

THE ROLE OF FOLKTALES IN BUILDING PERSONALITY: THE CASE OF THE
LUNDA-COKWE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA

by

MOISES TCHIJICA MOTA

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Dedication

In memory of my mother, whom I love tenderly

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work.

It is submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in African Languages at the University of South Africa, Pretoria. This study has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

.....

Signature: Moises Tchijica Mota

On the 22 day of November, 2009

Glossary of Cokwe words

Term in Cokwe	Meaning	Chapter
Tchota	A place which is used as a house of reception where meals are taken – a place where the people of the village meet to solve daily problems and also where the adults educate the younger generation and talk around the fire at night	One
Seculos	Specialists with extensive knowledge of Cokwe people, a large repertoire of folktales, and a well-developed capacity for reflection on and interpretation of folktales	Two
Lunga walingile	Once upon a time (opening of the folktale)	Two
Tchotcho tchapwile	It happened in that way (conclusion of the folktale)	Two
Mussumba	This word has two meanings: a royal capital of the Lunda-Cokwe Empire or a temporary place where the hunters stay while they are hunting	Four
Hinabulula	I have just told my story	Four
Iximo	History or folktale	Four
Kuchikama	Resting	Four
Mutchixi	A mask	Four
Mukotola	Loincloth	Four
Mukanda	School of initiation	Four
Tundandji	The learners at mukanda	Four
Tchilima	Uncircumcised boy	Four
Mukwa kulongoloka or Ngaji	A legal expert	Four

Tchikukuma	Someone who is not very clever	Four
Quimone	An African blouse	Four
Missangas	Traditional bracelet	Four
Mungongue	Cokwe's high school	Four
Lusango	Message or news	Four
Mwanaxiwa	An orphan	Four
Wato	A small water home craft (canoe)	Four
Mbololo	A type of a fabric	Four
Kalambo	Small animals' skin	Four
Tchikixikixi	Monster	Four
Milingo - plural of cilingo	Small gourds used to keep charms	Four
Wayuka weza	You are lucky for coming	Four
Mutopa	A big handmade pipe used in the village for smoking	Four
Ndoga	Fermented drink made of honey	Four
Xima	Typical and principal meal of Cokwe people (it is made of cassava flour)	Four
Cikanga	Sleeping mat	Four
Kandwanga	Spice	Four
Kaboa	Species of dove	Four
Ngwali	Bush chicken	Four

Abstract

This study deals with the relationship between culture and national development in Angola. It is self-evident that folktales are integral to the cultural heritage of any people, and the Lunda-Cokwe of Angola are no exception. Folktales pass on their knowledge and general cultural heritage to new generation. However, they are rarely regarded as a useful component on development process of a country. In general the development is largely measured in statistics reflecting material wealth. It maintains that, in order to bring about sustainable development and national unity, a holistic approach to personality building as well as nation building is required. The argumentation will not only take into account economic capital generated through national resources, such as diamonds from the Lunda provinces, but also requires other forms of capital, including social and cultural capital as articulated in Bourdieu's theory of capital.

Title of thesis:

THE ROLE OF FOLKTALES IN BUILDING PERSONALITY: THE CASE OF THE LUNDA-COKWE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA

Key terms:

Literature achievement; Academic performance; African literature study; Intelligence; Previous performance; Attitudes; anxiety; Personality; Adjustment; Research aptitude; Study methods

CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Lunda-Cokwe people of Angola

This study explores the role of folktales of the Lunda-Cokwe of Angola in the building of personality. The Lunda-Cokwe Kingdom comprise the whole eastern part of Angola, the southern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and the north-eastern part of Zambia. A brief description of Angola is therefore deemed necessary at the outset.

Angola covers an area of 1,246,700 km² and has approximately 15 million inhabitants (Lencastre 2006:246). It forms part of southern Africa, and is bordered by Namibia to the south; Zambia and the DRC to the east, and the DRC and Congo Brazzaville to the north, as shown on the map below.



Figure 1: Map of Angola, Lencastre (2006:49)

The official language is Portuguese, but most of the population also speak at least one of the nine indigenous Bantu languages, namely: Umbundu, Kimbundu, Kikongo, Cokwe, Nhaneca Humbe, Nganguela, Kwanyama, Xindonga and Herero.

According to Guthrie's classification, (1971:51-61 V.2) seven main Bantu language groups are found in Angola, namely: H.10 Kikongo; K.10 Chokwe-Luchazi; R.30 Herero; H.20 Kimbundu;

R.10 Umbundu; H. 30 Kiyaka and R.20 Ndonga. Of the nine groups of languages mentioned above, only eight are included in Guthrie's classification. Yet, it should be mentioned that according to the same writer Nganguela belongs to the Cokwe group and Nhaneca to the Umbundu group. Again, according to the Angolan Institute of Geodesy and Cartography (cf. Fernandes & Ntongo 2002:57 and the map of Bantu tribes of Angola below) Xindonga is one of the main Bantu languages of Angola, although it does not appear in Guthrie's classification.

It should be noted here, that there is no uniformity of the orthography in the Angolan Bantu languages. For example, Guthrie (1971), Bastin (1982), Birmingham (1981) and some Angolan writers present different variants of the same name such as, Kwanyama or Ambo; Umbundu or Ovimbundu; Nhaneca-Humbe or Heneca-Humbe; Kongo or Kongu; and Cokwe or Chokwe. This may be attributed to the influence of English, French and Portuguese orthographies. It would also be important to consider that the names of most Bantu languages are derived from the names of the ethnic groups who speak them, as suggested on the map below.

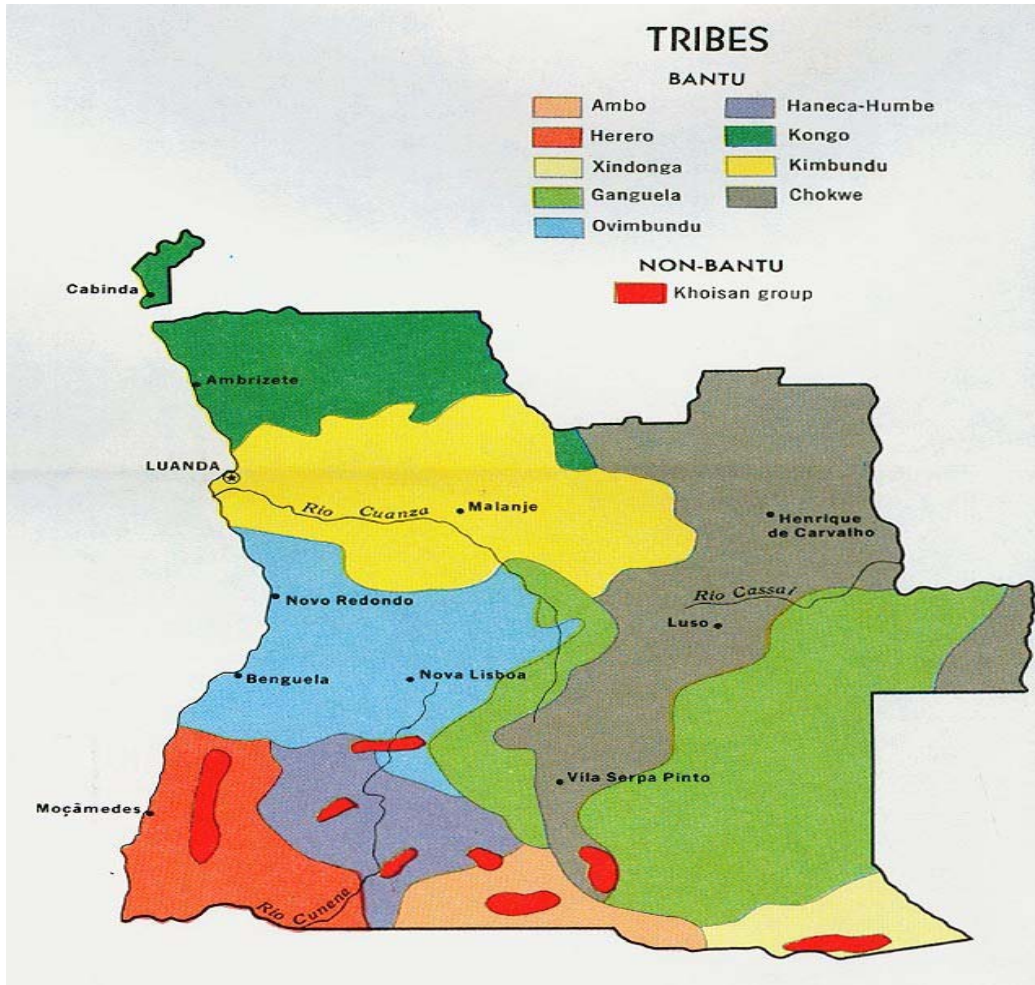


Figure 2: Map of Bantu tribes, Lencastre (2006:60)

The Lunda-Cokwe population of Angola, whose folktales are the subject of this study, account for eight percent of the Angolan population and, as such, is the fourth largest ethnic group of Angola (Fernandes & Ntongo 2002:42-43). However, it should be noted that the Cokwe are also known as Lunda-Cokwe, probably because, according to Sousa (1971:17) the Lunda-Cokwe consist of two ethnic groups, namely Lunda and Cokwe. The Cokwe are the majority and the Lunda are the minority. In terms of Guthrie's (1971:53 V.2) classification of Bantu languages, Cokwe belongs to zone K codified with the number 10 (K.10), a group with nine variants, as shown in the Table 1 below:

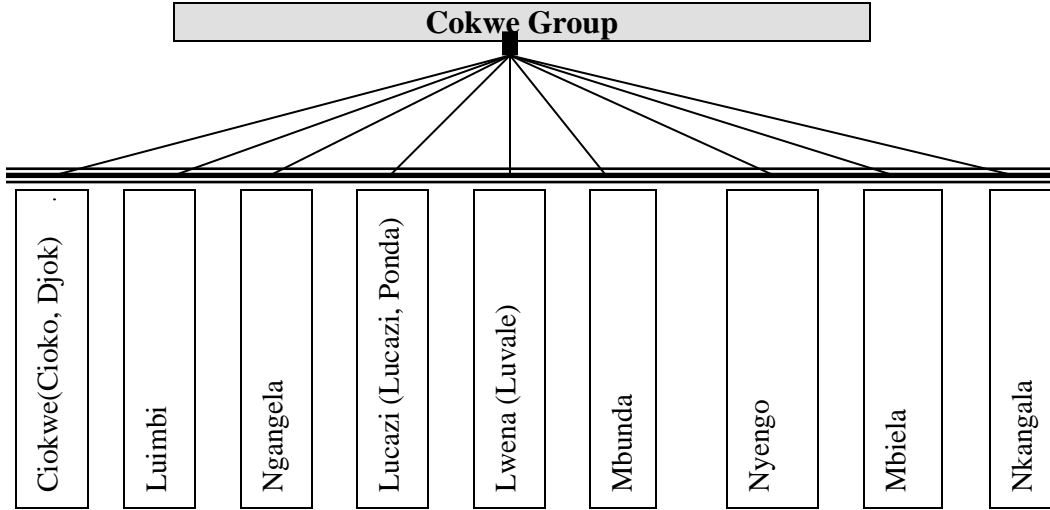


Table 1: Cokwe language group and its main variants, Guthrie (1971:53)

The origin of Lunda-Cokwe has been the subject of debate among historians. For example, Birmingham (1981:93-101) maintains that it is difficult to establish the origin of this ethnic group. Whereas Bastin (1982), in her work on the culture of the Lunda-Cokwe, argues that approximately 300 years ago, they lived in a small district in the heart of the forest on the Muzamba plateau, near the Kwango, Kassai, Lwena and Lungue-Bungo rivers. According to this author, in the south of the territory, the Cokwe had as their neighbours the Umbundu, Ngangela, Lutshazi and Lwena ethnic groups. In the west, their neighbours were Songos, Minungu, and Shiji. In the east, their territory was bordered by Kongo of Kassai. Furthermore, this author maintains that, outside Angola, the Lunda-Cokwe can be found in the Shaba Province in the DRC and in Zambia, (Bastin 1982:31-32).

Although Birmingham (1981:93-101) states that it is difficult to establish the origin of Cokwe, he also agrees with Bastin that the Cokwe lived in the savannah, near the Kwango, upper Kassai,

Luena and Lunge Bungo Rivers, and their principal occupation is hunting. However, what forms a common denominator among the scholars who have conducted research on the Lunda-Cokwe, including the two mentioned here, is that this ethnic group belongs to the larger Bantu family.

In Angola, the Lunda-Cokwe people can be found in *Lunda-Norte*, *Lunda-Sul*, *Moxico*, *Bie*, and *Kwando-Kubango* (Fernandes & Ntongo 2002:42-43). However, the folktales that are the focus of this study are from *Moxico* Province, since the researcher is a member of the Lunda-Cokwe community inhabiting this province. The Lunda-Cokwe people live in a region rich in wildlife and game animals, and therefore their main economic activity is hunting. They are also known for the masks they produce and these may be regarded as a supplementary income source.

As mentioned already, Cokwe is also used to refer to the language spoken by the Lunda-Cokwe. It also has different spellings which seem to be derived from Portuguese spellings such as *Quioco* or *Chokwe*. In this study Cokwe orthography will be used according to the International Phonetic Alphabet.

1.2 Rationale of the study

As in other Portuguese colonies, Angola was subjected to the Portuguese assimilationist philosophy of colonization (Spencer 1974:163-175). As a result, during the colonial period the Bantu languages were marginalized. For instance, in 1921 the Portuguese government passed the decree 77 which gave the Catholic Church the task of civilizing through education. This decree made the teaching of the Portuguese language compulsory in all schools and forbade the use of

the local languages. Furthermore, Article 3 of this decree states that all texts that were not written in Portuguese had to include a Portuguese translation (De Matos 1926:62-66).

As a way of forcing the implementation of the decree referred to above, the Portuguese used the knowledge of Portuguese as one of the criteria for Portuguese citizenship. In other words, for the colonized/indigenous population to acquire the status of *assimilado*, they were required to have a good command of the Portuguese language. The colonial District Commissioner was in charge of the assimilation process, including the testing of linguistic competence (Spencer 1974:163-187). The Angolan borders were definite and fixed through the Portuguese interest in Berlin conference (1880-1914) together with other European colonialists who were interested in the division of Africa because of its resources. Therefore, the colonial borders indicate the absence of national identity associated with clearly defined territorial entity. As a result, the Angolans including the Lunda-Cokwe lost not only their languages, but also their culture.

As is well known, language is both the depository and vehicle of culture. It is therefore difficult to deal with culture without dealing with language.

It is within this context that efforts were made soon after independence to study and develop the culture of Angola, including that of the Lunda-Cokwe. For instance, the realization of a national fair of culture (FENACULT) by the Angolan government in 1988. The fair was one of the main cultural events in the country, where the central topic was the discussion of cultural issues. In the same year, the Angolan government created the National Institute for Languages with the main purpose of developing the Angolan Bantu languages. Furthermore, in 2001 the government

passed the decree 13/2001 which assigned the task of introducing the teaching of Bantu languages in formal education to the Ministry of Education. Since then, pilot projects involving these languages have been undertaken in some schools, such as *Ngola Kiluanji* School and *Elisangela Filomena* College, and so on. Notwithstanding the lack of teaching and learning materials for teachers and students, and of proper teacher training in mother tongue pedagogy, the government's decision may be regarded as the first step in the right direction. Since the vast majority of Angolans speak Bantu languages the sole use of Portuguese for implementing government development programmes might not yield the expected results.

Moreover, in 2003 the Angolan government introduced African language and literature courses in the Faculty of Letters of Agostinho Neto University to promote the study of Angolan culture. In order for the project to succeed, the Institute of Education Science (ISCED) focused on the training of teachers of Bantu languages. In 2007, the Angolan government organized a culture symposium in Luanda where specialists from different countries of the world participated. All of these initiatives show clearly the government's commitment to developing the culture and languages of Angola.

In light of the above, the selection of this topic was prompted not only by the desire to study an aspect of my own culture, but also by the desire to contribute towards the study of Angolan culture in general. The specific object of the study is therefore to determine the contribution made by Lunda-Cokwe folktales to forming the personality amongst the members of this community. As a general premise for this study it is assumed that personality is significantly informed by culture.

The encyclopaedia of psychology defines “personality” as the entire mental organization of a human being at any stage of his/her development. It embraces every phase of human character: intellect, temperament, skill, morality, and every attitude that has been built up in the course of one’s life (Harriman 1946:455-457). Magnavita (2002:15-17) notes that personality is functionally related to the constructs of temperament and character. Temperament refers to an individual’s basic (some psychologists of the area say in-born) biological dispositions, while the concept of character is commonly used with reference to basic qualities that remain essentially intact throughout a person’s life, such as integrity, honesty, morality and stability. Character assessment views or judges how a person acts in various contexts. Further, Magnavita (2002) says that personality is an individual’s habitual way of thinking, feeling, perceiving and reacting to the world. In addition, Zucker et al (1984:291-296) argue that traits are stable but personality is a more fluid concept that is influenced, by a number of external factors such as culture and family systems. Further, Nettle (2007:210-212) notes that personality deals with biological factors. The variants of genetic that each person carries and another half of personality comes from environmental influences.

However, what forms a common denominator among the scholars who have conducted research on personality including the four mentioned here is that personality is formed through biological disposition and environmental influences or external factors. From the foregoing definitions, the *Lunda-Cokwe* folktales discussed in this study are part of culture formed from this environmental influences.

1.3 Research problem

As noted in section 1.2, when people talk about Lunda-Cokwe the first thing they think of are diamonds; however, little is known about the culture of these people because the Portuguese colonialists neglected the Bantu languages and culture during the colonial period. The marginalization of the Angolan Bantu languages, which symbolize cultural identity and ties, made drastic in-roads into the culture of the country. The indigenous populations were discouraged from manifesting their language and culture, including the Lunda-Cokwe whose folktales are the subject of this study.

Besides colonial policy, Angolan development was severely hampered by military conflict and rapid urbanization that led to an acceptance of and assimilation of western culture. Therefore, in the present context, the study of oral literature in general and folktales in particular is crucial. It is regarded as the vehicle through which elder generations transmit their knowledge, beliefs, behaviour, custom etc, to later generations.

Specifically, the purpose of this study is to answer the following questions:

- What has been the role of folktales in the building of personality in the Lunda-Cokwe community?
- What is the relationship between folktales and development?
- How can folktales contribute towards the development of Angola?

The answers to these questions will aid the comprehension of the social context of folktales, their setting in the actual life of the Lunda-Cokwe group where they are narrated, and the overall development of the population of Angola. Folktales can play a role in nation-state territorial consciousness as they refer to the collective value of all the relevant social networks.

1.4 Relevance of the study

Angola is a multicultural country. Therefore, the aim of this work is to contribute to the study of Angolan folklore in general and Lunda-Cokwe folklore in particular, as folktales form the bedrock of the culture of any people. The role of Lunda-Cokwe folktales in the building of personality in particular and in the national general development of Angola is discussed in this study.

Folktales are part of the social and cultural capital. A holistic approach to personality and nation building is required to bring about sustainable development and national unity. Such an approach will not only take into account economic capital generated through national resources such as diamonds from the Lunda Provinces, but will also require other forms of capital.

Bourdieu (1982:280) states that capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property; as cultural capital, which is convertible under certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and social capital, made up of social obligations or “connections”, that are

convertible under certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. These three forms of capital are interchangeable, that is, they can be traded for each other and actually require such trades for their sustained development. Thus, the Angolan authorities should not think of developing the country without incorporating all the forms of capital.

Folktales play a role in nation-state building as they refer to the collective value of all social networks. It is therefore necessary to look at the structure of a society as a relation or set of relations between entities (Van Schaik 1981:4). For example, all members of the Lunda-Cokwe community contribute to its development, even in decision making. For these people (Lunda-Cokwe) everything is solved in *tchota* (a place where the people of the village meet to solve daily problems) with the participation of everyone. Although the women were not allowed to get into the *tchota*, they were present around it, and where necessary, they were heard by those sitting in judgement. The presence of the women around the *tchota* and the participation of everyone in solving community issues is one of the cornerstones of democracy. This practice of the Lunda-Cokwe people started when they formed the kingdom, and the behaviour are still found in Lunda-Cokwe remote villages of Angola today.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Chapter I provides background information on the Lunda-Cokwe people of Angola. It also provides information on their location within the Angolan geopolitical landscape. Furthermore, the chapter supplies the motivation for selecting the topic for this dissertation, the research problem as well as the rationale motivating the study.

There is a body of literature dealing with folktales, both in Africa and elsewhere, that discusses elements such as the structure, function, form, as well as the opening and closing formulae of folktales. This body of research largely falls within the structuralist approach, represented by Propp's (1928) theory, or within the descriptive approach as is the case of Finnegan's (1970) work, which will be discussed later. The aim of this literature review is to establish how other scholars have theorised and conceptualised about the above issues, and what approach they have used and to what effect, which will help to achieve the goal of this study.

This chapter contains the following five sections: the first section deals with the earlier studies on folktales in general, considering Propp's (1928) morphology of the folktale. The second section considers the earlier studies on folktales in Africa, focusing on Finnegan's work (1970) on oral literature in Africa. The third section deals with other studies by African writers with particular reference to their views concerning African oral literature. The fourth section looks at

the earlier studies on folktales in Angola, including those of the Lunda-Cokwe. The last section presents the gaps and shortcomings found in the works reviewed.

2.2 Earlier studies on folktales

2.2.1 Introduction

In view of the earlier comment (cf. section 2.1) regarding the voluminous research on folktales the object here is to focus on the study of folktales in general, starting with Propp's (1928) discussion on the morphology of folktales. Propp was probably the first writer to suggest a structural model for the analysis of folktales, or fairy tales as he calls them. Therefore, not surprisingly, his work has influenced the studies of other scholars dealing with folktales (cf. section 2.4).

This study discusses folktales that are used for knowledge transmission amongst the Lunda-Cokwe of Angola. According to the *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* edited by Leach & Fried (1949:408-409), the term fairy tale is nearly always a reference to a fictional intent and thus differs from legend or tradition. The word folktale is used to refer to all kinds of folktales, it is used in preference to other terms for the purposes of this study.

While using a database consisting of one hundred traditional Russian fairy tales and a morphological analysis relating to the study of languages, Propp (1928) suggests a structural and chronological analysis of fairy tales. Propp's analysis reduces folktales to a series of actions performed by the *dramatis personae* (the characters of a narrative) in each story, but with no

reference to narrative tone (a modulation of the voice in telling a folktale, critical aspect of African oral literature) or mood, or to extraneous decorative detail, but rather breaking down a large number of Russian folktales into their smallest narrative units, called functions. By doing this, Propp was able to arrive at a typology of narrative structures by analysing the types of characters and actions in the hundred fairy tales referred to above. He was also able to arrive at the conclusion that there were just thirty-one generic narratemes in the folktales mentioned above. Narratemes, or functions as Propp calls them, are the basic structural units of a story (eg. absence, interdiction, violation, fraud etc). While not all narratemes are present in every tale, he found that all the tales he analysed displayed these functions in unvarying sequence. Some of his modern followers, such as Levi-Strauss (1955), Dundes (1965) and Scheub (1975) to name but a few, regard the functions as narratemes. These writers will be discussed in detail later.

Besides identifying the thirty-one narrative functions, Propp also discovered that there are only eight broad character types in the one hundred fairy tales he analysed¹: The narrative functions are the functions found in narratives, such as villain, hero, donor, etc, as illustrated below. These elements are also found in Lunda-Cokwe narratives which will be discussed in chapter IV.

1. The villain (struggles against the hero).
2. The donor (prepares the hero or gives the hero some magical object).
3. The (magical) helper (helps the hero in the quest).
4. The princess (person the hero marries, often sought for during the narrative).
5. Her father.

6. The dispatcher (character who makes the lack known and sends the hero off).
7. The hero or victim / seeker hero, reacts to the donor, weds the princess.
8. False hero/antihero/usurper (takes credit for the hero's actions/tries to marry the princess).

Propp suggests that any folktale should have these elements or structure. Thus, folktales will be used in a broad sense to include, among others, fables, sarcasm folktales, social folktales and legend as discussed in Section 4.5. Therefore, it is important to analyse these folktales in terms of Propp's character types.

Propp's analysis has laid the foundations for the modern study of folktales. However, such analysis does not seem to apply universally to folktales, as suggested by the characters found in Lunda-Cokwe folktales (cf. Section 4.2)

Propp's work has been the subject of much criticism. For example, Dundes (1965), Grane (1977), Gilet (1999) and the binary opposition in myth between Strauss and Propp himself. Indeed, even Levi-Strauss did not agree with the binary opposition analyses made by Propp (Dundes 1997).

In order to provide a theoretical solution to the problem of binary opposition (composed of two dissent, Strauss and Propp), Grane (1977:135-137) uses Piaget's developmental theory as a theoretical basis. This theory validates some of Levi-Strauss' methodological techniques, which combine some of Propp's methodological components. The importance of this theoretical

conception of structure is twofold. First, the exact nature of the structure is not specifically set as to either content or form; it takes its character rather from the organizing process itself, which is motivated and influenced by adaptive needs, either physical or mental, or both. Secondly, there is a critical distinction between formulative and open structures. The open structures refer to functions which are unstable and therefore influenced and changed over time by environmental factors on the one hand, and by completed or closed structures that are stable and self-sufficient on the other hand.

Furthermore, Gilet (1999) says that Propp's work has the following problems:

First, descriptive power does not enter into Propp's morphological model. Hence, Gilet puts forward a pattern of five elements based on groupings of Propp's thirty-one functions, namely:

1. The initial situation;
2. Interaction with the helper;
3. Interaction with the prince;
4. Interaction with the adversary;
5. Return of the hero.

Secondly, Propp's morphological model is difficult to deal with modern folktale scholarship because of its insistence on a high level of abstraction. It refers to the classification of two familiar Russian folktales, such as **The Three Bears** and **Little Red Riding Hood**, which make part of one hundred traditional Russian fairy tales, where it found only three functions.

Thirdly, another problem with Propp's morphology is that, in spite of his intention, it does not permit a good description of all its target material (the thirty-one generic narratemes in the hundred fairy tales referred to above).

Dundes (1965:208-210) found that Propp's theory is applicable even to non-Indo-European folktales, but he realised that although the theory was a very useful model, it had some shortcomings. Firstly, Propp ignores the context in his study of the linear structure of a folktale. Secondly, although he has a term for incidents and events, which he calls functions, he has no specific term for the contents of his functions.

In view of these shortcomings in the Propp model, Dundes developed his own theory which had three main aspects. Firstly, Dundes maintains that a folktale should not be studied in isolation, rather it should be studied taking into account its social and cultural context. For example Lunda-Cokwe folktales are told in *tchota* around the fire, men and young boys stay away from the women and the small children. The folktales are essentially modes of dramatic expressions utilising the voice, facial expression, song, dance, movements of the body and hands. Secondly, he uses the last portion of phonetic and phonemic units to coin substantives ending in *-etic* and *-emic*. An *emic* unit is a structural unit in a folktale and an *etic* unit is a unit of content of narratemes. The *emic* unit or *emic* motif is then called a *motifeme*. The *motifeme* (expression) defines the action of the characters in a folktale, it is equivalent to Propp's function.

2.3 Earlier studies on African folktales

2.3.1 Introduction

This section is concerned with Finnegan's study of African oral literature. Finnegan's book on African oral literature is one of the main works among the first publications in the research and method series on oral literature (Ben-Amos 1993:138-144).

In the study of oral literature in Africa, Finnegan (1970) has surveyed the various genres of African oral literature with reference to their sociocultural context. The author discusses oral literature as a form of art, while pointing out the limitations of previous research, deploring in particular the lack of interest of British functionalists in oral literature. She provides the reader with a better understanding of the tone, metre and other prosodic forms used by African poets, singers, and narrators. In African languages tone is significant for grammatical form and for lexical meaning. For instance, in Lunda-Cokwe and Luvale, which are similar languages, the meaning of words with exactly the same phonetic form in other respects may be completely different according to the tone used, thus becoming a different word.

Furthermore, in her study of Limba stories in Sierra Leone, Finnegan (1967) observed that these stories are a rich repository of enduring wisdom and cultural values, forming a distinct part of their cultural heritage, that the Limba's hand down their hopes, feelings and aspirations, from generation to generation. Story, song and dance are of daily importance in Limba life. In storytelling, for example, songs often form part of the narration, and in practice it may often be the experts in musical skills who also tend to be the best storytellers. Music and dance illustrate

dramatic activity in which both narrator and audience share the emotions conveyed by storytelling.

She emphasizes that Limba stories are most frequently told in the evening. The most typical occasions are when people are sitting around together soon after nightfall, relaxed and fully fed after the regular evening meal. They also may be cited in the daytime as precedents in formal legal discussion. Stories can be told by anyone whatever age and status. Even children make an attempt to tell a story, encouraged by their elders who are interested to hear what they can do. But it is mostly those generally recognized as good storytellers that monopolize the session. Those who are very specially skilled and confident stand or move about in the centre of the group and lead the singing conspicuously, half-dancing as they move, and narrate long and elaborate tales. In general women do not often tell stories. (The above mentioned aspects are also observed in Lunda-Cokwe folktales (cf. Chapter IV). Finnegan says that this may be related in part to the fact that the men work very hard at times, and therefore generally enjoy a more complete leisure at certain seasons and at the end of the day, whereas women are always occupied with cooking, cleaning, or tending children.

The author maintains that the audience vary somewhat according to circumstances. This audience is very much part of the whole situation and activity of storytelling; in this it resembles the related activities of speech-making, dancing, and singing. If there are women present, their conventional contribution is to clap at certain points during the story and at the end, showing honour to the speaker; this is also sometimes done by the younger boys, especially to accompany a song. All present react immediately to dramatic points, jokes, funny words, exaggerations, or

mimicry, and there are always likely to be murmurs of agreement or sympathy, the taking up and repetition of such phrases in the story as the conventional interchange of greetings, exclamations of surprise or horror, and loud laughter.

According to Finnegan, the openings and conclusions of most stories are marked by certain formulas or stock phrases. The stock phrases are the expressions used to start and end a story (e.g. opening a story “once happens a man ...” and closing “the story is finished”). Occasionally these are not used, but in most cases the story is presented as a unit with clear beginning and end marked by these conventional phrases. Very often the story opens directly with a sentence about one of the characters, usually the hero. He may be specified only by some general descriptive term, such as “a man”, “a hunter”, “a woman”, without further elaboration. The closing phrases of a story tend to be in some ways more formal than the opening. Often a very brief phrase concludes the story (e.g. “the story is finished,” “it is ended”, “it is finished”, etc.).

As discussed above, Finnegan reviewed almost all aspects of African oral literature. She also collected and discussed different aspects of folktales, such as function, structure, the opening and closing formulae, classification of folktales, and so on. Therefore, as Finnegan’s theory seems scientifically sound and generally acceptable this study intends to follow her method in order to analyse the form, function, classification of folktales, opening and closing formulae of Lunda-Cokwe folktales in personality building (cf. Section 4.3).

However, Finnegan lays particular emphasis on functionalism by preeminently analysing the form and functions of folktales. In contrast to the current position in the scholarship of structural

analysis developed by Levi-Strauss (1955) as a major factor in the study of the verbal arts, however, Finnegan devoted only two pages to this matter, which seems insufficient.

In the oratory chapter, Finnegan limits herself to her own studies of Limba folktales. She did not refer to Albert's essay concerning the Burundi people, which would have greatly enriched her work (Abrahams 1973:87-88).

Polome (1979) regrets that Finnegan's linguistic information focuses only on the Bantu languages, when it would have been possible to provide the same information on a wider basis, as Alexandre did in his book *Langues et langage en Afrique noire* (1967: 169).

2.4 Other studies by African writers

2.4.1 Introduction

As discussed in Section 2.1 above, there are two main areas of scholarship in the discourse on folktale: the structuralist approach and the descriptive approach. The following African writers are classified on the evidence of their work into either of these areas of scholarship. For example, Haring (1972) and Msimang (1986) follow the structuralist approach, while Miruka (2001), Boscom (1972), Hurreiz (1972), Swanepoel (1983), Magel (1981) and Chesaina (1991 ; 1997) follow the descriptive approach. It is appropriate, therefore, to begin the present discussion by addressing the structuralist approach.

2.4.2 Haring (1972): Kenyan folktales

In a study of Machako's folktales in Kenya, Haring (1972:165-179) characterizes morphological study of traditional narrative patterns. He collected four Machako folktales, namely **Crocodile and Monkey**; **Mr Little-Hare and the Guinea-Fowl**, **Limo and Yo**, and **Mr Bear and Mr Rabbit**. He concluded that all the folktales belong to a familiar genre of trickster stories. He also discovered six morphological elements. The first element is similar to Propp's initial situation. Therefore, Propp's initial situation is also found in Lunda-Cokwe folktales (cf. Section 4.2).

1. False friendship;
2. Contract;
3. Violation;
4. Trickery;
5. Deception;
6. Escape.

The morphological importance of false friendship as the initial situation derives from the fact that it gives the sequence to the appearance of the motifeme. As noted in section 2.2, a motifeme is an action performed by characters in a folktale. For example, the morphological elements described above, the false friendship is the character, while the contract, violation and trickery comprise the behaviours of the false friendship. For the researcher the false friendship or preparation consists as a probability since the behaviour of the characters is not yet known. For a better explanation consider Haring who adapted his theory from the Aristotelian concept of

Goodman, to the study of a motifemic sequence in oral narrative. He has shown that when Aristotle writes about beginnings, middles and endings he is talking about the logic of a temporal sequence. In the beginning of a literary form anything is possible; in the middle things become probable; in the ending everything is necessary. For Haring, the key to the logic of a temporal sequence is probability. Certain motifemes create not merely a probability, but a necessity for others (e.g. Propp's twin-functions pairs, such as struggle/victory, pursuit/rescue, lack/lack liquidated if the first half of the twin-function pair occurs, the second is almost inevitable).

Haring also argues that Machakos folktales do exhibit the traditional sequences of the thirty-one elements called functions by Propp and motifemes by his follower Dundes (1965). Furthermore, he says that the motifemic sequence is the irreducible expressive element of folk narrative, hence Levi-Strauss's abstract schemata of twin-function pair bear little superficial resemblance to the tales forming their raw material. Since Levi-Strauss (1955) studied a corpus of myths in the eternal present of their artistic or logical coexistence, he has left behind the temporal level that gives life to folklore.

Haring's work resembles Propp's theory, as his discussion and classification of the folktales was based on Propp's work. In this study of Lunda-Cokwe folktales the initial classification was also based on Propp's work. This procedure shows the concordance of Propp's theory. But Haring did not mention whether Machakos folktales generally could be reduced to Propp's morphological elements.

2.4.3 Msimang (1986): Zulu folktales

In a study of the influence of folktales on the Zulu novel Msimang (1986:7-27) argues that this influence is inevitable since it constitutes the only indigenous background against which the Zulu novelist composes his production and the only genre that resembles the novel. The folktale is still a living art which expounds and upholds certain Zulu norms and values which form the cultural framework, and it is forms the matrix or bedrock of the novel.

He says that the folktale is the storehouse of the Zulu world view. To instruct and to teach are also primary functions of the folktales in Zulu culture. They are told in order to be believed at least by children to whom they are primarily directed. This is done in order to drive the moral lesson home. The children find it hard to believe all the fantasies, so the performer would tell them that these things happened a long time ago.

Msimang also focuses on the extent to which the folktale has influenced the Zulu novel. This means that only those motifs, motifs, and core-images which occur both in the folktale and the novel will be considered. Five theories were utilised to clarify the researcher's arguments, namely those proposed by Propp (1958), Dundes (1964), Olrik (in Dundes, 1965), Levi-Strauss (in Leach, 1967) and Scheub (1975). These theories have been chosen for the following reasons: Scheub's theory is considered highly relevant because it was expounded specifically to analyse Zulu and Xhosa folktales. The other four theories have been successfully applied to African folktales in South Africa.

Further, Msimang maintains that the prose narratives in Zulu folklore conform to three distinct types, namely myth, legend and folktale.

- Myths - are prose narratives which are considered by the societies in which they are told to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past. The features that characterise a myth can be summarized as follows:
 - a) The main characters are gods or deities and animals with human attributes.
 - b) Some acts of the gods are narrated.
 - c) Such acts relate to the origin of things or phenomena.
 - d) There must be a religious or sacred atmosphere in deference to the fact that myths are accepted on faith and believed to be truthful.
 - e) The phenomena forming the subject matter hack back to the remote past.

- Legends - are prose narratives which, like myths, are regarded as true by the narrator and his audience, but they are set in a period considered less remote, when the world was much as it is today. The essential features of a legend are the following:
 - a) It is believed to be true.
 - b) It is set in the more recent past.
 - c) It deals with secular deeds of past heroes, chiefs and kings.

- Folktales - are prose narratives that are regarded as fiction. The commonest and most popular Zulu folktales conform to the following subtypes:
 - a) fables;

- b) tricksters' tales, especially those centred around Chakijana or Hlakanyana of the South Natal and Transkei Ngunis;
- c) cannibal tales;
- d) ogre or monster tales;
- e) human tales;
- f) etiological tales.

The discussion of the Lunda-Cokwe myth, legend and folktale follows that made by Msimang (1986) (cf. Section 4.5).

Msimang starts by establishing the link between his work and that of structuralist scholars. He emphasises that Propp's theory is among the first and most prominent in the field. Going further, Msimang gives the reason why he used a structuralist approach. Propp's theory is used because it discusses the characters and their behaviours in the folktale. He also recognises the value of folktales in Zulu society and why they are told to children. In order to transmit knowledge to the youngsters it is necessary to analyse these characters and their behaviours. That is why Propp's theory is relevant to African writers like Msimang and also to the Lunda-Cokwe study under review.

After reviewing the African writers who used the structuralist approach, those who used the descriptive approach will be considered.

2.4.4 Miruka (2001): Luo folktales

In a study of the Luo stories in Kenya, Miruka (2001:120-196) argues that storytelling brings together members of the family, nuclear or extended, to share in the creativity of the community. Traditionally, stories are narrated in the evening after the last meal of the day just before bed time. Stories are often told as relaxing entertainment before bed time. A mother in her hut may tell a variety of stories to her children, either of her own volition or on request. Alternatively the children may tell stories to the gathered members of the family. Older family members are at hand to rectify any mistakes in the plot as the young ones get to grips with the twists and turns of the stories.

Stories may also be told in the *siwindhe* or hut by an old woman who is essentially a grandmother to the boys and girls of the village. She is held in reverent respect but is very intimate and liberal with the children. Her hut is the sleeping quarters for the girls of the homestead and for those from the neighbouring homestead. Preadolescent boys also sleep in her hut. The grandmother sleeps in her allocated section of the hut, apart from the youth, and from that position controls all proceedings in the *siwindhe*.

One might add here that living in the *siwindhe* is compulsory for girls and young boys as the hut is a formative institution where the basic norms and mores of the society are imparted (e.g. they learn moral and social behaviour). For girls, *siwindhe* is an indispensable educational centre where they are instructed on how to take care of themselves as women, how to relate to the males and what aspects of behaviour are acceptable.

As the youth gather in the huts, their conversation gradually develops into riddling, which eventually gives way to narration. In the *siwindhe*, when the grandmother is satisfied that everyone has arrived, she calls the house to silence by saying:

“Let the house go grazing
Let the house go to the end
Let the house come to the centre
Let the house be dead silent.”

After this, everyone is aware that the narrative session has begun. It is usually the grandmother who tells the first story or asks for a volunteer.

Whoever starts begins by asking: “May I tell you a story?”

The others reply: “Tell to us.”

Miruka notes that once the audience indicate assent the narrator sets off on a quest to transport everyone into the world of make-believe, the world of suspense, of eliciting sorrow and joy, the world of satire and allegory, and the world of long and short adventures. In the course of the narration, the audience pays keen attention and instinctively reinforces the process by giggling at a funny point, exclaiming in surprise, clicking in disgust, lamenting at the suffering of the hero/heroine, or doing whatever relates to the changing mood of the story, so long as it accords with the flow of the narration and leaves the narrative tension intact. At the end of each story, the narrator says: “The end, may I grow as tall as the tree at my uncle’s homestead.”

Furthermore, it should be noted that in Luo stories there is very little physical dramatization, hardly any elaborate movements and gestures, since narration takes place in the dim light, when virtually everyone is on the sleeping mat. The drama is carried in the voice. This behaviour is opposite to Lunda-Cokwe folktales (cf. Section 4.3). Another major characteristic of Luo stories is song. Not all narratives have song, but many do. Such songs reinforce theme, create suspense, enhance plot development and divide episodes. They also summarize the tales, offer dramatic relief and involve the audience and the narrator in the performance, besides serving many other uses. Song is used to string together the plot in what may be called regeneration. Regeneration enables the expert narrator to give as much good narration to the audience as possible.

On the other hand, Miruka says that, through the narratives, the Luo community convey their wisdom, beliefs, traditions, customs, norms and a penal code of sorts to the young. The stories indirectly address normative and ethical issues. Analysis reveals the moral code that regulates the community's life. This is also true of the Lunda-Cokwe folktales.

As noted, Miruka (2001) discusses behaviour that usually attends the narration of African folktales, such as, narrative performance, setting, opening and closing formulas, drama, song, and social functions. Lunda-Cokwe folktales display the same traits. But there are also some differences. For example, Lunda-Cokwe folktales as a means of building the personality have a specific place, in *tchota* in the evening, and in the presence of *seculos*. The narrator's task is reserved only for men who frequently employ "stage effects" or physical dramatization, including shouts, whistles, chorus, hand clapping, foot-stamping and musical accompaniment, usually the rattle, drum etc (cf. chapter IV).

2.4.5 Chesaina (1991): Kalenjin folktales

In a study of Kalenjin stories in Kenya, Chesaina (1991:8-17) observes that oral literature is an art, distinguished from other forms, such as sculpture, by the fact that it utilizes language as its medium of expression. Like written literature, oral literature depends on artistic or imaginative language use. However, by virtue of its verbal expression in its authentic form, oral literature has unique stylistic traits. Each genre of oral literature has its own special characteristics, just as each piece (narrative) will have aspects which it does not share with other material from the same genre. In order to appreciate fully any piece of oral literature, it is important to examine both its form and its content. Oral literature does not belong to a particular person but is the product of the collective creativity of communal groups.

The writer notes further that Kalenjin oral literature is a living reservoir of the people's culture. It is a vehicle through which the society articulates its hopes, fears and aspirations, which is why this creative material is used in the socialization process of younger members of society as a way of inculcating cultural values. Besides its didactic values, Kalenjin oral literature is enjoyable and serves a therapeutic purpose for its recipients. The literature contributes significantly to the cohesion of the people in that they share in recreational singing and dancing or in the didactic element of stories containing wisdom lessons, and so on. This is also true to Lunda-Cokwe folktales (cf. Section 4.3).

The cohesion effect of Kalenjin oral narratives is promoted because they are told either in the late afternoon after most work has been completed, or in the evening after supper. The evening is

the most acceptable time for storytelling among the Kalenjin since most members of the community have chores to perform before the evening meal. In traditional Kalenjin culture storytelling used to be predominantly assigned to old women. It is considered childish for Kalenjin men to participate in storytelling sessions. By circumcision age, any adult male has passed through the storytelling stage and will therefore have acquired the wisdom transmitted through this art form.

Narration of oral tales is an art; it is not just a mechanical recounting of events. A good oral artist is the one who has great awareness of and sensitivity towards the audience. A good narrator will not choose her stories at random but will select them carefully, relating them to the social grouping of her audience. An important educational aspect of oral narratives is their contributions towards moulding and preparing children for their future social roles.

Chesaina says that the general structure of various Kalenjin stories depends very much on the type of audience for whom they are intended. Stories for young children are short and have straightforward plots, while for adult audiences and older youths the stories are longer and have more complex plots. The starting and ending formulas of Kalenjin stories are another important aspect of their structure. These formulas are shaped by the narrator's intended emphasis.

A common starting formula is:

“Long ago there was ...”

A narrator may choose to start the story straight away without any formula, for example:

“There were three girls ...”

According to Chesaina the narrator tends to conclude with a formula that summarises (ie. succinctly restates) the lesson embedded in the tale and enunciates the moral of the story.

Chesaina (1991) notes that Kalenjin stories are known for using both human and animal characters. Animal characters are very popular because they are easier to manipulate than human characters. This manipulation of animal characters helps present events and absurd situations as vividly as possible without making too much of a demand on the audience's emotions. Over the years, certain animals have come to be regarded as symbols or concrete representations of particular character traits in Kalenjin stories, for example:

- Hare is a trickster and a cheat.
- Elephant is depicted as huge but stupid. He is passive and is often tricked by Hare.
- Lion is traditionally the king or chief of the animals. He is courageous and as king he is expected to be wise. However, both his courage and wisdom are put to the test when he is fooled by the little Hare.
- Hyena is the symbol of greed and destructiveness. He only thinks about satisfying his prodigious appetite.
- Monkey is adroit and clever. He uses his wits to save himself from trouble rather than to make others suffer.
- Chameleon is wise but his retarded movement and speech prevent him from putting his wisdom into practice.
- Crocodile is selfish and destructive. There is no sincerity in his displays of friendship.

- Birds are friends of humans, especially in time of trouble. They act as guardian spirits and often carry messages to help save human characters from precarious situations.

Chesaina also says that while he was collecting folktales he recognized that the audience talked freely about their daily task but their attention was immediately focused when hearing the opening formula. The connection between narrator and audience ends, when the narrator utters the closing formula and the audience immediately start discussing how the folktale was told.

The members of the audience talk in a random order before the narration of folktales starts is also observed in Lunda-Cokwe communities, while people are sitting in *tchota* waiting for elders, before the narrator starts telling the folktale. But when they hear the word *lunga walingile* everybody stops speaking and listens attentively. The contrast is that, in Lunda-Cokwe communities folktales are narrated by men, while in Kalenjin communities the narrator's role is reserved for old women.

2.4.6 Chesaina (1997): Embu and Mbeere folktales

In a study of Embu and Mbeere folktales in Kenya, Chesaina (1997: 11-30) notes that oral literature is intimately related to the social environment of the people who create and perform it. As the creative expression of the people's culture, it manipulates language to express values, beliefs, traditions and world view. No culture is static; culture develops alongside the progression of history. A culture's dynamism is sustained by man's ability to adapt his attitudes and practices to changing circumstances. Oral literature is a powerful means of facilitating this

cultural dynamism. By sensitising society and commenting on human behaviour, oral literature not only helps society to redefine its concerns, but contributes towards social regeneration.

Chesaina also notes that the vibrancy of Embu and Mbeere oral literature is evident from their interaction with each other. Although each genre has its own etiquette, time and place of performance, there are points at which they interact. According to him, the oral narratives is a major point of confluence because of its ability to accommodate other genres, and its tendency to give them additional creative roles while at the same time strengthening itself aesthetically through them. Indeed, this is one of the reasons why the oral narrative is considered to be the mother of all oral literature.

Chesaina maintains that the oral narrative incorporates songs which are sung by some of the characters as the story develops. The song may be a device used by a character to disguise a certain happening in the story. It conveys emotions and helps relieve tension while at the same time propelling the story towards its conclusion, thus making this narrative a type of musical oral literature in that the song interacts with the narrative in a way that strengthens the narrative aesthetically by infusing it with melody and a greater emotional quality. E.g. The nostalgic theme song “Somewhere, over the rainbow ...” in the current grandiose (high, wide’n handsome) film production “Australia”.

The writer also argues that the Embu and Mbeere oral narratives are divisible into seven subcategories. These are myth, legend, aetiological stories, ogre stories, trickster tales, fantasies and ordinary tales.

- Myths – created out of events which putatively happened in a remote indeterminate past of a people. They are often based on the imagined existence of unusual phenomena in the cosmos.
- Legends – based on the lives of renowned figures in the history of a people. These figures are people who are known to have actually lived as members of the communities.
- Aetiological tales – give creative explanations for strange natural characteristics or behaviour of certain animals.
- Ogre tales – revolve around conflict or a problem brought about by interaction between human beings and ogres. In these tales the ogre is a major character but it should be noted that he is always depicted as an antagonist.
- Trickster stories – revolve around cunning and trickery. A character, mostly animal, assumes a false personality in order to deceive others. Hence these tales are built around the conflict between illusion and reality.
- Fantasies – are oral narratives in which people interact with supernatural beings and magical elements. In these stories the human character is rewarded for good behaviour or punished for wickedness in a manner which belongs more to the supernatural world than to the natural human world.
- Ordinary tales – the stories classified under this subgenre are based on ordinary events and a day-to-day interaction between people living in the same community. This classification is similar to the Lunda-Cokwe one, although the Lunda-Cokwe provides more details (cf. section 4.5).

Chesaina (1997) also says that storytelling is one of the oldest arts among the Embu and the Mbeere. It is an art in which almost every member of the two societies must have taken part at one time or another. Stories were told in the evening before and after the evening meal. It was taboo for anybody, children and adults alike, to tell stories during the day. It was believed, for example, that everyone who told stories during the day would grow a nail on his bottom. Beliefs such as this were used to encourage people to concentrate on work during the day and avoid the distraction of storytelling.

He (Chesaina) notes that there were no hard and fast rules about a preferred location for storytelling. However, the etiquette was to hold the session in old women's huts. The first narrator in a storytelling session has the critical responsibility of attracting the attention of the audience. Instead of going straight into asking the audience to listen to a story, therefore, the narrator may start with a short riddling session and may throw a few riddles and either give the rest of the audience the freedom to respond, or pick on particular individuals whose attention seems elsewhere. The ideal narrative oral artist is conscious of the social function of oral literature. While trying to win the audience's appreciation of the oratory, the narrator acts as a propagator of the society's moral values. Among the Embu and the Mbeere there were leading narrators (at the time of the study) whose role it was to inculcate social values. The narrators could be male or female, though the majority were female.

This writer also discusses the opening/closing formulae for stories, first announcing the story and then concluding and drawing a moral from it. The nature of the story guides the narrator in choosing the formula that will be most effective. The composition of the audience may also

influence the narrator's choice of formula. Although the performance of the oral narrative takes place in a relatively relaxed atmosphere, it is taken very seriously as a didactic tool and as an art that contributes significantly to the survival of the relevant community physical and social environment concerned.

Some aspects of narratives of Embu and Mbeere people are quite similar to those of the Lunda-Cokwe, for example, folktales are narrated after the evening meal and daytime narration is taboo. Narration is sanctioned for both sexes by the Embu and Mbeere, however, a bit restricted to men by the Lunda-Cokwe.

2.4.7 Boscom (1972): "Dilemma" folktales

Boscom (1972:143-155) maintains that African dilemma folktales are known for their elaborate narrative schemes, leaving the listener with a challenging choice between possible alternatives answers, such as which of several characters deserves a reward, or which of them has done the best. He also observes that the dilemmas in some folktales have a definite solution but most often the tale ends with an unresolved question, to be debated by the audience. Even when they have standard answers, dilemma folktales generally evoke spirited discussion, thus serving as a training ground for those who participate to develop the skills of debate and argumentation. It is this function, rather than any literary merit, that makes them interesting. This may be the reason why many dilemma folktales have little literary merit.

Boscom (1972) gives an example - familiar to some readers of a folktale with a soluble dilemma, a Liberian tale whose title "The cow's Tail switch" is that of a collection published by Courlander and Herzog. The dilemma in the tale is that a hunter goes into the forest but does not return, leaving his family to guess at the reason for his disappearance until the memory fades, after some months. The memory is revived, however, when a son is born to the man's wife and then demands to know where his father is when he learns to speak. His elder brother decides to go and look for their father in the forest. Whenever they lose their way one of the brothers finds it again. Finally they find their father's scattered bones and rusted weapons, and know that he has been killed in the hunt. One brother reassembles the bones. Yet another covers the skeleton with sinews and flesh. A fifth puts blood in the hunter's veins. A sixth puts breath in his body. A seventh gives him the power of movement. And the last gives him the power of speech. After the hunter has been revitalised, a feast is held at which he announces that he will give his cow-tail switch, which all admire, to the one who has done the most to bring him home. His sons begin arguing about it, and the whole village joins in. Finally, calling for silence, the hunter gives the cow-tail switch to his youngest son, who had asked, "Where is my father?" Versions of this folktale have been recorded among the Temme and Limba of Sierra Leone, the Balu of Cameroon, the Congo of Congo (Brazzaville) and twice among the Luba of the DRC.

The dilemma folktales appear unconfirmed by other researchers to have much in common with numbskull stories or tall folktales, or several others. In general the folktales share some of the features of the riddle, but they differ in the nature of their answers. They also differ from most riddles in that they are stated in the form of prose narratives. And unlike riddles, they often have no answers; and when they do, the answers are not objects, or even abstract concepts. Dilemma

folktales present difficult choices between alternatives, some based on judgments of relative power or skill, and others based on moral or ethical judgments.

The dilemma folktales are usually narrated to provoke a debate in order to see how people argue and convince others. The Lunda-Cokwe people use the dilemma folktales among the young men to discover who has the best persuasive and debating powers that can be applied to solve routine problems in the village.

2.4.8 Hurreiz (1972): Sudanese folktales

In a study of Sudanese folktales Hurreiz (1972:157-163) sheds light on Africa above and below the Sahara (North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa), stressing the influences and factors that African folktales have in common, and questioning the approaches that lead to false and arbitrary regional divisions. He concludes with conviction that the Sahara has never been a cultural barrier, as said that trans-Saharan trade routes have for many centuries linked North Africa and the Mediterranean coast economically and culturally with West Africa. The writer emphasises the strong cultural links between the Sudan and Central and West Africa. To exemplify these strong ties he collected thirty Sudanese folktales and classified them as follows:

- 1 Historical stories, which are equivalent to historical legends.
- 2 Religious stories, which include Muslim saints' legends and faith-promoting episodes.

- 3 Adventure and love stories, also considered to be realistic, and equivalent to the European sense of a novella.
- 4 Humorous stories, namely jokes and anecdotes relating to everyday life. Some revolve around a traditional character.

In his analysis, he also reflects the dilemma of the Sudanese, who consider themselves as Afro-Arabs belonging to both races and sharing features related to both cultures. Hurreiz used the stories of Abu Zeid Al Hilali, to discuss ethnic relations in Sudan, as some Sudanese identify themselves with Africa through the character of Abu Zeid, who is noted for his blackness.

It is obvious African history shows that there is a clear cut division between the culture of North Africa and of sub-Sahara Africa. If the writer claims this link, he has failed to show it from the example of the thirty folktales he collected.

2.4.9 Swanepoel (1983): Tswana folktales

Swanepoel (1983:41-52) in a study of Tswana folktales observes that opening and closing formulae are acknowledged by many researchers and folktale specialists, although the tendency is to neglect the structure and the functions of formulae. In the present study attention is given to the structure and functions of the formulae because they are integral to and one of the main structural features of folktales.

The writer maintains that an opening formula is defined as a sentence or sentences used to announce the onset of the folktale. For example: It is said that a long time ago there were a hyena, a jackal and a rock rabbit.

In order to support his idea, Swanepoel says that Finnegan (1967: 85-86, 1970:379) deals with the subject in her study titled **Limba Stories** and in **Oral Literature in Africa**. She recognizes the formula and the various forms used to start folktales, depending on the narrator's choice. Finnegan notes that even the audience can take part in the opening process and therefore stimulate the telling of folktales. This observation is confirmed by Marivate (1973) in his study of Tsonga folktales.

Swanepoel corroborates the relatively free-ranging variety of initiating formulae used in telling folktales. In Tswana folktales, the opening formula has a full form and a range of variants. He also defines the closing formula as a short phrase used to end the folktale (e.g. "it has come to an end").

He (Swanepoel) notes that closing formulae have been acknowledged in recent studies but that little is said beyond the mere mention of this feature of folktales. Some African writers on folktales treat the opening and closing features as a single, important structural element of the folktale. Swanepoel notes that according to Finnegan (1970:87) closing formulas conform to a more rigid, invariant pattern than opening formulas (e.g. Xhosa folktales according to Scheub 1975). Marivate (1973:56) notes that the audience actively engage in ending Tsonga folktales called "killing the tale".

Narrators of Tswana folktales always use a closing formula to which the audience does not contribute, according to Marivate's observations. He recognized this while collecting folktales. The audience talked desultorily about their daily tasks but their interest was immediately aroused and focused on hearing the opening formula. When the narrator ends his folktale with a closing formula the connection between narrator and audience ends.

As the researcher argues above, the formulae are the key that establishes the start and the end of the folktales. The opening formula notifies the audience that folktales are about to start. Normally any language has a popular expression indicating the start of folktales. Some forms are rare, for example, the Lunda-Cokwe folktales have a common opening expression which is *lunga walingile* (once upon a time), there are others too, such as *kwapuile* (once upon a time). This start may relate to a fable, a social folktale or a legend. A common closing expression is *tchotcho tchapwile* (it happened in that way). Similar expressions are common in African folktales.

2.4.10 Magel (1981): Wolof folktales

In a study of Wolof folktales in Gambia, Magel (1981:8-15) notes that the fictional narrative embodies ideals and values in an aesthetically pleasing and entertaining manner. The narrative performance experience is popular at all levels of society, regardless of caste, age or sex barriers. Magel defines it as a powerful influence on an individual's world perspective and his/her daily inter-personal behaviour. The frequency of storytelling likewise contributes to social and cultural awareness and cohesion.

Magel says further that the exchange of stories between adults or between adults and children is virtually a daily activity. Although not scheduled into normal routine, some time was is devoted to fictional narration each day. This may occur during the daylight hours at the village square, at the well, out in the agricultural field or within the family compound during the evening when domestic chores are completed. Wolof people do not adhere to the commonly accepted premise that folktales are only told at night around a glowing open fire. Wherever two or more people are together, there is a possibility for an informal narrative exchange.

The researcher also says that the Wolof folktales commence with an opening formula. Where the storyteller increases the volume and raises the pitch of his/her voice and intones by saying:

There was a story. The audience respond with normal volume and pitch:

‘Our legs are crossed’, or

‘We are sitting down and ready’.

Then the storyteller says: It happened here.

The audience replies: It was so.

The closing formula is provided by the narrator alone. It has several variants for example:

- This tale passed by here and entered the sea.
- The tale passed in this form and entered the sea.
- The tale passed in this form and entered heaven.
- In this form the tale entered heaven.
- Whoever understands it first.

- Will enter heaven.

To conclude, Magel argues that the form is also distinguished from other oral literary genres in their patterns of thematic development. Although Wolof fictional narratives are entertaining and relaxing, they are fundamentally a presentation of abstract concepts in oral disguise. The themes evolving from the arrangement of their constituent elements follow three basic development patterns. Viewed in terms of statement, analogy, refutation and conclusion, the narratives are intellectual arguments in artistic form that support specific cultural beliefs and behaviours.

Folktales belong to the community, so the collective involvement of all and sundry is crucial. Magel's discussion follows Swanepoel's because they both followed Finnegan's theory. The important issue here is that these similarities were found in different languages, including Lunda-Cokwe folktales. The problem centres on the time of day when Wolof folktales are told as they do not follow the common custom of other African people.

By and large the researcher concludes from due observation that African writers agree on the main objectives of telling folktales: to teach and instruct the youth, and thus to equip them for their future life. As in the day-to-day existence of people, the cultural values expressed in the narratives act as the yardstick against which the society's moral standards are measured. Lunda-Cokwe folktales have the same purpose.

2.5 Earlier studies on folktales in Angola, including the Lunda-Cokwe

As discussed in section 1.2, the study of folktales in Angola has been negatively affected by the approach of the Portuguese colonial government, expressed in the policy of total assimilation of native people and suppression and ultimately “breeding out” of indigenous Angolan culture. The body of research on Angolan folktales is confined to the following studies.

2.5.1 Lord (1962): Umbundu folktales

Lord (1962: xiii-xxix) provides comparative analyses of Umbundu folktales, collected by Ennis (1962). Lord says that Umbundu folktales are characterised by repetition until some result is obtained, which is typical for all oral literature. Then he grouped the folktales according to varieties of repetition.

2.5.2 Fonseca (1996): Kimbundu folktales

Fonseca (1996:43-53) mainly focuses on the *Kimbundu* language, as the vocabulary that the writer used in his book is a variation of *Kimbundu* spoken in different places of Angola. He also classified Angolan folktales into the following eight categories:

- Fables
- Trickster tales
- Cannibal tales
- Monster tales

- Human tales
- Etiological tales
- Fantastic and marvellous tales
- Myths.

It must be said that observations recorded by Lord and Fonseca seem to confirm basic elements of Finnegan's theory. Therefore, they seem to have produced essential work relating to Angolan folktales.

2.5.3 Lunda-Cokwe folktales

The missionaries who learned and recorded Lunda-Cokwe did so for ease of communication, for religious purposes, with local people who could not speak Portuguese. They also collected some Lunda-Cokwe folktales, as a casual pastime and not for the purpose of academic research, resulting in much of their work being superficial. They were also mainly concerned with translating the folktales into Portuguese. For example, Adriano and Barbosa (1973) wrote down Angolan folklore, as well as fifty Cokwe folktales, in the Cokwe language, together with Portuguese translations; and Santos (1947) collected Cokwe proverbs and folktales. They are fully recognised for their sterling work, especially the collection and translation of folktales, which demands considerable effort. Besides, the folktales they collected are very popular with Lunda-Cokwe people. But their efforts did not extend to explaining how folktales serve as vehicle to convey knowledge, for example concerning creation, tribal beginnings, and quasi-historical figures.

These stories are related as fact and concern a specific time and place. Fairy tales are entirely fictional and often begin with such formulas as Once upon a time and “In a certain country there lived ...” A popular example recounts the supernatural adventures and mishaps of a youngest daughter who transformed a prince. The tale also involves mermaids, wood fairies and elves. Animal tales abound in every culture; most of them are clearly anthropomorphic, in that the animals assume human personalities. Such tales are classified according to three subdivisions: the etiological tale (a tale concerning origins), the fable pointing to a moral, and the beast epic. Myths, which are more difficult to define satisfactorily, treat events from a remote unspecified past, generally relating adventures that involve gods, giants, heroes, nymphs, satyrs, and villains, as well as etiological themes (Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend edited by Leach & Fried 1949:408-409).

2.6 Gaps and shortcomings

Although the abovementioned writers made substantial contributions to the general discourse on folktales, their contribution centred on structure, function and form as elements of Lunda-Cokwe folktales that contribute to personality building. However, their work has some limitations. For example, Propp discussed the Morphology of folktales by analysing the structure of Russian folktales which have many features in common with other cultures’ folktales but should not be taken as a universal model. Every cultural group has its traditions. The folktales of a particular society can to a certain extent be taken as a mirror of life: they reflect what people do, what they think, how they live and have lived, their values, their joys and their sorrows. Therefore, it could

claim fewer or more functions than the Russian folktales. This is true for Lunda-Cokwe folktales. Propp failed to consider the social context and the form of folktales.

Propp's work was supported by adherents of the structuralist school of criticism, for example Foresti (1987:96-97) in his analysis of a collection of twenty *cuentos de magia* or fairytales, which he gathered from the rural areas of Chile. Foresti shows that his purpose is not merely to describe Propp's method, but also to search for a more complete understanding of this particular genre of fiction. He recognizes Propp's effort to improve on earlier works that take no account of the minimal and invariable elements.

Foresti's work seems to indicate a precision and adjustment in the appreciation of the critical terminology of the expression (function), and he identified seven basic problems:

- function as sequence;
- function as consequence;
- function as abstraction;
- function and quantity of functions;
- function and assimilation;
- function and inalterability of location;
- function and character.

Foresti also emphasized Propp's failure to see the causal relationship between function and actions. His chart reduces Propp's thirty-one functions to twenty showing the arbitrary nature of the Russian's method of selection. Propp's followers, such as Dundes (1962) and Levi-Strauss

(1955), have criticised his work for omitting all verbal considerations from the analysis although folktales are transmitted orally, and by the same token, therefore, he has left out all considerations of tone, mood, character, and indeed, anything that sets off the identity of one folktale from that of another.

By contrast, Finnegan has made a sterling contribution to the study of verbal art and folklore, as discussed in section 2.3. However, she has left some gaps in her survey, and the purpose of the following comments is to fill at least a few of them. First, it is necessary to mention some of the missing bibliographical tools of folklore. Their coverage is not limited to verbal art, yet they are essential to its study. Secondly, a few themes receive less than adequate discussion. For example, she devoted only two pages to the structural analysis that Levi-Strauss propagated as a major factor in the elevation of the verbal arts, which seems insufficient (Ben-Amos 1993).

Polome (1979) maintains that Finnegan should give more attention to the historical poem instead of mentioning it only casually under panegyric poetry. In his *Etudes Bakongo*, for example, Wing (1959) provides long extracts from an archaic poem documenting the origin of the *Mpangu* clan of the chief of *Makanga* among the *baKongo*. The structuralist and descriptivist schools of African writers are complementary to each other and important for this study as they take due cognisance of the structure, function, form, as well as the opening and closing formulae of African folktales.

Haring (1972) discusses the morphology of traditional narrative patterns found among the Machakos in Kenya. He collected folktales from a specific group, and his approach is based on

Propp's theory and method of classification. Therefore, Haring did not mention whether Machakos folktales other than the select group could be subjected to Propp's analysis into morphological elements. In the same vein, on the discussion of Levi-Strauss's theory, he only raised up the negative aspects, which leaves the impression that the Levi-Strauss theory did not work in totality.

Msimang (1986) discusses the influence of folktales on the Zulu novel. Although he recognizes the value of folktales in society and why they are told to children, his explanation of children's reluctance to believe in all the fantasies embodied in folktales seems incomplete, not only because they are expected to believe in events that putatively happened a long time ago, but because of the extensive orality that the African ancestors developed. On the other hand, Msimang follows a structuralist approach, but his conclusion is similar to that of Chasaina whose approach is descriptive. Msimang argues that the folktale is the living art which expounds and upholds certain Zulu norms and values and forms an overall cultural framework. In his work on the oral literature of the Embu and Mbeere Chasaina says that the oral narrative is a major point of confluence because of its ability to accommodate other genres and give them additional creative roles. In light of the above it seems fair comment that folktales play a major role in the building of individual personality and character as well as group identity formation.

Miruka (2001), writing about Luo folktales, presents details to illustrate the importance of folktales for knowledge transmission. As with the Kalenjin the task of telling stories is reserved for old women, understandably so, because the Luo and Kalenjin are based in Kenyan territory, hence the cultural similarities between them. As noted earlier, Luo folktales are largely

unaccompanied by physical dramatization as the stories are narrated on the sleeping mat. In contrast, the narration of Lunda-Cokwe folktales, in the evening, are generally accompanied by singing, dancing, shouts and whistles, chorus, hand-clapping, and stamping of feet, and the use of musical instruments, such as rattles, drums, etc. by members of the audience who act as assistant to the narrator.

Chesaina (1991) deals with Kalenjin stories, confirming that the narration of Kalenjin folktales is reserved for old women. According to him, men do not participate actively as they have passed through the storytelling stage and have received the benefit of listening to the lessons transmitted by this medium by the time they reach manhood, signalled by initiation. Lunda-Cokwe folktales are narrated by men in the *tchota*. Chesaina and Swanepoel agree that for the Kalenjin and Tswana the connection between narrator and audience ends with the closing formula spoken when the folktale ends, while for Lunda-Cokwe people the closing formula initiates a dialogue between audience and narrator in order to work out a solution and the moral of the folktale.

Boscom (1972) notes that African dilemma folktales are highly varied, the folktales could have the answer but final consensus is not required. Folktales of this kind normally raise hot debates among members of the audience or between narrator and audience. For Lunda-Cokwe people, consensus about some folktales is found in the in council of *seculos*.

Hurreiz wanted to establish a link between the culture of North African and sub-Saharan African. He collected thirty folktales. In reality, these folktales showed the influence of the two parts of Africa as consequence of emigration, war and inter-marriage with natives, but not link it self.

In his study of Wolof narratives Magel (1981) says that although the stories are entertaining and relaxing, they are intellectual arguments in artistic form that support and enhance specific cultural beliefs and behaviour. This is a general characteristic of African folktales, including those of the Lunda-Cokwe. The problem is that there is no commonly accepted place or time for the telling of Wolof folktales

The present work is intended to take this early work further by sequencing it as a step towards showing how Lunda-Cokwe folktales are used to form personality. The subtopics addressed in dealing with the main thrust of this thesis are as follows:

- 1- Presenting the structure of folktales, with reference to Propp's theory
- 2- Exploring and explaining the function and form of folktales according to Finnegan's theory
- 3- Based on Bourdieu's theory, discussing the contribution of values embodied in Lunda-Cokwe folktales towards the overall development of Angola, as they are part of social networks.

¹ http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vladimir_Propp assessed (16 August-2006)

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter II contains a literature review of earlier studies on folktales. The focus is on the contributions and limitations of studies conducted on folktales from selected scholars whose work has made a great impact on the study of oral literature, and in Angola in particular. Awareness of the merits and demerits of this literature can contribute substantially towards analysing Lunda-Cokwe folktales.

A qualitative research method was chosen for the present study to deal with descriptive data (Guy et al 1987:256-257), and because the study is not concerned with numbers. The merit of qualitative research is that it is characteristically exploratory, data-driven and allows considerable latitude to informants.

This chapter provides the methodology used for data collection and it is divided into four sections. The first section deals with the research design, the second section is devoted to data collection, with three sources, namely: The researcher's own knowledge, as a member of the Lunda-Cokwe community, the informants' knowledge and desktop research

The third section focuses on the scope of the study. A good deal of research still has to be done about the Lunda-Cokwe people. As Neto (1988:33) says, "to our culture, our tradition, our lands, we shall return". The last section deals with the theoretical framework at issue, with due consideration of the three theories, (cf. Propp 1928, Finnegan 1970 and Bourdieu 1982).

3.2 Research design

The objective of this dissertation is to study the role of Lunda-Cokwe folktales in the building of personality in particular, and in the development of Angola in general. Furthermore, this study is an attempt to provide answers to what the relation is between folktales and development, and how folktales can be relevant to the development of Angola.

This study is data driven. Data-driven means that the research is informed by the data corpus itself, which therefore dictates the direction of the research. Its underlying assumptions may be well established and validated or replaced based on evidence from corpora (collection of written and spoken material).

Considering the above facts, it was decided to use a data-driven approach. Given the size of the Lunda-Cokwe community it was decided to work with informants to collect data. In fact, collecting data from this community was not an easy task; Firstly because the country was ravaged by civil war for long decades. Secondly, it was difficult to find a natural community that was uncontaminated by Portuguese influence which had prevailed in Angola for a long time. In spite of all these constraints, a remote Cameia village not affected by the pervasive Portuguese cultural dominance was found in Moxico Province. It is a big village, so it was decided to work with *seculos* (specialists with extensive knowledge) who are suitable people and they are profoundly familiar with Lunda-Cokwe people, including their folktales and their interpretation.

Although the researcher is a member of the same linguistic community, it was decided to collect valuable information from other members, which helped a lot because all concerned spoke the

same language and the informants gave information they thought would be germane to the issue. Now that the research design used for this study has been dealt with, the next section will focus on the data collection *per se*.

3.3 Data collection

The data for this study was drawn from the following sources; the researcher's own knowledge, as member of Lunda-Cokwe community; informants' knowledge about Lunda-Cokwe people and desktop research.

a) The researcher's own knowledge

Being a member of the Cokwe community gave the researcher an intuitive grasp of the Lunda-Cokwe culture that could be utilised, to gain useful information from the informants.

b) The informants' knowledge

The researcher, albeit a member of the Lunda-Cokwe community, remains a fallible human being with personal limitation, hence the decision to rely on the assistance and insights of other community members, drawn in as informants to gain consensus on matters at issue. As will be seen in chapter IV, seven folktales were collected and studied to determine their role in individual character and personality as well as group identity. Tape recording and the non-directive interview method were used to collect data. According to Goldstein (1964:108)

This interview consists of a rather generalised conversation between the researcher and his informant. In this conversation the informant is not led in any way, but is allowed almost completely free rein in his storytelling. All that the collector does is to suggest a subject at the beginning and then the rest is left to the informant.

Informants were interviewed in the manner described by Goldstein with a view to discovering other forms besides folktales used by the Lunda-Cokwe to transmit knowledge.

c) The desktop research

Although the Lunda-Cokwe culture in Angola has not been studied adequately, some field studies have been attempted. Considering the work of other scholars will help to avoid duplication and will focus the study. Books, magazines and journals were consulted to aid the research.

3.4 Scope of the study

As pointed out in section 1.2, the Portuguese adopted the assimilation philosophy of colonization in Angola, with the result that the Bantu culture of Angola, including Lunda-Cokwe, which is the object of this study, were marginalized. It was this fact that persuaded the researcher to study Lunda-Cokwe folktales as a source of knowledge and precious cultural heritage, with particular reference to the role of folktales in building personality. With this in mind, seven folktales were collected and discussed and also free translation is given as explained in section 3.3 above, focusing on data collection. It is thought that seven folktales could be too many and could make

the study unwieldy as a detailed discussion of each of them is needed. On the other hand, in the researcher's considered opinion if fewer than seven folktales had been selected, the study might not have been truly representative of the defining Lunda-Cokwe trends.

3.5 Theoretical framework

As noted in this study, three theories will be used to support the analysis of how Lunda-Cokwe folktales build personality: Propp (1928), Finnegan (1970) and Bourdieu (1982). These theories are brought together in the same study because the matters at issue are related. It is important to establish, therefore, exactly how they relate to each other.

Propp's theory will be applied to analyse the character type of Lunda-Cokwe folktales, (cf. Section 4.2). One cannot assume, of course, that all Lunda-Cokwe folktales conform to Propp's structure because some are different in character. For example, among the folktales narrated in chapter four, the *Mwana xiwa* (The orphan) and *Mbalu nyi Tumba* (The Rabbit and Lion) do not conform to Propp's structure, as they do not display all the elements required to fit the classification he proposes. Finnegan's theory will be used as a model to analyse how the form, function and classification, as well as the opening and closing formulae, of Lunda-Cokwe folktales contribute to personality building. Finnegan's work covers these matters in detail and conforms to universal scientific criteria.

It is self-evident that folktales are integral to the cultural heritage of any people, and the Lunda-Cokwe of Angola are no exception because they use folktales to pass on their knowledge and general cultural heritage to new generations. However, folktales are rarely regarded as a useful

component of the nation-building or development process of a country. The reason for this is mainly that development is largely measured in statistics reflecting material wealth. For instance, in Angola it is generally believed that petroleum and diamonds are the only resources that can help to develop the country. Although the exploitation of mineral wealth is certainly a major factor in this regard, the development of Angola should not depend exclusively on economic capital, but also on other forms of capital, such as cultural and social capital (cf. Bourdieu 1982).

CHAPTER IV: PRESENTATION AND DATA DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The research design is set out in the methodology chapter (chapter III), which covers the methods and instruments used for data collection, to which end seven folktales were collected and analysed using the theories developed by Propp, Finnegan and Bourdieu.

The purpose of this chapter is to indicate how the Lunda-Cokwe use folktales to build personality and transmit their cultural legacy to coming generations, as evidenced by the persistence of their traditions, which have been passed on by word of mouth over the years. This is attributable to their insistence that children should be taught their family lore so that they will know who they are and where they come from, and to know their kin.

The chapter is divided into six sections. The first section covers the structure of Lunda-Cokwe folktales based on Propp's theory. The second section deals with the functions and form of Lunda-Cokwe folktales based on Finnegan's theory. The third section considers the link between culture and development according to Bourdieu's theory. The fourth section provides a classification of Lunda-Cokwe folktales. The fifth section deals with fictional characters used as exemplary role models in the process of building personality. The last section presents the exemplary oral narratives.

As noted earlier in section 2.5.3, there are many different types of folktales, such as: animal folktales, stories about people, myths, legends historical narratives, recreational folktales, etc.

Here the objective is to study the folktales that illustrate how Lunda-Cokwe people handed down the knowledge, experience, wisdom, skill, habits and practices from the older to the younger generation.

It should be noted that the hunter is a central figure in most folktales narrated in section 4.7. At issue is the real situation prevailing in the rural area of Moxico province where food scarcity is endemic during periods of drought when people become selfish, thinking only of themselves, forgetting that they live in a community where the distribution of food should be done equitably. So, the adults try to caution young people to avoid this behaviour. It is significant that most of the folktales included in this study are accompanied by songs that are not included in the repertoire that musicians use to entertain people although they do have entertainment value – but rather they have the purpose of giving a clue to the solution of a problem. For example, in the folktale *Lunga nyi mwanenyi wa katumba* (“The man and his stepson” cf. page 95) the wise people tried to solve the problem posed in the narrative by asking the man and his stepson to make the cows move. When the man sang the cows did not move but when the stepson sang the animals moved. So they concluded that the cows belonged to the stepson.

The folktales are narrated and repeated several times by adults in the process of building personality, but some young people who aspire to key positions in the Lunda-Cokwe community may also take charge of the narrative task. The selection that is promotion to prominence is made according to the ability of the youngster to memorise minute detailed instructions. Acting as narrators gives them the opportunity to perform and explain the moral of the folktales, in such instances the adults have the role of correcting and helping them follow the norms of the Lunda-

Cokwe community. For example, to teach respect for adults, for all the villagers, and for other people a sense of hospitality, etc. is cultivated with the aid of folktales. Propp's analysis of folktales with specific reference to the structure of the Lunda-Cokwe folktales will be discussed next.

4.2 Propp's theory and the Structure of Lunda-Cokwe folktales

As observed in chapter II, Propp (1928) provided an analysis that reduced folktales to a series of actions performed by the dramatis personae. He identified thirty-one generic narratemes (functions) in folktales and concluded that eight general characteristics are present in all folktales. His description of the structure of these elements is given in 2.2 above. According to Propp's analytic principle the following defining elements can be identified in Lunda-Cokwe folktales:

1. *Mukwa kupihisa* - the villain
2. *Mukwa shimbi* - the hero
3. *Mukwa lamba* - the victim
4. *Mukwa kukwasa* - the dispatcher
5. *Mukwa kuhalisa* - the donor.

The false hero character hardly ever appears in Lunda-Cokwe folktales while the donor may appear in the guise of several characters in the same folktale e.g. the folktale entitled *tshinhanga wamituto*, (cf. the folktale "the boasting hunter" text given on page 88). The structure can be presented as follows:

- The king – villain – fights against the hero
- The hunter – hero – victim of his boasting
- The hunter's son – victim – his father's weakness
- The bird – dispatcher – helped to pursue the hero
- The village population – donor – pronounce final verdict on hero
- The hunter's family – donor – final verdict on hero
- The king's council – donor – final verdict on hero

4.3 Finnegan's theory and the function and form of Lunda-Cokwe folktales

As noted, Finnegan (1970) went beyond the bare essentials of structural analysis to include function and form in the analysis of folktales. Finnegan (1967) demonstrated form in the *Limba* folktales of *Sierra Leone* (cf. page 85-86) then divided the folktales into different categories and discussed their overall contribution to the development of society.

According to her, it is common cause that the study of oral literature has moved from earlier preoccupations with origins to more recent emphases on meaning, form, structure and contemporary dynamics. Western scholars such as English tried to interact with changing historical experiences and philosophies. They were at least implicitly concerned with understanding themselves and their contemporary culture through comparative insights into the human condition, and not just in a mechanical search for origins.

Folktales assume a virtually unlimited variety of forms and are perennially and pervasively present in societies throughout the world; in fact they are as old as, and a critically defining feature of the human species (Finnegan 1992:26-29). According to her (Finnegan) all classes and

conditions of all human groups have their stories, and very often those stories are enjoyed by men of different races and radically different cultural backgrounds: the purpose of propagating folk narrative is not to achieve literary merit. Like life itself, it is there, international, trans-historical and trans-cultural, which means that its (putative) factual content proceeds from a remote, indeterminate past, proceeding overtime into diversity evidenced by the fact that each country has its own unique identity with its own dynamic internal coherence.

The folktale has a well-defined place and function in the Lunda-Cokwe culture. Thus, its use is specific, to avoid misunderstanding among the users. Most Lunda-Cokwe folktales have at least the use of terms/sayings specific to the community in common, serve as repositories of wisdom, and for those who do not understand their message holdout the possibility of asking for help from elders. What is implied here is that people may speak the same language, but the presence of the *ngaje* (spokesman/interpreter) is extremely important to make the language more accessible and understandable.

The Lunda-Cokwe folktales which are usually, narrated in the evening open with the expression *lunga walingile* (there was a man who...). The conventional English expression is “once upon a time a man...”. The closing convention is *tchotcho tchapwile*, which is loosely translated as “it happened in that way”. If a youngster tells a story and it is short, he says *hinabulula*, “that is my story”. Whether you like it up to you: a child cannot tell long stories lest he gets lost along the way”.

It should be noted that there are various types of folktales in Lunda-Cokwe (cf. section 4.5). *Iximo* are stories narrated in the *tchota* during daytime to find solutions to daily problems, or stories narrated in the evening around the fire, when adults are educating the young people. As will be seen below, all folktales are told around the *tchota*. The stories can be classified variously as *Ixima ya Kulonga* (Fable), *Ixima ya Kuhalisa* (Legend), *Ixima ya Maligekela* (Narrative - historical myths), and so on. The classification of stories will be dealt with below in section 4.5.

The term *tchota* stems from *kwota*, which means “to warm up”. A *tchota* is a structure used as a house for reception of visitors and where meals are taken. More particularly, it is the place where members of a village community meet to solve daily problems, and where people talk and the youth are educated at night around the fire. Every Lunda-Cokwe village has a *tchota* at its centre – a circular structure, wide open all round its circumference, with a conical roof and slender supporting columns. The presence of women is allowed in the *tchota* when the problem being discussed directly concerns them but, then they do not actually enter the *tchota*, but sit around its circumference, mainly as observers, who are given the floor only to bear witness by clarifying or explaining matters being discussed. The men folk pronounce the final verdict. This procedural arrangement is explained by the Cokwe saying that *kumushitu kukushi kukatuka munhinyi, mba hanga ku mapwo kukatuke chiyulo*, which means that getting good advice from women is as difficult as finding a suitable half for an axe or a hoe. Another Cokwe saying in this regard is that a woman should wear a long cloth in front, and never a long mouth, which means that a woman should never speak too much or try to lead. These sayings are clearly indicative of the exclusion and subordination of women. This is illustrated by the story of Princess Lueji and her brother

Tchinguri, who did everything to prevent her, from reaching the highest throne of the Cokwe people but without success.

Broaching a problem in *tchota* during the day follows a set pattern. Normally it starts with a song and a saying like a proverb, familiar anecdote or folktale which announces the problem in a big voice before people come to *tchota*. Only wise people can clearly identify and state the problem. When everyone has arrived in *tchota* an exchange of greetings ensues and the problem is formally stated. During this process the men bow, the women remain half erect or their knees, and the children remain seated. Once the problem has been considered and dealt with another song announces that a solution has been reached. If the solution is amicable a drink is served, and then everyone goes home.

Seculos are people with extensive knowledge and a well-developed capacity for reflection on and interpretation of Lunda-Cokwe folktales. One might add here that, some *iximo* or folktales are used by *seculos* in the *tchota* during the day in seeking solutions to problems that crop up daily in the village, in this case women may be present, but the evening *tchota* sessions are reserved exclusively for men.

Some folktales cannot be told during the day: there is a traditional belief that one cannot tell a folktale during the day to avoid the risk of developing an unexpected twist. These tales are told only at nightfall by the moonlight, or in *tchota*, around the fire, after dinner when people are relaxing to ease their digestion in preparation for bedtime. These night-time folktale sessions are

known as *kuchicama* and they are usually accompanied by singing and dancing for the following reasons:

- To capture and hold the audience's attention and encourage their active participation.
- To make sure that the audience takes in the story as it unfolds.
- To alleviate the tedium of a long, unbroken story.
- The song is normally used to provide clues to the solution of the problem, and to excite emotions like happiness, admiration, victory, sadness, frustration, pain, distress, and empathy for other people's feelings.

Lunda-Cokwe people use folktales in various situations to educate the youth. For example, when youngsters are being educated generally in *tchota* around the fire at night a variety of folktales with a moral lesson at the end are used, but when they have to be reprimanded and admonished the adults select examples of folktales that are suited for the occasion. As noted, only men preside at the evening *tchota* because that is when adults teach, educate and prepare boys for their future life. This is the time when the *seculos* take charge as competent people with a large repertoire of folktales and a high capacity for reflection and interpretation. Each folktale has its particular meaning. As soon as the narrator finishes narrating a folktale, the *seculo* analyses it and explains the hidden meaning to prepare the youngsters for a possibility of facing a similar situations in real life. It is like a soap opera involving various actors playing various roles, some good and others bad, with a responsible, well-informed adult explaining to his young audience the worth of emulation and the negative aspects that should be avoided.

It should be noted here that the *seculo* imparts the message of wisdom by narrating a folktale. He may start from the beginning, or from the end to the beginning, since it is a new folktale. The *seculo* can also start retelling the folktale in the middle, depending on *seculo*. In the folktale he may analyse the word or phrase of wisdom, the situational or referential context, or the behaviour of each character. The folktale is very rich; it contains various motifs, for example, a key element of wisdom, the moral of the folktale, the amusement, a song, a dance, hints etc, depending on the relevant area of interest. All these elements are present in the folktale *tshinhanga wamituto* or “the boating hunter”.

When the *seculo* is interpreting a folktale he often requests the participation of the audience (men and young boys) present to give their point of view. When they are right, he agrees with them, but if they are not, he clarifies and explains the main idea; because the folktale is for people it does not belong to anyone, and is open to different interpretations.

The folktale is narrated and analysed several times in succession to enable the youngsters to assimilate the content. The interpretation of some folktales is contentious, depending on whether the audience is heterogeneous or not and on the ability and versatility of the analyst. That is why, when the folktale has been told, lively debates between the analyst and audience exemplify the natural diversity of perspectives and the wide-ranging interpretive capacities of people. Sometimes it is necessary to elicit the advice of *seculos* to reach a consensus about the interpretation of the folktale. Some folktales are judged as a defendant due to their complexity.

Folktales are meant specifically for children. Thus, adults do not tell them unless there are children present as their attendance is part of forming personal character. Even the strong debates raised among the adult audiences are meant to teach the young generation the multifaceted nature and meaning of folktales.

The Lunda-Cokwe folktales are essentially modes of dramatic expression utilising voice, facial expressions, movements of the body and hands. Each narrator has his own style which is conditioned by the devices of the person who taught him the story. The narrator has artistic licence in telling stories, and rightly so because the stories are never learnt by heart and merely narrated. After perhaps hearing a story from another narrator, even once for that matter, the youngster works out his own presentation, lending individuality to it by constructing his own sentences, choosing his own words, making use of his own idiophones and expressions.

As discussed above, the same folktale generally has a number of versions because there is no definitive written form. Even if the theme is maintained; each narrator gives to the structure, characters and message of the folktale the marks of his own personality and creativity. Storytelling appears to be a universal cultural characteristic and common to both rudimentary and complex societies². Even if the various versions of folktales are demonstrably similar from culture to culture, and comparative studies of themes and narrative techniques have been successful in showing these relationships. Therefore, personality in Lunda-Cokwe people is built in *tchota* in the evening around the fire after narrating a folktale. When *seculo* explains the key element of wisdom or the moral hidden in each story, he teaches the youngsters how to behave in

such situations. The discussion is given in detail at the end of each interpretation of folktales narrated in section 4.7.

4.4 Bourdieu's theory and Culture and development of Angola

After linking the Lunda-Cokwe folktales in personality building with Propp and Finnegan's theories, the discussion now turns to Bourdieu's theory. As noted earlier in section 3.5, one of the aims of this study is to deal with the relation between culture and national development of Angola as a political entity. For example, folktales are part and parcel of the culture of any people, including the Lunda-Cokwe. However, folktales are rarely regarded as a useful component of nation building or the development process of a country. This is also because the development is always measured numerically. This dissertation maintains that, in order to bring about sustainable development and national unity, a holistic approach to personality building as well as nation building is required. Such an approach will not only take into account economic capital generated through national resources such as diamonds from the Lunda provinces. Other forms of capital are also required.

Bourdieu (1982:280) states that capital can take three basic forms: economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property; cultural capital, which is convertible, under certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and social capital, made up of social obligations or "connections", which are convertible, under certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. Therefore, the

three forms of capital are interchangeable, that is, they can be traded for each other and actually require such trade-offs for their development.

4.5 Classification of Lunda-Cokwe folktales

The classification of Lunda-Cokwe folktales follows that made by Fonseca (1996) in his contribution to the study of Angolan oral literature. *Lusango* is not merely translatable as a message or news, it may deal with the narration of death tidings (obituary notices) and communication of extraordinary facts. It also reveals expertise and wisdom.

Normally when a traveler arrives at a village he reports extensively on his trip and on the latest events in area of origin. The villagers reciprocate by telling him the news of the village. The *lusango* (news exchange) is accompanied by clapping hands, exclamations, repetition of words, etc. The traveler must memorize and be able to recall the minutest details of everything experienced or observed during the trip. The narrative may last hours. *Lusango* constitutes a daily practice in the life of communities and is a vehicle for many myths.

The other kinds are:

1) Ixima ya upeme nyi Uhenha (Tales of the fantastic and the marvellous) – This category includes tales featuring human protagonists, cannibal monsters, objects that make or provide marvels, inanimate beings, men metamorphosed by occult powers, spirits, divinities, and related characters. Plots include events or extraordinary facts that defy human understanding and are attributable to occult human and supernatural powers. Beyond entertainment, the aim is to induce respect based on metaphysical principals or

the spirituality underlying the relationship Men – Nature – Superior Entities; the world of the living in relation to the realm of the dead. It instils fear of showing disrespect for social norms, the object being to safe-guard the “status quo”, by maintaining the hierarchies and structures of power, regardless of titles and levels.

2) *Ixima ya Kulonga* (Fable) – The object of these tales, besides entertainment, is to transmit axioms, moral precepts and norms of behaviour that regulate life in society, in order to promote stability. The actors in these fables are animals.

3) *Ixima ya Minyachi* (Genealogical Narrative) – A familiar story that situates the ego in relation to the founder and other members of the tribe. Serves as safeguard of domestic equilibrium within Lunda-Cokwe community, and stability of extraneous relation between Lunda-Cokwe and other parties, basically to safeguard family rights and, in general, all customary rights for the future. Narration usually starts with a rehearsal of prestigious noble lineages of those present. Narratives permit assessment of the probability of or need to establish all kinds of alliances, starting from the family as a pivotal social term of reference. The tales instil family pride and solidarity, particularly with reference to genealogical origins and lineages pertaining to the tribe. Thus the tales promote a confident sense of familial and group identity that puts people at ease with each other. Thus, the tales celebrate and inculcate the well-founded principle that genealogical ties form the bedrock of a social and individual sense of security.

4) *Ixima ya maligekela* (Narrative - historical myths) – These are more or less fragmented reports regarding characters and situations related to all members of the community; they have location but are temporally very confused. Perhaps indicative of poorly developed time consciousness as reflected in modern historiography. Generally, they present data of a historical nature about Lunda-Cokwe people. In these reports the tribe recognise themselves as belonging to the same community. Other extraneous characteristics that may be presented will not detract from the object of affirming tribal identity.

5) *Ixima ya kuhalisa* (Legend) – These narratives are generally told for entertainment and to explain extraordinary facts of nature. Frequently they are associated with an element or norm of conduct or a moral precept. The object is frequently to prevent transgressions of taboos and fundamental principles in order to preserve social equilibrium and safeguard the existence of the community.

6) *Ixima ya Inyingi* (Social folktales) – The object is to entertain and impart a moral lesson. Main characters are human beings, with animal characters filling in a secondary plan. Facts are narrated as real, taking place at a particular time and location although they contain some magical events involving human beings who have special, recondite (secret) powers, such as witchcraft or healing power. When the plots include animal characters the action is located in real time and space occupied by real human beings but may be extended into the realm of the dead.

7) *Ixima ya Kussendekela* (Sarcasm folktales) - Protagonists are human beings, or animals playing the part of human beings. Their purpose is to teach *mwana xiwa* (orphan) the lessons of life as s/he does not have no one else to assist them in this way. Lessons are taught indirectly in that the adult narrator ostensibly addresses to his children or nephews, but in reality is speaking to those without family who would realise this if they are perceptively alert. An example of this kind of folktale is given on page 78.

8) *Lusango* (Message / News) – see above.

Tales in this category generally form part of Lunda-Cokwe oral literature.

4.6 Fictional Characters used as exemplary models to build personality

As noted, all African folktales are animated by characters *dramatis personae* as a means of enlivening their presentation; to render vivid a conception of a lifestyle unlike their own; and to use animals as exemplar of human habits, moods, qualities and defects. Tales may vary to suit particular communities, as Africa is inhabited by many different ethnic groups or tribes. Thus, they may have different characters conveying the same purport.

Many fictional characters, animal and human, involved in the Lunda-Cokwe folktales are used to form personality. A human character could be a child in his/her mother's womb talking to adults outside, a baby discussing important issues with wise people, a dead person assuming the form of a bird to tell people the truth, etc. Usually uncommon situations are invented to arouse attention and pique the curiosity of the audience. Animal characters assuming human behaviour

are either clever tricksters, commonly including monkeys, tortoises, chameleon, rabbits and others, or the victims of their pranks, commonly including lion, elephant, hyena, hippopotamus, etc. This world of animal intrigue, of trickster and tricked and uncommon human characters in the folktales are called the core Africa culture; and this typical oral genre, among others, shows the creativity and imagination of incorporating and recreating knowledge in folktales, and then using that medium to disseminate the knowledge.

The folktales narrated below, belong to four different categories, namely *Ixima ya Kussendekela* (Sarcasm folktales), *Ixima ya Kulonga* (Fable), *Ixima ya Inyingi* (Social folktales) and *Ixima ya Kuhalisa* (Legend).

- Orphan folktales, which fall under sarcasm folktales are used to teach orphans the lessons of life, as they have no close family to assist them. Normally, the lesson is taught indirectly as is an adult speaking of addressing his/her own children.

This criterion or objective is clear in the following folktale. *Kassemukine* is on his mother's back, securely wrapped in a brand new, sturdy cloth *mbololo*, while the *mwana xiwa*, is only held in the lap of his adoptive mother, running the momentary risk of slipping overboard and drowning.

- The Rabbit and Lion folktale belongs to the category of fables whose protagonists are animals. The intention here is the transmission of axioms, moral precepts, and norms of behaviour that regulate and thus maintain the even tenor or equilibrium of community life.

Rabbit and Lion are animal characters who behave like human beings. Lion acts in character in that his role is consistent with the fact that he is big and powerful and is therefore cast in folklore as the king of beasts who commands everyone's respect. But this story shows that intelligence can gain the upper hand over the big and powerful. Rabbit who is such a small animal and apparently quite insignificant generally regarded as a low-status animal, proves that intelligence can more than measure up to size. To conclude, we should never judge people by their appearance, but should give them the opportunity to prove themselves.

- Folktales featuring the boasting hunter and the hunter and his lame son, an only child, fall under the category of social folktales from which moral lessons are drawn. The main characters are human beings while the subplot is driven by animal characters. The facts are narrated as real facts located in spatio-temporal reality. Some folktales relate magical events involving human beings endowed with special powers.

The hunter in these stories purports to be intrepid but lacking in modesty. People should not trumpet their own virtue but patiently await recognition, cultivating virtue for its own sake and for the benefit of society since the world cannot function without it. Besides, people must always pay homage to the interdependence of all members of society.

The moral of the story about the hunter whose son is lame is different although still in the social category. Unlike the boastful hunter, the son is cooperative, always ready to help others, but sometimes incapable due to his condition, which is healed to enable his charitable deeds.

- The folktales about the man and his stepson; about the marriage of malefactor's only daughter, and about the two rivals belong to the category of legend. The aim of these folktales is to explain extraordinary phenomena in nature. They often serve a moral or cautionary function to preserve taboos and undergird principles for social equilibrium.

As noted, besides entertainment, songs offer a clue to the solution of the problem in the village community, and the key to the folktale. For example, in the folktale "The man and his stepson" the stepson's reference to his body father means a lifeless corpse without intelligence. To start, the stepfather ate all the food they brought alone. Second, he beat the boy because he did not find the mice. Third, he beat the boy because he wanted the cows. Fourth, he did not think that the boy was too young; as he was an adult he had the obligation of helping and teaching the boy instead of beating him. In conclusion the stepfather was silly, selfish and ruthlessly ambitious.

The tale about the marriage of the malefactor's only daughter hinges on the typically African view that families should have more than one child. Lunda-Cokwe people regard families with only one child as essentially childless, unproductive, dangerous and without value in society. They are therefore ostracised, obliged to build their houses far from the village marked out as if bearing a deadly contagion. The folktale shows that the malefactor's lady makes every effort to keep her only daughter from abandoning her.

The folktale about the two rivals deals with people who do not act with intelligence and do not have a calm and sober approach when solving their problems. Solutions to problems can be more, or less, effective: the key to solving problems lies in talking them over and listening

to other people's advice. The first lady's husband wanted to test her skill at restraining her temper and resorting to reason, but as a result of her temper she became known as a person without dignity and lost her credibility in the community.

Ultimately these folktales teach the lesson that to live in constructive harmony with society it is important to be humble, intelligent, honest, skilful and sociable.

4.7 Oral narratives

1 *Mwana xiwa* "The orphan"

A widow with her four years old son lived in a remote village. One day this lady decided to adopt an orphan boy of the same age as her son as a playmate and companion for him. So she did, and the son was very happy with his adoptive brother. They spent hours and hours playing together. Everything went well with the family, because the lady treated the orphan boy as her own. They wore the same clothes, slept on the same bed and ate the same food. For those who did not know them, it was hard to tell that they were not blood brothers.

One day the widow decided to visit her family who lived in the village on the opposite bank of the river. She took the two children with her. Before she sat down in the *wato* (small canoe) to cross the river, she tied her son on her back with a brand-new *Mbololo* cloth and held her adoptive son on her lap. In the middle of the river she turned round and told *Kassemukine*, her son, to hold on tight so that he would not slip off her back and into the water. The orphan saw unfair discrimination in this action because his position was less secure than his adoptive brother's, that is, not less worthy of solicitude.

Interpretation of the folktale

As noted in 4.5 above, the Lunda–Cokwe instruct youth with the aid of appropriately illustrative proverbs or folktales. “The orphan” is an example of the particular instructive usage known as *kussendekela* where the adult seemingly addresses the tale and its didactic application to his children and nephews, but in reality the exercise is done for the benefit of the child without a family. In the story under review the *mwana xiwa* (orphan) had the presence of mind to hold on firmly to his adoptive mother to avoid slipping into the water.

Therefore, in *tchota, seculos* instruct the youngsters by telling them that they do not necessarily have to be educated by their parents or family alone, but that they can also draw lessons of life from the society at large, for example by observing how other adults educate their children. What they have to realize, on the whole, is that life is a learning process.

2 *Mbalu nyi Tumba* “Rabbit and Lion”

Rabbit and Lion had a long-standing friendship, but neither had visited the other’s house yet. They had been used to meeting in the normal course of their perambulations until, on the occasion of such a meeting Lion decided to invite his friend to visit him at his house in the next village. At once clever Rabbit turned the tables on Lion by suggesting that he should visit Rabbit first, thereby shifting the obligation to his friend who complied according to the rules of hospitality, and a time was duly set three days hence.

Rabbit's family were well-versed in the rules of hospitality pertaining to receiving a visitor. The resourceful Rabbit had made sure of this preparation and allotted different tasks to members of his family so that everyone knew clearly what to do on the visitor's arrival and departure. Lion's prospective visit would be a test to prove their ability to receive a visitor according to Rabbit's instructions.

Lion, the king of beasts, duly arrived at Rabbit's house and was very well received by Rabbit and his family. Rabbit's youngest son spread a tiger's skin at the seat of honour and with all due respect invited the king to occupy this position. Rabbit's youngest daughter rushed into the house with a *mutopa* (a big handmade pipe used by villagers) and tobacco which she put beside the visitor. The first daughter also ran into the house with a jug of *ndoga* (alcoholic beverage made of honey) and respectfully standing on her knees, started to serve her father. Rabbit's nephew then came into the house and, standing in front of the king, bowed and clapped his hands to indicate that it was time to start narrating the *lusango* (news of the journey). His first son went to the kid's pen and killed one of them to serve a proper meal for the visitor. Rabbit's wife busied herself in the kitchen to prepare the meal she had planned for the occasion.

Rabbit and his visitor engaged in *lusango*, smoked *mutopa* and drank *ndoga*. Then the visitor was ushered into the *tchota* or special house to partake of *xima* (the typical main meal of the Lunda-Cokwe people) consisting of meat of kid with delicious *kandwanga* (spiced sauce). After lunch the visitor came back to the place of honour and found a beautiful *cikanga* (mat) laid out for him to rest.

The king was thoroughly impressed with Rabbit's well-organised hospitality. During the visit Rabbit never uttered a word of instruction to his family. Sometimes a simple look was enough for the family to understand that something was required for the visitor's convenience. The next day, on conclusion of the visit, Lion and Rabbit fixed the day on which Rabbit would return the visit. The king was very happy with the reception and bid his hosts a grateful farewell.

After two weeks, on Saturday morning Rabbit was ready to visit his friend Lion. On being welcomed into Lion's abode he noticed with some misgiving that his host's house was dirty and disordered. The Lion family was unable to come to greet the visitor. His eldest son was sleeping near the place of honour. His eldest daughter was eating, and his wife was sitting near the kitchen looking at them without showing any interest. After several hours the visitor had yet to be served anything. When Rabbit asked for a glass of water, Lion's first daughter came with a dirty glass and gave it to the visitor carelessly as if to a person of no consequence.

The reason for this was that the king never spent time to instruct his family in the polite procedures of receiving visitors. Conscious of the result of his past neglect, therefore Lion became nervous and frustrated: he started to attack his family. He broke his first son's leg, threw a spear at his wife, and so on. Rabbit immediately broke off the visit and went back home to avoid the embarrassment of witnessing his friend's disgrace.

Interpretation of the folktale

As in many folktales of this kind, there are situations that may surprise us. For example, when Lion visited Rabbit he was astonished at the fine reception awaiting him. When he decided to

return the visit he had the false impression that no special effort was required to prepare the reception he had attended, and that his impressive size and power would be sufficient to guarantee success, which is why he felt no need to seek his friend's advice on how to organise a proper reception. Later on, he was shamed by his family and in desperation resorted to use force in an attempt to save the day. The narrative clearly illustrates the dynamics of conflicting values. Lion's impulsive decision to outdo his friend's entertainment purely on the strength of an assumed inherent superiority naturally ends in frustration.

The purpose of the narrative is to show the importance of sound values and respectful competence, as well as the superior merit of exercising intelligent discretion and diplomacy rather than relying on brute force to overcome problems. In other words, it is not so much physical stature as capacity that effectively determines size, and the capacity to act intelligently (i.e. circumspectly) is definitive in this regard.

Therefore, adults teach young people in *tchota* that education cannot be achieved by simply copying a rather complex procedure witnessed only once, nor can emulation of the procedure be achieved with a posturing display of power. Rather, it is a matter of careful observation and thoughtful contemplation, followed by careful planning to put into practice what has been observed. The little rabbit, though apparently insignificant, distinguished himself by shrewdly spending time to educate his family to work together as a team, each dutifully performing his or her specific allotted task to achieve a good overall result, unlike the lion who thought that being big and powerful in itself was good enough to achieve a good result.

3 *Tshinyanga nyi mwanenyi wa tshitondji* “The hunter and his paralytic only son”

In a small village in Moxico lived a hunter, his wife and their fifteen-year-old son. The son was very intelligent, well educated, hard-working and helpful. He was always ready to help other people, but being lame naturally imposed constraints on his goodwill.

It was dry season and there was a famine in the area, so one day the hunter decided to range much further from the village than before and spend two weeks away from the family. His wife prepared food to last the duration of the trip. It is a common practice in some Moxico villages that when there is a drought which causes a scarcity of food, especially fish and meat, the hunters have to travel a considerable distance, in pairs or groups of three, four, or even five, to hunt.

The boy wanted to accompany his father, arguing that while the father was out hunting, he could stay in the *Musumba* (hunters' lodge), looking after things and helping his father to prepare and smoke the meat. His argument convinced his father to take him along.

They prepared the bicycle and the next day left the village very early in the morning. The journey was very difficult because the boy could not walk, so he had to sit on the saddle with the food and camping equipment, which made the bicycle very heavy and hard to push over the considerable distance they had to cover. The journey took three nights. It was in the middle of a desert. Where there was a big *makolo* tree bearing green and yellow *makolo* fruit. The tree was loaded with fruit from top to bottom, and there were two small huts under it.

After the long journey they arrived in the afternoon at about 2 o'clock. They were exhausted and all that remained was to eat something and retire for the night. When they got up in the morning the hunter said to his son: You stay here, but be very careful of wild animals, while I go out to hunt. After an hour the hunter returned with two prey animals, so they spent the rest of the day preparing and smoking the meat.

The next day the son again stayed at the lodge while his father went hunting. Within half an hour a gale began to blow, and then the boy saw *kalambo pakala*, a small animal skin that fell down near him, then another and another. The boy was very frightened. A few minutes later another strong gust of wind nearly knocked the two huts down, and then the boy saw a truly frightening apparition, neither human nor animal. The Lunda-Cokwe people call it *tchikixixi*.

It said to the boy: "Do not be afraid, I want to be your friend. So, come and bring me some ripe *makolo* because I am very hungry, will you?"

The boy said: "How could I possibly climb the tree? Can't you see that I don't have legs?"

"Don't worry!" replied the monster. "I can lend you my legs".

And the monster did.

The boy tried the monster's legs and they fit.

The boy was overjoyed at his good fortune and began to rush about in an access of elation from one side of the *Musumba* to another. He was really different. Then he started to sing to his father, who was away.

Tata nahuka kulu liami e tchidinda. Father I won my legs, what a joy.
Tata nahuka kulu liami e tchidinda. Father I won my legs, what a joy.
Tata nahuka kulu liami e tchidinda Father I won my legs, what a joy.
Tata nahuka kulu liami e tchidinda Father I won my legs, what a joy.

And the monster replied

Ena mukwetu wahuka kulu lie e tchidinda. Lucky you to have won your legs, what a joy.
Ena mukwetu wahuka kulu lie e tchidinda. Lucky you to have won your legs, what a joy.
Ena mukwetu wahuka kulu lie e tchidinda. Lucky you to have won your legs, what a joy.
Ena mukwetu wahuka kulu lie e tchidinda. Lucky you to have won your legs, what a joy.

As the monster responded to the boy's song he danced without stepping, staying in one spot because he had lent his legs to the boy. When at last he stopped he ordered the boy to give him fruit. So the boy climbed the tree and picked *makolo* and gave it to the monster together with the legs and the monster went away. Two hours later his father came back, again with the carcasses of two prey animals. The boy said nothing about his strange experience. His father was preparing the meat.

The monster returned every day, demanding to be fed, until nearly all the fruit was eaten. It occurred to the boy that the monster would stop coming if there was no more fruit, so he decided to tell his father what was happening. Unfortunately the father was incredulous and berated him for such wild talk, letting his imagination run wild, and went off as usual for the day's hunting.

On his return the boy asked if he had seen anything unusual, which of course he had not because he had been out hunting. At this stage, however, he realised that the boy couldn't have stripped the tree of its fruit on his own. The next day the child begged him to stay near at hand to see what was happening. There were only five fruits left near the top of the tree. The hunter decided to comply to satisfy his curiosity, which had been aroused. He said nothing of his intention though.

The next day he told his son to be careful of wild animals again, and set off as usual, but then hid nearby from where he saw exactly what the boy had seen, ending with the appearance of the monster. The hunter was shaking and sweating with fear at the sight. Then he heard his son singing:

<i>Tata nahuka kulu liami e tchidinda.</i>	Father I won my legs, what a joy.
<i>Tata nahuka kulu liami e tchidinda.</i>	Father I won my legs, what a joy.
<i>Tata nahuka kulu liami e tchidinda</i>	Father I won my legs, what a joy.
<i>Tata nahuka kulu liami e tchidinda</i>	Father I won my legs, what a joy.

And the monster replied

<i>Ena mukwetu wahuka kulu lie e tchidinda.</i>	Lucky you to have won your legs, what a joy.
<i>Ena mukwetu wahuka kulu lie e tchidinda.</i>	Lucky you to have won your legs, what a joy.
<i>Ena mukwetu wahuka kulu lie e tchidinda.</i>	Lucky you to have won your legs, what a joy.
<i>Ena mukwetu wahuka kulu lie e tchidinda.</i>	Lucky you to have won your legs, what a joy.

As usual, while the monster was singing and dancing, the boy was enjoying his new-found mobility by running from one side of the *Musumba* to the other. At this point the father came out of his hiding place and shot the monster. The next day they packed up and went home. When the mother saw her son walking, she could not believe her eyes she thought she was dreaming. The honest boy had won his legs forever.

The meaning attached to the song.

The boy said: Father I won my legs, what a joy.

Father I won my legs, what a joy.

The monster replied: you won your legs, what a joy.

You won your legs, what a joy

Interpretation of the folktale

This folktale has a simple and logical structure. The anguish of the boy is clearly expressed in the narrative, especially since the boy pleaded with his father to stay with him while the father casually dismissed his request because of his incredulity.

The boy's situation starts with deprivation as he could not walk and engage in activities requiring the use of his legs as he would have liked to. Physical characterisation is uncommon in oral tradition, but here the story starts with a description of the boy and the social consequences of his lameness.

Most folktales that involve monsters end in this way. Although the monsters are destroyed they restore life to people to whom they choose to minister as an agent of restorative justice. As the boy was well brought up, hard working, helpful and generally virtuous, he received a valuable reward for his kindness. The initial situation of deprivation ends in felicity. The lesson of the story is that one must be kind to be in good standing and esteemed by society.

The role of *seculos* at the end of the folktale is to show the youngsters the importance of being well educated in society. It is a part of human nature to desire to be impressive and generally admired by all and sundry. When justice has been done (i.e. the good has been rewarded and the bad punished) experience a sense of satisfaction, and security. The adults teach the young people that performing good actions is a reward in itself for good people. The object is to persuade the young people in Lunda-Cokwe of the community being humble, honest and well-educated.

4 *Tshinyanga wamituto* “The boastful hunter”

In the village near the palace of the king lived a hunter of considerable repute. He was known far and wide for his exploits. One day the king invited him to visit the palace. On his arrival the king met him, saying: “As you know, there is drought in this area, so it would be much appreciated if you could hunt for the palace. Would you?”

“It would be a pleasure to work for your majesty”, replied the hunter.

“When should I start, your majesty?” he asked.

“As soon as you are ready”, replied the king.

“Could it be in two weeks’ time?” asked the hunter.

“Would be fine”, said the king.

When the hunter left the king's place he started boasting to everyone. "You see, I am a very good hunter in the region. The king invited me to hunt for him. That means he has no confidence in his staff. I am going to show him who I am". Soon everyone in the village was aware of the king's request. And very soon the king also heard about the hunter's boasting.

Once the arrangement had been made the hunter asked his son to go with him. Two weeks later they left. The journey took them a considerable distance. When they arrived at the *Musumba* (hunter's lodge) the hunter announced that they were only going to stay there for four days because that is the time they needed to accumulate as much meat as they could carry.

The next day the hunter told his son to stay behind and prepare a meal for them while he went out to hunt. He returned at 5 o'clock in the afternoon tired and empty-handed. The boy had been worried about his father's long absence. The father only said that was a bad day.

The next day the hunter stayed away till 6 o'clock, again with nothing to show except to report another bad day. This situation continued for fifteen days until they had no more food and had to go back to the village. The hunter was worried and ashamed because his reputation as a great hunter would be destroyed if he had no quarry to offer the king. He spent a sleepless night worrying about this problem and at last, in desperation, hit on the idea to kill his son and present his flesh to the king as hunter's quarry. He suited the deed to the thought, and after burying the head, hands and feet he smoked the rest of his son's remains, packed up and left with his grisly freight.

The buried parts of his son sprouted a bird which began to sing, and which the hunter heard as he walked away. The bird was saying:

<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Ukuate mwana uchahe</i>	you have killed your son
<i>Yami cassua</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>
<i>Utwale ifwo kukanda e</i>	commissioned to take meat to the king's residence
<i>Yami casuua.</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>

The hunter took fright at the sound, dropped his luggage right there and ran away, leaving the bird far behind. Then he went back to fetch his luggage and walked on again. After a while his spirits lifted and he became quite optimistic because he felt he had solved his problem and was assured of success. But then the bird came after him with its haunting song again.

<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Ukuate mwana uchahe</i>	you have killed your son
<i>Yami cassua</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>
<i>Utwale ifwo kukanda e</i>	commissioned to take meat to the king's residence
<i>Yami casuua.</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>

This time the hunter kept running, right into the next province where he thought he had finally reached safety from the bird's persistent song, but sure enough, after five hour's walking, there was the bird again, singing loud and clear.

<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Ukuate mwana uchahe</i>	you have killed your son
<i>Yami cassua</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>
<i>Utwale ifwo kukanda e</i>	commissioned to take meat to the king's residence
<i>Yami casuua.</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>

After three days of trying in vain to shake off the bird, the hunter was furious. This time he fled all the way into the next country, thinking he had eliminated the problem for good and could go home and present the meat to the king, but alas! as he approached the village he again heard the fateful song:

<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Ukuate mwana uchahe</i>	you have killed your son
<i>Yami cassua</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>
<i>Utwale ifwo kukanda e</i>	commissioned to take meat to the king's residence
<i>Yami casuua.</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>

This time in sheer exasperation the hunter fled to the shores of a remote continent. At this stage he was completely exhausted from his exertions, but felt that he was free at last and could go home. So he took his luggage and went.

On his arrival he called his whole family, including his wife's, together and told them that his son had been eaten by a lion while he was away hunting and that the predator had left only his son's head. His explanation was readily accepted by everyone because such incidents were fairly common.

The next day he took the meat to the palace, and being received by the king he handed over the meat. While he was talking to the king, explaining what had happened to his son, they heard outside the palace.

<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu I am cassua</i>
<i>Ukuate mwana uchahe</i>	you have killed your son
<i>Yami cassua</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>
<i>Utwale ifwo kukanda e</i>	commissioned to take meat to the king's residence
<i>Yami casuua.</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>

The king silenced him so they could hear what the bird was saying. The bird went on singing his haunting song.

<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu</i> I am <i>cassua</i>
<i>Nglu nglu yami cassua</i>	<i>nglu nglu</i> I am <i>cassua</i>
<i>Ukuate mwana uchahe</i>	you have killed your son
<i>Yami cassua</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>
<i>Utwale ifwo kukanda e</i>	commissioned to take meat to the king's residence
<i>Yami casuua.</i>	I am <i>cassua</i>

The king immediately called his council, and minutes later there was a meeting with all the people of the village. They asked the hunter to tell the truth. He confessed what really happened. The outcome was that he lost his family and was sent to prison for the rest of his life. Thus ended the story of the boastful hunter of grand repute.

The meaning of the song.

I am *Cassua* (*Cassua* is the name that the bird gave itself)

You killed your own son, in order to take meat to the king's palace.

Interpretation of the folktale

This is a typical cautionary tale to warn against the vices of selfish pride, presumption and vanity, especially in people who occupy prominent positions in society. They have an insatiable appetite for adulation and will stop at nothing to retain or regain their position when it is threatened in any way, because outward appearances weigh more heavily with them than any

other consideration (e.g. personal integrity), that is to say, their locus of control is external rather than internal.

The story advances in a series of ineluctable steps to its inevitable sad outcome. It foregrounds the negative side of the character, which helps the reader to understand the logical progression to the final verdict (impropriety of idle boasting leads to infanticide and discomfiture of entire village community).

Ultimately the object of the story is to warn against the transgression of community values. The public judgement brought into the tale towards the end is meant to indicate that the group is naturally authorised to impose sanctions against those who break the rules of the community. The story is indicative of the authority of folktales as vehicles that transmit knowledge and as agents of group solidarity in oral traditions.

The lesson that adults pass onto the younger generation is that a person needs to be modest, even if he is actually well skilled in an important area. People should let their skill and talent or virtue speak for itself, bearing in mind that other people may be equally or better skilled in similar or different areas (e.g. cook, painter, builder and gardener). Stories with antisocial themes especially have a salutary effect on young boys in the formative stage (i.e. greater part of the audience). Exemplary tales help them to cultivate good behaviour which ensures an orderly social life based on good-will and mutual respect.

5 Lunga nyi mwanenyi wa katumba “The man and his stepson”

A man who lived in a village with his wife and twelve-year-old stepson did not like his stepson at all, but acted the part of adopting parent when he was with his wife. The poor woman was completely taken in by this performance, so she told the other women in the village that she was a lucky woman because her husband and her son were close friends.

During the dry season there was a famine in the area, so one day the man asked his wife if her son could go with him to try and catch mice in the desert.

The woman felt she had no reason to suspect her husband’s motives because his fatherly sentiments seemed quite genuine, so she gave her unreserved consent and told him: It is not necessary to ask permission for my son to go with you; he is also your son. We need food, otherwise we will starve.

The next day the stepfather and stepson left the village very early in the morning. Normally, before digging for mice in the desert you have to burn off the grass in the surrounding area so the mice cannot hide in it. Having made these preparations in the chosen area they started looking for mice. Whenever the stepfather dug a hole he found several mice, but when the stepson dug he found nothing. By afternoon the stepfather had collected twenty five to thirty mice, and the stepson still had none. The man was furious, so he ate all the food they had brought and scolded his stepson for being a fool. When you find food on the table you eat without thinking how difficult it is to provide it. Who is going to work for you? I am going to work for myself, not for such a stupid person like you. I do not know where you are from. Then, he started to beat him.

After beating him, he forced him to dig another hole to look for mice. So the boy did, but as usual, he found nothing. The stepfather gave him a very heavy beating, and the boy started bleeding from his ears and mouth. The boy was very weak so he was unable to hold the hoe, but the stepfather insisted that he dig another hole.

This time while he was digging, first he found a bowl of water and he heard a voice saying: “Do not be afraid, only wash your hands and face”. The boy did and continued digging. Then he found a bowl with food, and the same voice invited him to eat. The boy obeyed and continued digging the same hole. Then he found a calf, then another and yet another. The boy went on digging and found a cow, then two, three, four, until there was a herd of livestock. When the stepfather saw the cows, he went running to the stepson and said: “the cows are mine”, and gave the mice to the boy. If you refuse I am going to beat you again. The stepson was forced to take the mice.

It was time to go back to the village and the stepfather was very happy. So, he ordered the cows to move, but unfortunately the cows did not move: they simply looked at him. Again the man was furious and started to beat the boy. Finally he told him to order the cows to move.

The stepson started singing.

<i>Naile ni mujimba tata ngo</i>	I went with the body of my stepfather <i>ngo</i>
<i>Naile ni mujimba tata ngo</i>	I went with the body of my stepfather <i>ngo</i>
<i>Mujimba tata ni itumbi jenyi ngo</i>	the body of my stepfather with his mice <i>ngo</i>
<i>Ami gwami ni gombe jami ngo</i>	and I am with my cows <i>ngo</i>

Gombe jami palikenu tuende e ngo my cows let's go home *ngo*

The cows began to move complaisantly in the direction of the village. After five kilometres they stopped again. When the stepfather heard the song he memorised it immediately. Then he gave his mice to his stepson and started singing.

Naile ni mujimba mwana ngo I went with the body of my stepson *ngo*

Naile ni mujimba mwana ngo I went with the body of my stepson *ngo*

Mujimba mwana ni itumbi jenyi ngo the body of my stepson with his mice *ngo*

Ami gwami ni gombe jami ngo and I am with my cows *ngo*

Gombe jami palikenu tuende e ngo my cows let's go home *ngo*

The cows did not move, they stayed in the same place. The man again beat the stepson and asked the boy to order the cows to move. So, the boy sang his song again.

Naile ni mujimba tata ngo I went with the body of my stepfather *ngo*

Naile ni mujimba tata ngo I went with the body of my stepfather *ngo*

Mujimba tata ni itumbi jenyi ngo the body of my stepfather with his mice *ngo*

Ami gwami ni gombe jami ngo and I am with my cows *ngo*

Gombe jami palikenu tuende e ngo my cows let's go home *ngo*

Like before, the cows contentedly ambled along to the village, but stopped again and refused to budge when the stepfather sang, but walked on when the stepson sang. This happened several

times until they arrived in the village. The boy's appearance provided clear evidence of the savage mistreatment he had offered, so much so that his mother barely recognised him. The villagers were astonished at the sight and wanted to know what had happened. The boy accused his stepfather of beating him all the time because he could not find mice, and because he could not persuade the cows to move in response to his song. Furthermore, he accused his stepson of stealing his cows.

The wife's family then took the matter to the palace, and the king and his council asked the stepfather to persuade the animals to move with his song, but he failed, whereas when the stepson sang they responded without hesitation. Finally everybody in the village realized that the cows belonged to the boy and not to the stepfather. In the council meeting the boy's mother decided to divorce her husband on grounds that she could not be married to a man who hated her son and had nearly killed him. This argument met with general assent. That was the story of the ambitious stepfather.

English translation of the words of the song

The stepson said:

I went with the body of my stepfather

The body of my stepfather with his mice

And I with my cows

My cows let's go home.

And the stepfather said:

I went with the body of my stepson

The body of my stepson with his mice

And I with my cows

My cows let's go home

Interpretation of the folktale

Hunger is always present in the imagination of African people, as evidenced by their stories, because this scourge has been with them for time immemorial. The causes of hunger are drought and other natural disasters such as floods and war. Lack of capacity to develop a better agricultural economy is a critical factor. Ancient, outdated methods persist because the typical culture tends to resist innovation and overemphasises conformity.

The Lunda-Cokwe are particularly sensitive to injustice because they are generous. However, sometimes they can be cruel and unjust, for example in this folktale where the stepfather is lying, slandering, and violent. The stepfather/stepson combination or relationship, which tends to be one of animosity, is present in various folktales. In one of these the stepson is jealous of his mother, and the stepfather thinks the stepson is spoiled and useless (a kind of couch potato). In the folktale under review the stepfather is vain and highly ambitious.

The lesson intended for young people who will be parents one day is that we must guard against being overambitious. Sometimes before acting it is necessary to carefully consider how a situation should be handled appropriately. In the folktale the young boy clearly needed the benevolent guidance of an adult, but unfortunately this was not forthcoming from the stepfather, with the result that the healing power punished him by giving a valuable reward to his stepson, to his disgrace. Who would not condemn the selfishness of the man who maltreated and sacrificed an innocent child.

6 *Kuhanguisa cha shili* “The marriage of the Malefactor’s only daughter”

In a remote village lived a very pretty girl, called *Muyuka*, which means, “felicity”. She was so pretty that all the boys in that and the next village wanted to marry her. She was an only child who lived with her mother.

The mother was a notorious witch of the area, but lured by the girl’s captivating looks, the local boys nevertheless visited her house regularly, offering to marry her. The girl was by no means averse to the idea of marriage; after all she was 18 years old, which was just the right age to get married. But she did not have power to decide which boy she would marry. Everything depended on her mother, as her father had passed away.

The girl and her mother lived three kilometres from the village, and in their front yard there was a very tall coconut tree. She referred all her suitors to her mother, but they could not speak to her because of her elevated position in society. After some hesitations, one day, one of the boys went to the girl’s mother and asked for *Muyuka*’s hand in marriage. The lady said: “No problem. If

you really want to marry my daughter, come tomorrow morning. There are some important commitments that you have to fulfil before you marry my only child.”

The boy was very happy with the mother’s answer and went home. Early the next day when he arrived at the lady’s house he was well received and was served breakfast. After that she invited the boy to go to the front yard, where she showed him the coconut tree. Can you see those two *milingo*? (Small gourds) in which she kept the apparatus to practice her witchcraft high up in the tree. I want them very much. Would you take them for me, please? If you do, you can marry my only daughter immediately.

The assignment seemed easy enough to the boy, so he took off his coat, shoes and socks, and started climbing the coconut tree. When he was half-way up the tree the lady started singing.

<i>Sutula kanhanga sutula kanhanga</i>	snap the gourd snap the gourd
<i>Aya ya ya</i>	<i>aya ya ya</i>
<i>Sutula kanhanga sutula Kananga</i>	snap the gourd snap the gourd
<i>Aya ya ya</i>	<i>aya ya ya</i>
<i>Ngutale!</i>	look at me
<i>Ngutale lunga ngutale</i>	man look at me
<i>Aya ya ya</i>	<i>aya ya ya</i>
<i>Ngutale!</i>	look at me
<i>Ngutale lunga ngutale</i>	man look at me
<i>Aya ya ya</i>	<i>aya ya ya</i>

The lady was singing and dancing to the sound of a drum. The boy could not resist and looked down. He fell and the lady killed him with a hatchet, saying *wayuka weza*, which means “lucky you to have come here”. After a week another boy went to the lady’s house to ask for her daughter’s hand in marriage. The lady again assented, but on the same condition as before, and he was dispatched in the same way as his predecessor.

In this way a number of boys were lured to their deaths until the number of possible suitors had been depleted. Then a determined cripple boy, who learned from the other boys’ mistakes, decided to put an end to the situation. So, he went to the lady’s house to propose marriage to her daughter. Again assent was granted on the usual condition, and the boy was offered breakfast as usual, but this time he declined. He did comply though, when asked to fetch down the *milingo* from the coconut tree, and again the woman sang and danced to the drum beat.

<i>Sutula kanhanga sutula kanhanga</i>	snap the gourd snap the gourd
<i>Aya ya ya</i>	<i>aya ya ya</i>
<i>Sutula kanhanga sutula Kananga</i>	snap the gourd snap the gourd
<i>Aya ya ya</i>	<i>aya ya ya</i>
<i>Ngutale!</i>	look at me
<i>Ngutale lunga ngutale</i>	man look at me
<i>Aya ya ya</i>	<i>aya ya ya</i>
<i>Ngutale!</i>	look at me
<i>Ngutale lunga ngutale</i>	man look at me
<i>Aya ya ya</i>	<i>aya ya ya</i>

Her frenzied exertions were a sight to behold, but all her efforts to persuade the boy to look down were in vain: he simply ignored her and climbed right up to the *milingo* which he untied and threw to the ground. As they struck the woman died and the problem was banished for ever. The boy married the pretty girl and lived happily ever after.

The words of the song, rendered literally in English without repetition

Pull out my heart pull out my heart [kill me, kill me]

Look at me!

Look at me man look at me

Interpretation of the folktale

This is a cautionary tale to warn against the danger of having only one child. Normally the parents become selfish and want to control the child's life at all costs. They want to choose the child's friends, his/her profession, even the future wife or husband, because they always want him/ her around them, with the result that the children are unable to take their own decisions, even in adulthood.

In this folktale the lady enforced a deadly prohibition against the daughter's marriage by resorting to magic. For the Lunda-Cokwe the woman's behaviour constitutes a grave

transgression because marriage is a sacrosanct institution that guarantees the existence, maintenance and continuity of life.

As recounted in the folktale, the lady's punishment comes with swift and deadly finality when the boy resists and thereby negates the power of her otherwise lethal ritual. Casting down the *milingo* unhinges her life force which is tied up in the gourds. Her death also releases her daughter from the thralldom she had been subjected to, thus setting free her life force to flourish and fulfill its positive function in society.

Here the adults impress upon the youngsters that the Lunda-Cokwe community does not approve of couples having only one child. Children are considered to be the main resource for the development of the community, as they serve in the army and practise life-sustaining activities such as agriculture, fishing, and hunting. Moreover, child mortality is high in Africa, therefore a high replacement rate is required to sustain the population in viable numbers. Again, this reasoning is clearly outdated because it proceeds from the premise that sustaining a population and, more particularly, developing a community is merely a numbers game rather than improving living conditions to reduce child mortality and, in fact, mortality in general. Put differently, children are regarded as the main support base for the sustainability of communities, as noted above, while the nurturing environment in which they have to grow up is taken for granted. This is clearly not a sustainable philosophy to live by in the medium to long term, yet this is precisely what the Lunda-Cokwe like other African communities seek to impress upon their children through tales told in *tchota*. Paradoxically, or in fact ironically, another function of the folktales under review is to remind young audiences that every individual in society counts,

regardless of his or her age, social position or physical and mental attributes and natural endowments. The triumph of the crippled boy, who stands for the weak and the despised serves to indicate that the weakest members of society are important. The fact that the principle of “safety in numbers” is in conflict with the humane precept that every individual is precious in his or her own right is clearly, and most unfortunately, not appreciated, probably because the system does not encourage or allow opportunities for critical thinking and debate.

7 Muhali ali “The two rivals”

A hunter lived in a small village with his two wives. The first woman was older than the second. According to the Lunda-Cokwe tradition, the second wife must respect the first lady because she is the one who often makes decisions. During the dry season when there was famine in the area the hunter went hunting one day, and after walking all day long found a *ngwali* (bush chicken). This presented a problem because he couldn’t decide how to apportion the bird fairly between his two wives. Finally he decided to continue hunting. At the end of the day he found a *kaboa*, small bird (specie of dove). These aggravated his dilemma. Who should get the *ngwali* and who the *kaboa*? After pondering for a while he decided to cut two types of wood, one normal and another coated with dry glue. When he arrived home he gave the bush chicken and normal wood to the first lady and the *kaboa* and wood with dry resin to the second wife, without saying a word.

At first the two women were quite content with what they had received and went off to their respective cooking areas to prepare the food. While they were busy the first lady seemed to hear the noise *tchamu, tchamu, tchamu* coming from the junior wife’s kitchen. This was the sound of

resin melting in the fire, but the senior wife thought it meant that the other was cooking a large animal.

She tended to be over conscious of and insistent on her senior status and therefore flew into a temper and began to scold her husband, claiming that he no longer liked her and that she knew this because he was discriminating against her by apportioning meat heavily in favour of the younger wife. The quarrel became a serious dispute and was taken before the king and his council in the *tchota* to be settled. The upshot was that the two wives were ordered to bring their cooking pot into the *tchota* where the king handed each wife's pot to the other and sent them home. There the senior wife discovered that the meat in the other wife's pot hardly covered the bottom of the pot, whereas the other wife found a much more generous apportionment of meat in the senior wife's pot. The lesson for the senior wife was not to find fault on principle with what you have, and not to be consumed with jealousy by what others have – in other words, to live and let live.

Interpretation of the folktale

Polygamy is customary in the Lunda-Cokwe culture, (probably for the same underlying reason as the disapprobation of single child families) but it can lead to conflict, as shown in this folktale. The first wife is the symbol of union and respect, and if a man has several wives she has decision making authority over them in household matters such as apportioning food, planning the husband's schedule, and even dealing with a problem in the family.

The folktale suggests that practical common sense is an important consideration in dealing with routine responsibilities. It can help to solve some difficult problems. Those who allow sound judgement to be overruled by subjective emotion rarely succeed in life. The role of adults here is to teach the youngster how to behave wisely in dealing with polygamous unions, which are common practice among the Lunda-Cokwe as in other African communities. The story helps young people to see and recognise the character flaws that are apparent from their actions and attitudes. The Lunda-Cokwe folktales, then, are a mirror in which the Lunda-Cokwe people can see themselves and shape their conduct accordingly. Although one tends to stress the function of folktales as a form of public entertainment, the fact is that folktales are a summary of the whole philosophy of life and general world view of the Lunda-Cokwe people as handed down from generation to generation.

Now that the folktales used for this study have been dealt with, the next discussion will focus on other forms of personality building used by the Lunda-Cokwe people.

As noted in section 3.3, other forms of personality building utilised by the Lunda-Cokwe people, include *mukanda wa malunga* (the boy's initiation school), *mukanda wa mpwo* (the girl's initiation school), *mungongue*, proverbs and anecdotes. These practices will be briefly outlined below.

Mukanda wa malunga is an initiation school where boys undergo circumcision, normally at the age of 8 to 17 years. The school lasts for a year to a-year-and-a-half. The learners who attend the school are subjected to rigorous methods of education and cultural training, uniquely adapted for the Lunda-Cokwe people. In the context of the initiation school objects of domestic use have

different names. Initiates have to learn typical songs as well as recondite and complicated codes. The school initiates the youngsters into the mysteries of their tribal culture and equips them with knowledge they will need to set forth on life's journey as adults.

While living in *mukanda*, each youngster has to organize an oral file of knowledge and science. He has to master all kinds of dancing: *Tchianda*, *Muwangu*, *Kalukuta*, *Chissela*, etc, and he must know all kinds of masks (*mutchixi*), including how to make (carve) and wear them. He must also know the *mutchixi* language used during ritualistic occasions when the masks are worn by participants. He has to assimilate each drum's rhythm and be able to demonstrate the appropriate dance form for each rhythm.

By the end of *mukanda*, the youngsters are considered prepared for adult life and worthy of the status of men with all that implies for a fully integrated member of society. They are respected in the *tchota*. They can take the floor in debating the resolution of a problem and in taking important decisions. Even if an adult wanted to speak in code all graduates from *mukanda* would be able to follow without difficulty while *tchilimas* or uncircumcised would not understand.

The instructions given during initiation start a process of winnowing those who are most receptive and responsive to the wisdom taught during initiation, and therefore show the best potential to develop and exercise critical faculties to the best advantage, from those who show less potential in this regard. Initiation therefore automatically starts a process of selecting young men for membership of the village council.

By the same taken, the girls' school prepares initiates for their role in adult life, for example, daily interaction with parents and neighbours according to the general pattern of interaction they observe between their mothers and other women in the community; taking care of children; tending crops; collecting edible roots and wild fruits; and fishing. They acquire new knowledge about dressing and fashion. The young girl lives at her mother's, aunt's or grandmother's house until she reaches marriageable age, and these members of the family are responsible for her instruction and education. Concerning house work, she helps her mother to tidy the house, make manioc flour, serve meals and drinks to the father and visitors, do the laundry (and the washing up), fetch water and collect firewood, cook meals and look after the young brothers.

From an early age girls are not allowed to stay in the *tchota* and are banned from some rituals due to the division of labour according to gender. Her life will revolve around the home and land. She will go to drums with her mother. She will learn how to dance the *tchianda* and the *calcuta* and to be noticed by men who will be attracted to her dancing abilities. She will complement her education at the girls' school of circumcision and initiation which she attends at puberty, and which signals her definitive attainment of physical and social maturity. Thus, initiation leads to full-fledged womanhood in Lunda-Cokwe society. At this point she is ready to fulfil her obligations. Besides general preparation and sexual education, the initiation school teaches girls moral and social behaviour.

Having outlined *Mukanda wa malunga* and *mukanda wa mpwo* the discussion will turn to *Mungongue*, which is comparable to a high school where a selected group of graduates from the initiation school are introduced to so-called black sciences: witchcraft, the art of war, magic, and

techniques to ward off evil spirits and hostile wizardry, etc. This schooling is much more demanding than initiation school. According to the informant, *Mungongue* enables those in its enrolment to contact dead ancestors to seek oracular advice. In some cases instructors are invited from other regions to fill the gaps in certain areas of *Mungongue* training. Those who have undergone training in *Mungongue* are feared in the region because of their purported magical powers.

² <http://www.factmonster.com/ce6/ent/A0819067.html> assessed (20 May-2007)

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The discussion in chapter IV centres on the three theories concerning Lunda-Cokwe folktales and classification of characters used in the process of personality building.

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise the contents of the thesis as a whole and to draw a conclusion, which is divided in two sections. The first deals with general remarks on the thesis as a whole, and the second with further research. As Confucius says (cited in Jones *et al* 1996:230), a long journey begins with a single step. The study is limited in that it cannot cover all aspects of Lunda-Cokwe personality building.

5.2 General remarks on the thesis as a whole.

In the foregoing chapters it has been established that the Lunda-Cokwe culture in Angola has not been studied adequately, because the Portuguese colonial authorities neglected Bantu languages and culture. What stands out, however, about the Lunda-Cokwe is that folktales are the primary vehicle for the transmission of cultural heritage of the communities of this ethnic group. Folktales therefore exert a critical influence on personality building of members of these communities, thus infusing distinctive features that make up a recognisable cultural identity of a significant proportion of the Bantu speaking peoples of Angola in particular and African peoples generally.

Moreover, Lunda-Cokwe people have very strong social ties that guarantee group solidarity and enable all members of the community to participate fully in matters affecting the community as a whole. These ties were built in *tchota* around the fire in the evening under the tutelage of *seculos*. Therefore, *seculos* are competent people with a large repertoire of folktales and high capacity of reflection to interpret the stories. Lunda-Cokwe people were very strong culturally and were structurally well-organised. This organisation was the key to the kingdom's success. The folktales were used extensively to transmit traditional values and the established way of life to young people. This type of instruction can be difficult to relate to people who were not born and raised in the tradition.

The folktales discussed above illustrate how Lunda-Cokwe people formed the personality building of the new generation by telling stories that serve the purpose of establishing a cultural structure by means of the systematic connection or integration of cultural components. Several cultural elements and complexes may, for example, be linked to a single institution serving a particular purpose, and in turn a number of institutions may be connected by the same or other cultural components that they have in common. This fact contributes to the realisation of the universal cultural purpose served by a particular aspect of culture, such as religion, economics and politics.

On other the hand, as noted in chapter IV, the main struggle of the Angolan people is to build a nation-state where everyone feels at home, with sustained economic growth, fair distribution of economic resources and consolidation of democratic institutions. For this dream to become real, it is necessary to see the structure of society as a relation or set of relations between entities. For

example, in the Lunda-Cokwe community everybody contributes towards a collective realisation of a national ideal of nationhood. Everybody participates in solving communal problems in the *tchota*. Even the women, though not allowed to enter the *tchota* are present and are heard, where necessary, before judgement is passed. Metaphorically speaking Cokwe society is like a house with its many interrelated components: the bricks, the wall, the roof, and other parts that are structurally integrated. That is to say, all its component parts (i.e. members) are equally involved and play a vital participatory role in determining the affairs of the community as a whole, which is a cornerstone of democracy.

Furthermore, Angolan people need to engage actively and effectively with their social challenges, such as crime and corruption, particularly in public institutions where those charged with maintaining public order have been associated with a serious, pervasive normative decline evidenced, for example, in highly inefficient and counterproductive distribution of national resources and information. These conditions are causing the disintegration of social ties that are essential for the preservation of standards and norms.

Changes in society often come unbidden, dictated by technology, and therefore devoid of negative cultural connotations. The current dispensation is based on the past; obviously there can be no present without a past, and nothing comes from nothing. Wa Thiongo (1993:36-41) endorses the sentiment that culture is to society what a flower is to a plant. It is the blossoming of the collective, multifarious totality of a people's endeavours, adding up to a way of life. What is important about a flower is not just its beauty. A flower is the carrier of the seeds from which new plants can grow, the bearer of the future of a particular species of plant. There is a general

contention, or rather, it is common cause, that an overall trend towards greater specialisation in economic, political, religious and other activities naturally implies increasing diversification and greater cultural heterogeneity.

To conclude, development is not possible in Angola without the integration of all forms of capital, as indicated earlier. The existence of a network of connectivity is not a natural given, or even a social given, constituted once and for all by an initial act of institution. It flows from and is supported by the inherent solidarity of the family group as defined in terms of complex kinship relations, which is the cornerstone of community formation. The system of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at reproducing a system of social relationships that are directly functional in the short or long term. It follows that conscious refusal to incorporate the cultural capital of the society thus formed in a global development strategy would be a grave oversight. The Cokwe people say *kwata, kwata nyi akwenu, ukaue muliataho*, which means hold on to others because you may step into potfalls on your own; in other words, everybody's contribution is essential, and it follows, therefore, that whatever the course taken by the community, it will be decided collectively by the will of the people and their concerted, active participation in the process of developmental change.

5.3- Further research

As seen above, there are areas pertaining to the use of Lunda-Cokwe folktales as a means of moral and other instruction, which deserve further research. The highly evolved oral tradition of the Lunda-Cokwe people is clearly not confined to folktales but includes other forms of

educational transmission aimed at forming individual personality as well as group identity and character. Prominent examples are *mukanda wa mulunga*, *mukanda wa mapwo* and *mungongue*. Other forms worthy to note include proverbs and anecdotes, which are all pressed into service for educational purposes. The various forms of oral literature (besides folktales) were merely mentioned in passing, however, without discussing how precisely they are used to transmit knowledge, since detailed research and time would be required to conduct further studies to that end.

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