (Salzman 1978:633-634).

CONCLUSIONS

This is a study based on the belief that an ideology would help to develop Zambia socially and economically, rallying Bemba, Ngoni, Lozi, Tonga and even Whites, and succeed in satisfying the basic needs of everyone: if a national ideology could exist and be functional, it would help in the growth and development of a nation. (Cf. Harris 1979:72).

This is a research made with the desire that it could be useful to Zambians themselves. Zambian Humanism and proverbs interest many people; a critique with suggestions for the improvement of the ideological doctrine could be beneficial.

This thesis is based on my intuitive perception (confirmed at times by the proponents of Humanism) that the national ideology was inspired by local beliefs and practices, and possibly on Bemba proverbs as one source of traditional ideas.

Finally, this dissertation postulates that humans impart some spiritual significance to the physical elements of their lives by creating particular symbolic schemes which give meaning to their existence. (Cf. Sahlins 1976:xii-xi; Berger 1974:11 and 37). In other words, humans perceive and interpret realities in a culturally specific manner with a distinctive cognitive and emotive configuration of values. Those particular interpretations of the world are made up of beliefs, values and norms which are expounded in religious doctrines and rituals, philosophical teachings, legends, proverbs, laws and customs. At times, societies will give themselves ideologies, general or specific, to answer some needs. General ideologies are statements which teach and prescribe the society's desired state and describe the required behaviours to accomplish it. Basically, this dissertation is concerned about ideologies, what they are, how they come to exist and how they operate. In order to investigate that, two forms of ideologies were examined, Zambian Humanism and Bemba proverbs; they were compared and related to delineate similarities

which might validate the claim that Zambian Humanism is not a metamorphosis or a drastic innovation, but a 'passage', a re-establishment, with modifications, of the former tribal systems of values which worked in the past and could work in the present.

The following findings appear to be the most relevant:

A. Definitions and descriptions were proposed to elucidate the problem and facilitate the discussion.

1. A proverb was described as a concise statement about some moral, philosophical, common-sensical, emotional fact that has some general or specific value for the people who have accepted and popularised it; it tends to be arranged in a harmonious and symmetric form which seems to attract attention and facilitate pronounceability, memorisation, retention and recall. The content of proverbs must be significant to the people using them, even if they appear platitudinous or pointless to outsiders. They are ideological sentences which include general opinions, attitudes, recommendations and prescriptions of proper behaviour for nearly every aspect of life, from family relations to political positions. They are associated with civilisations of orality with the speak-listen-ear complex in which the performance and the face-to-face situation are essential.
2. The discussion on ideology suggests that any theory and doctrine, even after demonstration and understanding, must be accepted and believed in. After the assent to the ideology takes place, another decision must be made before that ideology is put into practice. Ideologies can be called general and national when they affect every social institution like politics, economics, morality, religion, etc.; they are specific when they concern one domain of human activity, for instance, religion.
3. 'Traditional' does not mean only qualities, characteristics and customs of the past, real or glorified, but 'passés'; it refers also to the authentic, the true, the non-imposed, the non-European. In several cases, 'traditional' should be replaced by local,

referring to beliefs and norms which are held responsible for the good functioning of pre-colonial societies and which should be re-activated as driving forces for the present.

4. 'Spiritual' is used in opposition to and in conjunction with 'material'. It is the locally and specifically intelligent and emotive way of perceiving, understanding, feeling, organising and hoping; it is not only religious, mental or ideal; it is all that which is expressed in symbolic representations to satisfy man's needs for understanding his life.

B. The core of the dissertation consists of a collection of Bemba proverbs and an outline of Zambian Humanism.

1. The proverbs were carefully scrutinised over several years to discover their frequency of use, meanings and roles. The selection contains the proverbs which are well known and frequently used. It is my contention that proverbs are not separate entities, but constitute an integrated body of information, which can characterise the fundamental values and norms of a group. The advent of urbanisation (by bringing people of different groups together) and literacy are having an adverse effect on proverb usage which contrasts with their continued use in rural areas. This body of proverbs may serve not only as a repository of ideological statements, but as inspiration to study and employ forms and features of local wisdom.

2. Zambian Humanism is presented from documents and speeches of Kaunda and commentators particularly Zulu, Meebelo and Kandeke. Zambian Humanism tries to instil the traditional values of the rural communities and adapt them to a market economy, a nation of many groups under one political system.

C. The comparisons and relationships between proverbs and Humanism reveal general agreement between them in content, at least on several issues.

1. The fundamental principles of Humanism are expressed in several proverbs:

- a. God is the master of all living things (16,17).
- b. Man is the centre of society; Man for the community and the community for Man (203, 250-252).
- c. Work in cooperation; sharing (301-339).
- d. Hard work and self-sufficiency (233-244).
- e. Perseverance (246-279).
- f. Early and provident work (280-295).
- g. Duties of leaders (363-366; 374).
- h. Respect for elders (90, 143, 139).
- i. Many moral values including kindness (381-388), courage (392-395), condemnation of egotism (428-433) and theft (408-410), loyalty and patriotism (19 and 20), hospitality (214-232), conversation (190-195).

Proverbs can make concrete declarations because they deal with real life situations, the appropriate reactions to which have already been decided and approved; ideologies propose what should be done in an ideal future rather than what can be done in a real present. In fact, this similarity might or might not affect the actual acceptance of Humanism. The links could be more 'natural' than causal, that is, the continuation and adaptation of some basic values in a changing cultural system. At the same time, the fact that some of those themes can be found in most ideologies and possibly in proverbs of other languages would not invalidate the suggestion that there are legitimate relationships between Bemba proverbs and Humanism, although this cannot be demonstrated from the data of this dissertation.

2. Zambia exists and must do so as one nation. The primary aim of Zambian Humanism appears to be the unification of some seventy-three groups and sub-groups under one flag. Although it is difficult to evaluate the effects of ideologies on behaviour, one can observe, for instance, that the Lozi of Barotseland speak less often of separation, and that the Bemba are slowly accepting the fact that others in Zambia

are Zambians. There are examples of tribalism, factionalism and provincialism as in Spain and Canada, but in general, it seems that Zambians are less divided than before Independence. It is not possible to demonstrate that Zambian Humanism is directly responsible for that state of affairs which could be linked with the personality and influence of Kaunda, the fear of invasion by neighbouring states, the unifying interests of the Copperbelt, etc. More and more, people call themselves Zambians and have greater opportunity to work outside their region, and mixed populations are found in the smallest centres.

3. The objectives of hard work, sharing, self-reliance, providence and the reduction in stealing, begging and parasitism do not seem to have been achieved to any estimable degree. The two daily newspapers contain the same discussion about and denunciation of Zambian 'vices'. It is not the principles of Humanism which are implicated, but the lack of earnest personal participation in and implementation of its obligations. When Zambian Humanism requires sacrifice of personal energies, privileges and benefits, it has not proved a success. Unless an ideology is strong and operative, it cannot tilt the balance on the side of sacrifice when confronted with the option of personal well-being and enjoyment. In spite of examples of cooperation, sharing and hard work in the building of rural schools, roads and dispensaries, the cases of devotion for the common good are too few to proclaim widespread adoption of Humanism when it involves no personal advantage. It is possible that the damage wrought by colonialism is such that it has deprived Zambians of initiative and interest, an impact that will last many years before being reversed by the comprehension and application of the ideals and programmes of Humanism.

4. The results of Humanism are often evaluated in terms of material accomplishments like poor agricultural output, continued influence and power of multinationals, meagre success of the parastatals, and shortages of foods and commodities. For instance, comparisons can be made between 1964 and 1981 to substantiate the

frequent absences (not only shortages) of soap, cooking oil, canned food, powdered milk, shoes and maize flour which occur now. Explanations that include drought, difficulties with the former Rhodesia, population increase and the elimination of the exploitative farmers are cited; however, it seems that Humanism did not prevent bad planning and worse administration that are the causes of shortages. Furthermore, the ideal-spiritual-normative aspects of Humanism could be linked much more closely with specific and practicable implementations that hold some immediate or near-immediate forms of reward. Zambians, especially in Bemba speaking areas, suffered during the pre-independence years; but they could foresee an important reward, independence. Now, constraints and privations are exacted with the vision of 'One Zambia-One Nation', or the destruction of 'enemies', both long-term goals. People would be better motivated by short term rewards including food to-day and money at the end of the month.

5. Although there is no specific genre for ideologies, their formulation, transmission and propagation use the force of the spoken word through personal performances which capture the attention, intrigue and control the mind and heart of the listeners; the aim is to achieve reforms, to attain conformity and sacrifices for the common good. In fact, the content can be anything that is appropriate and relevant for the people concerned. Unfortunately, Humanism is presented in English in spite of the fact that the main themes originate, in many instances, from the traditional societies. Unless greater efforts are made by the leaders of every level of responsibility to present Humanism in a more comprehensible language and in local languages, it will not carry the weight that ideologies possess.

D. The following propositions are opinions inferred from this research and general anthropological knowledge:

1. An ideology like Zambian Humanism should include the following

elements:

- There should be borrowing and inspiration from past local world-views and values which used to give a particular meaning to each group; this would smooth the transition to the necessary accommodations demanded by changes like a market economy, industrialisation, urbanisation, economic differences between regions, unemployment and many other effects of modernisation.
- The content should be relevant and of some immediate concern.
- The form should imitate oral genres like slogans and proverbs with sentences characterised by pronounceability, rhythm and symmetry.
- The principal elaborator and propagandist should possess certain qualities to impress and move people.
- There should be a few dedicated disciples ready to sacrifice everything for the success of the ideology.
- Other symbols like flags, decorations, clothing and songs should be used.
- Some practical plans as logical consequences of the ideology should be specified in accord with the psychological and physical capabilities of the people, including corresponding rewards, material, moral or supra-natural.

2. Material (technical and economic) programmes have failed; however, they were proposed by Englishmen, Americans, Swedes, Hungarians and others. Quite probably those plans were Western-biased or unsuited to the quality of the soils, the rain-falls, the insects, the level of knowledge of the farmers and other workers, the presence of profiteers. These plans have neglected the psychological, social and cultural correlates that must accompany every movement for change. The disparate tribes must become Zambians with a culture which can contain and organise the meaning and value of life. Such a culture is not a pre-condition nor a primacy; it is a concomitant or co-existential side of every human phenomenon alongside the material. In this dissertation, great emphasis has

been placed on the ideal-spiritual aspect of a culture, not because the material part is secondary, but because the spiritual side is often discarded as if people were matter only who can work for material rewards and dispense with ideological needs. As long as there is no spiritual programme to accompany the material plans, as long as lives have little or no meaning, there can be little hope of improvement. Material plans have been tabled since 1965; Zambian Humanism has been preached since 1960. The two components should be much more closely interrelated so that they can be balanced and made operative by their practicality and their inner force which would inspire and direct. Both programmes should be revised and altered if need be to suit the actual conditions like the capability of the people, their apathy due to many failed promises, the state of the soils, the price of copper, the capitalist spirit and the shortages of foods and other items. Rapid industrialisation and immediate agricultural self-sufficiency are unrealisable as are the general moral demands for national brotherly love; Zambians are neither Germans nor Japanese, neither monks nor Hutterites. Only a combination of spiritual and material programmes suited for Zambians will accomplish the desired ends of a certain degree of development, some economic independence along with a sense of well-being, satisfaction and happiness.

This dissertation has not been a research in the disintegration of a people; it is a study in the possible solutions for the construction of a nation with a frame-work of meaning and motivation to inspire and direct the people towards the establishment of a new order in their country.

Civilisations are not destroyed; they disappear when they lose their soul. Bemba society had a soul; the proverbs, among other ways of control and direction, gave meaning to the people's lives; Bemba proverbs are not really needed at the moment to unify the Bemba; what is needed is something similar to unite all Zambians.

Anthropologists are the experts on cultural systems which include the network of intricate relationships of functions between the different institutions of a society, from marriage rules to ritualistic formulae. The societies studied by Anthropologists existed as living and working entities and as such were described and explicated; these societies were also affected by the powerful influence and domination of Western countries, and they could be observed in their decline. If Anthropologists could explore and explain functioning societies as well as disintegrating ones, it could be hoped that they could understand the mechanisms which would contribute to the creation and establishment of the cultural system of a renovated society. These mechanisms include the mental and emotional threads which animate ('anima' = soul) and inspire ('spirare' = to breathe) the comprehension of the diverse cultural elements weaving the web of a cultural system.

This dissertation in several ways is idealistic: it is a preliminary attempt at understanding how emerging nations could impart meaning to their cultural systems, so that their societies would have a soul again, and live.

SUMMARY

1. We know that ideologies work, or we think they do, although other forces could be responsible for their alleged effects. But, if they really produce results, we don't know how and we don't know why. If they were reducible to mechanical formulae that could be discovered, ideologies could be voluntarily and successfully contrived.
2. Proverbs and national ideologies are insufficiently researched and their 'mélange' of discursive and intuitive elements, wedding of content and form, employment of concrete and imagery, their combination of ideas and emotions has not lent itself to any precise methodology.
3. Proverbs offer a wide range of comments about many facets of the traditional life of the Bemba speaking groups which are an important part of the Zambian population.
4. There is nothing objectionable about the principles and propositions of Zambian Humanism; they have not been proved false or invalid, although they are quite idealistic. If the Zambians would accept and practise those principles, Zambia would be a very nice place to live.
5. It can be said that the values and norms of Zambian Humanism are much the same as those found in Bemba proverbs.
6. Zambian Humanism accommodates certain principles from proverbs to modern conditions extending them to all Zambians and to Zambia as a whole.
7. Zambian Humanism may have helped reinforce the spirit of unity needed for the building of a newly independent nation, as well as imparting a sense of pride in being Zambian.
8. Other propositions like increased cooperation, hard work, equality, sharing, the care of all and by all for the common good,

recommended by the ideology of *Zambian Humanism*, cannot be shown to have affected the daily life of the people, as yet.

9. The reasons for the apparent or real lack of success of *Zambian Humanism* would be the following: (a) too many external and internal constraints such as dependence on foreign companies and loans, international finance, lack of careful planning, indifference of managers, egotistic bureaucrats, an inefficient civil service, a greedy elite, etc.; (b) the idealistic character of *Humanism* which demands too much too soon; when humans are offered the choice between enjoyment and sacrifice, many will prefer self-satisfaction unless physical, moral or supernatural rewards for sacrifice are certain or believed to be certain; (c) the style and form of *Humanism* does not interest, surprise, convince and motivate the people.

10. Ideological statements are often constructed in a particular form or structure which envelops an acceptable content.

11. Even if this research is primarily concerned with ideological aspects, it recognises that programmes of development and growth should be a mixture of the ideological and the technical with realistic aims capable of bringing short-, medium- and long-term results and rewards.

12. It is possible to have ideologies devoted to exclusively technical and material plans which would be comparable to the programmes employed to build pyramids, at a heavy human cost. There might not be any adequate manner to evaluate ideologies, but human well-being and the possibility of choice should be two criteria.

13. The impossibility of demonstrating concrete manifestations of the value of *Humanism* in Zambia does not invalidate its philosophy. It could be that indeed, *Zambian Humanism*, in its present form, has little value. However, it could be that *Humanism*, translated into the every day idiom, could have a marked effect on goal attainment by manual workers and peasants in the nation. Further, *Zambian Humanism*, if translated into daily behaviour by the upper echelons of business and government, would provide models of selflessness for all.

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Because of the possibility of publishing parts of this dissertation in Zambia, British spelling has been used according to The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, eds. H.W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler, sixth edition, 1977. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. However, word divisions follow Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1979.

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