Surinam folk-lore

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits

bron

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Plate I. At the Central Market-place, Paramaribo.
To FRANZ BOAS
Preface.

The field work from which the material in this volume derives was carried on in Dutch Guiana, South America, during the summers of 1928 and 1929, and included study of both the coastal Negroes and the Bush-Negroes of the upper Suriname River. Of the work among the latter group, only such results as deal with their folklore and their music, - the proverbs we recorded while among them, and the songs they sang into our phonograph, - are here given. The description of their culture, and the comparison of its elements with the cultures from which these originated, must be reserved for separate treatment. Except for Bush-Negro proverbs and songs, therefore, this work is concerned with the Negroes of the coastal region of the Colony, or, more strictly speaking, of the city of Paramaribo, where the greatest portion of the ethnological information, and the tales, were gathered. Relevant details bearing upon the manner of collecting the data are included in the notes which introduce each of the separate sections.

Our first field trip was made under the auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences; our second under those of Northwestern University; and both were made possible by the generous support of Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons. It is a privilege to express here our deep appreciation to Dr. Parsons, not alone for this support, but for the initial indication of Suriname as a fruitful area for research into African survivals in the New World, and for the many suggestions concerning the handling of the data which she has given us. To Professor Franz Boas we are indebted for much that we can name - the endorsement of the Suriname project, its direct sponsorship, and counsel on method - and for much more that does not lend itself to enumeration, above all, the inspiration of his work.

Once in the field, we found a lively interest in our problem and a desire to help us achieve our aims. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the cordiality which the stranger meets in the Colony, for no effective work could have been done without the sympathy and cooperation of Whites as well as Negroes. His Excellency, Governor H.H. Rutgers, himself a scientist, and the Hon. Frans J.L. van Haaren, first Colonial Secretary and later, during our second visit,
Attorney-General of the Colony, extended to us all possible courtesies, both scientific and personal, while Mme. Gay Schneiders-Howard, Mrs. James Lawton, Miss L. Gans, Dr. P.W.H. Lampe, Mr. Alexander Wooff, Mr. J.W. van Lier, and many others, allowed us to share their knowledge of the customs and beliefs of the people we had come to study.

To our native informants, we record the gratitude that all fieldworkers must hold toward those who give them the information that is the basis of scientific work in anthropology, - a gratitude that is a primary obligation when, as in the case of many of those who worked with us, and whose names appear in the list of informants, we were permitted to share the beliefs which govern their inner lives. To all these, and to those whose names we have promised not to publish, - like the priestess of the wnuti-dance we describe, and her group, - as well as to those others, more casually met, who gave us information of value, we add to our appreciation for their confidence regard for them as individuals. We should like, however, to name two of them here, - Frederik Bekker and Edwin Bundel. These men, who made the largest contributions to this work, were not only of invaluable assistance to us, but stood out among our native acquaintances for a fulness of knowledge of their own culture.

Many others have aided us in the prosecution of our research. Dr. Morton C. Kahn of Cornell University Medical College, whom we accompanied during our first summer in the Colony, gave us freely of his earlier experience in Suriname, indicating many short-cuts that greatly helped us in making the most efficient use of the time at our disposal. Furthermore, our good health during our field work in Dutch Guiana, and later in West Africa, we hold due in very large measure to his Spartan training in tropical hygiene. We also wish to express our gratitude to Dr. Charles G. Aars, of the Military Hospital in Paramaribo, and his colleagues, for their medical attention and friendly advice concerning life in the Colony; to Dr. Parsons and the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, for further grants which made possible the publication of the folk-lore and ethnographic notes in this volume; to the American Council of Learned Societies, for one grant which provided for the preservation of the wax phonograph cylinders on which our songs were recorded, and for another which supported the cost of printing the music contained in this work; to the Social Science Research Council of Northwestern University, for funds which aided the transcribing of the music and helped us in the task of working up our field notes; to Dr. M. Kolinski, for the care which he exercised in the difficult work of writing and analysing the music, and for the excellence of his transcriptions; to Dr. George Herzog and Miss Helen Roberts, for their suggestions and aid in asuring the correct translation of the technical musical terms from Dr. Kolinski's original
German manuscript; to Miss Dorothy Burdette, for the drawings of the kerchiefs we figure; to Mrs. P.H. Erbes, for assistance in the preparation of the manuscript; and finally to our friends, Jonkheer L.C. van Panhuys and the late Dr. H.D. Benjamins, for having read and commented on portions of this work before it was published, as well as for many other favors during the course of our investigation.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
FRANCES S. HERSKOVITS
Evanston, Illinois,
   September, 1932.
Table of phonetic symbols

The phonetic system used to render *taki-taki* and the speech of the Bush-Negroes employs, with a few modifications, the symbols given in the Memorandum of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures on ‘Practical Orthography of African Languages,’ and in the American Anthropological Association’s memorandum ‘Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages.’ For convenience, an outline of this system is given here.

**Vowels**

*a, e, i, o, and u,* have the so-called continental values.

- *a* and *u,* represent nasalisation of the above.
- *a* is English ‘a’ in ‘hat’; nasalised, *ā*.
- *e* is English ‘e’ in ‘met’; nasalised, *ė*.
- *i* is English ‘i’ in ‘hit’; nasalised, *į*.
- *o,* open ‘o’, has the sound of ‘au’ in English ‘caught’; nasalised, *ō*.
- *u,* close ‘o’, is intermediate between ‘o’ and ‘u’; nasalised *ū*.
- *ū,* is German ‘ü’ as in ‘spüren’.

Vowels are short unless followed by a dot (*a*), in which case a doubling is indicated.

**Diphthongs**

*ai, au, ei, oi, ɔi,* all of these may be nasalised.

**Consonants**

*b, ch* (as in English ‘church’), *d, dj, dy, f, g, gb, gy, h* (as in English ‘house’), *k, l, m, mb, n, ŋ,* (as English ‘ng’ in ‘hang’), *ny, p, r, s, sh, sy, t, ty, v, w, x,* (as German ‘ch’ in ‘ach’), *z.*

Tone (for Saramaka *tɔŋgo* only) is indicated as follows:


In the texts, the apostrophe is not a phonetic symbol, but indicates the elision of a letter or a syllable.
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Part I Notes on the culture of the Paramaribo Negroes

1. General Considerations

The Negroes of the city of Paramaribo, the capital of the Dutch Colony of Suriname, in South America, make these distinctions in the population of which they form a part; they differentiate the urban group, *fotosuma*, which includes the people of the principal cities of the colony - Albina, near the border of French Guiana, Nickerie, near British Guiana, and Paramaribo itself; those who live on plantations and in the ‘small bush’ of the coastal fringe of the colony, and are called *pranasi suma*, - ‘plantation people’; and, finally, those who are loosely characterised as ‘Djukas’. This last group comprises three principal tribes of Bush-Negroes who inhabit the ‘big bush’ of the deep interior.¹

The classifications made are not alone geographical, but racial as well, though the lines of racial demarcation do not follow closely those of the groupings we have just described. Thus, in this coastal area, there are Negroes, Whites, American Indians, Hindus, Javanese, Chinese. In the deep bush, with the exception of a few Carib and Arawak Indian bands, there are only the ‘Djukas.’

Still finer classifications are made, - classifications that are mirrored sharply in the attitudes held toward those placed in the various divisions. For example, all Whites are *Bakra*, but there are important White people, *bigi Bakra*, and there are those who are merely *Bakra*; Chinese, Javanese, Hindu are all *Kuli* (coolie), though here, too, distinctions are made, so that the Hindu is often referred to as *Madrasi*, and the Chinese as *Sinese*. Indians are *lngi*, except in definite ritual possession by an Indian spirit, when reference is made to *Arawaki lngi* or *Krebisi l̩ŋgi*, Arawak or Carib Indian. All Negroes are *Ngere*; but here there occurs grouping within grouping, - of color, of status, of place of habitation; and terms overlap, as for example when Negroes speak of a man as a ‘Djuka,’ meaning not a member of a Bush-Negro tribe at all, but someone, not an inhabitant of one of the three urban centers, who is skilled in the control of the supernatural.

¹ In reality, ‘Djuka’ is the name of only one of these tribes, the other two being the Saramacca and the Boni. The Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch West-Indië, (hereafter referred to as ‘Encyc.’) states, ‘Die naam Djoeka wordt te Paramaribo ten onrechte soms gebruikt voor Boschnegers in het algemeen.’
Since the days of slavery, there has been no vast amount of crossing between the racial groups of the colony, and basically each lives its inner life without too much intimacy with, or interference from the others. In earlier times, the usual crosses between master and slaves were common, so that there is a considerable mulatto population in the coastal area. Today, with the ratio of Oriental men exceeding that of Oriental women, crosses do occur between them and women of the Negro group, but these are isolated instances, rather than the rule, and this is also true of Negro-Indian crosses. Those that occur most commonly are between Indian men and Negro women. Negroes have their names for all crosses, and, in the traditions of the colony, children born of such racial mixture enter into the Negro group. A cross between a Negro and a Hindu is called kabugru, between a Negro and an American Indian, basera ıngi. A Negro-White cross, as elsewhere, is called a mulatto, and the gradations of color follow in terminology those used in the Caribbean Islands, but if the features of a child born of a Negro-White cross are distinctly Negroid, he is called Neğere. Crossing is not looked upon by the Negroes with much favor at the present time. The attitude toward it is reflected in such a town Negro proverb as, 'Greed makes her marry a mulatto,' and the satirizing which accompanies racial crossing when it does occur.

The life which we describe is centered largely in the southern portion of the city of Paramaribo, where the Negro population is concentrated. This does not mean that there are no Negroes living in other parts of the city, for there is no segregation of population groups. Indeed, we must make clear at the outset that in the general idiom of the colony, the term Negro - Neğere - relates to those who are either actually of full African descent, or who in appearance give the impression of being of full African descent, and to those, who, though showing some racial mixture, choose to be identified with this Negro group by adhering to the practices which distinguish the Negro population as such from the rest of the inhabitants of the city. All reference to the beliefs of the town Negro population must, therefore, be held as excluding those mulattoes and others, who, representing varying degrees of crossing with non-Negroid stocks, participate in the culture of the Europeans of the colony in dress, manner of living, and worship. Nor must it be assumed that there are no Negroes, in the Suriname sense of the word, who do not also live according to these patterns of

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1 Thus, the grandchild of one of our acquaintances, herself a Negro, was the result of a Chinese-Negro cross but was regarded as a member of his mother's group, the Negroes. This child is the one shown, with his grandmother, in Pl. II.
2 Encyc., however, p. 400, gives the name 'Karboeger' to a mulatto-Negro cross: 'De karboegar heeft dus drie vierden negerbloed.' 'Indiaansche karboegers' are also mentioned, the term being used as applicable to 'kruisingen van een indiaan en een negerin', or vice versa.
European life, nor that there is no marginal group of persons who, following the European form of life in externals, continue certain religious practices peculiar to the Negro group.

Again, it is to be emphasized that in singling out for description here those practices which individualize the Negro group from the rest of the population, it is not suggested that these urban Negroes have not incorporated numberless European and Indian traits into their patterns of life. For, in fact, all of the more generalized aspects of that life will tend, certainly in externals, to emphasize its European character. Where such acculturative elements impinge upon the customs described, mention is made of them.

There is yet another observation, which though implicit to the scientifically trained, would seem, nevertheless, to require explicit stating. For inferences have too frequently been drawn from descriptions of African and African-like customs of a fear ridden, superstition obsessed people who lead paranoid lives because of the structure of their supernatural world. That such deductions are less than half truths is evident to those who study ritual not as material for cataloguing, but as something which illuminates the life and the values in life of the people investigated. The customs herein set forth fall into a rhythm of life that shows no greater pathological stresses than life lived in any Western World community. It cannot be pointed too sharply that the existence of ambitions, enmities and jealousies, and the range of antisocial expressions they seek, are not exotic facts; that the problems the Suriname Negro faces in pacifying his soul and his gods have been secularized by modern idiom into such rubrics as personality problems and the like; while it is also evident that the Western World does not wholly shun non-scientific remedies to cure diseases.

2. The Koto-Missi

In contrast with the African life of the Bush-Negroes of the interior, the Paramaribo Negro, as seen on the street, is no more African than are the Negroes met with in the islands of the Caribbean Sea, or in the rural districts of southern United States. In dress the men conform to European modes; and though many of the women preserve in their style of clothing the voluminous skirts which have been worn in the colony for a century or more, these are today more often reserved for ceremonial occasions such as religious dances, traditional social dances staged against a personal enemy, and the dances in the market place. The older women can be heard deploring the changing times when they can no longer afford to buy the twenty-seven ells of material required for a proper costume, and have to resort to the use of twenty ells, and even less.

1 cf. Morpurgo, passim.
2 The Dutch or Flemish ell is 27 inches. For several excellent photographs of Koto-Missi, taken some years ago, see Johnston, (I), pp. 114, 123, 124 and 128.
The name for this costume is *koto-yaki*, and in its more exuberant manifestations, it is one of the most picturesque elements in the gay panorama of the Paramaribo street. It is usually made of a cotton print, and elegance is achieved by having a matching head-kerchief, though a kerchief whose design and color harmonize with the figure in the cloth of the dress is also thought desirable. Contrast is not entirely disdained, however, so that a vivid green or purple kerchief, especially if of silk, is greatly prized. Its structure is complicated. The skirt reaches within an inch or two of the ground, and attains a circumference of more than five yards at the hem. It is made with a ruffle reaching twenty-seven inches, or more, downward from the waist and this is turned up and fastened with a draw-string about the waist-line, after a substantial pad has been attached at the back. This pad is called the *famiri*, the ‘family’. The effect thus obtained is that of a very generous bustle, and the *famiri* is often identified with the European costume of the eighteenth century.

It must be recognised, however, that women in Africa are given to the use of draperies and padding about the waist to emphasize the broadness of hips and buttocks¹, and it may well be that in this, as in many other instances, the merging of two characteristics somewhat similar aboriginally has occurred to form a unified cultural trait in the civilisation of the Suriname Negroes. That this mode of dress does carry African values to the Negroes themselves, was brought out in the comment of Granman Moana Yankuso, late headman of the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes, when he was discussing what he considered to be the demoralisation of the coastal Negroes. When Granman Yankuso spoke of ‘demoralisation,’ his meaning was ‘de-Africanisation’ or ‘Europeanisation’, and the fact that the *koto-yaki* is met with less frequently on the streets of Paramaribo was a prominent case in point adduced by him.

If the skirt shows a blending of African and European fashions, the blouse is European, for clothing the upper part of the body is, to the aboriginal African, a foreign conceit. This blouse is well-starched, and is often made as a bolero and worn over a white, collarless chemise in such a manner as to accentuate the fullness of the bosom. The sleeves are customarily of three-quarter length, and, on ceremonial occasions, two or more silver bracelets, hammered into the shape of coiled snakes, complete the costume, though a silver pin at the neck instead of a button to fasten the bolero is a very desirable addition, and shows a final stamp of elegance.

This costume, as mentioned, must be completed by a head-kerchief, and here we touch upon a phase of dress which, existing as it does in some form wherever Negroes are found in the New World,

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¹ As we ourselves observed in Nigeria, Dahomey, and the Gold Coast of West Africa. See Encyc., p. 403 (Art. ‘Klederdracht’) for a discussion of this costume.
Plate II. A Koto-misi.
Plate III. Koto-misi; the famiri.
shows in one aspect, at least, definite African values. This aspect has to do with the naming of designs and of methods of tying these kerchiefs. The practice of naming designs is directly traceable to Africa. Rattray has published an elaborately detailed account of the names given to various patterns in Ashanti weaving, and this custom prevails in Nigeria and Dahomey, where we were able to substantiate the fact during field-work in these regions. The naming of the methods of tying head-kerchiefs is also West African, and this is something that has not, to our knowledge, been heretofore recognised. In Ashanti, we obtained over fifty proverb-names applicable to as many ways of tying head-kerchiefs, and we also obtained evidence that this practice exists, though in a more restricted form, in coastal Dahomey and in Western Nigeria.

These kerchiefs are cotton prints, about a yard square, and of European manufacture, as is all cloth used by the town Negroes, who themselves do no weaving. Since the salability of a given kerchief depends upon the appeal to the imagination which the name given it will have for the potential buyers, the shopkeepers encourage women to come to them with suggestions for the naming of new designs. These suggestions arise out of current happenings, with which old proverbs are associated for purposes of satire. Often one of these old proverbs is so paraphrased as to retain its basic form and meaning, and yet to include direct reference to such an event as is singled out for ridicule. Before illustrating this process, it must be added that a shop-keeper may himself select, from a list of proverbs kept by him, a name which he considers sufficiently evocative to ensure the profitable sale of a certain cloth, without consulting any of the townswomen. In instances where two shops having the same cloth for sale give two different names to the same design, the one which has broader innuendo, or has been named or bought by a woman of greater forcefulness of character, will prevail. We are, of course, dealing here with the same psychological phenomenon as in our own culture we identify with the word ‘fashion’. In Paramaribo, however, it is the manner of wearing the kerchief that is relatively stable, and the element of change lodges in the African relish for ridicule as this is brought into play by the use of a traditional saying, which, commenting upon a current happening, is associated with a given kerchief design. It is not uncommon for a woman to have as many as one hundred of these kerchiefs, and these, in many instances, constitute her essential wealth. In the

1 R.S. Rattray, (I), pp. 234-250, and figs. 126-137.
2 Whether the inner significance given to kerchief designs and methods of tying by these West African peoples and the Suriname town Negroes is to be met with in other regions of the New World where Negro women wear head-kerchiefs cannot be said at the present time. It is a point well worth investigating.
3 A design-name, when determined upon, is printed and displayed with the cloth for sale. We reproduce such an advertising device in Plate XI.
days before prints came to be accepted, kerchiefs and often *koto-yaki*, as well, were made of white cotton cloth on which designs were embroidered in colors. These hand-embroidered kerchiefs are today still very much valued, and, should an owner be prevailed upon to sell one, - this rarely occurs, - such kerchiefs bring higher prices than new ones which can be bought at the shops.

The proverbs selected for kerchief names touch largely upon situations arising out of the relationships between men and women. An example will make this clear: It is said that some years ago, a man of official rank in the church was recalled from the colony because of gossip which connected his name with that of a woman in the city. The town Negroes, who enjoy comment on the vagaries of the White people of the colony, took occasion, under the protection of the *double entendre* which is part of the African character of these proverb-names, to make popular a kerchief with this saying: 'All bush animals eat (steal) cassava, but only the rabbit has the name for doing it.' Though the situation afforded them amusement, there was yet sympathy for the man who was being punished for a failing which so often goes unpunished. Another of these proverb-names given to a kerchief is: 'When the cow has eaten, she must give the horse the right to graze.' This saying was related to an occurrence which took place among the Negroes themselves. A woman who had lived with a man for many years, found herself deserted in favor of a young girl who had taken her man's fancy. This woman was ill, and the feeling, while one of commiseration with her, was not one of sympathy, since it was felt that, having had her day, she should step aside. Yet another kerchief-name which had a great vogue is: 'Anansi is cunning, yet today the Tiger rides him.' This saying comments on the experience of a Negro editor who had resorted to free criticism in his paper for many years, and on one occasion was disciplined for some especially daring comment. Another, named 'Anansi climbed the thorny palm-tree,' describes the fate of a Negro who escaped punishment for the sharp practices he carried on over a long period of years, until one day he was apprehended and imprisoned. One kerchief-name comments on the adventures of an officer's wife with an ice-man: 'The attraction of the *Iceko* (Ice Company) caused the officer's wife to lose the way to her house.' In its structure, this last proverb represents one of the forms met with again and again in the naming of these kerchiefs; examples of the way in which

1 Taki-taki proverb No. 83.
2 Taki-taki proverb No. 18.
3 The reasons for the excess of Negro women over men in Paramaribo will be discussed later.
4 Taki-taki proverb No. 115.
5 The first line of the verse which constitutes taki-taki proverb No. 10.
6 Taki-taki proverb No. 17.

*Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore*
this is paraphrased may be seen in the proverbs that appear in the pages devoted to them.

Not all kerchief names need be derived from proverbs; a word or a phrase may suffice. The chief requirement for the name, be it proverb, phrase, or word, is that it evoke a situation that lends itself to lampooning. Two of these names, not derived from proverbs, may be given here as illustrating this point, and these were the names of the two kerchiefs in greatest demand at the time we were in Paramaribo. One was named ‘Porcupine’,¹ and the other, ‘Bushmaster’.² Both of these touched upon the difficulties which arose between two women who had been living together in the institutionalised form of sexual inversion found among the Paramaribo Negroes.³ After thirteen years of this relationship, one of them formed an attachment for a young boy, and there were quarrels and threats of black magic. The choice of the kerchiefs involved partisanship as well as amusement at the occurrence. Another non-proverbial kerchief name was kabugru uru, ‘brown girl wanton’.

It should be remarked that, with rare exceptions, there is nothing in the design that gives the observer a clue to its name, for the relationship between design and name is an entirely arbitrary one. The figures in themselves may be non-realistic geometric designs consisting of stripes or squares, or they may be flowers. Only in two instances where names took their meaning from the fact that the kerchiefs were brilliant red in color, and nothing more, did we come upon cloths bearing names suggested by the designs themselves, and in such instances there were no associations between the cloth and an occurrence to be commented upon. One of these kerchiefs was named flamengo, ‘flamingo’, and had large yellow flowers on a red background, and the other was called faja-lobi, a name given to a red flower common in Paramaribo.⁴ We give illustrations⁵ of a few of these kerchiefs already tied, and of the patterns of the kerchiefs employed.

To tie a kerchief requires skill, and though at puberty a girl is expected to know a few ways of tying, it is only the older women who are adepts at it. Before a kerchief can be tied, it must be washed and well starched. The tying is done on the head, before a mirror, and even the skilled woman takes as long as ten minutes to do this. Once tied and with the ends pinned into place, the kerchiefs are treated as hats, that is, they are put on for going to market and for visiting. At home, a woman wears no kerchief at all, or she may wear an old unstarched bit of cloth carelessly tied about her head.

¹ Djundja-maka.
² Maka-sneki.
³ See below, pp. 32ff.
⁴ Encyc., p. 390, gives this as Ixora Coccinea L.O. Fam. Rubiaceae, a plant indigenous to the East Indies, prized for its flowers in Suriname.
⁵ Plates VI-X.
Women never appear on the street bare-headed, even though, as in Africa and elsewhere in tropical lands, burdens are carried on the head.

If the names of the kerchief designs may be said to derive from the happenings of the world in which the Paramaribo Negro moves, the names of the manner of tying can be said to be related to the mood of the wearer herself. Thus, one type of tying is called trobi, ‘trouble’. The kerchief, folded into a triangle, is arranged carefully in front, but the ends hang loosely in back. This at once characterises a bad tempered woman, who is to be avoided if there is to be no quarrelling; and when women skilled in magic tie their kerchiefs in this way, they are approached with the greatest tact. When we saw quarrelling women in the streets, it was remarkable in how many instances their kerchiefs were tied with flapping ends. The implication of the flapping ends is that the wearer is indifferent to what people do or say, ‘all the evil wishes are spoken to the wind, and all evil the wind will blow away.’ Another style of tying is given the designation of wakti mi na tap’-uku, - wait for me on the corner.’ A kerchief so tied has a straight line in back, and a slight opening to one side, and is considered a signal to men, though only for a comparatively harmless flirtation. While we have reason to believe that the men know the significance of most of the tying styles, one man, commenting on this particular style when he saw it on the street, observed that all men know kerchiefs whose significance is of this order. Another of this general category of loosely-tied kerchiefs is called motyo-cde, ‘prostitute’, and is the kerchief of a loose woman. It is tied so that there is a short straight line in back, which symbolizes a road, and a large opening with loose ends to indicate that the men are to follow her, and ‘be at home’. Still another is made to resemble a fan in back. Its name is Yu kɔ waji yu wnti lontu foto, ma mi no sa draj baka, - You can fan your breath around town, but I will not return.’ It is worn to express a woman's sentiments toward a man with whom she has quarrelled and whom she has left, and bodes hini no good. One kerchief has a small plaited end to represent a fan, and carries the name, Yu lɔbi na mɛn, a no lɔbi yu, - You love the man, but he does not love you (as yet),’ and this style of head-dress signifies that the wearer is fanning some man's emotions, so that he might notice her. A way of tying kerchiefs which, it was said, is very old, is called broko hede, ‘broken head’. A kerchief tied in this manner used to be worn by young girls as a sign that they had already had sex relationship, but today this style is not much worn. The complement to this is the method of tying known as yungu-mejde hede, ‘young girl's head’, where all loose ends are tucked in, and a girl wearing it is marked as a virgin, - to be specific, it was said that ‘this kerchief

1 The hair is worn in small braids, but there is not the variety of styles of braiding that is met with in the bush, where kerchiefs are not worn by the women.
is worn before a girl has a man, to show that she is ready for one.' One style of kerchief-tying is done in a fashion called *frunskap*, ‘friendship’ (really ‘love’). At the back this has two open corners but no flapping ends; one of the open places represents the woman, the other the man, and the knot made in the center of the design stands for the woman's heart, open to him. When worn, this style signifies that the wearer's love for her man is reciprocated. Other styles are *brasa mi trąŋga*, ‘hug me tight’; *yu sa si mi baka*, ‘you will see me again’; *boto ede*, ‘boat’; *dɔksi tere*, ‘duck's tail’; *dagu tere*, ‘dog's tail’.

3. Daily Life

Whatever phase of the culture of the town Negroes is selected for study, it soon becomes apparent that those elements in it which make the life of this group distinctive from that of other groups in Paramaribo are discernible chiefly in the behavior of the women rather than in that of the men. This may be said, at least in part, to be the reflection of the preponderance of women over men in the Negro population of the city, and this in turn may be related to the economic life of the colony, especially to the sex division of labor, which allows the man to range far in search of work, while the woman sells in the local market, or finds work in the city as a servant. The effect of this is that the greater degree of acculturation to the forms of behavior set down by the dominant White race is found among the Paramaribo men, as it is found among Negro men everywhere in the New World, and consequently, such Africanisms as have been retained are almost wholly in the custody of women, and through the women are passed on to the succeeding generations.

This does not mean that the men are not entirely at home among the Africanisms of Paramaribo Negro culture, nor that if they live to be old men they will not assume their role of guiding the young in the traditions of the group, and passing on their personal spirits to male relatives, who in their youth will be as lax in worshipping them as they themselves had been. These younger men, furthermore, even though away from home, carry with them the spiritual protection against evil magic given them by the local diviners, and once at home again, if ill, they will go to a diviner as well as to the hospital for treatment.

Where do the men go to find work? They are off in the bush ‘bleeding’ balata. They work in the bauxite mines at Moengo and elsewhere in the Colony. They act as guides for those who prospect for gold. They work wood, or become boatmen in the lower river trade. They man the small railway that runs into the interior, or they travel to the French and British colonies to get work, or range farther to Curaçao and Trinidad, the Windward Islands, and even to Harlem in New York. Those few who find work in Para-
maribo itself act as servants to Whites and well-to-do mulattoes, they are the fishermen, they are clerks in stores, they run errands, they make copra, do carpentry work, become policemen, join the local army, and those few who have the ambition and the financial means to gratify it, study for the professions. In the main, however, the view is that men do better away from home than at home, and it is understandable that as a result of this travelling, the traditions in which the men were reared become weakened in performance, if not in sanction.

Yet another factor must be considered in understanding the importance of women as the carriers of this culture. Though a child may take his mother's name or his father's, it is with the mother's family that he identifies himself most closely, and it is his maternal relatives who will come to his aid when he is in difficulty. It cannot be said that this matter of tracing descent through the mother is as sharply adhered to as it is among the Bush-Negroes, yet it is nevertheless manifest in the Paramaribo Negroes' attitudes toward their maternal relatives, and in the belief that if a maternal relative is not given help when in need, the ancestors will be angered, and will seek vengeance.

One of the occupations followed by men, which does include ceremonial practices that derive from traditional African sanctions, is that of fishing. Fishing is done in boats manned by eight and more men, who go out after dark, and return before dawn with their catch. When the men have been successful, they can be heard singing on the river in praise of the sacred Dagowe snakes in whose power lies good or bad fortune for them. There are places in the river which are known to be inhabited by the Dagowe, - stretches of fast water, eddies, whirlpools. There, once a year, the fishermen bring offerings of rum and eggs to propitiate these spirits. This yearly sacrifice does not always suffice, for it often happens that the catch continues poor for successive weeks, and this is to be directly ascribed to the Dagowe, who, because they are offended, have withdrawn their favors. New offerings of rum and eggs are then given the Dagowe, and prayers are spoken, asking forgiveness for any unwitting offence, and asking, too, for renewed friendliness in providing an abundant catch.

When a sea-cow, as the manatee is called, is caught, a special dance called Kauna is given to honor its spirit. If, while the men are fishing, a manatee appears, disappears, and appears again, the

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1 For examples of the songs to which these dances are danced, see Nos. 235-239, 244, 246.
2 This is a translation into the field of fishing of the wide-spread African custom of propitiating the spirits of certain animals which are killed, lest harm come to the hunter and those who partake of the kill. An account of this custom in the Gold Coast will be found in Rattray, (I), ch. ix, pp. 182-186. On the Suriname plantations a similar ceremony is held when a tapir is killed.
men taunt it to make it the easier to catch, and call out, ‘Kay bigi mòro yu! - The cow is bigger than you!’ and the manatee, who is thus incited to come back again to prove that this taunt is not true, is then caught.

‘It’s lucky, when they catch a manatee. They play music all night. The music is called Kauna, the same name as the drum.’ The Kauna drum is oblong, and is played at both ends as it hangs suspended by a cord about the player’s neck. ‘If they would not play music, and have the feast, the house would burn down.’ The ‘feast’ consists of a broth made with the head of the manatee and liquor. The dancing is done with the dancers either standing or squatting against a wall, or leaning seated against a table, and both men and women participate, though not necessarily in couples. The hands and feet beat time, the body moves rhythmically, so that the muscles of the buttocks are in motion, and the dancers go through the motions of coitus.¹ We were assured that only the ‘low’ people participate, and it was characterised as ‘bad’ dancing. This Kauna dance (or Kawina, as it is at times pronounced) has a social character as well as a ritualistic one, and, as such, it is held on Saturday nights, whether a manatee has been caught or not. In addition to the recorded songs for this type of dance, we append the following further examples:

(1)  
So mi yere Kauna ‘t boro  
So mi yere Kauno ‘t lolo

So I hear Kauna is boro,²  
So I hear Kauna is rolling.

(2)  
Sneke beti mi,  
Mi si wórën, mi frede.³

A snake bit me,  
I see a worm, I am afraid.

(3)  
Sani mòro Abane  
A no məŋ kə,  
A no məŋ go.

Hard times have come to Abane  
He cannot come  
He cannot go.

¹ Our stay in Paramaribo coincided with the season of the sacred dances, so that we were unable to be present at a Kauna dance to verify this description.

² Untranslatable.

³ This was also recorded as a proverb (taki-taki proverb No. 42).
From the manatee itself is extracted what was described as ‘a big seed inside its belly as large as an apple’. This is dried, divided into four parts, and put into ‘high-wine’, - strong liquor. This mixture, which is white if the ‘seed’ has been dried in the sun, and black if it has been dried in smoke, is drunk by men to give them virility, and the immediate effect when it is drunk is to cause the veins to swell. The virility that is attained, however, is specious in character, since drinking the fluid is said to induce impotence, and a woman who discovered that her man used this would ‘summons him’ to the doctor. This mixture, when drunk, is also supposed to give great physical strength, for a man who takes it will be able to knock down a person with his bare fists.’ Boys are given a little of the mixture in water, not rum, as soon as they begin to eat solids, and this is repeated several times a year to insure their ‘strength’, until puberty, when the practice is discontinued.

Other than in fishing, however, the occupations of the men do not bite deeply into the non-European sanctions of the life of the people.

Let us see what obtains among the women. What is the nature of their work? their relations to one another? their place in the family organisation and economy? What are the customs, peculiar to these urban Negroes, that flow through the women, and that they preserve both for themselves and the men to participate in?

For the women, the market is the most important element in their economic life. There are two principal markets in the city of Paramaribo, though other small ones are scattered at strategic places along the railway into the interior. Here the women buy and sell, and it is only rarely that a man is found behind the low-set boards on which the wares are displayed. Early in the morning, the women can be seen on their way to market, carrying on their heads trays of foodstuffs and other wares. In one market they sell salt-fish, considered a great delicacy, chickens and produce, condiments of all sorts, white chalk, which is used for ceremonial

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1 The African aspect of this trait of Paramaribo culture is obvious. In all West Africa it is the women who, in overwhelming proportion, are the venders in the markets.
Plate IV. A market-scene in Paramaribo.
Plate V. Negro and Hindu women in the Market.
purposes, yams, rice, cassava, plantains, peanuts (*pinda*),\(^1\) fruits, peppers, greens, melons; in the second, notions, cloths, china, cutlery, pottery. There is specialisation both in markets and in the articles sold by each woman, and the women keep their habitual places in the market, and sell their habitual wares. In pottery there is also specialisation, for there are two kinds; the Indian *prapi* (red ware), which is used in the daily life, and the black ‘Djuka’ pots, used for ceremonial purposes.

In the produce markets are held the dances in worship of the spirits which rule trade. The principal dance for this is the *banya*, participated in by those who are engaged in trade in any form, whether it be in the market or in a shop. Women who themselves are not traders dance to these spirits to propitiate them in behalf of their men who may be engaged in trade, and this is one occasion when women from the plantations come to the city for ritual purposes. For, as we shall see later, the townspeople on occasion seek freedom from official restrictions that stand in the way of following the full traditional ritual by going to the plantations or to clearings in the bush, where they can dance as the gods who possess them dictate.

Life in the Negro quarter of the city may be said to be lived in the *dyari*, - the yard, or compound. The dwellings of the quarter which lie closest to the heart of the city are flanked on the street side by shops, or by houses which stand so close together that there is but room between them for a narrow passage which leads into the yard. This passage, which at times is a short alley, is entered by a gate or door. Farther away from the center of the city, however, the houses are no longer so closely grouped, until when the outskirts of the city are reached, the aggregate of cabins, still conforming to the yard pattern, are grouped about a large clearing, though each is placed a fair distance from the other, with the entire complex facing on this clearing, but surrounded by open country and intersecting roads. It is clear that in the outlying districts, at least, what grouping of cabins there occurs about such a clearing is not the result of the need for crowding, but occurs because of the distaste for living in isolation. A cabin standing withdrawn from the road, and alone, is but rarely met with, and where such a one is seen, it is as often as not inhabited by a diviner, or a practitioner of magic. In the view of the people, isolation is not for the timid, and when met with, it bespeaks such assurance in the control of the supernatural that the inhabitants of an isolated house are treated with exceeding circumspectness. In the idiom of the people, ‘You walk softly with them.’

Few of the houses, wherever located, are more than one story high, and fewer yet, whether facing a street or not, contain more than two rooms. A yard may have as few as two or three cabins, or as many

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\(^1\) From Kongo *mpinda*, as given in Bentley, p. 11.

*Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
as will permit the housing of ten or more families. When the yard holds but few
cabins, and the owner is well-to-do and himself occupies the house which fronts the
street, the yard cabins may accommodate members of his own family, - an old
mother may occupy one of these cabins, and a sister and her children another. The
large yards may be surrounded by individual one- or two-room cabins, or there may
be several of these small cabins, and in addition, one or two long single-story
buildings, one room deep, divided into separate compartments, each of which has
only one door which opens into the yard. There is, of course, no uniformity in the
construction of these houses. Some are built level with the ground, and some are
built on piles; a few may have glass windows, while others only have openings cut
into the walls, which at night are closed with shutters to keep out the feared night
air. Some houses may have individual verandas; others may have parapets built to
enclose the several steps which lead to the door of the cabin built on piles.

Practically all the single-room cabins have attics, which are entered by ladders
reaching to trap-doors. In these attics the family wealth is stored, - the woman of
the house keeps a cannister there, or a box holding her kerchiefs, her koto-yaki, her
beads, her bracelets; or there may be some heirloom, often kept for luck rather than
for its intrinsic worth. The man places his cannister or box containing his holiday
clothes there, if he is not away from home, or else leaves behind in this attic those
of his keep-sakes he does not take with him, though if his mother is still living, he
may prefer to leave them with her. The room itself contains a table and perhaps two
or three chairs, although any convenient box in the yard, or a log lying on the ground
is preferred for relaxation. The walls may be bare, or papered entirely or in part with
newspaper, and as many colored lithographs as the owners have been fortunate
enough to collect are hung. A well-to-do home may have a cabinet for bric-a-brac,
jars, bottles, and brightly colored boxes. Either hammocks about which mosquito
nets are slung, or mats which are spread on the floor, or beds, are used for sleeping,
but the latter are but seldom found in the single-room cabins. A typical cabin is no
larger than ten by twelve feet in size, and may accommodate as many as five people.
This, of course, means that these five people sleep there, for during the day the
adult men and women are away working, and the children are either at school or at
play in the yard. Cooking is seldom done indoors. Each family has a coal-pot or a
hearth made of stones, and there the food is cooked, for these cabins have no
chimneys, and except when the weather is inclement, the smoke is kept out of the
cabin. There is a well in the yard, and there may also be a ‘cook-house’ with an
oven for baking which is for the use of all who live in the yard. Food consists
principally of roasted or boiled plantains and stews in which a bit of salt-fish or meat
is added to rice and okra, or to rice and the varieties of

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beans and peas which grow in Suriname, mixed with the peppers without which no dish is complete.\(^1\) An equally favored way of preparing food is to shape it in small cakes, and wrap it in banana leaves, in which it is cooked. Akansa\(^2\), the cakes made of pounded corn, and wrapped in banana leaves, asogri;\(^3\) the cakes of pounded corn made with sugar and raisins, dokyn;\(^4\) pudding made of bananas, young corn, or peanuts, highly seasoned, and wrapped in a banana leaf, tɔ̨m tɔ̨m;\(^5\) a heavy pudding made of pounded bananas, (of the consistency of dumplings) fufu, and boiled plantains, are some of these dishes. The first two of these are used ritually, since they are included in practically all offerings to the spirits, and to the third we have frequent reference in the folk-tales, where the young man setting out to seek his fortune provides himself with dokyn for the journey.

In the yard itself, the very young children seldom wear clothing, and even the dress of the older ones is likely to be sketchy. The women working about the yard go barefoot, and wear their oldest dresses, which are usually one-piece cotton garments, for the koto-yaki is not a work-dress. Unless there is quarrelling, the yard is markedly quiet during the day. It is at night that life is lived, and it is then that gossip is liveliest. Those men who are at home lounge about, sitting on the steps which lead to the cabins, and the women are with them. One group may be telling Anansi stories, the listeners joining in the accompanying songs, and each story-teller vying with his neighbor to show how many tales he knows. There may be a quarrel, or a wake which brings many people to the yard, and keeps its inhabitants from sleep the night through. If a priestess is numbered among the people who live there, and it is the time for dances to the gods, all must be got in readiness for the ceremonies, until finally the dances themselves occupy the people’s time. Ordinarily, however, long before midnight the yard is quiet, and all are asleep.

A family considering the renting of a vacant cabin in any of the yards, makes inquiries concerning the ‘luck’ of that particular yard. The word ‘luck’ involves the question whether there is a sacred tree in the yard in which a Leba spirit lives; whether there is a snake which makes its home in the yard and brings good fortune

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1. This type of dish also is a staple in West Africa, especially when seasoned with very generous portions of native peppers.
2. Cf. Encyc., p. 35. Akansa, made in the same way as described here, only served in round portions, is an important dish in Dahomey. In Haiti, acasan is the term for this dish, which like in Dahomey and Suriname, is employed in religious rites. For acasan in Haiti, see E.C. Parsons, (I), p. 173. The term akasa is also found in Eastern Nigeria to designate this dish, according to N.W. Thomas (II), ii, p. 191.
5. Encyc., p. 683; ‘Het woord is aan het Tsji toem-toem ontleend...’

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to all who live there; whether there are practitioners of bad magic to make trouble for the inhabitants; whether some deed has been committed in the cabin to be rented which might cause it to be haunted by a ghost or by a bad spirit. If the prospective occupants find the answers propitious, they make preparations in their old home for moving. Most important of all is the ceremony of asking the souls, - particularly the souls of the children - to follow the family to the new quarters. An offering is usually also given to the local earth spirit, - the grǫnmama of the yard - to ask it to befriend the newcomers. If the family had been harrassed at the old location, or had prospered there, a diviner is consulted, - in the one instance, to tell how to evade the bad spirits so that they will not follow the family to the new yard, and in the other, how to propitiate the good ones so that they may continue their goodwill. Not all will take recourse to divination for so simple a matter as changing living quarters, but all will seek for proper omens when making their choice.

4. Marriage and Divorce

The social organisation of Paramaribo Negro culture, strictly speaking, does not center about the compounds which we have described, for it is not the rule for the grouping of father, mother, and children to live in the same compound as those related to them. As a matter of fact, in its outward manifestations, there is not much difference between the family as constituted in Paramaribo among the Negroes and among the Europeans. Residence, in the main, is away from the parental home, a new couple going off to a compound where the relatives of neither live, to make their home. But when such matters as the ways of getting a mate, the attachments which characterise these family groupings, and the manner in which matings are ruptured are considered, certain features distinctive of this Suriname town-Negro culture appear.

The idealised manner in which a man goes about getting the girl of his choice for a wife, is given with the full reservation that it does embody an ideal, which is honored as often in the breach as in the performance.¹ In this ideal situation, the man who is attracted by a girl, sends his mother and a maternal aunt or uncle to the parents of the girl of his choice. When the two families satisfy themselves of the desirability of the marriage, the man is permitted to court the girl openly. This courtship extends over a period of not less than six months, - in some instances it has been known to last a year and more. During this period, gifts

¹ The first account of such a courtship was supplied us, indeed, by a woman who was to our own knowledge fantasizing, for, young as she was, her experiences with men had taken her through some four semi-permanent matings. The existence of the ideal, however, is of ethnological importance.
Plate VI. Head-kerchief, front view.
Plate VII. Name of pattern, *Maka sneki*; name of tying, *Boto hɛdɛ*.
are made by the young man to the girl and to her mother and father, and, if the parents do farming, they make use of their privilege to call on their daughter's fiancé to help work their field. Any social functions, such as ceremonies for the individual souls of the principal members of the girl's family, are attended by the young man. If a death occurs in either family during that interval, attendance at the funeral and wakes is obligatory, and presents must be given. If a wanti, a god, troubles a member of the girl's family with demands involving an expenditure beyond the means of the immediate family, and contributions are called for from relatives, good form requires that the suitor also make some contribution. In return, the man enjoys the right to share the meals of the girl's family whenever he comes to the house, though as a discreet suitor, he does not impose too greatly on this prerogative. The 'church marrying' need not take place when the marriage is consummated, if the couple do not have enough money to meet the expenses of the marriage fee and the marriage-feast and dance that go with the performance of a 'White man's marriage'.

In reality, though all matings conform to this pattern to some degree, the whole of it is rarely carried through. What generally obtains is that a man and a woman decide to live together and establish their household in a one-room cabin in one of the yards. To the extent to which they are anxious to stay on good terms with their respective families, they will make gifts, and go through as many of the requirements of the ideal condition outlined above as is necessary, or as they can afford. The dearth of men in the colony, because of the operation of the economic factors we have discussed, allows the burden of marriage to rest but lightly on the men. Thus a mature woman, who is well established in the market and has means of her own, may take a fancy to a younger man and support him until such time as she discovers that he has formed an attachment for a younger woman. An older, well-to-do man, who may have gone through a marriage which had followed closely the lines of the approved form of courtship and a marriage ceremony, may choose, in addition to his legal wife, a young girl with whom he has a family under a free relationship. In some respects this may be said to follow the African pattern of polygyny which obtains at the present time among the Bush-Negroes of the colony. Such a mating, however, is not wholly sanctioned by the community, and the relationship resembles similar ones which occur among the monogamous Europeans. Thus, the term doro-sej pikin, 'outside children', - that is, illegitimate offspring - is applied to the children of such matings, though no stigma attaches to these children.

1 In Dahomey, this duty of attending the funeral of the father or mother of his fiancée or wife is the first duty of the engaged man or son-in-law toward the woman, and should this duty be neglected, the engagement is broken or divorce pronounced, as the case may be.
in the community in which they live their lives. Indeed, though the sanctioned pattern calls for a legalised wedding, the real emphasis is more on the prestige given by the wedding feast, with the display of wealth it entails, than on the legalising ceremony itself. Not very many such weddings take place, and it is not too rarely that one occurs after the pair to be married had lived together long enough to have children of their own, or even grandchildren, for wedding attendants.

Yet, though matings which are legal from the point of view of the law of the colony are far from the rule, the use of the term ‘marriage’ to describe the matings among the Paramaribo Negroes is ethnologically none the less valid. If marriage is defined as a socially sanctioned mating, then innumerable instances of non-legalised matings as secure, as long-lived, and as socially honorable as any performed in church or registry office can be found among the Negro community of Paramaribo. These are marriages where many of the requirements of the ideal way of getting a mate have been carried out, where the man and woman have lived together on good terms with each other and their respective families, and where their children have held together as a recognised unit in the social whole. No definite marriage ceremony precedes such matings, though during the year there may perhaps be ‘birthday parties’ for the young couple, and they may, if they can afford it, gi tafra - ‘provide food’, - for their souls, so that these may live together amicably.

Relationships, once established, may be dissolved as a result of the operation of several factors. A man and woman may get on badly because they had unwisely disregarded that they were both born on the same day of the week. Having been born on the same week-day, - Thursday, let us say - they both have ‘Thursday souls’, and this, it is believed, makes for conflict, since both derive their springs of action from the same source. The two may have tried to guard against this difficulty, yet the souls refuse to live together. The effect is the inevitable clash of temperament, - unaccountable bursts of temper, and general disharmony; and the result is that one of the two becomes ill and goes to a diviner to discover what has brought on this illness. If the diviner discovers that it is because the souls are incompatible, the two separate. Another reason for separation lies in the belief that sometimes a man's wanti (god) or a woman’s wanti forms a dislike for the spouse. In such a case, there will also be difficulties of adjustment and, at the advice of the wantimán who is consulted, separation will ensue. In the majority of instances, however, marriages are broken because of infidelity on the part of the man or woman. Where the man neglects his wife, resentment arises out of the fact that his new mate is given money gifts, for this neglect takes the form of smaller and smaller contributions toward the support of his family.
As this situation becomes more apparent to the woman, she shames him by going about in public in her oldest clothes, seeing to it that she appears, clothed in this way, where he happens to be. Another effective protest, antecedent to actual divorce, takes the form of the wife's refusal to cook for the man.¹

Often, at this stage, magic is called in to aid the woman, who uses what money she possesses to pay a diviner to reveal to her a means for keeping her husband. She may also go to a skilled maker of charms to find out how she can 'tie his soul', or, if matters go from bad to worse, she may go to a practitioner of black magic to get charms with which to avenge herself.

There is no other single factor which, among these people, shares psychologically the importance of potency and fecundity as an essential to human happiness. So much stress is laid upon this, that by far the greater part of innuendo, gossip, and ridicule lodges in situations involving impotence and infertility. The greatest threat, when an appeal to black magic is implied in a quarrel, is to bring about these conditions. Certainly in marriage, the fear that a neglected wife or a deserted husband may bring about sexual failure by employing such means is a notable factor in preventing separation, - a fear that is particularly strong since, through intimacy of contact, it is not difficult to obtain hair or nail-clippings, or some bit of clothing effective for such use.

The means to which a woman resorts to secure the constancy of her husband, or her lover, fall into three categories. A woman may avail herself of a love-charm, - an opo - or she may have recourse to 'tying his akra', - controlling his soul - or she may obtain from a practitioner of black magic 'medicine' concocted of herbs to which either the man's hair, finger-nails, a bit of cloth saturated with his perspiration, or a piece of his wearing apparel is added, and which causes him to be potent only when with her. A man who is given such 'medicine' is thought unable to perform the sex act when he goes to lie with another woman, and thus is subjected to the ridicule attaching to such incapacity.

An opo, the principle of which we shall explain later,² is a charm which gives the possessor power over the will of another. It is made by a dealer in magic, and the knowledge of how to make it and give it power is kept as a professional secret by the maker. It is used not only by a woman to retain the affection of her husband, but by a man to insure his wife's fidelity; thus, one such opo, described by an informant who was assured of his wife's constancy by its use, was stated to operate in such a way that, if she were to

¹ We note, in this connection, that many of the women's songs recorded by us among the Ashanti, in a village where European influence is at a minimum, contained the theme of complaint made by women against their men for giving them no meat to put in their stew.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
go to another man, the menstrual flow would come as soon as she attempted to have sex relations with him.

If the method of 'tying the soul' is employed, the actual technique may take several forms. One way is for the woman to use a black pot made by the Bush-Negro women of the interior, a type of pottery much prized both in the bush and in the town for its inherent magical properties. With a knife she scrapes the bottom until she has about a teaspoonful of the scrapings, and this she puts into the man's food. That night, when the man is asleep, she gets up softly in order not to waken him, pours a little rain-water into the black pot, and places a candle in it. She then places this pot at the man's head, as he sleeps. Taking up a piece of white thread, she tries to waken the man sufficiently to elicit a grunt from him, having care, however, not to bring him to full consciousness. After the third response from him, she quickly makes a knot in the string, and lights the candle. If she means to free his soul later, she keeps the string, for when the knot is untied, his soul is released; otherwise she throws it away so that it is in no danger of being found by the man should he ever become aware that she had 'tied his soul'. The special term that is employed for this is kroiʾa man, - 'tie the man'. Still another way to cause the man to desire no other woman is achieved by taking the head of a ground-lizard, smoking it until it is dry, and pounding it until it is reduced to a powder. The powder is then put into the black pot, and to it is added perspiration from the woman's face, or else the black pot is held under the woman's arm until sufficient perspiration has dropped into it. This mixture of perspiration and powdered lizard's head is mixed with the food eaten by the man, or put in the rum he drinks, and the same result is believed accomplished.

To protect himself against such charms, a man provides himself with a tapu, a preventive against all magic designed to impair his virility. In addition, he stimulates desire by drinking rum into which has been put the scrapings from a fish called kutai. The female of this species is used for this potion, its efficacy lying in the fact that it is believed to menstruate. The fish is cleaned and left to dry in the sun, or is smoked until dry, and scrapings are then put in rum, so that after two or three days this mixture is ready for use. A small glass of this mixture drunk daily, though not necessarily before coitus, is held to be excellent. We may refer once again in this connection to the medicine made of the 'seed' found inside the manatee, as an erotic stimulant for men.

The man can, as suggested, avail himself of the use of magic to insure his wife's fidelity, and to accomplish this he may, with a few minor differences in its execution, resort to the first of the two methods described above. The principal difference lies in the fact

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1 Encyc., p. 412, states this name is given to fish of the order Anablebs Anablebs and Anablebs Microlebis.
that the man does not put anything into the woman's food, the reason for this being
that since men have nothing to do with the preparation of food, any man discovered
beside the cooking pot would arouse very serious suspicions. However, a woman's
hair being long, he has the advantage of tying his wife's soul with her own hair,
instead of using a piece of thread or string. The controlling element in this magic is
that it involves the principle of 'tying', which in itself is an important category in
magical devices for subordinating one will to another, and its particular duties are
defined in the formula which is pronounced when the tying is done. These formulae
follow a definite pattern of making a compact with the supernatural force employed.

The man's formula, in this instance, would be: 'Just as I tie this hair, so I tie you,
Akra Abena (Tuesday Soul), and not until someone finds this to untie the knot, is
A... (here is spoken the woman's name) to attempt coitus with any man, other than
myself, without the menstrual flow appearing directly to make this impossible.' The
instructions to the soul vary with the ends that are desired. The soul might be told
to feel loathing for all men but himself; or to bring violent pain to the woman when
about to perform the sex act with another; or to shame her by inducing an
instantaneous attack of diarrhea when about to have connection with another.

Though the use of menstrual cloths, either by men or women, is thought to be so
abhorrent as to be classed with the practice of black magic, it is possible to devise
a charm for fidelity of the type we have described by taking such a cloth to a
practitioner and having him use it to achieve the same results as those sought in
the 'tying' of the soul. Black magic does, indeed, enter on occasion, but when this
is called into play, it is for revenge after desertion, and is intended to bring sterility,
impotence or death. In our ensuing discussion of wiş, black magic - the way in
which this is manipulated will be explained.

When separation occurs, the children remain with the mother. If she is unable to
care for them herself, her mother, if living, takes all or several of the children, or a
sister or a maternal aunt cares for one or more of them, as economic conditions
permit. Sometimes a younger sister comes to live in the cabin to look after the
children while they are young and their mother is away selling in the market, or is
in service. If because of extreme poverty the mother's family is unable to care for
the children, and the woman herself has no means with which to feed them, the
children find homes in strange families as kwêki. The term kwêki as applied to such
children is difficult of definition, but literally it means that they become

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1 In Dahomey there is a whole category of magic charms which involve the principle of 'tying'.
In Haiti, too, the concept of 'tying' - in this case of 'tying' a spirit, a loa - is present. Cf. Parsons,
(l), p. 163.
2 See below, story No. 141.
attached to certain households which engage to bring them up. Frequently these children are given homes because of friendship for their mother, or some member of her family, but a kweki is not an adopted child. If the kweki are intractable, or shiftless, they can be sent back to their families, and furthermore, they have no claims on the families with whom they live, beyond the expectation of being fed and clothed in exchange for the work they do as members of the household. Abuses in the treatment of these children are, nevertheless, but seldom heard of, and very often they are sent to school as are the children of the household. In Paramaribo itself the institution of the kweki has far less currency at the present time than it had in former years.

Whether the children, after separation between a man and a woman, remain with the mother, or go to their maternal grandmother or aunt, or are sent as kweki to outside families, they identify themselves with the family of their mother, and it is to the mother’s family they come when in trouble. This obtains despite the fact that a child’s food taboos come from the father, that in particular the strength of the soul of a boy depends upon the father’s friendliness toward him while in his mother’s womb and thereafter at least through early childhood, and that, on occasion, the sons especially may inherit the father’s personal god, or gods, - his winti.

It is not intended to convey, however, that there is no affection between a father and his children after the separation of the parents, particularly if the children are sufficiently grown to know him as an individual; or that a father may not help provide for them after separation. Such significant divergence, however, as is found to exist from the pattern of identification with the mother and her family when separation occurs may be said to stem from three separate causes, any one of which may at the same time be interrelated with another, or with the other two. The first is the emotional factor which enters where the father’s personal feelings toward his children dictate an interest in their well being, and this may be qualified also by the importance which is attached to fruitfulness, and a generalised feeling that it might be displeasing to his own ancestors if he allowed the young children to experience want. The second is the factor of acculturation to European modes of thought, which manifests itself more often in determining the disposal of material possessions at death to a man’s own children, rather than to a brother, or a sister’s children. The third, which is perhaps most important of all, is that not all of the African ancestry of these

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1 It may be said, perhaps, that the European system of apprenticeships of earlier days more nearly describes the role of the kweki in the homes to which they go, or that the institution of the kweki, as such, is even more akin to the African system of ‘pawns’ for family debts, though in the instance of the kweki no debt is involved.
people derived from regions where descent was traced through the female line,\(^1\) and that while the conditions of slavery favored the institution of maternal descent, the paternal descent groups did not lose their own traditions.

It must be stated, however, that emphasis is always placed among these people on the ties toward the mother and her family, and that the responsibilities held binding are those which bear upon relationships through the mother. One illustration of the importance of the association of children with the mother is given in the folktales, where, as in African stories, we see clearly that an orphan is a child without a mother and never one who has lost his father.\(^2\)

5. \textit{Lɔbi sŋi}

After a separation not many women have the financial means at their disposal, or the temerity, to enter into negotiations with a worker of black magic for revenge against their successful rivals, or against the men who have deserted them. For these, there remains the institutionalised form of revenge known as \textit{lɔbi sŋi}, - literally, 'love song' - in essence a ceremony which employs songs of ridicule for purposes of social castigation\(^3\). In its more generalised form, \textit{lɔbi sŋi} may take place non-ceremonially when a woman who has quarrelled with another woman in her yard, goes about her work, pounding corn, or crushing peanuts, or stamping rice in a mortar, or drawing water from the well, singing songs which, though traditional in tune and words, have direct allusion to the other, the point being that all those who hear the song recognize that the singer is berating the other woman. \textit{Lɔbi sŋi} are also sung in private by men and women who live together, but these relate to personal idiosyncrasies rather than ridicule, and their point is erotic reference rather than hatred.

\textit{Lɔbi sŋi}, then, is an established form of social criticism\(^4\) by

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1 Among the Yoruba and the Dahomeans, descent is patrilineal; in Ashanti, matrilineal as far as family membership and the inheritance of property are concerned.
2 Thus, in Dahomey, the term for orphan is \textit{nochiovı}, lit. 'mother-dead-child.' This illustration may be of some significance as throwing light on the reference to 'motherless child' in American Negro spirituals. One of the best known of these spirituals is 'Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child.'
3 Cf. Encyc., p. 453.
4 The use of song for social criticism represents a widespread West African cultural pattern, which has survived in New World Negro behavior. Thus, in Dahomey, once a month each quarter of a city has an opportunity to give a dance in the market. This dance, called \textit{avogają}, is accompanied by songs in which current happenings are satirized, and particularly such current happenings as involve a dispute between persons of one quarter with those of another. In Ashanti, when we were unable to allow groups of natives to sing into our recording phonograph, they assembled in the road, and sang songs of derision against us. A well-known instance of this pattern as manifested in southern United States is contained in the account of the folklorist who, in attempting to collect a Negro work-song, finally heard himself satirized for sitting on the wall doing nothing while they were working. Reference must also be made to the songs sung in Dahomey by co-wives against each other, a number of which we recorded there.
ridicule and bears particularly on the reprehensible conduct of women. The instance we cited,¹ of the man who left the woman he had lived with for many years and had gone to a younger one, would rarely call forth sufficient public sympathy to encourage the deserted woman, had she the means, to stage a lobi sñgi. But should a young woman entice a man away from another about her own age, causing him to spend what money he had on gifts for her, so that he ceased to make the contributions expected of him toward the support of his wife and children, and failed to make appearance at his home at the usual times, a lobi sñgi would be given by this wife to shame the other woman into giving him up. In such a case, if the deserted woman had the gift of improvisation, she herself led the singing. If not, or if she was too timid to assume the leadership in her own behalf, she hired another woman who had shown excellence at such performances to assume leadership, paying her from half a guilder to a guilder for this service.

The spectacle is staged during the day, usually in the afternoon when trade in the market is dull, and the women are free to participate and watch. The ceremony may last well into the evening, and particularly when there is moonlight, the singing may continue until eight or nine o'clock. When the day for the lobi sñgi is decided upon, the woman spreads the news among her friends, and they in turn make the occasion known as they go to market or work about their yards. Sometimes the landlord of the yard where this is to be held, - the yard of the girl who is to be sung against - demands a small payment for permitting the singers and spectators to enter. Arrangements must also be made for the hiring of music. A really effective lobi sñgi has as many as four or five pieces of music, - a clarinet, flute, drum (that is, a snare drum, not the African hollow-log type used in religious ceremonies), and what were described as. ‘cymbals’, which means a tambourine or any other percussion instrument which gives a similar sound. The use of the rattle, like that of the ceremonial drum, or the hard-wood bench beaten with sticks, does not occur, because these form the complex of instruments for religious ritual.

With these preliminaries cared for, and the date at hand, all those who are to participate actively come to the yard of the woman who is giving the ceremony, dressed in their best koto-yaki, and there, if the means of the hostess permit, food and drink are distributed before starting, though this is not at all essential, since the love

¹ See above, p. 6.
of the spectacle brings participants without the lure of food or presents. Early in the afternoon, then, as soon as a sufficient number of the women who had promised to come have gathered, a procession is formed. It is led by the music, and proceeds to the yard where the lobi șungi is to be given. The participants are usually followed by a crowd of men, women, and children, for whom this is entertainment to be relished. It may begin less spectacularly with people coming in small groups to the place where the lobi șungi is to be staged. Though this is less enjoyed, it is at the present time the more common way of assembling.

Arrived at their destination, they range themselves before the cabin of the woman against whom the singing is directed, with the onlookers flanking the performers, and all facing the cabin where the woman to be sung against has shut herself in. It is customary to open a lobi șungi with an improvised song to suit the occasion; that is to say, traditional music is sung, but the words are especially composed. This kind of improvisation has been discouraged in recent times because of the recourse the people sung against have had to the courts, where complaints of slander have been lodged. It is therefore found more expedient today to sing traditional songs with only sufficient change in a number of lines to point to the specific occasion to which the song refers. The pattern of singing, as in all the songs of these Negroes, is that of statement by the leader, and response from a chorus. Whatever the content of the song, whether it be that of threat, or treaty, or excoriation, the formal way of ending the chorus is with a few dancing steps, accompanied by a disdainful lifting of the voluminous skirts in back as the steps are executed, and followed by the exclamation 'Ha! ha!' After the initial song, where improvisation is called for, the leader ranges through the store of well-known lobi șungi. Often an old Dutch tune, or one imported from the United States or Europe, which has achieved momentary popularity when heard in the cinema or on phonograph records,1 is utilised, and traditional words are sung to it. Similarly, an old tune is sung, and to it are fitted words that have to do with automobiles, or a flying-machine that visited Paramaribo, or other happenings of the day as these can be brought to bear, by innuendo, on the situation that is being ridiculed.

Let us illustrate with instances from the songs themselves:2

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1 The example of this ready taking up of a foreign song by the Paramaribo Negroes is had in the case of the 'Volga Boat Song'. There was a cinema of that name being shown in Paramaribo during our stay, and the song was played in the course of its showing. We heard it sung or whistled everywhere in the city.

2 We do not give here the lobi șungi, the music of which has been recorded and transcribed. These will be found in the section of this work devoted to music as Nos. 249 and 250.
1) Sàñ wà, mirà kà, du,
Nàŋga wàŋ kàŋ hìè?
Ha! Ha!
A musu nyàm na metí
A libi na bònyo.
Ha! Ha!

What can an ant do,
With a cow's head?
Ha! Ha!
It must eat the meat
And leave the bones.
Ha! Ha!

2) Èfi lòbi bèn lòbi mi,
A no lòbi mi morò,
Mi no kà tyìri mi sàrèfì na lìba
Fò dàti hìè.
Ha! Ha!

If a lover has loved me,
And he loves me no more,
I cannot drown myself in the river
On that account.
Ha! Ha!

3) Yu mòj mòro mi,
Yu fatu mòro mi,
Ma mì sujì mòro yù.
Dàti hìè mèkì, gudu,
Gudu, no kàñ fàrdwal
Fò libì sujìtì ròs
Fò kò na krabù Dùjì hòso.

You are handsomer than I,
You are fatter than I,
But I am sweeter than you are.
That is why, my treasure,¹
My treasure, cannot bear
To leave a sweet rose
To come to the house of a crab Dùjì.²

Sometimes the man, as well as the woman with whom he has gone off, is the object of ridicule, as in the following:

¹ The word gudu (treasure) is used for ‘lover’.
² Our informant stated that the girl's name was Dina, hence Dùjì is a play on her name; while for ‘crab’ any animal may be substituted, the choice being left to the fancy of the singer.
Plate VIII. Name of pattern: Yu ką loi yu dydyj lejki fa yu wą', mi no dc yère yu; name of tying: Yu ką waj yu wunti lontu foto, ma mi no sa draj baka.
Plate IX. Name of pattern: Doti wagi de tyari doti, ma a no de tyari syem (Proverb No. 89); name of tying: Troobi.
4)  
Tràŋga lobi zondro notį
Dɛ gi ferferi;
A kom geɛrisi wə ros
Zondro smeri.

A passionate love without anything  
Is wearying;  
It comes to resemble a rose  
Without fragrance.

5)  
Te mi baj mi kaŋ, mi kaŋ,
Te mi baj mi kaŋ,
Te mi baj mi kaŋ, mi kaŋ,
Mi kaŋ no habi tutu!

When I bought my cow, my cow,  
When I bought my cow,  
When I bought my cow, my cow,  
My cow had no horns!\(^1\)

The next example is a song that might be sung against the man involved, or against  
the woman, to tell her that her new lover will be no more constant to her than he  
has been to the woman he has jilted. There is also the intimation that he will come  
back to the one who has been deserted:

6)  
'Wasif a da pasi ləŋga,
Fa da neti duŋgru,
A no duŋgru, a no duŋgru,
Ha! Ha!
Lobi pasi no farawɛ.\(^2\)

No matter how long the road,  
How dark the night,  
It is not dark, it is not dark,  
Ha! Ha!  
The lover’s path is not far away.

Some of the songs plead with the woman to let the man go so that he may return  
to his wife:

7)  
Leader: Mi lobi libi mi,
Chorus: Libi hɛm, mɛk’ a go.
   Ha! Ha!

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\(^1\) The meaning of this is that only since the jilted woman took up her man had he become  
important; before that he was worthless.

\(^2\) This song is also used when a man is courting.
Both: Bikasi yu na bəŋkəti
Ha! Ha!
Yu dc na batra.
Ha! Ha!
Trawą so bai yu,
Trawą so bai yu,
Libi hm, mek’ a go.
Ha! Ha!
Trawą so bai yu.

Leader: My lover left me,
Chorus: Leave him, let him go.
Ha! Ha!
Both: Because you are the cakes
Ha! Ha!
You are the bottle. ¹
Ha! Ha!
Another will buy you,
Another will buy you,
Leave him, let him go.
Ha! Ha!
Another will buy you.

8)
Mi gudu, yu no ycre fa lobi suiti?
Ma mi lobi no suiti gi mi.
Wąŋ-kri² lobi mi habi. Luku,³
A dc drej hm baka gi mi.

   My dear, don't you feel how sweet love is?
   But my lover brings me no sweetness.
   I have one lover. Look,
   Return him to me again.

Other examples of the lobi sỳngi, which do not fall in any of the categories we have given, follow. The first is a very old one:

9)
Mejit, fa yu ką taki mi no moj?
Na tu moj bronki meki mi.
Rɔs-kanɔp na mi mama,
Stanfasta-kanɔp na mi papa.
Fa yu ką taki mi no moj?
Na tu moj bronki meki mi.

¹ The reference to the cakes and the bottle is to a kind of cookie sold in jars. These are expensive, and greatly prized, and the allusion, therefore, is a great compliment.
² The syllable kri is added to lengthen the line, in order to fit these words into the tune.
³ This word also serves the purpose of lengthening the line in accordance with the demands of the music.
Wanton, how can you say I am not beautiful?
Two beautiful flowers bore me.
A rose-bud was my mother,
A bachelor-button was my father.
How can you say I am not beautiful?
Two beautiful flowers bore me.

10)
Moi̯mɩsi, fa mi mu libi?
Moi̯mɩsi, fa mi mu libi?
Gotu kti na yu neki,
A dc meki kama-lama,
Trâŋga lobi na wą sani
Waka go na wañ dej blay brontyi.
A no laŋa,
A no laŋa,
A no laŋa,
Ha! Ha!
Sùti lobi na wañ sani.

Pretty Miss, how am I to live?
Pretty Miss, how am I to live?
The gold chain about your neck,
Is very dazzling,
Passionate love is something
That goes away in a day like a blue flower'.
It does not last long,
It does not last long,
It does not last long,
Ha! Ha!
Sweet love is something.

Songs of the following type are sung in private by men and women. We give an example of a song sung by a man to a woman, and a woman to a man. Though the keynote of both is ridicule, it is a ridicule which is intended to heighten erotic excitement because of the obscene allusions, rather than to incite bitterness or anger.

11)
Kabugru umã nàŋga bigi bakadom,
Bigi blaka umã nàŋga bigi fes-sej,
A... oro lejki ōro,
Ọro lejki bambusi ōro.
Doksi taki, ‘Wisí-wasi fotcn!'
En, téwe, oro lejki ōro,
Ọro lejki bambusi ōro.

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1 The translation of this line is tentative, because the informant was not clear in his own mind what the song meant.
2 The woman is named here.
Brown woman with big buttocks,
Big black woman with big vagina,
A...’s’ hole like a hole,
A hole like a bamboo-hole.
The duck says, ‘You good-for-nothing!’
One, two, a hole like a hole,
A hole like a bamboo-hole.

12)
Tu bombina na lontu
Tu stonsiri na ṹẹ kontu,
Ala feié’ yuru mamènɛm
B...’s’ skin de stɛjfu.

Two vagina-lips surrounding
Two testicles beside them (?),
Every morning at five o’clock
B...’s’ penis is erect.

A lobi sīŋi may serve yet another purpose, for a woman may give a lobi sīŋi, with herself as the subject of it. In that case, the basic theme has neither the character of threat, ridicule, entreaty, nor obscene pleasantry, but becomes one of public confession. Let us take as an example of this, a girl who has led a promiscuous sex life and bears the reputation of a loose woman, but who has decided to turn over a new leaf. She arranges for a lobi sīŋi, which she herself leads. The songs sung at this ceremony all bear on the theme of the evil ways she has followed, the young men she has led astray, the women she has wronged, and ends with the declaration that she is beginning a new life. Whatever the lines, the chorus following the song does not fail to include the few dancing steps of mockery, with the usual exclamation ‘Ha! Ha!’ interpolated at the whim of the singers, either after every line or following any especially appropriate line. Such a public confession having been held, however, the community considers the woman cleansed, and socially respectable until such time as she returns to her former ways of life. An example of the key-note song of such a public confession follows:

13)
Efí mi bɛn dɛ wà gudù-màñ,
Mi bɛn so báj
Wà bìgi buru-grɔn.
Da’ sà mi prani na unì?
Da’ sà mi prani na unì?
Mi dɛ go prani ɔndrofeni na unì
Fò tɛ mi dɛ go na dorò
ɔndrofeni mu dɛ wà pompera fò mi s’kin.

1 The woman is named here.
2 The man is named here.
2 The man is named here.
If I were a rich man,  
I would buy  
A large farm.  
And what would I plant in it?  
And what would I plant in it?  
I would plant experience in it  
So that when I went forth  
Experience would be a perfume for my body.

In this discussion of lɔbi ږungi, we have indicated that in its institutional form, it is a factor which governs relationships between woman and woman, and which has to do with social criticism of women by women. Though in its external aspects this holds without exception, a man can, nevertheless, be avenged on a woman who has left him for another, by arranging and paying for a lɔbi ږungi to be performed before her house. The actual staging of such a ceremony, however, is carried out by a woman, the man asking a sister or another member of his immediate maternal family to arrange the details. In such a case, his own role is restricted to that of onlooker.

In all instances of lɔbi ږungi, except those where confession is the point of the singing, the woman against whom the singing is directed remains in her cabin and does not come out until the crowd has dispersed, and while the castigation of her deeds goes on; ‘She is too shamed. She cries all the time.’ The curbing of free improvisation of which we spoke before has, however, had the effect of reducing the urge to stage these spectacles, since the traditional songs of generalised ridicule that must be used today have not the force of social castigation that songs specially composed to meet the occasion in hand have, - songs identified exclusively with the one sung against, and remembered and sung for a long time afterwards further to shame the woman.

A woman, then, whose husband has been taken from her can have recourse to lɔbi ږungi to avenge herself, but no institutionalised way of revenge, except as pointed out, by indirectness, is available to the man whose wife has left him for another. Recourse to force would result in a jail sentence, and that force is not employed sufficiently to attract the attention of the police authorities, at least, is attested by the extent to which the people of Paramaribo are law-abiding.1 A man who is intent on revenge can, and, it is said at times does, resort to magic. But, in a city like Paramaribo, where a large excess of women over men exists, it is not strange that we do not find many incidents where a man feels forced to take such measures. If a wife does leave her husband, it is not

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1 So very small is the prison population of the city of Paramaribo, indeed, that it was a common complaint that there were seldom enough prisoners in the local jail to clean the streets!
difficult for him to find someone to take her place, and the attempt to harm the seducer, or render the woman infertile by recourse to magical means occurs, therefore, only in exceptional cases.

6. ‘Mati’ and the ‘Birthday Party’

There is yet another aspect of social ceremonialism which is wholly in the hands of women. Like the lobi șungi it has no religious implications, and like the lobi șungi, it is imbedded in the emotions which arise out of experiences connected with certain phases of sex life. The ceremonial which we are about to discuss, the ‘birthday party,’ is often associated with the institution of mati, a term which literally translatable as ‘friends,’ is in a specialised sense applied to the two persons who form a homosexual relationship. 1 This ceremonial is also found in association with normal relationships between men and women, where it affords an evening’s entertainment, and carries with it the prestige of display through expenditure and the dramatisation of the existence of close emotional ties between the person who celebrates and the one whose birthday is celebrated.

Except where women mati are concerned, ‘birthday parties’ are given only for young people; in the mati relationship a party is given most generally for the younger member of a homosexual pair of women. It must not be understood that homosexuality is confined to women. Relationships of this type exist also among men, and in taki-taki are to be found words which are specific designations for male homosexuals, who are termed hantimăn, or awɛge. But the ‘birthday parties’ are associated in the thinking of the Paramaribo Negroes primarily with the attachments between pairs of women, which, due to the disproportionate ratio of women to men, exceed in number those which occur between men.

These festivities open during the late afternoon, and if there is dancing, continue through the night. If there is no dancing, they break up about midnight. For fine ‘birthday parties’ several pieces of music are engaged, these being of the same non-religious types of instruments used for the lobi șungi. As in all secular dancing, the rattle and the drums made of hollowed logs are not employed. When there is no orchestra, there can, however, still be dancing to the accompaniment of singing and hand-clapping. It is customary for the special ‘friend’ of the person who is celebrating her birthday to come late, and to bring flowers for her mati. These she carries on her head, and, as she approaches the door of her friend’s cabin, she stops some paces away, and calls out, ‘Mis-msi, mi ką qę na un? Nową doti no de na pasi? Nową maka? Nową sunek? Nową storm

1  Cf. Encyc. p. 467, where, in a definition of the term mati is given as follows: ‘Het woord beteekent in het Neger-Engelsch ook vriendin, met Lesbische liefde.’
no sa wai mi fadon? - Miss-missi, may I come in? Is there no dirt on the path? No thorns? No snakes? No storm to blow me over?’

The answer comes from her friend, who dances toward her, ‘No, no, misi, yu kə kə doro. - No, no, Miss, you can come in.’

The first asks again, ‘Nyang baka? - Backwards?’

‘Ya. - Yes.’

‘Nyang fesi? - Forward?’

‘Ya. - Yes.’

‘Nyang sei? Fa mi ’e kənti de, mi no sa fadon? - Sideways? As I lean over, I won’t fall down?’

‘No, yu no sa fadon. - No, yon won’t fall down.’

This colloquy is accompanied by dancing steps, with the participants moving toward each other and away from each other. When the last phrase has been spoken, the woman whose birthday is being celebrated brings wine to steady the visitor, who is still outside the door. The music begins to play, and the people who are gathered shout, ‘Hip, hip, hura! Sopi no de, ma kuku de. - Hip, hip, hooray! There is no rum, but there are cakes.’ A chorus of laughter is heard. Some one in the audience calls out, ‘Ef’ sopi no de, watra de. - If there isn’t rum, there is water.’ The other woman now comes in, and the essential preliminaries are considered over. It is said that in former days, there were stirring toasts offered when food and drink was passed, but improvisation no longer flourishes as in the days when lobi șʊŋgi specialists had opportunities to develop their talents.

It happens at times that when the ceremony we have just described is concluded, and the special ‘friend’ bearing her flowers enters the house of her mati, she discovers that there are other flowers already in the room. The one just arrived thereupon seizes these flowers, crushes them, and throws them out, for they are the symbol of a rival claimant to the affection of her mati. If she knows the identity of this rival, she will, in addition, slap her, to show before the assembled guests that she will not have her rights disputed. If she does not know who had brought these flowers, she goes from one woman to the next to find out who it was. This byplay adds to the zest of the party, and while it goes on, such observations are made as will not fail to heighten the tension between the rivals, with the precaution, however, that the angered woman does not turn her attention to those who are making these remarks. It may happen, too, that the woman who had first sued for the affections of the mati in whose honor the party is being held is not at all intimidated, and makes a stand for her own prerogatives as ‘friend’. In that case the matter is settled by blows, and the stronger of the two ejects the other; for while it is not uncommon for a woman to have more than one mati, neither will tolerate the presence of the other, nor yield her place if the challenge is thus made public. While the quarreling goes on, the woman who is celebrating watches
passively, accepting the appeal to force, and when the dispute is settled, the party proceeds with a new impetus.

Sometimes a friend who comes with a gift, - the *mati* brings the principal one - will sing as she gives it to the woman in whose honor the party is being held,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tin tön na wà yari} \\
\text{Mi ’c meki kamalama,} \\
\text{Mi ’c meki sapakara.}
\end{align*}
\]

Ten times a year
I make a lover’s gift,
I make salamander stew.\(^1\)

Such, in essence, is the ceremonials of a ‘birthday party’ given by one woman for another. So completely a woman’s affair is this, that some are given without any men present, and even when a ‘birthday party’ is given for a man, it is entirely in the hands of women. Such festivities for men are met with far less frequently than those for women, and they occur under any of the three following conditions: a woman has means of her own, and is anxious to flatter her husband; a woman of strong personality enjoys the initiative she takes in giving and managing the party; or a man’s sisters, or his relatives, cooperate with his wife to honor him. When a man is honored, although he himself is present at his ‘party’, he takes no active part in the ceremony attached to it. The man's party which we describe was recounted to us by a woman who, a short time before our arrival in the colony, honored her husband by giving it for him. A birthday party may be given for a man by his sister, as well as by his wife or by his ‘girl’, but not by his mother or anyone of his mother’s age-group.

At this particular party, the wife’s sister acted as a substitute for the wife, playing the role of gift-bearer, while the wife herself acted for the husband. Both of the women wore *koto yaki*. This was considered obligatory for them, for without these elaborate skirts the dancing steps and the pantomime would have been thought colorless. It is customary, moreover, for a majority of the women to come dressed as *koto-mısı*, and this may be taken as another indication of the extent to which the Negroes themselves regard this dress as something uniquely theirs, and without which these ceremonies having the sanction of long usage are felt to be incomplete.

The sister approached with the basket on her head which is called *kamalama*, or *lama*, or *kado,\(^2\) and asked ‘Dag, mısı. A dia Masra A... ᵉ libi? - Good-day, miss. Does Master A... live here?’

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\(^1\) Salamander stew is a great delicacy, and the use of the phrase is idiomatic for carousing.

\(^2\) From the French *cadeau*
Plate X. Name of pattern: $Sui̯tifō mi smeri, meki mi gudu lasi ěŋ hosopasi$ (Proverb No. 97); name of tying: $Motyo-ɛdc$. 
Plate XI. An Advertisement for a New Style of Kerchief.
(Translation: ‘Living beings I do not interfere with your looking. You can talk too. But I can do what I like, too.’)
'Ya, msi. - Yes, miss.'

'Mi ką, kọ na uni? - I can come in?'

'Nangga presiri yu kà kọ na uni. - With pleasure, you can come in.' The wife by now was at the door, her sister outside, and as they talked, they danced.

The sister continued, 'Na kbugru msi seni mi tyriri na bɔskopu kọ gi Masra A...'

- The brown miss sends me with a message for Master A...'

The other asked, 'Suma seni na bɔskopu? - Who sends the message?'

'Na kbugru msi seni tajig Masra A... taki, a no wà bigi warde a sa kisi. Bikasi na warde dc, a sa ferlanga na gruntapu, a sa dc na hem hoso. Bikasi gotu a no nọj, diamanti a no nọj, ma wà nṣànfasti lobi sa dc na mo ọr ọd fọ gruntapu. - The brown miss sends to tell Master A... that he will not get a thing of great worth. Because that which he values most in the world will be (i.e., already is) in his house. Because gold is nothing, diamonds are nothing, but a faithful love is the thing most to be prized on earth.'

From this point the festivities took on the general character of the 'birthday party', with singing, dancing, and toasts to the one who was being honored.

### 7. Birth-Customs and the Dangers of Early Childhood

When a woman finds herself with child, she guards against black magic by going to a practitioner for what she calls 'luck' for the child in her womb. From him she obtains a liquid in a bottle. This bottle is hung above the door of her cabin, and is held to be invisible to all but the woman who has placed it there. What causes it to be invisible is the spirit inside the bottle, placed there by the practitioner to serve as guardian for the woman. When put in place, it constitutes a protection against the entrance of a bakru, or some other messenger of evil that might be sent to cause a premature birth, or the delivery of a dead or a misshapen child. A full discussion of the bakru, one of the most important carriers of black magic, is reserved for treatment in the section on magic. It need only be noted at this point that the bakru are 'little people' fashioned by sorcerers and made animate by injecting into each the soul of some dead person, who usually manifest themselves in the shape of two- or three-year-old children. The spirits which animate these creatures can also be injected by the practiced sorcerer into any object, or any living thing, though a fowl constitutes the carrying medium most frequently employed when the 'little people' are not resorted to. Any fowl not recognised as be-

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1. This sentiment, composed for the occasion by the wife who gave the party, was greatly appreciated by the guests.
longing to a given yard is identified as a *bakru*, and if discovered in a yard where a pregnant woman lives, is understood to be on a fatal errand to the woman herself or her unborn child. The invisible watchman over the door, however, sees to it that such an emissary does not enter the woman's cabin.

When going out to market, or to work, the woman may either sprinkle some of the liquid in the bottle over certain portions of her body, as directed by the seller of this magic, or she may have yet another charm against *bakru* on her person. This may be tied about an ankle, or below the knee, or about the waist, - any of these places serving equally well. If, however, the woman had previously experienced normal deliveries, she may rely upon her *akra* (her soul), and the magic which she wears to keep it strong, to watch over her and her unborn child.

Once the safety of the woman and the developing foetus are assured by magical means, the next care of the woman is to add to her own food taboos those of her husband. It is well, at this point, to digress and explain the concept which governs the food taboos, known either as *kina*¹ or *trefu*.² At birth a child falls heir to two things, a personal soul, and personal *trefu*. A *trefu* is a prohibition against performing an act that is hateful to some supernatural agent with which the destiny of the individual is associated, and most of the prohibitions demand abstinence from eating certain foods. These *trefu*, - and each individual inherits several things which are his *trefu* - come to the child from his father, and they represent the dominant *trefu* to be observed by him during the entire course of his life. In addition to these inherited *trefu*, each person adds others as he grows older. Some come to him when he acquires his god, or gods, - for just as each individual has his personal *trefu*, so each deity has his *trefu*, and the worshipper of any deity takes over its tabooed foods. Other taboos come to him in association with magical charms, each of which is differentiated for the individual purchaser by the *trefu* that govern his behavior toward it, but these last are only binding as long as the charms are used, and for many of them only when the charms are used. The *trefu*, whether they be inherited or acquired, may require abstinence from eating

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¹ This is derived from the Bantu (Loango) word *tschina*. See Pechuël-Loesche, pp. 455-466.

² A discussion of this institution of *trefu* will be found in *Encyc.*, pp. 685-6. In recent years the feeling of those in Paramaribo who have considered it has veered to the point of view that the institution derives from the same Hebrew source as the word itself, and this position is best put forth in a paper by Lampe, (l), where numerous other valuable data are given. Our own feeling, however, is that the institution is African, the word of Hebrew origin, and the resulting integration in Suriname Negro life is to be accounted for by the telescoping process we have discussed above. Data to support this point of view are to be found in Panhuys (l), pp. 361-363, and Herskovits, (l), pp. 548-550.
some kind of fish, from a special kind of meat, from some vegetable. Yet it is seldom that among the things forbidden are found such staple foods as rice or yams or peanuts or corn. The foods which most often are not to be eaten are milk, mutton, beef, and shell-fish. If the father is one of a pair of twins, the woman has to abstain from eating the monkey and the sloth,¹ as well as all creatures that live in the trees, since these are sacred to twins. During pregnancy, a woman need abstain, however, only from violating the husband's inherited trefu, but not those acquired by him later in life.

The institution of trefu is dealt with here because of the bearing it has on the relationship of a child to his father. In spite of the child's close attachment to the mother's family, we observe here, as we shall observe when we discuss the concept of the soul and how it is acquired by the individual, that the spiritual relationship between a child and his father is governed by binding supernatural sanctions.² A child learns his trefu from his mother, who knows what are the things her husband must not eat, and sees to it that her child abstains from them. Indeed, failure to do this is considered one of the most reprehensible acts a Paramaribo mother can be guilty of, for the penalty exacted for failure to observe the inherited trefu, is a severe one, and inescapable, since it is imposed by supernatural powers which cannot be controlled by any means known to man. This penalty takes the form of punishment with skin-disease; a mild form of eczema at first, which, if neglected and aggravated by continued disregard of the inherited trefu, develops into leprosy.³ The trefu also serves as a social check on unfaithfulness on the part of the wife. For if a woman bears a child who later is troubled by persistent skin eruptions in spite of his observing the trefu of the husband of his mother, this is regarded as prima facie evidence that the woman has had this child by a man other than her husband. The resulting social stigma is not, however, caused by her infidelity, but comes rather from the fact that she had not learned the other man's trefu, or, if she knows it, has not taken care that her child, first by her own efforts, and later through his own, should know the food-taboos of his real father.

¹ 'Loiri', in taki-taki; given in Encyc. p. 177, as Bradypus tridactylus.
² This dual attachment to both parents, to the one through ties of personal association, and to the other through those of spiritual relationship, is strongly suggestive of the Ashanti double exogamic system described by Rattray, (II), pp. 45-85. Taken in connection with similar affiliations that are found in the social organisation of the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes (cf. Herskovits, II, pp. 719-720), it is a safe assumption that we have here an adaptation of this Ashanti system to the exigencies of life in Paramaribo.
³ The belief in punishment of violation of inherited food-taboos by a skin-disease accompanied by itching is widespread in West Africa. In Dahomey, a person's taboos are determined by his sib-affiliation, and he inherits them in the paternal line.
When a woman is about to be delivered, she is attended by several experienced women who have borne children. Usually they are old, and include the woman's maternal grandmother, or her mother, or a maternal aunt, as well as some elderly neighbor. The woman is seated on the floor on some old cloths, or at times, following a practice peculiar to some families, on a bed of leaves. One of the old women, - the grandmother, if she is present - takes a new calabash with water in it, and with her hand sprinkles water in front of the seated woman and behind her, calling her soul by name. Thus, if a woman was born on a Friday, she calls, 'Akra Afī, mi dê bëgī fô yu kân meki ala sani wroko bôn. - Afī (Friday) soul, I pray you to see to it that all goes well.' If this is a first pregnancy, food is also given to the Grön Mama, the earth spirit of the yard, and a prayer is offered up to her and to any other god or gods, or special ancestor that the diviner who had been consulted suggests.

While the woman is in labor she is given a drink of stewed herbs called smeri-wiri from time to time. Parturition is hastened by tying a cloth tightly about the woman's abdomen, and tightening it still more, if necessary, or by pressing down on the muscles of the abdomen, hips and buttocks. In all normal births it is not unusual to see the woman washing the soiled cloths several hours after delivery, and to find her about the yard performing her household tasks the following day. Those that are difficult have medical care, and in addition are helped by consultation with a diviner who informs the family whether the difficulty is the result of black magic, of an angered god or soul, or of dissatisfied ancestors, and who supplies remedies. A woman who dies in childbirth is buried safri-safri, - 'softly, softly.' She has a perfunctory wake, at which only members of the immediate family and some old people are present, or no wake at all is given for her. If a hexagonal coffin is used for the honorable burial, her's is a flat box, and mention of the death is not made to women of child-bearing age or to young girls. The mourning period, if observed at all, is considerably shortened. A stillborn child is buried without a cloth over it, and the parents do not show any signs of mourning. In fact, there is little mourning at the death of a woman who dies in childbirth. She has a perfunctory wake, at which only members of the immediate family and some old people are present, or no wake at all is given for her. If a hexagonal coffin is used for the honorable burial, her's is a flat box, and mention of the death is not made to women of child-bearing age or to young girls. The mourning period, if observed at all, is considerably shortened. A stillborn child is buried without a cloth over it, and the parents do not show any signs of mourning. In fact, there is little mourning at the death of a woman who dies in childbirth.

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1 Among the Saramacca Negroes, prayers are offered to the woman's soul, to the ancestors, and to the woman's personal wɩnti, especially if these are the snake gods, who are envisaged as being jealous of children.
2 Ocimum micranthum (Encyc., p. 516).
3 Among the Saramacca Negroes women who die in childbirth are not given an honorable burial. There is no wake for them, and no mourning, and all the women who are obliged to look upon the dead wash their eyes with medicinal herbs that they may never see such a death again. In some villages they are thrown away in the bush, as are lepers, those who die of contagious diseases, and idiots, for no encouragement is given such souls to seek reincarnation. This strongly resembles Dahomean custom.
of any child before puberty, ‘Because the neighbors talk too much if they make a big funeral for a child.’

Once the child is born, and the placenta has come normally, or has been forced out, the woman in charge of the delivery cuts the umbilical cord with a small knife, leaving from four to six inches of cord which she ties with thread. She then stanches the blood with freshly charred herbs reduced to a powder. Mother and child are bathed, the mother in very hot water in which the leaves and twigs of the *aneisi* bush¹ have been stewed for many hours, and the child is washed in some of this mixture and then rubbed over with oil, or else is washed in oil only. The head and face, however, are bathed in cool rainwater, and this washing is continued for six weeks or longer. The magical charms that the mother has on hand for the child are then put on. These may be bits of cord on which a caury-shell is strung, to be worn on wrists or ankles; or may consist of a larger cord to be fastened about the child’s waist, or some mixture in a bottle to be sprinkled on certain portions of its body, any of these acting as preventives against evil magic, a mischievous ghost, an unfriendly god, and vampires. In the native idiom these serve as *tapu* against *wisi*, a bad *Yorka*, a bad *winti*, and the *azemán*. If there is any abnormality of birth, like an umbilicus twisted about the neck of the child or a caul, these are preserved, the former in part, and the latter wholly, in order that they may be converted into magical charms for the child. One form of using them is to dry them in the sun or in smoke, and reduce them to powder, sewing this powder into a small sack to be worn by the owner.

When a child is two weeks old, the mother cooks seven spiders in boiling water, and gives the child some of the broth. This is done on two or three separate occasions, to insure against death caused by convulsions, for it is held that if a spider circles the place where a baby lies, the child imitates the movements of the spider and dies of *traŋgamàn* (strangulation). Only spiders that are found about the house and yard are used for this broth, since bush spiders are not seen by a child. Another remedy for convulsions is a drink containing the powdered scrapings from the horns of a deer. This mixture is called *dia-tu*’, - ‘deer’s horn’. This drink may be given on the third day after birth, and any time thereafter. The Bush-Negroes are said to have many other remedies against an attack of *traŋgamàn*, something that is especially feared by the Paramaribo Negroes, since such attacks are said to cause more fatalities among children than any other illness. It is not believed that European doctors have a cure for these attacks.

Circumcision is commonly practiced, and takes place when a boy is about two months old. The operation is held to be a protection against venereal diseases (it has no religious significance), and is

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¹ A weed of the family *piperaceae* (Encyc., p. 564).
performed either by native specialists, or by a European doctor. When speaking of circumcision, the phrase, ‘Mi gô ent ‘a boj, - I am going to circumcise the boy’, is used.

Since the Paramaribo Negroes are, in the main, professing Christians, they baptise their children as soon as they can afford the proper clothing in which to take the child to church. Some observations made to us regarding baptism indicate the attitudes of worshippers of the wunti toward it. One woman said, ‘When he come big, he can do what he like. Now we does it for him. When he come big, he can go to wunti-dances like me, or go to church, what he like.’ Another said, ‘We baptise him so he can get into a school.’ And another, ‘When a man is big and goes for work, they asks him if he was baptise. If he say no, he don’ catch work.’

Though social pressure to have children is such that a woman who has not conceived takes all possible measures to have offspring, abortion is practised. One way of bringing on an abortion is to drink the contents of a heated bottle of stout, to which has been added a heaping tablespoon of salt. The mixture must be swallowed all at once. This serves as a violent cathartic, and is followed by several days illness. However, after this ‘it is finished’. Lime juice may be added to the salt, or substituted for it. Another method is to use a leaf called bita,¹ which is put into the stout. These remedies are thought to be effective only for the first and second month of pregnancy. After the second month, the women try to bring on a miscarriage by more violent means. In one case which came to our attention, for example, the woman threw herself from a stepladder, but experience has not shown this to be an effective measure. Infanticide is said to be practiced only rarely, and ‘by the girls who wear hats’, - that is to say, by those who have become so Europeanised that they have discarded not only traditional dress, but also the traditional fear of the ancestors and the ancestral spirits, to whom infanticide is one of the most abhorrent practices that can be perpetrated. Those who do not ‘wear hats’ may have recourse to some magical means which they believe destroys unwanted children after these have been conceived. The most common of these methods is to get a bakru from a sorcerer, for since the bakru are especially jealous of children, the child is killed in the womb without any overt act on the part of the mother.

These bakru also figure as one of the explanations why a woman is barren, for when a woman who wishes a child does not conceive, it is assumed that a bakru has been sent by an enemy to make her womb infertile. This conclusion is not reached immediately, however. The woman’s first thought is that the fault lies with her husband, and she sees to it that this hypothesis is tested secretly with other men. It is only after several trials of this nature that

the explanation of black magic comes as a natural second hypothesis. The procedure next in order is to go to a sorcerer to have him exorcise the bakru. If his power is not strong enough to accomplish this, she tries others, until she is persuaded there is no remedy.

It sometimes happens that a woman conceives and bears children, and each dies within a year of birth. When this has occurred two or three times, the woman goes to a diviner when she again conceives. The diviner may be either a man or a woman, but usually men are preferred because their souls are stronger than the souls of women. The child may be ‘bought’ from the ‘kra, or from a wunti who is jealous of the child. The necessary ceremony is held any time during pregnancy, or a few days after the child is born. Holding a ceremonial bead, or a gold chain, which had been given to the mother’s ‘kra as a gift when she became nubile, the wuntiman draws it three times diagonally across the body of the woman, from a point above each breast to the vagina. While this is being done, an old woman throws water out of a new calabash in front, in back and at the sides of the woman who is being treated.

The diviner says, ‘Mama fô doti, yu na mama fô pîkin. Koru wara mi dc gi yu. Meki fa na wara koru, na so yu muso koru na skin nąŋga ala sani gi yu pîkin. Nąŋga saka fasi, mi dc begi, Akra A... Mi dc begi yu tu, nąŋga nem fô tata, mi dc begi yu, so wi dc bai na pîkin. Efî na man pîkin, efî na umâ pîkin, yu muso meki ala sani waka nąŋga bôn. - Mother of the Earth, you are the mother of children. I give you cold water. Just as the water is cold, so you must cool the body of your child with all the means at your disposal. Prostrating myself, I beg you, soul of A... I beg you also, in the name of the father, I beg you so we can buy the child. Whether the child be a boy or a girl, you must see to it that all things go well.’

The reason given for addressing the akra, and for ‘buying’ a child from it, is that the mother may have a wunti of whom she does not know, who is jealous of children. The akra is therefore invoked to take the child under its special protection. If the mother knows of a wunti that she has, and suspects that this spirit is the cause of the death of her children, she goes to a papa fô wunti, a priest, to wash her. This washing is done with water in which herbs sacred to the wunti have been placed, and may occur once or several times during the pregnancy, as the priest directs. It is always best to have this done at the beginning of a pregnancy, so that the wunti does not harm the foetus. In order to negotiate with the spirit, the wunti-priest calls the wunti and interrogates it as to why it had

1 This situation also calls for expert treatment by a diviner in Dahomey, where the spirit that is believed to come as a baby, lives a short span on earth, and goes away again, is called abiku. Such children in Dahomey are vowed to a deity, who takes them under special protection.
2 Here is inserted the day-name of the mother, if the child is yet unborn, or that of the child itself, if birth has already taken place.
3 Lit. ‘father of the god.’
killed the other children born to this woman, and ascertains the nature of its demands for refraining from killing the one to be born.

These are not the only dangers which threaten a child. It is believed there are others that have their being in the quarrels between father and mother, and that imperil the soul of the child both before and after birth. This belief, subsumed under the native term *fioflo,* makes it imperative for the well-being of the child, in the womb as well as after it is born, that there be no enmity between the parents, especially as that enmity arises out of recriminations having to do with the pregnancy of the woman, or the question of the legitimacy of the child.

Twins, and the child born after twins, who is called *Dosu,* and children born feet foremost, are in a category by themselves, and they are often spoken of as *ɔgrî* - 'bad'. It is said, for example, 'Twelving wis' den srefi, - twins work black magic against each other,' and the statement made by a man about his twin sister was that while he was not certain whether he and his sister shared but one soul, he knew that the two souls were closely attuned, so that if a *wunti* wished to come to his sister, and his soul refused to allow it to come, it could not do so. 'Ef mi 'kre na gi na wunti pasi, a no mąŋ kq,' - If my soul does not give the *wunti* permission, it cannot come.' He also told that when she was about to marry, he was consulted about his feelings for the man chosen, for had he disliked the man, his soul could have caused them to separate, and even at this very day he can cause trouble between them if he chooses. Parents of twins, and of those others who belong to the twin category, must take care, therefore, not to arouse the jealousy of one of these children.4

Another danger to the child is an ailment which results from the evil eye. One remedy is to bring the child to a Jewish rabbi and have him read Hebrew words out of a book.5 This is followed by a

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2 *Dosu* is the name given such children in Dahomey (f. *Dosi*; m. *Dosu*). The name *Dosu* is also found in Haiti, according to Parsons, (I), p. 173, and Encyc., p. 501, and among the Saramacca Bush-Negroes. Unlike the case in these other regions, there is no organised twin-cult in Paramaribo.
3 The meaning of the word *ɔgrî,* - evil, or bad - as spoken by Negroes in all languages of West Africa or the New World is often not deprecatory at all, but one of admiration for endowments which permit a person to ignore traditional or prudent behavior.
4 In the ambivalent attitude toward twins that exists in the colony, we may have the manifestation of a telescoping of two distinct attitudes toward twins which derive from different regions in West Africa, - one of worship, and one of abhorrence.
5 The influence which the Jews of the colony have had on this Negro culture is shown in a number of *taki-taki* words, and in some Negro customs. Thus like the word *trefu,* *kasiri* is derived from the Hebrew *kasher,* to purify. Another example of this influence is the belief that anniversary lights must be lighted for those who are dead, though something similar is to be seen in the Dahomean custom of lighting lamps on the anniversary of a death and, of course, in Catholic ritual.
series of purifying baths in water in which washing blue, salt, urine, and sibi-wiri have been placed. The invocation in this case is, ‘Pikin fô mama, mi na mama fô yu. Mi ‘t was’ yu fô yu síkin mu Ikkti. Na sísíbi mu sísíbi ala ‘ebi. - Mother’s child, I am your mother. I wash you that your body may lighten. The broom must sweep away all heaviness (i.e., the load you are bearing).’ Not only must children be guarded against this danger of the evil eye, but grown-ups as well, for though less susceptible, they are not immune to the ill effects of the evil eye, especially if their souls are not strong enough to resist the machinations of those who wish to harm them.

The gravest supernatural threat of all, particularly to children, is that of the vampire, the azemàn. These creatures are thought to be women, who, at night, shed their skins, change into animal form, and drink the blood of human beings. Protection against the azemàn is had by scattering rice or abonga (sesame), or red pepper, in the room near the door of the sleeping-place, or by placing a broom against the door. It is held that a vampire cannot leave until she has picked up every grain that lies there, or counted the separate straws, and so is caught. Another way is to wait until a vampire sheds her skin, and then to rub pepper on it, so that when she returns to convert herself into human form, she will be unable to step into her skin again and will stay in recognisable form until daybreak, when she will be caught. Should a woman be suspected of being an azemàn, she will be driven out of the colony; in olden times, she would have been killed.

No marked ceremonialism attends the attainment of puberty. If a girl's maternal grandmother, or an aunt, or older sister lives on a plantation, she may be sent away from the city for the duration of the first menstrual period. The members of her immediate family are all informed, and they make her small gifts if they can afford them. The girl's parents may, in addition to the kerchief they buy her, and the dress they also get her, if their means allow, purchase a gold chain for her akra, and if she is not in good health, care is taken to give the girl's soul a feast, or a gift sometime during the year. When the succeeding periods come, she sleeps away from the men of the family, and never thereafter shares a mat with her brothers, for 'a trotch bigi suma kaba, - she has changed into a full grown person already.' In the case of a boy, the 'medicine'

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1 In Haiti this same belief is held, and the evil eye is called mal jok.
2 Cf. Encyc., p. 63, where a discussion of the beliefs centering about the azemàn is to be found. While it is stated that aze is an African word, the place of origin is not indicated. However, the word comes from Dahomey, where it is associated with the same concept. In Fɔ̨, aze is a witch, azemàn a vampire; in Yoruba the word for witch is aje, in Edo, aze.
3 For this concept as a motif in an African tale, see Rattray, (III), p. 127. Penard, (II), p. 242, recounts the same way of catching the azemàn as we give.
4 The taki-taki idiom for growing up is ‘bigi a kisi hcm kaba, - big has caught him already.’
made of the manatee which had been given him for ‘strength’ since childhood is
discontinued when he reaches puberty so as not to superinduce sexual excitation,
though he may supply himself with other ‘medicines’ for virility, if his sexual appetites
are developed at an early age. All illnesses or maladjustments which occur at
adolescence are interpreted as being either maladies of an angered soul, or as
originating from wunti who wish to make a devotee of a girl or boy. We shall see in
our discussion of the soul and the gods how health is restored in the first instance
by gratifying the akra with some coveted attention, - the individual acts, of course,
as the soul's agent - and in the second by pacifying the wunti with dancing.

8. The Soul

In our discussion thus far we have described those customs and sanctions which
may be loosely grouped under the heading of social beliefs and practices. We may
now turn to the consideration of certain spiritual forces which, from the point of view
of the people themselves, are judged to be the concern of the individual. It must not
be inferred, however, that these manifestations are the less based on popular
sanction. In fact, we have already had occasion to refer to a number of the spiritual
forces which we are now to discuss in more detail, for so integrated are the religious
sanctions with all phases of life that whatever the approach, or whatever phase of
life is touched upon, these must be introduced.

Of all the supernatural forces which govern the destiny of the individual, none
surpasses the role of the akra, - the soul - in determining that destiny.¹ The akra is
a man's ruling spirit, and when it is well disposed toward him guards him against
the sinister forces that are set in motion by human enemies, or unfriendly gods. It
comes to a man at birth, and dies with him when he dies; and except for its
wanderings during a man's sleep, it is with him always, and is faithfully on guard for
him, if its dictates are obeyed.

Associated with the akra is the djodjo,² but so little uniformity of opinion exists
about the nature of these two forces that we shall give both of the two views most
frequently met with. One view holds that the two terms are the names for the two
separate souls with which every man is endowed at birth, and while the akra remains
with the individual, the djodjo, which is also the man’s shadow, is the wanderer, the
soul which goes abroad to see strange things.

¹ The word akra or 'kra derives from the Twi word which has the same meaning.
² Djodjo, perhaps, comes from the Fɔ̨, since the root djo (a guardian) is contained in the
Dahomean word djɔtɔ (guardian-father), the name given to one of a person's souls. Cf. Encyc.,
pp. 35-36. Penard, (I), pp. 159-161.
When a man is about to die, it returns from whatever distant place it had strayed, and dies with him, to become, however, the man's *yorka*, - his ghost. But having been a restless soul during the life of the man, it remains restless after death, and when a man is given improper burial, or when he has led an evil life, this *djodjo*, because of anger toward the world of the living, or because of its inherent evil nature, haunts human dwellings and thoroughfares, and carries with it misfortune and death for the living. It is also said that a man's *djodjo*, in the course of its wanderings, may be trapped or imprisoned or shot by a sorcerer; thus is brought on the slow death of the man to whom it belongs, and the *djodjo* becomes the tool of the sorcerer for his death-dealing errands. In the course of these wanderings, however, the *djodjo* has opportunities to learn secrets, and it is this knowledge that is revealed to man in dreams, though the revelations are made in symbolic form, and require to be interpreted by those who know the lore of dreams and the meaning of the symbols.¹

Yet another name heard for *akra* and *djodjo* is *ye* or *yeye*, and this is said by those who hold the second view of the matter to be both the soul and the shadow of the man. This, too, is claimed for the *akra* by those who hold that *akra* and *djodjo* and *yeye* are synonyms. The *akra*, they argue, has all the powers ascribed to the *djodjo* and all its attributes, for it goes forth in sleep to visit strange places, and what it sees, man experiences as dreams; it can be trapped, imprisoned or shot by a sorcerer, and after death can come to haunt the living as a *yorka*; when offended it may decide to leave the individual and set out on a journey, coming back before the death of the individual to die with him.

Whether there are two souls or one for each individual, the term which has greatest currency is *akra* or *'kra*.² What does a man know about his soul? To begin with, there are, apparently, as many categories of souls as there are days of the week.³ Every individual has one name which he does not disclose, unless he is consulting a diviner, and this name is his ‘day name’, of which mention has already been made. It derives from the day of the week on which

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¹ Some Paramaribo dream-symbols will be found in a separate section of this work.
² Penard, (I), p. 59, also speaks of two souls, a Mother *'kra* and a Father *'kra*. We ourselves have heard no reference to these.
³ These day names are so well known that it is not necessary to repeat them here. They are those given in Encyc., p. 501, for Suriname and for the Twi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast; by Westermann, (I), p. 49 (columns 3 and 4), for the Ewe-speaking peoples of Togo; and by Delafosse (II), p. 133, for the Agni of the Ivory Coast. They have persisted in Jamaica, by Beckwith, I, p. 59) and in other parts of the New World, as witness the Negro names of Cuffy and Cudjo, in use in the south of the United States. They are also found, in translation, as names of Negroes who live in the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, where there are men named ‘Thursday’ or ‘Saturday’.
a man is born, and is called his 'kra name. In discussing causes for divorce, reference was made to the fact that the soul of a man and a woman may not agree, and that is because some souls are not compatible. Today, only those versed in the ancient mythology can trace back how the gods had fared in their matings in order to understand the cause of these maladjustments, but of these, few survive. An informant, whose name is that given to a male child born on Thursday, - Yao - indicated that a Saturday girl would be a congenial mate for him, but not one born on a Friday. In writing of marriage, we also mentioned that it is held that a man and a woman born on the same day are rarely successful in marriage, or any other undertaking involving a partnership. This is because the two derive their knowledge from the same supernatural forces, and are equally aware of situations, so that if one uses bad judgment on occasion, or attempts some deception, the other recognises this instantly, and this makes for friction.

Not alone, however, are souls to be classified according to the days of the week and the resulting powers which inhere in these days, but also according to whether they are weak souls, or strong.¹ Several persons told us that because their souls are not strong, if bad magic is planted during the night for some neighbor in the yard, they awake the next morning feeling 'like licks all over the body', - as though they had been flogged. Indeed, a soul lacking in strength is the prey of any force that wishes to control it, and since strength of soul is inherited, the only recourse an individual has to seek to strengthen his 'kra is to resort to a diviner for magic to keep the evil forces away. A strong soul, however desirable it may be, brings difficulties to its possessor. In defining the term akra and its role in the life of the individual, we qualified the fulfilment of that role as conditional upon its being well disposed toward the individual, and upon its having its dictates followed. A promise made to a strong soul, if not carried out, angers the soul, and causes it to seek vengeance, which in extreme form leads its possessor to behave in such anti-social ways as to steal, to destroy property and even to kill. A strong 'kra, if it chooses, may dispute the right of a wunti to become a familiar of the individual, so that the wunti harasses him and brings him illness.

In order to understand what these promises to the soul are, we must turn to a consideration of the forms which worship of the akra takes. One of the duties which every individual owes his akra is to give it a timely feast.² This should be done annually, if a person

¹ In discussing the concept of the soul with Ashanti informants in the Gold Coast, West Africa, we were told of a belief that prevails there in two kinds of sunsun, or supplementary souls, a 'light' or weak, impressionable type, and a 'heavy' or strong type.

² In Dahomey a person gives a feast for his soul when the diviner consulted states that his questioning of Destiny has indicated the inquirer's soul desires such a feast to be given.
has the means with which to do it, for the akra refuses to be taken for granted. It must not be thought, however, that debts to the soul are acquitted in as regular a manner as this statement would imply. As a matter of fact, a person delays doing homage to his soul until such a time as he has unmistakable evidence, through some overt manifestation on the part of his soul, that it is displeased and must be placated. So much has this become a truism that when one invites friends to a meal of any kind, gossip at once takes for granted that this is not a casual invitation, but is in effect a ‘feast’ for the person’s soul, and at once someone recalls some mishap, actual or imagined, that has occurred to the person giving the ‘feast’, as confirmation of the fact that the ’kra has made its demands on its possessor.

When misadventures come to a person, though his first thought is that his soul is asking for its due, he goes to a diviner to call his soul to discover its specific wishes. A person’s ’kra may ask for a feast. It may ask for a gold chain, if the possessor is a woman. It may ask for any item of apparel that has taken its fancy. It may want a bicycle, and we know of a case where a man’s ’kra desired an automobile! The usual request, however, is either for a gold chain, in the instances of young women, or a ’kra tafra, a feast for the ’kra, for others. Though the soul refuses to be ignored, it can be reasoned with, and a promise can be made that payment will be given it at some future date. Another device is to give a to, a sort of partial payment towards a deferred fulfilment of its demands. All such negotiations are carried on through the diviner, for though all mature individuals know how to serve their souls, it is only the diviner who can call the soul to come into the head of an individual so that it can be questioned. If any but a specialist undertook this, he might not know how to saka na ’kra, ‘dismiss the soul’, (especially if in the process of questioning, a cup were placed on the head instead of in the hand, when insanity would ensue). This necessity for a specialist's aid is a general pattern of belief, which is even more in evidence when the manner in which a person works with his winti is considered.

To call the akra, the person who comes to consult the diviner wears something of which he is extremely fond. He is seated on a ’kra bàngi, - a stool for the soul.¹ The diviner is also seated on a stool. An egg is put into a bowl of rainwater, and someone who is assisting at the ceremony takes a new calabash and throws water all about the person whose akra is being called. If a black pot, one of the kind made by Bush-Negro women, is available, this replaces the new calabash, and such a pot may be used many times. The

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¹ The importance of the stool as something associated with its owner's ’kra has been discussed in detail by Rattray, (II) passim. In Dahomey, we found that stools, especially the stools of the king or of chiefs, are of great ceremonial importance.
diviner addresses the soul: ‘Akra Kwasi,’ he says, if the subject, for example, is a man born on Sunday, ‘Mi taki, mi de begi fô ycre sän yu de habi fanodu. Tângi, tângi, mi de begi yu nangga saka fasi, poti pikin,¹ a wani sabi sâ na bön yeye² habi fanodu.

- Sunday soul, I speak to you, I beg (pray) you, to hear what your desire is. Thank you, thank you, (please, please), I pray you, prostrating myself, this poor child wishes to know what the good soul has need of.’ As each word is spoken, water is sprayed from the calabash by the diviner. This is said over and over, until the akra comes into the head of its possessor. This is easily recognised by those who are watching, because when this happens, the body begins to tremble, the eyelids grow heavy, and the bowl which is held by the person in his right hand, or on his head, begins to shake from side to side. The diviner, if one is in charge,³ then begins to question the soul, and the water in the bowl, as it moves from side to side, spills if the answer is ‘yes’ to the question put to it, and does not move if the answer is ‘no’.

Let us suppose that the akra has demanded a feast. The diviner then asks it what kind of a feast it desires. It may request that the individual dine alone with it. If that is the case, the table is set for two, one place for the ‘kra and one for its owner. The usual feast consists of a meal of rice, eggs, and chicken. When there is chicken or pigeon, the bones must not be eaten, and when the chicken is divided, care must be taken that the pieces are severed at the joints, so that no bone is broken. If this happens, the whole ‘kra tafra is spoiled. These bones are saved and are put away, serving as ‘a kind of stop for bad’. The food served at such meal must be eaten with the hands, for no fork or spoon may touch it.⁴ Before the person concerned sits down to this meal, the diviner causes him to remove his clothes, and washes him with the contents of a pot containing healing herbs. For the akra, these are fragrant leaves, and perfume constitutes an important ingredient that is always added. The diviner uses a hen for the washing which he takes up by the legs and bends back the head until he can hold the animal by its head and legs,⁵ in this way making a sponge of the body. This is called washing away the hêbi, that is to say, the ‘heaviness’ that oppresses a person. Should a hen that has been so used live,

¹ Pikin, literally ‘child’, is used irrespective of the age of the suppliant.
² Compare the Dahomean word for shadow-soul, yɛ.
³ It is not unusual to have an old woman of the family act in place of the diviner, if the cup is held in the hand. This may be a mother, a grandmother, or a maternal aunt.
⁴ This exemplifies the lag so often found in ceremonial practice when ritual is compared with everyday usage.
⁵ At the consecration of the drums employed in the great annual ceremonies to the Dahomean sky-deities, - Mawu, Lisa and the associated gods of their pantheon - the drummer held the chickens which he passed over the drums in exactly this manner.
Plate XII. A compound yard.
Plate XIII. Another view inside the same compound yard shown in Plate XII.
it is considered lucky for purposes of breeding, but if it dies, it is never eaten. After this washing, a bottle of beer is poured over the head of the person who has been bathed. This is followed by emptying the contents of a small bottle of sweet liquor and some perfume over him. If the 'kra' asks for a large feast, friends are invited to come at an appointed time, but they are not told why they had been invited, or that the akra is in any way concerned. Sometimes, in addition to the meal for the akra, a trinket, such as a chain or a ring or a bracelet, may be prescribed. After such a trinket is bought, it must be immersed in a bowl containing weeds and perfume, for purification. This is called *kaser*, or *kasiri*; and is done secretly by the person who has called the akra.

Those who are provident, and do not wait until the soul is angered to give it recognition, may perform the ceremony called *pai akra*, a phrase that signifies 'to pay the soul', but has the idiomatic meaning of making an offering for the soul. For this a black pot of the type mentioned before is employed for the ceremonial bath, and a new calabash is used to hold the offering. This consists of seven grains of *ncengre kondre pcpre*, seven half-cent pieces (the smallest Dutch coins); one ell of blue cotton, and sometimes red cotton as well; one bottle of sweet liquor; a few *abongra* (sesame) seeds, and *akansa*: The calabash or pot containing these ingredients is left at a cross-roads, the customary place of sacrifice for all but river and snake gods. If the akra is satisfied with what has been given it, 'you don't find it when the akra take it.' Therefore, if the offerings at the cross-roads are undisturbed the next day, it is a sign that what has been given is insufficient and has not met with the akra's approval. When this occurs, the person who made the sacrifice at once goes to a diviner, and the ceremony described above takes place.

The 'kra' is also called in cases of illness. The person whose 'kra' is to be summoned is seated. A porcelain cup of which this man or woman is fond, and the kerchief he or she likes best are brought out. The kerchief is rolled into a carrying-pad. The cup is filled with water, and an egg and a Dutch silver 10-cent piece are placed inside it. When the 'kra' enters the head, and the diviner questions the soul, the answer is 'yes' when the water is spilled toward the questioner, and 'no' when it is spilled away from him. The cup and the coin must be retained and the former will be known as *mi 'kra komki*, 'my soul's cup.'

We have spoken of the particular importance of inviting the souls of children to accompany their possessors to the new home when moving from one place to another. In order to do this it is necessary to go to the place where the child was born, and summon the akra from there, for the soul has a strong attachment for the place where its bearer came into the world. The invocation pro-

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1 See above, p. 42, note 5.
2 See above, p. 15, note 2.
nounced, is, ‘Akra Amba (for a girl born on Saturday), mi dc kari yu fô yu no tą na baka. - Saturday soul, I call you that you do not remain behind.’ While this is said, rainwater from a new calabash is sprinkled in front of the child’s mother, who speaks the invocation, and behind her. A woman performs this ceremony for herself and for her children, but not for her husband, who must do it himself. Belief holds that this is necessary, not alone to show deference to what might be a temperamental soul, but to safeguard the akra from being detained by any ‘bad’ wɩnti that might live in the yard from which the soul’s possessor is moving. When the term ‘bad wɩnti’ was spoken in this connection, reference was made to an evil spirit that possessed some tenant in the yard out of which the owners of the souls in question were moving.

Let us give a concrete instance of what happens when a soul is neglected, and an account of the experience of recovering a soul.

When C... was ten years old, her mother moved from the house in Nickerie where C... was born, and herself went to Paramaribo, leaving her with a maternal aunt. Shortly after her mother went away, C... went to bed with fever, and became so weak that she could not leave her mat. The doctor diagnosed the disease as malaria, and advised that she be taken to Paramaribo, where the climate is better than at Nickerie. In Paramaribo, however, she did not recover, and had hallucinations that there were crowds of people near her bed. After a few weeks in Paramaribo, her mother, at the advice of an old woman, consulted a ‘Djuka’. The old woman brought him to their house that evening, as C... was unable to walk. He asked the mother what was wrong, but her mother did not describe her illness to him, because the test of a good healer is that he himself, when he becomes possessed, repeats the history of the case and the circumstance that brought the illness about. The mother gave this ‘Djuka’ some rum, which he drank, and he then took a large red kerchief and waved it about his head, while he spoke an invocation in the ‘Djuka’ tongue, which none of the townspeople present understood. He put the handkerchief back, and taking C...’s wrist in his hand, held it until he began to tremble. The chair under him began to rattle, ‘It went r-r-r-r.’ When these tremors subsided, he sat still for a long time, - the whole consultation took more than an hour. Then he told her mother that C... was very sick, for she had been brought away from her place of birth without her akra. Having diagnosed the case, he left, saying that if the mother wished to find out more, she should bring C... to his house. For this diagnosis he was given no money. At four o’clock the next morning, ‘so we could go with the wind’, they went to see the ‘Djuka’. They brought with them half a bottle of rum, a cigar, and one guilder fifty cents. His house on the outskirts of the town was the usual ‘Djuka’ hut, with a thatched roof. He sat on a carved stool, which was covered with white clay. He drank some of the rum, and put the same red kerchief about his neck, ‘like a scarf.’ He took up a rattle in one hand, and a mat, about eight inches wide and twenty-four inches long, which he folded in half, in the other. A mirror lay before him, and he sat smoking his cigar. Then he said to C...’s mother, ‘Msi, na yu pikin’s siki. Êŋ akra a bɛn dc libi na baka. Ma yu luku fô feti fô ksi hɛm baka, bikasi a weri

1 Nickerie is a settlement near the mouth of the Corantyne river, on the border of British Guiana.
kaba. - Missi, your child is sick. Her soul was left behind. But you must see to it quickly in order to get it back, because she is already weary.' He
began to question the mirror. ‘Na bôn akra? Efè na ògiri wà, hori hém baka.
- Is it a good soul? (For) if it is a bad one, hold it back.’ ‘Na bôn? - Is it a
good one?’ The folded mat in his hand opened. Her soul was a good one.
‘Fù sàñ ede yu hori hém na baka? - Why are you keeping it back?’ Then
he said, ‘Lusù hém gi mi, bikası na wà poti pikin. - Free it for me, because
she is a poor child.’ He stopped the rattle and said to the mother, ‘It went
away because you did not call it.’ Then he said the spirit wanted many
things to appease it. The mother must get a prapi (a basin) and put into
it a half-bottle of drink, - table-wine, not rum - a small bottle of molasses,
(an old bottle was needed as a container for this), one ell of red cotton,
one ell of blue cotton, some abongra (sesame) seeds, and a piece of
white chalk. The following night the ‘Djuka’, the mother, and C... were
taken to the Suriname river where it widens, a short way downstream
below Paramaribo. The boatmen were her mother’s friends, for in a
ceremony of this kind, there must be no strangers about. The ‘Djuka’
uttered an incantation, as they rowed slowly; then the boat stopped. He
scooped up some water in his hands, and threw it over the sick girl’s head
three times. Taking the basin, he rested it on the palm of his hands, and,
holding it thus, slowly lowered his hands into the water, continuing the
incantation in his own tongue. As he chanted, the basin floated softly out
of his hands. ‘Don’t see nobody, but don’t see the prapi no more. The
water take it.’
The akra of this girl also wanted a gold chain. After purchasing it, the
chain was taken to the ‘Djuka’ a few days later, and left with him with
another prapi which held a small bottle of perfume. When the ‘Djuka’ came
again in a few days, he carried the prapi, which still contained the perfume,
and, in addition, some herbs and flowers, and the chain. He took the chain
from the basin, and, first with the right hand and then with the left, he
circled it several times over C...’s head, finally putting it around her neck.
In eight days, her fever left her, and though for another month she was
still weak, she recovered and has been well since.

The mother paid ninety guilders for this cure. Had the payment not been made, the
cure would not have remained effective, but if C... had not recovered, the ‘Djuka’
would have received no payment for his efforts. Indeed, this matter of payment is,
to the townspeople, an indication of the good faith and ability of a diviner. We were
told by a man who had had many dealings with diviners that the manner in which a
good practitioner can be told from a bad one is this: ‘The bad one asks you plenty
money when he begin. He make no promise but he talk big. When a man is good,
he don’t ask nothing, but he make man come better, and don’t charge too much
when he finish.’

We have observed several times that the soul makes demands on its possessor.
It must be recognised, in this connection, that a person uses or wears the belongings
of his soul, or consumes what food the soul is given. The distinction between what
belongs to the person as an individual, and what he keeps as custodian for his akra,
is nevertheless sharply made. In the first category are those things which a person
may dispose of whenever he wishes, and in any way he chooses. With those things
in the second category, the property of his soul, he may take no liberties; and if he
does dispose of his ‘kra’s possessions, punishment is inflicted upon him by the real
owner, his akra. We witnessed one such instance in the case.

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of a woman who had taken the liberty of pawning a gold chain that belonged to her akra. It was in a compound where we were collecting songs, and the season was that of the wunti-dances, several of which were taking place that same week. As our phonograph was recording songs sacred to the water-gods, we suddenly heard the sound of violent retching outside the cabin where we were at work, and soon a woman entered who was possessed by a wunti. She was obviously in great pain, and was in ugly temper, swaggering about between her spasms of retching, frowning, glaring at everyone in a hostile fashion, and threatening all who were present. As is customary, we offered her spirit a drink of beer, and she said, ‘I don't want any gifts from you. I am a strong Ingi wunti and I can have all the champagne I want from the White man's boats by capsizing your steamers.’ We were told that this retching was soon expected to bring up blood, because this woman's soul was tormenting her, and turning her friendly wunti-spirit into an ugly one, in punishment of the pawning of the gold chain belonging to it. She came out of her possession for a few moments, explained that she had lived in British Guiana, and added in perfect English, 'I am not insulting you, sir. It is my kra troubling me.'

When situations of this kind arise, it is believed that the offended soul may force its possessor to steal in order to procure the means for redeeming the pawned article. It is, therefore, the duty of the family to help the individual, and if the family is unwilling or unable to do this, the soul causes the person to break and destroy things. When this happens, and the demands of the soul are such that the family either considers them exorbitant, or beyond any possible means at their disposal, they call a diviner to try to appease the soul, in the manner we have described. Should the soul, however, refuse to be appeased by a partial gift, an attempt is then made to discipline it by having the diviner ‘tie’ it, - that is, they will have him try to subjugate it. In order to do this, a powerful wunti belonging to the diviner, who in this case, is a priest of that wunti, is called upon to take the recalcitrant soul in hand. The ‘tying’ is generally done in the following way: The akra which is thought greedy is lured to manifest itself by setting before it all kinds of food, - rice, abongra, liquor, chicken. White thread is put about this offering of food, and when the soul is called and it goes to take the food which is there before it, the diviner quickly takes up the ends of the thread and ties them into a knot, as he pronounces the words, 'Monday soul, I have now tied you.' But if the soul is strong and very wrought up, it will beat the wuntiman, powerful as is his god, and will not allow itself to be 'tied.' As mentioned when discussing the means men and women have recourse to in order to insure fidelity, this process of ‘tying’ of the soul is employed for other than disciplinary action against an unruly soul, and it can also be utilised to subjugate an orderly soul to the will and machinations of another.
9. Fiofio

In the concept of *fiofio* the Paramaribo Negroes manifest a fundamental African attitude toward relationships between people and the effect of the interplay of personalities on the unconscious, which, in the ideology of the people we are studying, is one of the attributes of the *akra*. It concerns the belief that repressed bitterness or hatred harms both the one who had caused it, and the one who experienced it, and that the harm is to the soul.

*Fiofio*, as envisaged in this belief, is the name of an insect and also of a spirit which, taking the shape of this insect, enters human bodies, causing illness and sometimes death. It comes as a result of family quarrelling which does not end in reconciliation. Strictly speaking, it is the extending of gestures of friendship or intimacy at a later date, when the bitterness of the quarrel has either passed or is masked, which brings on the illness. Such gestures of intimacy or friendship include accepting food that is offered, or a caress, or borrowing some kind of wearing apparel, or asking and receiving any other favor, and the resulting illness comes to either one or both of the persons who had participated in the quarrel. These situations can arise only between those who meet on intimate ground, and thus *fiofio* might come as a result of these gestures between persons of the same family who had quarrelled, or between intimate friends, or lovers, or between a mistress and a servant who has been associated with her for many years. If an illness that arises from such a cause is not promptly diagnosed by the diviner, and the necessary ceremonial retraction is not made, the disease is steadily aggravated until it brings death, or at the least, misfortune of some sort to harass the family of the persons involved.

We may illustrate the working of *fiofio* with some examples. Let us consider the case of a woman who had been living with a man for some years.

One day the man formed an attachment for the younger sister of his wife, and there was a bitter quarrel between the two women. For a long time they did not speak to each other. After some years had elapsed, and the man had passed out of the lives of both of them, and out of their memories as well, the younger sister, who was going to attend a *lobi-sïŋgi* and wished to be especially well dressed for the occasion, borrowed a *koto-yaki* from the older

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1. The similarity of the concept of *fiofio* to one which lies at the base of the Ashanti *apo* ceremony, described by Rattray (II, ch. XV) becomes at once apparent. The Freudian character of the ceremony of retraction and the belief in *fiofio*, - namely, that of the 'festering soul', which, only when the thing that troubles it is brought into the light of consciousness is the evil remedied, - is noteworthy. That a similar concept is held in Haiti seems apparent from a ceremony described by Seabrook (*The Magic Island*, pp. 225-226), though one cannot be sure of the reliability of the material in this work. If the ceremony was as it is described, then a failure to understand the principle underlying *fiofio* accounts for Seabrook's astonishment that those who accept a man's hospitality would revile him.

2. Of the order *Rhynchota*; cf. Encyc., p. 608.
one. Shortly after this, the younger sister fell ill and died before it occurred to anyone that she had been stricken by *fiofio*. Our informant, who had himself been at the deathbed of this woman saw the *fiofio* insect come out of the nostril of the woman as she died. When this occurred, all recalled the quarrel that had taken place so many years ago.

Another instance of the working of *fiofio* is that of a servant who was dismissed after a quarrel with her mistress.

The mistress was angry, and, though the servant had been with the family for many years, she was not permitted to say goodbye to a child whom she had nursed, and who was a great favorite of hers. A few years later, when all had forgotten the incident, the servant met the child, caressed it, and gave it a piece of cake. The child ate the cake, and that night fell ill. A few days later, after several remedies had been tried, it was suggested to the mother that she consult a diviner. The diagnosis was that the illness was due to *fiofio*, and the mother of the child and the servant promptly went through a ceremonial retraction.

A third example is drawn from the case of the death of a child caused by *fiofio*, that was brought about by the quarrelling of the parents.

During the pregnancy of the mother, she quarrelled with her husband about his penuriousness. He, in turn, reproached her with sexual looseness, disclaimed responsibility for having made her pregnant, and said that the child in her womb was not his. When the child was born, it was sickly, and this was held to have been caused by the fact that in his anger the father had withdrawn the support of his soul from the child. The neighbors, knowing of these quarrels, (which, incidentally, grew steadily worse after the baby was born), cautioned the mother not to accept any money from the man for the support of the child if the father was to see the baby, this measure being considered necessary to save him from being attacked by *fiofio*. The mother, who was young and not willing to place too much credence in the old beliefs, did not heed the warning. When the baby was three months old, he died. The mother, discussing this, said that a girl might have survived, because of the support of her own soul, but that boys get their strength from their fathers.

Generally speaking, if the members of a family suffer a series of misfortunes, - when the crops of one brother are poor, another brother has repeated illnesses in his home, a third loses his job, a sister's children die shortly after birth, and another sister is unable to live for any length of time with the men with whom she forms alliances - the townspeople say, 'It's *fiofio*. Don't you remember how they quarrelled when their uncle died? They never made up the quarrel, and they became friendly again. It's *fiofio!*' The friends of such a family counsel a visit to a diviner, and if the

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1 In the Saramacca bush during the period of gestation the husband sleeps with his wife nightly in order to ‘feed the child.’ Should the husband die during his wife's pregnancy, she not only does not go into mourning for him, but that very night the man's brother, or a cousin in the maternal line, or the dead man's sister's son, if old enough, must go to her hammock, and will share it with her until the child is born.

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diagnosis is indeed that it is *fiofio*, the ceremony of retraction known as *puru mofo*,
(literally, “withdraw from the mouth”), is performed. Those in-

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2 Rattray (V, p. 180) states ‘pɔŋ (mpɔŋ) means literally to pull off, or strip off, hence to remove, take back...’
volved in the quarrel gather, and the one who has wronged the other calls on the soul of the wronged one, saying ‘Akra Kwami (if it is a man, born on Saturday), I did not mean to offend you. I was hasty. Do not revenge yourself upon me, or upon my wife, or our children. I beg you, overlook what I said and do not bear me any ill will.’ He then takes some water into his mouth, and spurs it out before his own doorway, repeating this formula three times. If there has been reciprocal wrong done, then each in his turn will call on the soul of the other, begging pardon for himself and for his family.

The ceremony of retraction is preceded and followed by washing, and the idiom for this is ‘Mi go was’ fiofio watra, - I am going to wash in fiofio water.' Cold water is used, to which the skin of a large plantain, dried in smoke, some egg-shells, seven pieces of white chalk, nengere kondre pepre, - African pepper,¹ - and s'ibi wiri, - sweet broom - are added. The washing may take place early in the morning, or at mid-day, or in the evening, but if a person is undergoing a cure he washes three times a day. The invocation for the washing is ‘Sisibi disi di sibi 'cbi gowe, a so den 'cbi di dc na yu mu gowe tu. So lejiki fa ma-foru tyari çŋ pikin a de broko dcn, na so aša sãn' di yu tyari mu broko kɔm na kŋ. - Just as this broom sweeps heanness away, so, too, must your heaviness go away. Just as the mother hen carries her child until it breaks the egg, so everything that you carry must break and come out in the open.'²

For an understanding of the concept of fiofio, it must be recognised that enmity in itself does not bring this spiritual recrimination, even when that enmity exists between those who, as neighbors or blood-relations, are thrown into close contact. It is only when conscious or unconscious hypocrisy enters that the souls become resentful and bring on illness.

10. Divination

The references we have made to divining must already have suggested that divination plays an important part in the life of the Suriname town Negroes. Indeed, so impressed are the Paramaribo Negroes themselves with this, that those who have knowledge of the life of the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes make the point that there is greater recourse to divination in the city than in the bush. It was claimed that among the Saramacca people there are only a few important diviners to be found, - one at the village of

¹ Aframomum melegueta K. Sch. Fam. Zingiberaceae. ‘De plant is uit Afrika afkomstig.’ Encyc. p. 34.
² In explaining this invocation, our informant said, ‘Just as the chick comes out of the egg-shell, so the sickness must come out of the person who is ill.’ The meaning of the figure ‘just as the mother hen carries her child’ is obviously ‘just as the mother hen cares for her child.’
Lombe, a short distance south of the rail-head, and several others in the distant village of Dahome, on the far upper river - whereas in Paramaribo alone, there are several times as many, and they are the more skilled. While to our own knowledge of life in the Suriname bush this statement is not borne out by actual fact, the significance of such an assertion as demonstrating the place the Suriname town Negroes give their own diviners, - despite the superiority ordinarily acceded the Bush-Negroes in dealing with the supernatural, - is of the first order.

Diviners are called lukumăn, ‘those who look’. Loosely, however, all those who deal with the supernatural, whether as diviners or as workers of evil magic, or as providers of magic which protects, as well as those who exorcise evil spirits such as ghosts, and those who pacify personal spirits which have been aroused, are called Djuka. Another name, with the same general implication, is bonu¹, a third obiamăn. Conversationally, a practitioner of any one of the above categories is also referred to as a wuntimăn, or a wisimăn. When, however, an individual informant is questioned closely, he carefully differentiates these categories. A lukumăn, he explains, is a diviner who also cures souls. A wuntimăn is one who deals with the spirits called wunti, the gods, and cures all illnesses sent by these spirits. A wisimăn is a practitioner of black magic, and as such can if he chooses also cure black magic. The maker of protective charms, if yet finer differentiation is sought, is the obiamăn, one who deals in obia, and the obiamăn will also at times be designated as the one who cures wisi, evil magic. It must be indicated, nevertheless, that in reality this separation of function is most frequently only theoretical, for it is seldom that a man in any one of the categories named is not competent as well in at least one other, and some are skilled in all.

While discussing divination and those who divine, it is also necessary to name the Indian pijaimăn, and the kartamăn, - literally ‘card-man,’ - the latter of whom may be White or Javanese or Hindu as well as Negro. In order to understand why the Negro values the Indian diviner, we must glance at his attitude toward the ranking of Indian, Negro, and White supernatural powers. The logic with which he approaches this problem is that for himself his

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1 Bonu has, as its derivation, the Fɔ term gbo, a Dahomean word applied to magical charms.
2 According to the suggestion of Professor D. Westermann, the word obia may be derived from the Bia river, a mythologically important river of the Gold Coast, conceived by the Twi-speaking peoples as a brother of Tano, the god of all rivers (cf. Cardinall, I, pp. 48-50). The prefix ‘o’ denotes the singular in Twi. Another possible derivation may be from the Effik word *Mbiam* (cf. Talbot, I, pp. 46ff.), while Sir H.H. Johnstone states ‘Obia seems to be a variant or a corruption of an Effik or Ibo word from the northeast or east of the Niger delta, which simply means “Doctor.”’ Recently Williams (II) has advanced the theory that the word is to be derived from the Twi obayifo.
own magic. - Negro magic - is the strongest, but that, in certain situations, the magic of the Indian takes precedence over his own, because the Indians, as the autochthonous inhabitants of the land, have the greatest control over the spirits of earth and water. Of White man's magic, the reading of the future by means of cards has some vogue, and anyone, whether White, Hindu, or Javanese, who can tell fortunes with cards, is said to use the White man's method of divining.

We have already described two variants of one method of divination as practised by the lukumān. In one of these, when questioning the soul, the answers are given by the tilting of a cup containing water and an egg which rests on the head of the person whose soul is being called, and in the other the tilting of a cup or bowl, also containing water and an egg, held in the right hand. In both these instances, the diviner uses a folded mat, but sometimes the mat alone is employed. A lukumān may also look into a mirror when he reads the future, or he may watch the surface of a basin of water which stands before him, and when the water becomes troubled the spirit is said to have entered it, and the questioning proceeds as it does when the cup placed on the head or held in the hand begins to shake. In all those instances where a mat or its equivalent, a fan, or water in a basin, is used, the answers can only be 'yes', or 'no'. Divining, however, may be done by means of calling upon a wɩnti to enter into the body of either the diviner or of the person who came to consult him, and causing this wɩnti to speak. Albinos, and those exhibiting strains of albinism, who are called bonkoro, are particularly gifted diviners for they are all said to have strong wɩnti, and consequently important remedies. If the wɩnti is one of African or Indian origin, it is said to 'speak tongues', and only the wntimān, - the priest or priestess - is able to interpret what is said by the spirit. Certain generalised methods of divination may be mentioned here in passing, which, though they do not need a specialist to perform, may also be employed by a specialist. Thus, a fowl which is being sacrificed either to an individual's akra or to a wɩnti, is opened and its intestines or testicles are examined to see whether they are white or discolored. If they are white, the omen is one of good luck, while if they are not, the prediction is bad luck. This same test is also used as an ordeal to establish the innocence of a woman who disclaims guilt in adultery. Again, those who are

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1 Among the Saramacca people albinos are called Tonɛ people, that is, they belong to the river gods. In Dahomey such people are said to be sacred to Lisa, god of the sun. According to Proyart, p. 197, albinos were sacred in Loango.

2 An informant told of one such remedy that had restored his own health, which consisted of herbs gathered by his mother in the bush, while her moves to pluck now one, now another, were directed by the wɩnti of the diviner who, in his own home in the city, sat in a state of possession, shaking a rattle and chanting.
possessed of Ingi wunti (Indian spirits), especially the water-Indian spirits, are thought to have the gift of divination, even when they are not specialists in the sense that the lukumán is a specialist. Certain individuals, as well, at whose birth abnormal phenomena were manifest, such as a caul, or a navel cord entwined about the neck, are thought to have special aptitudes for divination and magical practice. Such persons are encouraged to go through specialized training with an established diviner to fit themselves for this profession.

Divination as practised by the specialist, then, is a matter of training. The knowledge of the technique passes, in the main, from a man to his brother until, the generation exhausted, it is given to one of their sisters’ sons. The one chosen is either selected because he is specially intelligent, or because by divination, or in a dream, he is discovered to have special aptitude for the profession. If a father cares, however, he may teach his own son his craft. In the case of women, the knowledge is passed on to sisters, or one of a woman’s own daughters or sons; or if a woman has no children, then to the children of a sister. The rule is that the technique of a man is taught to a man, and that of a woman to a woman. It must be made clear that we found no sex division in the types of divination employed by diviners of the two sexes. General practice is to choose a male lukumán for illnesses of the soul, but for ills caused by the wɩnti, a man or woman practitioner may be selected. There is a way of becoming a lukumán other than by inheriting the knowledge and this occurs when an African komfo decides to take possession of a man or a woman who has been chosen by him as his fitting medium. It is not necessary that this komfo-spirit should have manifested itself actively to the family before. In our ensuing discussion of wunti, we shall see how certain important spirits are sent to reside in trees and stones by those who die without successors, or whose successors are unwilling to continue the worship of the African gods. It may be that one such spirit who, while remaining quiescent, had yet continued to identify himself with the family, might cause a man or woman to go into a state of possession, and reveal the answers to questions sought of the supernatural. Such a komfo needs, to be sure, to prove himself, but once his reputation for curing and prophesying is established, he is then said to ‘wroko furu moni’, - earn much money’ for his possessor.

Let us illustrate one method of divination by describing the visit paid by a woman to a lukumán.

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1 Komfo is the Ashanti-Fanti word for priest.
2 An especially valued instrument is called ‘the komfo telephone,’ whose ‘strong name’ is Kausi. It is a stick, magically treated, which if concealed in a room, records all that is spoken, and if it is but sprayed with rum and made to hear the proper formula, need only to have one end of it placed against the ear to repeat what it had recorded.
She was ill of a fever that ‘no White doctor could cure,’ since it was a fever sent by a spirit. She went to a lukumán who had helped the family before, who lived on the outskirts of the city in a house which more nearly resembled those of the Bush-Negroes than the ordinary town houses, in keeping with his title of ‘Djuka’. She said to him, ‘Masra, mi kɔ̨ a yu fɔ̧ wɔ ʧanodu. - Master, I come to you because of my need.’ He asked what was the matter, and she answered that she was not well. The lukumán sat down on a carved stool, the traceries on which were painted over with white chalk. On the table before him was a mirror. In one hand he held a rattle, and in the other a folded mat. He drank some liquor, and to the accompaniment of the rattle, spoke an invocation ‘in Djuka’. This was pronounced sometimes very fast, sometimes slowly, ‘but you don’t understand’. Then he took up the mat, and sat looking in the mirror, shaking the rattle constantly. After a while, his eyes fixed on the mirror, he began to talk, this time in taki-taki, ‘because it's my spirit he talk to.’ He inquired if the spirit troubling her was bad, or if it was good. He asked if she had many friends? Many enemies? Were they men? Women? Was she going to get money? Was she going to get well soon? When the mat opened, the answer was ‘yes’, and when it remained closed the answer was ‘no’. Then the spirit was questioned about what it wanted. Was it beer? Was it money? Was it a chain? Was it a ring? If so, was this to be gold? Or silver? Sometimes a spirit wishes food. Whatever it is, the lukumán tells the day on which the patient is to bring the article or series of articles; and at what particular time of the day the special food the spirit has asked for is to be eaten. After the inquirer had heard the requests of the spirit which was troubling her, she came back the next day with a prapi (a basin) in which perfume had been poured, - it might have been beer if the spirit had asked for this instead - and left it with the lukumán, who added rainwater and some herbs from the bush. That night the woman called for the prapi. It was important that no one who met her should know what she was carrying. The spirit troubling her proved to be a good one, but if it had been a bad spirit, everything in that basin would have had a foul odor. ‘The stink-water washes the bad spirit away.’ She washed with the contents of the prapi once a day, - the washing time for curing is either at dawn, at noon, or at night. The time was given her by the lukumán. In her own case, because her akra was weak, she washed for eight days, but in some instances only three days of washing are required. The same water was used during the entire period, and, as is ordinarily done, was kept hidden under a bed or in some corner of the house. During this time no other water was used by the patient for washing, nor was anyone outside the immediate family circle allowed to know what was in the basin. If done during the day, the washing ceremony was performed in the house, to insure privacy. There was, of course, but little water, so that a cupful or even less was all that was available for a day's washing. If, while going through these ceremonial ablutions, the patient had been surprised by a stranger, and there had been no time to hide the basin, then the stranger would have been told that she was doing it for the 'spirit', but she would neither have named the spirit, nor specified whether it was a good or a bad one. Had evil-smelling water been provided for the patient to wash in, and had some stranger coming in remarked about a bad odor in the
house, such a remark would have been dismissed with a joke. ‘You smell something, true, true? I don’t know what it can be.’

An illness may be caused by violating a *trefu*. Perhaps it is an unconscion violation, arising out of the fact that a man's mother had never told him the name of his true father, and consequently he had been observing food taboos which were not his own and had been neglecting to observe those which were his,
since, as we have seen, these personal food taboos are inherited from the father. The *luku\-må\-n*, is consulted, and he both diagnoses the cause of the illness, and names the foods to be avoided. A person's illnesses or difficulties which bring him to the diviner may arise out of a violation of the injunctions of some deity. He may have urinated in that portion of the yard that is identified as the habitat of the *Grɔ̨ Mama*, - Earth Mother - of that particular yard. Or a person may come to the *luku\-må\-n* because he has found a bundle containing porcupine-quills under his door-step, or one of red and blue cotton, or a broken calabash with evil-smelling weeds, soiled cloth and thorny bits of wood in it, and these, he knows, bode him no good. A man consults the *luku\-må\-n* to discover why his rice-crop does not prosper, or he comes to find out who is responsible for a recent accidental death in his family that is suspected to have been brought about by other than natural causes. In the last instance, he waits until after the eighth-day wake has been celebrated, and then goes to the *luku\-må\-n* to have him divine the person who had invoked black magic to cause the death of his relative. Or it may be such an incident as was related to us, where a *Yɔrka*, - a ghost - has manifested itself, and, through this manifestation, presages trouble.

This incident concerns a man who was sitting one night (about a week before he told us of the occurrence), drinking beer with some friends.

He left the table for a few moments, and when he returned, his friends said they had seen a white hand reach out for his glass. When he looked, the glass was not there. He had laughed about it, but had told his mother.\(^1\) His mother insisted that he go with her to the *luku\-må\-n*, but he refused. She, therefore, took a piece of his underwear, and went herself. ‘The *luku\-må\-n*, who never saw her before, or me, told her everything which was true. He said I had two good friends. One of them is not home now, - that's A... - (and he named a man whom we knew to be away at the time). He told her I had an enemy who came to the house sometimes. But he could not give his name. Last time when he looked for someone else, and gave the name of the enemy, he got a jail-sentence, because the family made too much trouble.’ The man was given a bath of perfume, with liquor and sweet-smelling weeds in it, in which there were also four *s'ɲŋ* (thirty-two cents, Dutch). He was also given a liquid in a bottle to take internally as a prophylaxis against this ghost that his enemy had had sent to him through a practitioner of black magic. The potency of the liquid lies in the fact that it is a *t apu*, a preventive, against such black magic. Should the hand manifest itself again, unseen while he is drinking, the glass will break or fall from his hands so that none of the liquid might touch his lips.

\(^1\) The informant's comment at this point carries some significance in terms of acculturation: ‘All my mother does is go to church. She don't want me to go to wnuti-dances, even to look. But if anything happens, she runs to a *luku\-må\-n*.’
11. Gods and Familiar Spirits\(^1\)

a) the nature of the \textit{wɩnti}

Divination, then, is an essential factor in the system of beliefs of the Paramaribo town Negroes, for it is through the work of the diviner that all the elements of this system are drawn together, explained, and controlled. These elements are four in number, - the \textit{akra}, or the soul; the \textit{wɩnti}, or the gods; \textit{obia} and \textit{wisi}, or good and evil magic; and the \textit{Yɔrka}, or the spirits of the dead. Having considered the concept of the soul and its place in the lives of these people, let us now turn to an examination of the nature, manifestations and significance of the \textit{wɩnti}.

‘\textit{Wɩnti},’ say the Negroes, ‘mean wind. Wind is every place. Is air (breath). The spirit, too, is everywhere. So we says \textit{wɩnti}.’ The term, as we shall see, defines the gods and spirits which rule the destiny of the universe.\(^2\) Among the Bush-Negroes, though the word \textit{wɩnti}, - also spoken there as \textit{wenti}, or \textit{wintu} - has the same significance as among the Negroes of Paramaribo, the gods are usually designated by the term \textit{gadō}. This latter name is heard in Paramaribo as well, though except in ritual song, it occurs usually in the exclamation ‘\textit{Mi gadō}!’ in daily speech. Another term heard is that of \textit{vɔdų},\(^3\) (pronounced also \textit{fɔdų}), though in the city this word has in addition to the specialised meaning of the Saramacca Negroes which makes it a generic name for snake deities, the generalised meaning that makes it synonymous with \textit{wɩnti}. \textit{Vody} is a word used especially when it is wished to disguise the fact that sacred spirits are being invoked, and in such a case, the play on words, which makes \textit{fɔdų} mean, in Negro-English, ‘things that fall down’, that is, litter or trash, is utilised. Thus, they sing,

\begin{quote}
Wi wani si dem fɔdų na djari,
Wi wani si dem, ba.
\end{quote}

We want to see the \textit{fɔdų} in the yard,
We want to see them, brother.

A fourth term which has currency is that of \textit{komfo}. When referring to a \textit{komfo}, a person says, ‘\textit{Mi’ abi wą bigi Nɛŋgɛre-konde komfo}, - I have a great African spirit.’ \textit{Komfo} is not, however, a synonym for the word \textit{wɩnti}, and is identified only with specialised spirits, among them being those called Indian \textit{wɩnti}. In addition to all these

\(^1\) Consult the article \textit{Winti} in Encyc., pp. 750-751, Penards (I), and Van Lier, \textit{passim}.
\(^2\) This identification of the gods and spirits with wind or air was found by us in Dahomey, where the Fɔ word \textit{djo}, which means wind, is often employed as the term for ‘god’.
\(^3\) \textit{Vody} in Dahomey is the term for ‘deity’.
designations, the *wunti* songs in the Kromanti language, also give the name *bosum* or *abosom* for *wunti* or god.

Let us examine the types of *wunti* that fill the universe of the Suriname town Negro. Though among the Bush-Negroes the term *Massa Gran Gadō* (Supreme God) occurs repeatedly in conversation and prayer, it is but seldom that a Sky-god is invoked in Paramaribo. The only reference there to the Sky is in the *wunti* dances to the *Tap-Kromanti*, that is to say, to the Kromanti gods of the Sky, who comprise the seven Thunder gods. These thunder gods are *Tata Yao*, *Tata Aladi* (or *Alada*), *Tata Wɛse* (or *Muwɛse*), *Tata Abonuako* (or *Akoabonua*), *Tata Anąŋka Yao*, *Sofia Bada*, and *Ta S'rąnami*.

The Earth gods are headed by the *Mama fō Grọ*, the Earth-Mother, who even in ritual is referred to by this euphemism and named only in songs sung by those who are actually under possession. The names given this deity are many, and this is accounted for only partially by the fact that in Paramaribo, as in the bush, deities have their ‘strong’ or *numan* names which may be known only to a few who are initiated, and employed only in ritual. The Earth-Mother possesses a large number of these ‘strong’ names, and this it appears is due to the fact that in Paramaribo are to be found the descendants of persons who derive from various regions of West Africa. Those most frequently heard in ritual are *Asasɛ*, *Agida*, *Aida*, *Waisa*, *Aisa* or *Awąnaisa*, and we have listened to persons who perhaps come from families carrying the traditions of two different regions dispute heatedly as to the ‘true’ name of the *Mama fō Grọ*. One of these persons, who definitely claims descent from a Dahomean family, insisted that the Dahomean names just given are the correct ones. The point must be made, however, that so feared is the Earth-Mother, and so great are her powers, that there is the utmost reluctance to speak her name, and young people are never encouraged to question about these designations. The names that occur most often for the Earth gods as a group are *Agida*, *Aisa* or *Awąnaisa*, *Loko*, and the *Grọ ńngi*.

Worship of the *Grọ Mama*, or the *Ma fō Doti* (Earth-Mother, or Mother of the Soil) differs from that of most of the other gods, in that while the majority of gods receive offerings from, and are

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1 This is, of course, the Gold Coast *obosom*, the Twi word for god.
2 *Tata* means ‘father’.
3 *Bade* is youngest and most powerful member of the *So* (Thunder) pantheon of Dahomey. In Dorsainvil's list (p. 39), *Zofi-Bade* appears as one of the voodoo gods in the Haitian pantheon.
4 In all West Africa, every deity, to say nothing of human beings, especially kings and chiefs, have these ‘strong’ names which are employed only on ceremonial occasions.
5 *Asasɛ* is the Gold Coast name for the Earth deity.
6 In Fɔ, *Ai* is the term for ‘earth’, and occurs in sacred names.
7 In Dahomey and among the Yoruba, *Loko* (*Iroko*) is the name of a sacred tree. The *Loko* tree in Dahomey, however, is a deity in the *Mawu-Lisa* pantheon, and has totemic associations for many sibs, as well.
danced for, only by their own devotees, the Earth Mother is a godhead for all \textit{wɩnti} worshippers, whatever their particular gods. To understand this, we must recognise that every plantation, every yard, every locale, is said to have its \textit{Grɔ̨ Mama}, who may either be a ‘good spirit’, or a ‘bad spirit’, but who in either case must be served. The \textit{Grɔ̨ Mama} is served by observing the sacred character of the place identified with her habitat, usually a \textit{ƙaŋƙaŋtiri}, (silk-cotton tree). That is to say, people refrain from polluting it in any way and also make it offerings of food and drink once a year or more often, if demands upon her are made for special favors. If angered, the \textit{Grɔ̨ Mama} manifests herself as a snake, - a \textit{Dagowe} or \textit{Aboma}; as an alligator, - \textit{Kaiman}; or as an owl, - \textit{ɔru-kuku}. If when she appears as a snake, let us say, a person scoffs or says ‘If I had seen it in time, I'd have killed it,’ she reappears in the person's house, with an air of challenge, ‘Here I am. Kill me, if you like!’ She might also appear in his bed at night. She can be appeased with a generous offering of eggs, and a prayer for forgiveness. ‘\textit{Mama, mi dc begi yu naŋga saka fasi, mi no du fọ ogri}. - Mother, I humble myself and pray you, I had not intended to do harm.’ If he should have had the misfortune to offend a bad \textit{Grɔ̨ Mama} who refuses to pardon him, she appears and reappears to challenge him, finally entering his body, and thereupon speaks with the man’s voice telling him that she wishes him to become her \textit{hasi},\textsuperscript{2} her devotee. Should he resist her, saying he does not care to have a \textit{wɩnti}, he begins to do accountable things, - to steal, to destroy property, to kill. A friendly and well-propitiated \textit{Grɔ̨ Mama}, however, protects the inhabitants of her domain. Thus, no oath is as binding as one pronounced in her name, which is followed by the swallowing of a few drops of the blood of both parties to the oath, to which some earth had been added; nor is any threat as dangerous as that of invoking the vengeance of the \textit{Grɔ̨ Mama}. Thus we heard a Negro woman say in anger to a man of Indian-White descent, ‘\textit{Luku bọn, mi naŋga yu habi na srɛf’srɛfi Grɔ̨ Mama}. - Take care, I and you have the selfsame Earth Mother.’

The most prevalent types of \textit{wɩnti} among women in particular are those associated with the snake, and since these enter into all the categories of \textit{wɩnti}, we list them after the gods of the Sky and Earth. Of these we have \textit{Dagowe},\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Papa}, \textit{Vodu}, \textit{Hei-ɡrɔ̨}, \textit{Aboma}, \textit{Aninino},\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Alado}, \textit{Sinero}, \textit{Korowena}, \textit{Kwɛnda}, \textit{Tobochina}, and

\begin{footnotes}
\item[2] Lit. horse; in Haiti \textit{choual} (cheval) is used with the same significance.
\item[3] \textit{Dagowe} is the Suriname equivalent of \textit{Dągbe}, an Ewe-Fɔ̨ word also used to designate a sacred snake. \textit{Dangbe} is similarly employed in Haiti, (Parsons, I, and Dorsainvil). \textit{Dą} is the Fɔ̨ term for a kind of serpent-like mobility, and is applied not only to snakes, but to a spirit which manifests itself in anything that is undulating. See Herskovits, M. & F., (I), pp. 56-58, for a discussion of \textit{Dą}.
\item[4] This is the sacred python, \textit{Onini}, of the Ashanti.
\end{footnotes}
Cheno. The term Dagowe often serves, in the town, as a generic term for all the snake spirits, though the Dagowe snake, properly speaking, is one of the constrictor group found in the colony, and is believed by the natives to inhabit both land and water. This is, of course, good observation on their part, for this characteristic of all snakes of the boa type is well-known. Not all snakes are sacred, yet no one will kill a snake. In support of this it is said that the snake itself, whether Dagowe, Aboma (boa constrictor), or any other, is not a god, but only a potential carrier of a god, and therefore if someone kills a Dagowe, the snake itself, once dead, takes no steps to punish its murderer, but those who worship it see that the Dagowe is avenged.

'They send wisi,' that is, bad magic or poison. There are those, however, who hold that the Dagowe snake in particular is the wɩnti itself, for if a person kills a Dagowe snake, the wɩnti enters the abdomen, causing it to swell, and brings eventual death to the killer. In point of fact there is no sharp distinction between the Earth deities and the Snake spirits; indeed, not alone the Earth spirits, but any spirit, may manifest itself in the form of a snake.

Though the Dagowe may take possession of either a man or a woman, the Papa snake possesses only women. The explanation given was, ‘Yu sab’ san’ cdc Papa-gadô n’e kisi man suma? Man suma no meki pikin. - Do you know why the Papa God doesn’t possess men? Because men don’t make (i.e., give birth to) children.’ Vodų is said to be greater in power than the Papa spirit, while Hei-grɔ surpasses all in strength. For this snake, which occupies mountainous regions, is thought to be the incarnation of ghostly spirits, - ‘When a Yorka goes into an Aboma and catches a human being, that is Hei-grɔ.’ Thus we see an illustration of the belief that ancestors, as well as gods, may use snakes as vehicles for exercising their power over human destiny. It is in this that is constituted the essential importance of the snake-cult to the Suriname town Negroes.

A fourth group of wɩnti are those which are associated with the river. This group, as all others, overlap the Snake gods, since the constrictor lives in the water as well as on land. However, there are other gods, among them the kaimą, which are peculiar to the rivers alone. The river-gods are headed by the Liba-Mama, or Watra-

1 This follows Dahomean practice, where, if someone by a willful act does what is hateful to a vodų, the members of all the vodų cults go into a state of frantic possession, shouting the name of the guilty one at all the crossroads and at the shrines of all the gods, until a purification dance is held. This last takes place when the vodų is avenged, that is, when the offender is dead or insane.

2 This statement reveals the identity of the Hei-grɔ snake spirit with the Dahomean deity called Dambala Hwedo, which also takes the form of a serpent that lives in mountains and is a manifestation of the spirit of an ancient ancestor.
Mama, respectively Mother of the River, or Mother of the Water, who, again, is not referred to by name. Among the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes, the river-gods go under the generic name of Tonc, and this name, like the name from the interior for the gods in general, is also sometimes employed in Paramaribo.¹ In one instance at least, when a woman under possession was singing to what she called ingi, -Indian - wunti, she sang,

Da-i Tonc na liba-e
Da-i Tonc na liba-o
Den liba Fodų masi mi,
Da-i Tonc na liba-e
Den liba Kwenda masi mi,
Da-i Tonc na liba-o
Da Liba Mama masi mi,
Da-i Tonc na liba-o.

The Tonc spirits are in the river-e
The Tonc spirits are in the river-o
The river Vodų crush me,
The Tonc spirits are in the river-o
The river Kwenda crush me,
The Tonc spirits are in the river-o
The River-Mother crushes me,
The Tonc spirits are in the river-o.

The Tonc, it is said, are the river Dagowe, and all these are included in the term 'water-Ingi'. One of these river spirits sung to is called Abo, and the rest are the Ingi spirits, Yąntki, Kobisi, Frępsi, among others. We have already commented upon the powers ascribed to the Indian spirits. This is definitely in the African tradition, and follows what seems to be a deep-seated African pattern of belief which is manifest practically throughout all of West Africa, if not in other portions of the continent as well.² Among the Saramacca Bush-Negroes, little reference is made to Indian spirits, for here the tradition exists that the ancient ancestors had themselves cleared the land, deepened the channels of the river, and caused the great forests to spring up.

¹ Through a transposition of vowels, it is possible that the Twi name for the most sacred of all rivers, Tano, the parent of numerous deities, has here become Tonc. Cf. Rattray, (II), passim, and Cardinal, (I), pp. 49ff. It is also to be remarked that the Fɔ word to means 'water'.
² See on this point, Delafosse, (i), ch. V., especially the section entitled 'Le Régime Foncier.' The same attitude as is described here is found on the part of the Dahomeans toward the spirits of those persons who represent the aboriginal inhabitants of their country.
Next, in the list of Paramaribo deities, come the Kromanti1 gods. These comprise Opôte,2 the vulture; Tigri,3 the jaguar, sometimes called Dystbi or Dyadya; Obia-Kromanti; Nɛ̨ŋgere-kɔ̨ndre Kromanti (African Kromanti); Busi-Kromanti (Bush Kromanti); and unifundrowatra Kromanti (the Kromanti spirits who live under the water).4 The thunder deities, of which we have spoken, are also classed in this Kromanti group. The designation Kromanti, as used in Paramaribo, though often employed as a synonym for ‘African’ gods, is, nevertheless, the name for a distinct category, and seems to relate to warrior and disciplinary elements in nature. Thus comment is made that Kromanti dancing is hɛbi, - ‘difficult’ - that is, ‘strong’, or dangerous. Kromanti devotees are immune to bullet wounds; when they are under possession a knife cannot cut them, thorns cannot lacerate their flesh, or fire burn them, or glass cut them. The Kromanti wʉnti are conceived as powerful spirits, who when they possess human beings, cause them to speak African words not intelligible to the uninitiated. The section on music contains Kromanti songs in the Kromanti language.

In still another category are to be found the gods of the bush. The most dreaded of these are the Akantamasu, who live in anthills. There are thought to be three types of these, - those who live in the ground, those who live in trees, and those who live in holes. Another group of bush-spirits are the Apuku, the little people of the bush. In town, though this name is heard both in reference and in song, the designation for these is also Bakru. There is no uniform opinion, however, that the two are identical. Those who hold that they are make the distinction that there are Bakru whom ‘God’ makes, and those are the Apuku; and there are Bakru whom sorcerers make, and those are the messengers of black magic. Whether we consider these as two groups or one, reference is made to the ‘little people’ in both instances. Belief also exists that there is a group of Apuku who live in the water. This, however, seems to have little currency.

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1 This term is derived from the Gold Coast. It is a well-known fact that one group of slaves were called Coromantines, and there was a kingdom of Coromantyn in the present colony of the Gold Coast. The word is well known in Jamaica and throughout the West Indies. Thus, Edwards, vol ii, p. 75, speaks of ‘the Koromantyn, or Gold Coast, Negroes...’ For an ingenious theory as to the origin of the New World significance of the term see Williams, (I), p. 9.

2 Opôte is a Twi word for vulture, and is in use among the Ashanti-Fanti peoples of the Gold Coast. The sacred character of the vulture is widespread in West Africa and among the New World Negroes. In Dahomey, Togoland, and the Gold Coast the vulture is the messenger who takes sacrifices to the gods; the vulture is sacred in Jamaica; and even in the Sea Islands of the United States to ‘jump Jim Crow’ is to dance a vulture-dance.

3 The leopard is sacred in all of West Africa, where it is often identified with royalty. In Dahomey it is the totem animal of the royal sib and is thus accorded the rank of a powerful deity.

4 These are not to be confused with the river spirits proper.
in general knowledge or in ritual practice, and would appear to be a belief that, at most, is restricted to one group of Negroes.\(^1\) Another of these bush spirits is that of the *kankan tri*, the silk-cotton tree.\(^2\) There are differing opinions as to why this tree is sacred. One view is that it is worshipped as the home of the Earth-Mother, another because the tree itself has a *wunti* known as *Kankan tri wunti*, which at times sends out a ‘fireman’ who is seen as a wave of flame that disappears if someone stands watching it fixedly. Another holds that the silk-cotton tree is important because people who die without having heirs to whom to leave then *wunti* send these *wunti* to live in silk-cotton trees. A fourth is that the tree is sacred only because the Dagowe snake lives in it, and that when food is placed as an offering at the foot of one of these trees, it is not for any spirit in the tree itself, but for the spirit of the *Dagowe*.

These, then, are the principal categories of deities which the Paramaribo Negroes worship. Through matings between these *wunti*, however, there result offspring who give rise if not to categories which are distinctly new, then to new alignments in behavior and function of these resulting gods, since they inherit their powers and attributes from both parents. For the *wunti* are thought of as living in families. The only direct reference to this in the city is to the seven Thunder gods we have named, who are spoken of as ‘*na sebi opruru brada*, - the seven thunder brothers’. In discussing dancing for the snake *wunti*, we shall see the point made that male snakes mate with the Earth gods, and the female snakes with the deities of the Sky.

Some of the *wunti* that are not classifiable under the categories we have mentioned can be comprised under the heading of *Nɛ̨ŋgɛ-re-kɔ̨ndrewɩnti*, - African spirits. Foremost among these is *Leba*, about whom two different concepts exist.\(^3\) One of these is that *Leba* is the god of the cross-roads.\(^4\) The second opinion holds that *Leba* ‘is like a lock against bad spirits’, and that it is a *wunti* left in a tree by some person who either had no children or relatives to whom he might leave the *wunti*, or who did not feel that these children or relatives would worship the *wunti* properly. When such

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1. Possibly the Dahomean *tɔxɔsu* cult is here found merely as a vague tradition; see Herskovits, M.J. and F.S. (I), pp. 29-31.
2. The silk-cotton tree is sacred throughout West Africa, and in Dahomey is revered because the souls of ancestors are held to have taken their residence in them.
3. This bespeaks the fact that in this deity as he is envisaged in Suriname there appears to have been a merging of the attributes given him in the beliefs of two distinct regions in Africa.
wunti consent to leave the family in peace and reside in a tree, they become Leba, and they manifest themselves in the form of tattered old women or, when invisible, are heard in the night as a wind. If a Leba chooses, it can allow evil to enter the yard it guards, just as it can, when it wishes, prevent evil from entering. It is offended by having soiled water thrown at it. At night, inhabitants of a yard go in a roundabout way in order to avoid the particular tree where the spirit is said to reside. The two beliefs merge in the concept of it as a spirit constantly on guard, the one idea being that Leba guards the cross-roads, and the other that he inhabits the yard and keeps evil from it.\footnote{The Haitian Lemba who is Mait’ Bitation, e.g. Master of the Habitation, suggests a parallel, - but in Haiti Legba and Lemba are recognized as distinct deities, the first belonging to the Rada group (Allada-Dahomey-Nago), and the second to the Petro group.} Another of these African wunti is Akabrewa, and still another is called Adyānti-wai̯, sometimes also known as Fire-wunti, because of the fact that, under possession, the devotees of this deity dance in the fire. This, however, would seem to bring this wunti logically into the category of the Thunder-gods.

A person acquires a wunti in one of three ways. Most frequently his wunti comes to him by inheritance; that, is to say, before dying, a man or a woman designates the individual to whom his or her wunti are to go just as he would designate the disposal of any other possessions. Usually, succession in the instance of wunti is from men to men and from women to women, so that a man first wills his wunti to his next eldest brother, and a woman to the sister who follows her. There are, however, exceptions to this manner of passing on the custody and worship of the familial wunti. If an individual, whose death is approaching, has many wunti, - we have heard the fact referred to with pride that an ancestor of one informant had as many as ninety-seven wunti - and the sister or brother in line to succeed is old or ill, such a relative is passed over for someone younger who is physically more capable to perform the rites necessary to worship the family spirits. This need for physical strength in the worship of the wunti is referred to constantly, since dancing is the governing element in this worship. Should that strength be lacking in any one individual, several members of the family are called upon, each to take over several of the wunti to be inherited. In those cases where the person who is about to die is the last of his generation, the wunti are passed to daughters, if it is a woman who is disposing of her inheritance, or to a sister's sons, if it is a man. If a woman has no daughters of her own, her wunti are inherited by her sisters' daughters, though, if she chooses, she may give any of her wunti to her sons. In the same way, a man, if he chooses, may pass down his wunti to his own sons, or even to his daughters. This occurs, in the main, only when there are no proper heirs, and is to be regarded as the exceptional procedure.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
Another way in which a *wanti* is acquired is for a spirit itself to choose the individual whom it wishes to possess. ‘Living with someone doesn't give a person *wanti*, unless the *wanti* likes him. Some people do get then *wanti* that way. Some get theirs at a *wanti* play. This happens when a *wanti* likes a person and decides to come to him.’ When this occurs, it is said that the *wanti* has met and loved the one whom it has chosen, and has decided to stay with him. Thus, when, in family inheritance, the *wanti* goes to someone not in the customary line of succession, such a choice on the part of the god is said to have taken place. However, such a choice by the *wanti*, as is indicated in our informant's statement, need not be within a given family. The spirit may decide to leave the family and go to a stranger, and we ourselves were earnestly warned against memorizing the words of *wanti*-songs and singing them, lest the spirits, flattered by this attention, decide to possess us, and make us their devotees. The choice of worshippers by the *wanti* themselves is said to be occurring with special frequency in more recent times, because the *wanti* are so often dissatisfied with the descendants of their traditional devotees as potential worshippers. This is the case, for example, when the persons in line for succession to a given *wanti* or group of *wanti* have become active members of one of the Christian churches.

The third way in which a person obtains a *wanti* is by *wisi* or *kunu*. A *wanti* which comes to an individual in the first two ways described is friendly to its devotee, and when worshipped properly helps him keep his health, earn a living, gain the good-will of his neighbors, and relish life. But one acquired in this third manner is an evil *wanti*, that seeks to bring its devotee illness, poverty, misfortune, and death. These evil spirits can only be appeased by doing their will, or by getting medicine which will send them away. Those brought to a person through *wisi* are sent at the behest of some enemy. *Kunu*, in town as in the bush, is the vengeance meted out by gods and ancestors for violation of traditional codes of moral behavior. In the city the concept of *kunu* is not as powerful a disciplinary force as it is in the bush, since the belief in its validity is not as strong in Paramaribo as in the interior. Yet even in the city the crime of incest, or that of killing a sacred snake without giving it ritual burial, and of killing by black magic, are held to be punishable by *kunu*. The form this takes is to punish not so much the perpetrator of the crime, as members of his family in the female line, from generation to generation, thus bringing his line to an end, or, at best, seeing his family reduced to poverty. This punishment by *kunu*, for the town Negroes, takes the form of the coming of a *wanti* as an enemy. If a snake is killed, a snake spirit comes; if incest is committed or evil magic employed, any type of *wanti* may come.

In this connection a further point relating to the concept of *wanti* must be made, and that is that a *wanti* may at the same time be
both a good and an evil spirit. The fact is that the logic of the Negroes of Paramaribo holds that no spirit is either good or evil in the absolute sense. This concept of the absence of a spirit which is wholly good or completely evil enters here in a more subtle way. For while it generally follows that a spirit is friendly if it is worshipped, unfriendly if it is neglected, and evil if it has been sent to do evil, a spirit may be temperamentally as inconstant as human beings are inconstant. A whim may make one of them disposed to overlook an offense, and a whim may cause the same spirit to bring accident to a person who has not been guilty of serious neglect. There are werri such as the Akantamasu who may be said to be friendly spirits only in the negative sense; that is, when they are not angered they abide in the deep bush, and allow the person possessed of them to live in peace. But all Akantamasu spirits that are inherited are thought to have originally come into the family as the result of the operation of a kunu.

b) the worship of the werri

We have discussed the nature of the werri, the types of werri that are found, and the manner in which these spirits are acquired. In our consideration of the pattern of their worship, let us first view the phenomenon of the werri as it is thought to manifest itself in the growing child who is a potential devotee of his family's gods. For example, we watched a two-year-old girl playing in the yard where her mother lives, and saw how any vessel filled with water attracted her attention, and how if it was large enough, she climbed into it and splashed about. It was soon said in the yard that when she grew up she would have a strong water Indian (watra, lngi) god, and what at first seemed to be mere pleasantry at the child's attraction for water, soon became apparent as a serious expression of belief. The mother of the child had Indian werri, and though she was not yet obliged to worship it regularly, since her own mother, the child's grandmother, was still alive, the werri had already manifested itself to her, and the opinion was held that if the grandmother lived long enough for the child to be of an age to dance when the grandmother died, the werri would go to the child rather than to the mother of the child. Thereafter when choosing gifts for her little daughter, the mother bought red beads, or figured red prints, or a small red kerchief, since red is sacred to the water gods.

Again, bad tempered children are spoken of as having dormant Tiger spirits, and at times, especially if reference is being made to a boy, this is said with pride. Or if a child behaves badly and breaks things, the mother may say, in disgust, ‘Ah! She's going to have Bakru werri! It must be made clear, however, that praise or blame is not associated only with the werri. For the akra is called upon to take foremost responsibility for personality traits,
and a good-tempered child is generally said merely to have a good ‘kra, or a bad-tempered child to have a bad one. However, no matter what aptitudes for the worship of a given type of wɩnti a child shows either in general behavior, or in special ability to remember and sing the songs of that wɩnti, or to drum its rhythms, or to dance its dance-steps, we know of only one instance where any belief was held in the active presence of a wɩnti in a child under the age of puberty. This case was that of a boy about seven years old, who already was under the influence of a Lɛba spirit. Once a year his mother gives an offering at the cross-roads to the child’s spirit, putting into a calabash a pipe filled with tobacco, some corn, akansa,1 asogri,2 and a torn blouse. If she neglects to do this, then with the coming of the new year the child rolls on the ground and screams, as he had done the first time, two years back, when the presence of his Lɛba spirit was discovered.

Let us give another instance of the manner in which it is discovered that a child, when of age, will be possessed by a god. An informant, whose grandmother was said to have come from Demakuku,3 dreamed, when a young child, that someone came to tell her she would be taken to Africa. They then went together on foot through the bush for a long time, until they came to a ‘big’ house, where hung a ‘big’ bell. A very black, stout woman was sitting there. She wore a black păngi, -tunic- and a colored cloth over her breasts. When our informant awoke and told her mother of her dream, her aunt, who was present, informed them that the informant’s grandmother had Neŋgere-kɔ̀ndre Kromanti wɩnti, - African Kromanti wɩnti - which she would ‘catch’ when she grew up. While still a child, she had had yet another proof that this wɩnti would come to her, for once when she was ill she again dreamed that she was taken to Africa. When she arrived there, she saw several very black men stamping leaves on a mat. These leaves when sufficiently crushed were put in water, and with this water she was washed. When she awoke, she felt better, and soon grew well. This wɩnti, however, did not come to her immediately after these dreams, for, except in rare instances, it is not until after the age of puberty that the person destined to be possessed by a wɩnti actually begins his worship by dancing for it under possession. This

1 See above, p. 15, note 2.
3 We were unable to localise this term in Dahomey, where, according to the Suriname people who spoke of Demakaku, this village is supposed to be located. According to Encyc., p. 1, a reference to ‘Doemakoekoe Negers’ is made by F.W. Hostmann, in volume II, p. 250 of his work entitled ‘Over de beschaving van negers in Amerika door kolonisatie met Europeansen’, published in Amsterdam; 1850, while on p. 638 they are referred to as cannibals.
4 Rattray (V, p. 145), gives the following: ‘Abibirim, Africa, lit., among the blacks, the black man’s country.’ This would explain the Suriname usage of Neŋgere-kɔ̀ndre - ‘Negro country’ - for ‘Africa’.
woman has today six wunti in all; two snake gods, one male and one female, that
came to her from a maternal aunt; this African wunti from her grandmother; Aisa,
Loango, and Papa Ingi from her mother.

How does a person learn the manner of worship of his wunti? Those who have
wunti, when questioned, say no formal instruction is given. When the wunti enters
the individual, it is the spirit itself who sings the songs, speaks the tongues, and
dances the dances. That this is an accepted belief is illustrated by the comments
heard at wunti dances, where if a devotee dances unusually well, it is said ‘Her wunti
dances splendidly.’ Again, when one of the wunti priestesses was induced to sing
some sacred songs for our phonograph, the words never corresponded exactly to
those we ourselves had taken down during the actual ceremonies which this woman
had led. The explanation of this was that at the dance it was the wunti that sang,
while before the phonograph, the priestess could at best only reproduce such
fragments of the songs sung by the gods as remained in her memory. Often, when
asking a man or a woman who was an acknowledged devotee of a wunti to sing the
songs of that wunti, the answer was, ‘I know these songs only when the wunti comes,
because it is the wunti who sings them.’ It must be recognised that in the refusal
often lay the fear that if the songs were sung, possession would come on, as we
have seen it come on when an informant, himself choosing the songs he wished to
sing for the phonograph, sang those of his own wunti.1 It is not strange the belief
exists that in the performance of ritual songs, dances, and drumming, it is the wunti
who perform. Given a situation where the children, from their earliest years, are held
to be potentially capable of possession by a given spirit, and where they have, from
time to time, witnessed the dances, heard the songs, and listened to the
drum-rhythms for the wunti;2 it follows that when the traditionally acceptable time
comes for them to be possessed by these spirits, they dance and sing as a result
of unconscious habituation; not as novices, but as though they were being directed
by a force within them.

This belief in the performance by the wunti itself cannot be said to be universal,
for we have the statement of one man, at least, that he went through formal training
for his wunti. This man, who is now in his late twenties, told how when he was fourteen
years old his mother informed him that he had Arawaki Ingi wunti (an

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1 The fact must not be overlooked that there is also a disinclination to discuss these matters
with a White person because of the fear that the spirit itself would resent such a discussion
with a member of the race that had forbidden wunti dances.

2 Wunti songs are never introduced as work-songs, or sung for diversion. If they are sung while
at work, or about the house, it is either that a ritual is being performed, or that the wunti is
clamoring for worship.
Arawak Indian spirit), saying she had learned of it in a dream. She began to teach him the dance-steps for this wunti, and not until after a year of intermittent instruction was he ready to dance. During this period she also taught him the make-up for the spirit that was to possess him, and the songs to be sung in worshipping it. One other instance which contravenes the general explanation given comes from our own observation. At a wunti dance, as the devotees of the Tap’-Kromanti spirit were dancing under possession, there was one young woman who danced with awkward hesitation. Observing this, the priestess in charge, herself possessed, came over to the young woman and, since speech is forbidden under possession, stepped lightly on the young woman’s foot to call her attention to her presence; then, dancing at her side, showed her the steps and gestures.¹

Let us return to the case of the man who had Arawak Indian wunti, and see what, other than the steps of the dances and the words and melodies of the songs, it was incumbent upon him to know in order to worship his wunti. One factor which entered his life with the coming of the wunti was the observance of its trefu. In his particular case, this necessitated the abstinence from eating beef, or pork, or a certain kind of fish. ‘Na wunti dati a teki da kąŋ fō hɛm ‘asi. - That wunti has taken the cow for its medium.’ No food cooked by a menstruating woman could be eaten by him, for this is the deadliest taboo of all for the wunti. ‘Kwɛti, kwɛti! Nowąn wunti kəŋ nyəm futumən nyəŋyəm. Ef na wunti nyə’ futumən napyəm, a go pori. A no kąŋ wroko moro. - No, no! No wunti can eat food prepared by a menstruating woman. If the wunti eats food prepared by a menstruating woman, it will spoil. It cannot work any more.’ Since red is the sacred color for the Arawak Indian wunti, the new devotee wore about his person something of that color to please his wunti. There was no other ritual of systematised worship, except that when he embarked on a journey, he made a sacrifice of some kind to the wunti, to ask of it support and protection.

Some of the foods that are forbidden by other wunti are as follows: persons who worship the Papa-wunti do not eat plantains or bananas. The Kromanti gods forbid smoking in their presence. ‘Kromanti no lobi smoku. Efu suma smoki pe den dansi Kromanti, da’yu habi tumusi trobi. - Kromanti does not like smoke. If someone smokes where they dance Kromanti, then you have much trouble.’ Those who worship Aisa do not eat the flesh of the peccary, nor of a species of deer described to us as having a spreading hoof. The Tigri devotees refrain from eating meat not freshly killed.

The wunti also prescribe the offerings that are pleasing to them. For example, all wunti demand that the rice given them as sacrifice be

¹ The same technique of instruction is employed in Dahomey, where for each two or three novitiates an older initiated member of the cult dances beside them.
kriori (creole, or native-grown) rice, and not the imported kind. They demand that
the food be cooked with obia-fatu, - oil that comes from indigenous palm trees, and
not imported oil. The Kromanti gods and the ancestors require rum, but to the Earth
gods rum is hateful, and only sweet drinks such as molasses, or syrups, or a mixture
of sugar and the bitter and sweet almond, called ɔrshadi are given, though beer is
also acceptable to them. Each wunti, too, is said to come to a special part of the
body of its devotee, and if angered by neglect, it is that portion of the body that the
wunti attacks when it sets out to bring illness to a follower. Thus, the snake deities,
the Akąntamasu wunti, and the Apuku wunti ‘nyam bere’, - eat the belly; the Opće
‘eats’ the eyes; while the Kromanti wunti attack the head and bring fever to the heart.
Each wunti, in addition, has a color that is sacred to it. White is the color of the
Thunder gods, blue is the Kromanti color. Red is for the Ɩ̨ŋgi gods, brown is for the
Akąntamasu, while Leba, dancing in tatters, wears black or dark brown.

Those who are possessed by the wunti are called, as we have seen, the ‘asi of
the wunti.’ An ‘asi waits for his wunti to manifest its desire to be worshipped before
entering on its ritual. In the city this makes for difficulties, for since early slave days,
the wunti dances have been forbidden. Consequently, in the city of Paramaribo there
is not the freedom to dance for the wunti that exists in the bush, and that the working
out of the system of wunti-worship demands. Among the Bush-Negroes, where this
freedom is had, when a devotee feels his gadō asking for dancing, - this is manifested
by restlessness and nervous tension, - he begins to wash for the spirit, daubs himself
with white clay, and waits until the day of the week sacred to the god to dance. In
Paramaribo this is impossible, and the restrictions have made, among other things,
for the desuetude into which the custom of observing the day sacred to each
individual wunti has fallen, at least insofar as general dancing is concerned. In setting
the day for wunti cures, however, the wuntimàn does wait for the day sacred to the
wunti.

Under recent official rulings, dances have been decreed to be legal in the city four
times a year. One of these legalized dances is held the first of July to celebrate the
emancipation of the Negroes from slavery; another the first part of August, in
celebration of the

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1 ‘Asi is literally translated as ‘horse’ by Paramaribo Negroes who are asked its meaning, and
they say that it denotes the one who ‘carries’ the wunti. Some persons add to this the meaning
‘servant’, i.e., of the wunti. However, the word is identical with the Fɔ̨-Ewe word for ‘wife’, - asi
- which, in Togo and Dahomey, is employed in religious terminology to denote ‘wives of the
gods’, i.e., worshippers. Thus, a follower of Mawu is called Mawusi, one of Legba, Ṭṣụṣi.
On the Gold Coast, the Ashanti employ the term oponko, ‘horse’ for worshipper, hence the
telescoping of the Fɔ̨-Ewe word, and the Ashanti usage into the word ‘asi, which is
Negro-English for ‘horse’, accounts for the translation so often given.
birthday of the Queen-Mother of Holland; the third, during which the most important \textit{wunti} plays of the year take place, is held in celebration of the Queen's birthday, and on this occasion the festivities cover a period of about a week; the fourth celebrates the end of the year, and occurs the last week in December. There are those who dance for their \textit{wunti} at each of these dances, - who, in fact, appear every night and dance as long as the dances go on. Since giving a dance for the \textit{wunti} involves expense, many persons dance only at one of these dances, or at a series of dances given during one of these legally sanctioned intervals. There are other people, however, whose \textit{wunti} are not appeased even though they dance for them at all of these four annual dance-cycles. Such \textit{wunti} demand further dancing during the year. Those who can afford to indulge their \textit{wunti} in their desire to be thus worshipped frequently go up the river and either dance on one of the plantations, where the prohibitions of the city do not exist, or better still, arrange for a dance in worship of their own \textit{wunti} somewhere in the bush away from the city. This last, of course, is most costly of all, for it involves not only paying the drummers and buying all the sacrifices to the person's own \textit{wunti}, but also furnishing the things needed to propitiate the Earth-Mother and other Earth gods as well as the god of the cross-roads, all of whom must have their sacrifices in order that the \textit{wunti} be allowed by them to come and dance, and evil spirits be kept at bay. Finally, those who hold a dance must sacrifice to the ancestors so these may share the offerings and the dances for the ancestral \textit{wunti}.

If the '\textit{asi}' who is troubled by an insistent \textit{wunti} cannot afford to provide his god with one of these costly special dances, and his \textit{wunti} is amenable to persuasion, he gives an offering of food, and asks for its forbearance until such time as he can find the means to worship it properly. If it is not willing to wait, he arranges for a surreptitious \textit{wunti} dance in his own yard or in that of the \textit{wuntiman}, and provides an ordinary bass drum, or more probably a calabash upturned in a basin of water. A reasonable \textit{wunti} accepts the exigencies of the situation which demand the use of a substitute for the sacred drum, and is appeased when its '\textit{asi}' dances to it. It is also possible for a devotee who is troubled by his \textit{wunti} to come and dance at a special dance that another provides for the curing of an illness brought on by \textit{wunti}, for, except at those dances that are held away from the city, the \textit{wunti}-cures but rarely take place at these four stated dancing-periods. As one informant put it, 'After the Queen's birthday, I will have to see to the pacifying of my \textit{wunti}. On the Queen's day each one looks after his own, the \textit{wuntiman}, too.'

It is said that there are certain types of \textit{wunti}, - the bad \textit{wunti}, as they are called - which must be worshipped away from the city. It should be noted, however, that when an informant is asked

\begin{footnote}{Recently deceased.}\end{footnote}
to define the word ‘bad’ in describing a wunti, he tells that a ‘bad’ wunti is one that asks for many sacrifices and clamors for much dancing, so that its worship is especially costly. In this group are the Tigri wunti, who demand animal sacrifice; the Kąnkąntri wunti, whose ‘asi climb trees and dance in their branches; Sofia Bada, the most dreaded of the Thunder gods; the Akantamasu, who makes those whom it possesses foam at the mouth and become violent if angered; some of the Watra Łŋgi wunti, who insist that their ‘asi enter the water, and are not satisfied when their devotees simulate the motions of creatures that inhabit the water; and the Kromanti wunti, who dance with cutlasses, and cause their ‘asi to enter groves of thorny trees during the state of possession. It is also felt that the important African wunti are not pleased when their devotees appear in all the clothes that city dancing requires. Hence, the worshippers of these wunti, too, see to it that they dance away from Paramaribo.

The make-up and dress for dancing in the ‘small bush’ differs from that of the dances in the city. The dancers in Paramaribo, if they are men, wear the European clothes that are usual to men, and the women wear koto-yaki, or simple cotton dresses, though the latter are worn because of poverty rather than choice. Women wear kerchiefs on their heads, and men wear theirs tied about the waist or worn about the neck. A man who wears his kerchief about his waist shows that he is possessed by a female wunti, for this is the sign of female dress as a substitute for the complete female attire which would characterise his costume if he were dancing away from the city. When dancing, shoes are thrown off and are picked up by the person who comes to look after the one dancing for his wunti. Make-up is at times seen at the dances in the city, though it is more customary not to find it there. When make-up is used, it takes the form of whitening the face with pcbba doti; - sacred white clay - for Tap'-Kromanti; of marking blue or black stripes on the face, or two white spots high on the cheek bones, with blue spots near the eyes, for the Snake gods; of painting black and white spots on the face and white over the eyes for the Tiger; and of placing red on face and arms for the Indian wunti. The koto-yaki is at times discarded in the frenzy of possession, as are a man's trousers and shirt, and when this happens a woman dances clothed in a striped pąŋgi which, if her means permit, she buys especially for the dance, to honor her wunti, while a man dances in his loin cloth. This occurs but seldom at dances held in Paramaribo itself, because of a fear that discovery will lead to the revocation of the license to hold dances, and to the confiscation of the drums.

1 In the Suriname bush and in West Africa generally a large kerchief folded triangularly and knotted about the waist with the widest part at the back, is the sign that the wearer is a married woman. Therefore, in Dahomey, all vodũnsi, - ‘wives’ of the god - wear this, even though they be men.
How do the dances held in the ‘small bush’ differ from those held in the city? The women wear pąŋgi (tunics), and cloths tied about the breasts, while the men wear loin cloths, unless they are possessed by female wɩnti, when they dress as do the women. Those who dance for Tap'-Kromanti have their faces, throats, and arms whitened with sacred clay. The dancers for Aladi, the Thunder god, whiten their faces and legs, wear a white cloth, and dance with a saŋgrafu stick, looking up toward the sky as they dance. For the ñgi dancers, the face and sometimes the entire upper portion of the unclothed body is painted with red kuswe, a pigment obtained from the fruit of a tree of that name. Red kerchiefs are worn by these dancers or a red band is placed about the head, while pins are thrust through the lips. A band, often of human hair, is worn below the knee, or a red band of cloth is used in its place, while others tie strips of red cloth on the upper arm or on the wrists. Those who dance for the snake-gods spot their faces and arms with pɛmba, - white sacred clay - and black, or blue pigment or they paint white spots on the cheek-bones, and blue circles about the eyes. For the Tiger dances, the make-up consists of black and white markings on the face, or on the face and on the exposed portions of the body as well.

The essential differences between the dances held away from the city and those which take place in Paramaribo lie not so much in the manner of dress or make-up as in the type of dancing, in the offerings to the wɩnti, and in the activities of those in a state of possession who are not dancing. One dance described was said to have continued for a period of eight days, and many of those who came to dance the first day remained for the entire time, dancing every day. Those who danced were, as always, accompanied by friends or relatives who took them in charge while they were under possession. The participants brought food for the duration of their stay, and cooking utensils. The dance was held in a large clearing, roofed over for the occasion with pina, - palm-leaf thatch. On benches and boxes brought by the dancers and their friends sat dancers and onlookers. About the dancing-space were many small huts, some of them no larger than kennels. To one side was the music; three drums, the kwakwa bench, on which the basic rhythm of the dance was beaten, people with rattles, and a man who held the two pieces of iron which must be beaten for all Kromanti dances. The priestess had already, during the first afternoon,

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2 Bixa orellana L. Fam. Bixaceae (Encyc., p. 140).
3 Blue and black have a single designation in most of the languages of the West Coast of Africa.
4 Tigri (Tiger) is the European word that, in New World Negro dialects and in pidgin-English and pidgin-French in West Africa, is used for the largest feline of the respective regions; in West Africa the leopard is so termed, in Suriname, the jaguar.

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gone through the necessary ceremonies to propitiate the gods who were to come, and now, as the dancers sat on their boxes or stood leaning against the posts of the improvised shelter, she went about the space cleared for dancing, pouring water out of a calabash she held in her hand. This was ‘to bring the wompi’. After the drums had been playing for a few minutes and the singing had got under way, people began to sway in their places as they clapped their hands in time to the rhythms of the drums. ‘When the wompi get good, they run in the middle.’ This was done individually by those who became possessed, and possession came only to those who had the wompi that was being called by the drums and the songs. Those who had other wompi sat waiting for their own gods to be called, for there is no rigid precedence in the order of calling the wompi. However, since it was the first day of the ceremony, the opening dances were for the ancestors, the Earth gods, and the god of the cross-roads. Old and young danced; among the youngest were two women about sixteen years old. One woman, big with child, supported her abdomen by tying a red kerchief about herself, and danced with the rest. ‘She dance later for the Dogowe, rolling on the ground,’ said our informant, and added, ‘and woman like she has the baby better than me sitting in one place.’

Eight days before this ceremony, those who were planning to dance Tigri (the jaguar), bought animals to sacrifice to the wompi. These animals, which could have been dogs, fowls, or goats, were sent on ahead to the place where the dance was to be held, and this was done in order to kasiri, or purify, them. No special food was given them; the animals were simply kept away from surroundings which might have polluted them. At the dance, when the Tigri spirit was called, those to whom possession came danced for it. As soon as the wompi ‘danced strong’, the animals were led into the clearing among the possessed dancers. Those who brought goats ‘rode the goats’, and all the animals were stalked from behind in the manner in which the feline whose spirit was being worshipped attacks his prey. Since jaguars are said to drink the blood of their prey, those possessed drank the blood of the sacrifices, and when the devotees ate the animals, which they tore open, they ate skin and hair, or feathers, if the animals attacked were chickens. The important parts of the sacrificial animals are the brain, the heart, the liver and the genitals, and these were eaten first. What was left by the ‘Tigers’ was thrown to one side, and this was later eaten by those possessed by Opste (vulture) wompi.

Another generalised description of this kind of ceremony may be paraphrased as follows: An ’asi who is preparing to dance for his wompi ‘washes’ for the dance with the contents of a basin in which there is either orshadi, rum, or beer, abonga seeds, and red, blue or white cotton. He also drinks orshadi, rum, or beer, according to his wompi’s preference, and eats pemba doti. Let us say the drums
begin to call Tigri wunti, and Tigri songs are sung. Those who have Tigri wunti are soon in the center of the space, one joining the other as possession comes on. Those who are not dancing sing the songs, if they know them. There is at least one dog and one fowl for those who are possessed, and any stray dog that appears is seized and added to these animals, though many provide their own dogs or fowls. A man or a woman seizes the dog or the fowl, - the dog is held by the hind legs, head down - and tears the animal open. All others come forward to drink the blood. In five minutes they have torn it 'like a kerchief'. The flesh and bones are thrown to one side, and the Opete wunti later come and eat this. This dance may take place during the day or the night, and if the dancers continue two or three days or nights, this ceremony recurs as often as the Tigri play\(^1\) is on; three Tigri intervals are the usual number for a long dance. The Dagowe wunti also is given an animal sacrifice, but for Dagowe only the dog is used, and when the sacrifice is made, those under possession eat the flesh. When the music begins to play Watra lngi, many among the dancers who are possessed run to the river and disappear for a half-hour or more. The drums must not stop playing until they come back, for if they were to stop, those in the water would drown. The devotees of the Watra lngi wunti who do not go to the river, dance imitating the Indians. The dancers for Opete wunti move their arms so fast you might think they would break, but it doesn't hurt them. Under possession, the Opete go forth to find dead creatures or tainted meat, and eat these. Those who are possessed by the Kromanti spirits dance in fire under the strength of their possession, for nothing can cut, or wound, or lacerate a 'let', let' Kromanti wunti, - a true Kromanti spirit'. The dogs in the kennels are male for one wunti and female for another. The rest of the low houses are used all during the dance; couples drift in and out all the time, and several at a time, but 'they don't want you to see what they do with the animals.'\(^2\)

The point has been made that the essential mode of worship of the wunti is dancing for it, and that the need to dance for the wunti manifests itself in possession. It will make for clarity in understanding the phenomenon of possession as it exists in Paramaribo, and the attitudes toward it, if we cite specific instances we ourselves witnessed.

One of the possessions we saw was that of a woman in her early twenties, who was on her way to market.\(^3\) She was alone, and as

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1 In Nigeria, as in Suriname, the word 'play' is usually employed for 'dance' or 'ceremony'. Cf. Talbot, (II), vol. ii and iii, passim.
2 Since no informant would admit having been inside one of these houses, it was not possible for us to determine what occurs there.
3 Whether it is chance that the instances we cite occurred a short time before the sanctioned period of dancing in Paramaribo, we cannot say, for our stay in the colony coincided with this time.
she walked, her body shook and trembled, and the muscles of her face twitched. She talked as she went on, greeting in the name of her wunti those who passed her, announcing her wunti’s ‘strong’ names, and her own ‘strong’ name. She was possessed by the Papa god. Before she reached the market, her trembling became more violent, and suddenly she fell to the ground and began crawling and rolling face downward. She emitted falsetto sounds, which turned into shrieks when some women tried to bring her to her feet. A crowd soon gathered, and an old woman who herself had a Papa god came from the market with something for her to drink. After several minutes, in which all those who surrounded the woman showed anxiety lest the police come, she was lifted into a passing automobile and taken home. Those, however, who did not know the woman sufficiently well to be concerned whether the police came or not, joked about the incident, for though according to religious belief the wunti alone was accountable for this performance, the actual situation presented an amusing scene in the marketplace which was well relished.

This latter attitude toward the phenomenon of possession we have seen expressed during the tensest moments of a dance, and illustrates a fundamental point of view toward worship. The sense of immediacy which frequent possession by the wunti engenders, though it gives an experience of the most valid kind to those who go through it, brings with it neither sanctimoniousness nor solemnity. This is evidenced also in the directness of the prayers that are sung or spoken, in the reasoning with the wunti whose wants are too exacting, in the tradition of calling upon the wunti’s sense of fair play in difficult times to induce it to forego demands it has made for dancing or sacrifices. The wunti, indeed, partake of much of the character of human beings, and while they are respected and feared, little of awe enters into their worship, except in times of stress, when the spirits show themselves implacable.¹

Another case of possession occurred on the street near our hotel. The possessed woman was brought into the courtyard, threw herself on the ground, and lay moaning and foaming at the mouth. In this instance, possession was by the Akɔntamasu, god of the ant hill. However, the woman had a strong alcoholic breath, and this puzzled the bystanders for a moment, for they could not decide whether intoxication or possession was the cause of the attack. But the white foam at the mouth was for them an unmistakable sign that it was the latter, and the alcoholic breath was at once attributed to the fact that under the malign influence of this particular god the possessed woman had been drinking. This time there was very little levity on the part of the bystanders, for the Akɔntamasu wunti is

¹ We have found the same attitude toward the gods among Negroes in the Suriname bush, in the West Indies, and in West Africa itself.
dreaded by those who have it, and when it manifests itself, calls forth a feeling of pity. A woman who herself had many *wunti* brought water for the possessed one, and soothed her with gentle speech, bathing her hair and face. Recovery from this possession was slow; the woman whose god had seized her lay in the courtyard for more than an hour before she regained consciousness. Finally, however, she was brought to her feet, and with the aid of several of the women who had remained with her, was taken home. She looked physically exhausted, but it was explained that ‘A *sa kisi hem srefi te a kaba dansi fɔ ’a wunti*. - She will recover after dancing for her *wunti*.’

The third instance of possession not brought on during ritual dancing occurred in our room, while we were working on tales and songs with an informant. Two of the songs which he had given as *kɔt’ sŋgi* were Kromanti songs, and as he sang them on the phonograph, he became extremely nervous. He asked for a cigar, and chewed it as he went on to tell two ghost stories. Then he got up and began pacing the floor, until he suddenly turned and asked for a Bush-Negro drum, which he knew we had collected in the interior, saying he wanted to sing into the phonograph with a drum accompaniment. As soon as he had finished these songs, which he sang loudly, the drum was taken from him with the explanation that it was too late to record any more songs, for he was then fully possessed, and the situation demanded that he be calmed.\(^2\) The drum obviously fascinated him, for he stood looking at it fixedly, and then he walked toward it. He himself, however, did not wish to allow his possession to get out of bounds, and he stood beside it struggling for self-control against the new African *kɔmfo* that troubled him. This *kɔmfo*, when once calmed and made at home by his *akra*, - it was at the time being opposed by his soul in taking possession of the informant, because this *kɔmfo* would become his *basi-wunti*, his governing *wunti*, - would make of him an important priest. The time had not yet come to see to its calming, however. The following day, when we discussed this possession with him, he explained that it is possible to check the coming on of possession by taking measures to allay the restlessness of the troubling *wunti* with a promise of a future dance. Within a day we had an opportunity of verifying this, for both he and his aunt, who had told us in advance that they would not dance at a certain ceremony to which they escorted us, actually did not dance.\(^3\)

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1 These songs are used to ‘cut’ Anansi stories. See pp. 142-144.
2 As a matter of fact, by this time a crowd had collected in the street in front of the hotel, and the talk ran that White people were dancing for their *wunti*. Our gratitude goes once more to Miss Gans for her forbearance in this, as in other situations incidental to ethnological inquiry.
3 This is practised in Haiti as well, where a worshipper will *marre* his *mait’ tete*, i.e. bind his controlling deity, before going to a dance at which he does not wish to be possessed.
The woman remained seated beside us, though when her own wunti were called, she did not participate in the singing. The man, hearing his wunti called, rose and paced back and forth on the road which flanked the yard where the dance was held, and the people who watched him go shook their heads and laughed. They knew the symptoms of possession, and were scornful of his attempt to frustrate his wunti.

When possession occurs without the necessary preparation for dancing, it is because the wunti is forcing its wishes to become known. In other words, it is a sign that the wunti has been angered because of improper worship, and since what the wunti exacts is, above all, dancing for it, - the offerings which are a part of the necessary preparation for the wunti-dance accompany such dancing as a matter of course - sudden possession comes when its 'asi has either denied the wunti expression through dancing, or has not given it full release.

c) wunti maladies and wunti cures

There are other ways, often more drastic than through possession, that a wunti makes known its displeasure. It may make its 'asi so ill-tempered that he will tear his own clothes to shreds and break whatever is in his house. It may even cause its 'asi to steal, in order to obtain money necessary to provide the proper offerings and the necessities utilised when preparing for a dance. It will, above all, bring illness to the individual himself and to members of his family. The sequence of any of these punishments is not fixed, for any of them may occur in a more or less aggravated form as a first sign of displeasure, this depending largely upon the powers attributed to the wunti itself. When such misfortunes occur, it is usual for the more immediate members of the family to call together the more distant relations to discuss what should be done. At such times, contributions are made to enable the family to satisfy the familial wunti. An attempt may be made to have a wuntimán call the wunti to reason with the spirit on behalf of the family, and to offer it some small sacrifices to appease it temporarily. If the wunti refuses to be pacified on those terms, a wunti-play is given in order to cure the person who is being troubled. This ritual is called seti wunti, - pacifying the wunti.

Before discussing wunti curing, let us return to the informant who was being claimed by an African kɔmfo as its 'asi for an example of how the need for such a cure arises. This wunti came from Demakuku, in Africa,¹ and is traced by our informant through five generations of his ancestry. 'It is not a little one,' he said of it proudly, though at the time he knew but little about it, - only, in

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¹ See p. 71, note 3.
Plate XIV. Men from Bush and Town.
Writing produced under a state of possession by Witi.

Plate XV.

Normal handwriting of the same individual:

Abi na dide
Jerman hari man
Botma piteke a na je piteke

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
fact, that it did not drink rum, but wished sweet liquors, and that it troubled him when he worked for other people, especially when those others were men darker than himself. One of the things he does under possession, and which he did when he was possessed in our hotel room, is to write the language of his wunti. We reproduce a sample written while in a state of possession. Since leaving Suriname, we have had several letters from him which contained this writing, included, he explained, as a greeting from his wunti to us. Objectively considered, the symbols he employs are consistent, and we have seen him write them with ease. He has not yet solved for himself the meaning of this writing, for he still questions us about the peoples in Africa who know how to write, though he assures us that once the wunti is pacified, it will make known to him the meaning of the symbols, and their origin.

This man's difficulties in having his wunti pacified are many. Most important of all is that of getting the money necessary to engage a wuntiman to do this pacifying, and to provide for the essentials of such a ceremony. This should cost about fifty guilders, a sum still beyond his reach. In addition, in his present condition he has a grave distrust of the lukumàn, feeling that once they discover how powerful a wunti it is, they may give him medicine to 'spoil' it, and thus eliminate a powerful rival. Moreover, since this wunti, powerful as it is, would become the basi wunti, the master of all the wunti whose devotee he is, his akra sees in it a challenge to its own power over the man, for a powerful wunti such as this would seek to subordinate the will of the akra to its own will, and therefore, the akra is reluctant to yield it the right to take possession of the man.

What constitutes a wunti cure? All curing, whether of possession such as we have described, or of illness, includes in its regime the need of bathing the body. This bathing is said to 'cool' the body, and the phrase 'to cool' means 'to set at peace'. Each individual wunti has herbs which are especially sacred to it. These are put in water, and to this is added white chalk, washing blue (to represent indigo), African pepper and other ingredients according to the wunti that is to be 'washed for'. Among these sacred herbs are the sąŋgrafu, mąnu-sneki wiwiri, uma-sneki wiwiri, blaka-umą wiwiri,2 kɔrsu wiwiri, aneisi wiwiri, abɔ̨ngra seeds, and sibi wiwiri. The person to be washed is stripped, and the washing is done either with a black or a white cock, used as a sponge, or some bread is employed for the same purpose. 'Bread is more better, because bread come from the skin of God.' If a cock is used, it is killed after the ceremony, and, as is the case when divining is done at a wunti-dance, if its testicles are white the omen is held favorable and the person under treatment will be cured, but if black, the person will

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1 Plate XV.
not recover. After this washing, and before a cure can be effected, the wunti must be worshipped with dancing. While it is best that dancing be done by the person possessed by the wunti, it is not unusual, especially where the patient is too old, or too ill, or has become so Europeanised that he is not familiar with the proper dance-steps, to find someone else to dance for him. Most frequently this other is the wuntimán, who, as priest of the wunti, may be either a man or a woman.

Not all the wunti can be dealt with so simply. We were told the story of a woman who is unable to dance for her wunti because her husband is a pastor of one of the Christian churches. The wife’s wunti so dislikes the husband that it harasses him and even threatens to kill him. This woman is described as handsome, and as a good wife when her wunti does not trouble her, but she becomes violent when her wunti comes, and she was once known to have struck her husband so hard a blow on the head while under the influence of the wunti that he was in the hospital for some weeks. Sometimes her wunti, in anger, puts the children out on the road in the rain, and the husband seldom dares enter his house when he finds his wife possessed by her wunti. When the wunti leaves her, she has no memory of having done any of these things. And the belief of most Negroes in Paramaribo is that if those, who like this woman give their wunti no outlet in dancing, persist in their course, they will go insane. This, in fact, is the Paramaribo Negro’s explanation of insanity, as given us by more than one informant. And though most often this is deplored, we have heard the fact mentioned with astonishment mingled with admiration that there are some who take up the religion of the Europeans so fervently that, in spite of their knowledge that insanity is in store for them, they still refuse to dance for the wunti. This power of the wunti to punish those who refuse to worship it is never questioned, and the conviction gives rise to a number of folkloristic beliefs.

A favorite theme of this folkloristic type has to do with the case of a policeman who was sent by the authorities to stop a wunti-dance. It is told that upon hearing the drums play, his own wunti possessed him. Stripping off his clothes, he joined the circle of dancers, and danced not only all that night, but remained at the wunti-play until its end five days later. Another tale concerns a woman in the colony, who, to all appearances, is white. She came to a dance to satisfy her wunti, and when the wunti possessed her, she turned black, and remained black until her wunti was appeased. Then, slowly, the deep pigmentation faded out and she was once more white. Still another story concerns a White woman whom a White man brought to see a wunti-dance. When the drums played for the Snake gods, the wunti seized her. She began to tremble and to twitch like the others who were possessed, and pulling out the hat-pins from her hat, flung them and the hat into the bush, and joined
the dancers, rolling on the ground as did the devotees of the snake. ‘It was the wunti dancing. That's why she knew how.’ So strong is this belief, that White people who are interested in the cult of the wunti are themselves said to be possessed of a spirit of which they may know nothing. In their own homes, belief holds, White people give wunti-dances, but so disguised that only the expert eyes of the servants, who know what wunti is, recognise them as such. For instance, instead of wunti drums, snare-drums are used, and the violin and such other instruments as complete the White man's orchestra are substituted for rattle and gong. But after the dancing, which is but ordinary party-dancing of the White people, is in full swing, it becomes wunti-dancing, and the special evidence in one such case cited was that some of the women present wore red petticoats!

In all situations which arise out of the unfriendliness of a wunti toward his ‘asi and the family of the ‘asi, it is important to deal with the wunti amicably. Those who, let us say, choose insanity for themselves rather than ‘serve the Devil’ are thought to be selfish, for, in accepting insanity for themselves, they are by no means ridding the family of the wunti which, deserted, becomes an enemy, and will seek to enter the body of one member after another.

Those about to die, therefore, who wish to prevent the harassing of their descendants by unfriendly wunti, call upon their wunti to name the price at which they will withdraw from the family and leave it in peace. Mothers, especially, do this to save such of their children for whom belief in wunti has lost its old validity. These negotiations with the wunti are called meki wą sweri, - ‘swearing an oath’ - or as an informant whose English was excellent, said, ‘Making a contract with the wunti.’

Through the wuntimán, the wunti is asked to name its own conditions upon which it will consent to release the family. A woman, then, let us say, who wishes a wunti to leave the family at her death, and the wuntimán who is to question the wunti are seated on benches. The wuntimán, with rattle and to the accompaniment of drums, brings the wunti into that part of the body of the woman where the wunti is localised. The wuntimán addresses the wunti: ‘Your ‘asi is getting old. She has no one to whom to leave you. She wishes to pay you to leave her children in peace. I am here to find out what payment you ask.’ The answer may be that the wunti demands a dinner, or a big feast, or liquor, - some wunti are less exacting than others. The wunti is also asked where it wishes to be sent. Usually, the place it elects

1 This tendency on the part of wunti-worshippers to infer their own kind of belief from behavior that has nothing to do with the wunti is illustrated by the question asked us by one informant who wanted to know what kind of wunti the Negroes of the United States worship. On being told that they are Christians, he exclaimed, ‘But I saw a wunti dancing in your country!’ Further questioning brought out the fact that, at the cinema, he had seen the Charleston danced.
to enter is a tree, and the tree preferred is the *kankantri*. A person who is thoughtful of his neighbors does not leave his *wunti* in a tree in the city, but sends it to a *kankantri* on the outskirts of the city.

When the *wunti* called *Adyantî-wai* was called to name the conditions upon which it would release a woman, it expressed the wish to leave the colony and to go back to Africa. 'They made a little corial, and they put in a bottle of beer, some *switi sopi* (liqueurs), some *orshadi*, rice, *Ngëgë këndre pepre*, some white, blue, and red cotton, about an ell of each, and thirty-two cents (Dutch). At night, the little corial was taken in a boat to the harbor. ¹ We waited for the falling tide, and the *wuntimăn* said, "We made an oath that you would leave the body of your *asi Afi* now. She is getting old. Her children do not care to serve you. We are giving you the payment you asked for. It is here in the corial. You are in the corial. We beg you to go back to your own country. We beg you to leave the family of this *asi* in peace." Then they put the corial in the water, and it floated out to sea in the direction of Africa.

No *wunti* that comes to a family as a *kuno* can, however, be disposed of in this manner.

d) a *wunti*-dance

Our description of *wunti*, thus far, has been based largely on accounts given us in discussions of *wunti*. In this section we shall describe one of the *wunti*-dances we ourselves witnessed. For this purpose we have chosen a dance where, returning the day after its occurrence, we had the opportunity to discuss the ceremonies with the priestess in charge, and to record many of the songs which had been sung in the course of the dance.

This dance was held in one of the larger Paramaribo yards, situated at a cross-roads, one of the cabins of which was occupied by the *wuntimăn* - in this case a woman. The yard had been carefully swept, and benches lined the space reserved for the dancers. Food had already been given to the *Grô-Mama* of the yard. Food had also been offered at the cross-roads for *Leba*, for the *Kromanti* gods, and for other Earth spirits who were coming from a distance. At the river, food had been offered for the *Watra Ingi*, the river gods. The dance, which had been scheduled for four in the afternoon, was slow in getting under way, and did not actually begin until six o'clock. When we arrived at four o'clock, the priestesses were washing for the *wunti*, and dressing in their ceremonial clothes. The drums were not as yet in evidence. After a time, three women came out of one of the small houses that lined the yard; each held a

¹ This is at the mouth of the Suriname river, some miles away from Paramaribo.
calabash in her hand, and made the tour of the yard, sprinkling some of its contents at the places sacred to the spirits of the yard, and in the four directions of the compass. The first of these calabashes held rum, the second was filled with beer, and the third had ‘sweet things’, - molasses, this last especially being for the deities of the Earth.

The drums were brought out, one by one, and placed in position at one end of the rectangular dance-clearing, nearest to the cabin of the priestess. There were five drums used, which we illustrate. The largest of these drums was the agida, played both with the hand and with a stick. The next in size, longer but not nearly as large in girth, was the man drɔ̃m, which was also played with a stick, since its drum-head is not large enough to permit the player to employ his hands. A third drum was the podyo, and the other two apinti, one small one which, with carved foot, was decorated with the designs to be seen in white on its surface. This is, ritually, the most important drum of the battery, and is played with the hands only. Such was the vigor with which the players, themselves possessed as the ceremony continued, drummed on it, that the day following the dance the finger-tips of the principal drummer were quite raw. During the time he was playing, however, he gave no evidence that the state of his hands was giving him any discomfort, although the next day he was in evident pain. In addition to these drums, a hardwood bench was brought out. When beaten with two sticks, this makes the percussion instrument called the kwakwa, which, with the agida drum, is utilised in keeping the basic rhythm of the dances. If no hardwood bench is available, it is sufficient to have a small empty packing box. The sound is sharp, and pierces through the notes made by the drums. Rattles, - two of them, in this wunti-dance, were brought out, and two pieces of iron, one struck against the other, called isri naŋga isri, - iron

1 Plate XVI. For a discussion of Suriname drums, see Encyc., art. 'Muziek-Instrumenten en Muziek,' pp. 494-499.
2 While an exact West African equivalent in terminology for this drum has not been found, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the crooked drumsticks used to beat the great drums in Dahomey are called agida. The details of the drum, as seen in our illustration, are the same as Dahomean, Haitian and Ashanti drums.
3 The Ashanti talking-drums, which are the same in general construction and the manner in which the drum-head is attached to the drums as the Suriname apinti drums, are called mprintln. A Yoruba drum, described by Talbot (II, iii, p. 814) as a 'short, single-skin drum, beaten between the knees, and especially used at feasts, etc.' is called apinti.
4 The rattle is of great importance. In the Suriname Bush, a rattle accompanying songs can bring on possession even if the drums are not playing, while in Dahomey, a cult-center could not carry on the rituals essential to worship were it without a rattle. We have never seen any African ceremony, in Guiana, the West Indies, or West Africa, where rattles were not indispensable.
with iron. The drums at these dances are played by men; but it seems indifferent whether a man or a woman strikes the kwakwa, and several times in the dance we are describing, when the player failed to play the proper rhythm, the priestess took the sticks away from him and herself beat out the time which set the note for the drums to follow, in the correct invocation to the god. The rattles were played only by women. The music was completed by hand-clapping and singing. The singing was done, in the main, by a chorus of women who, as the followers of the officiating priestess, were familiar with the songs. Both men and women joined in clapping their hands in time to the rhythms of song and drums, and when some favorite melody was introduced by the priestess, the volume of sound swelled.

This was the first wunti-play of the Queen's birthday cycle, and drew many of the older people because the drummers for the occassion were Brosi negere, members of a group identified in the mind of the townspeople as stemming directly from Africa. Some of those who acted as drummers were boatmen who had come to town from their home in the coastal 'small bush' country to take part in the boat-races that mark the festivities of the occasion. Among them was an old man who was a renowned wuntiman of that region. In this dance he did not become possessed, but he directed the playing of the drums, himself playing the agida or the apinti.

The drums in place, people slowly gathered, but there was no hurry to begin the ceremonies. Young boys took up one drum or another to try their skill with a tentative rhythm; sometimes two or three of these children played together, occasionally corrected by an older man, himself a drummer. From time to time a man who was to play a drum tested it, tightening the cords that held the drum-head, until he was satisfied that its tone was properly pitched. As the drums were tried, more people were attracted by the sound, until, as the rapid dusk deepened, there were enough persons present to occupy all the wooden boxes and benches that surrounded the cleared dancing-space, and behind them was a thin fringe of persons who were standing. A few lanterns were brought out, the

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1 These represent the gong, an African musical instrument also important ceremonially, the distribution of which is wide over the continent.
2 This is also the rule in West Africa, though neither in Paramaribo nor Africa was its observance as strict as among the Bush-Negroes, where derision greets the very idea of a woman playing a drum.
3 We have never, in the ceremonies of the town Negroes, seen men play rattles, although among the Bush-Negroes, in Haiti, and in West Africa, they are played by both men and women.
4 This appellation, 'Brosi Negroes', is significant in the light of the following quotation concerning the people of the Warri district of Nigeria: 'The slaves... are principally composed of the natives... who are called at Bonny the Brass-country negroes, from the circumstances of the... large brass pans, taken from Europe to Bonny, being requisite for this particular trade.' (Talbot, II, i. p. 327).
drummers seated themselves, gave their drums a final adjustment, and swung into the rhythm of the first song.

The priestess went about the cleared space greeting those present. She knew who would dance and who would not. Those who had come belonged to the particular group of *wonti* worshippers of which she was the leader, though any stranger whose *wonti* came to him could, without exciting any astonishment, enter the cleared dancing-space, and dance for it. The group gathered was, nevertheless, scrutinised for adherents of a rival *wontiman*. This was done casually, and so much as a matter of course that the actual incident was in the nature of welcoming friends who were present, and making certain that some of the younger devotees, who were under the priestess' special tutelage, had already arrived. It is true, nevertheless, that *wonti* worshippers have their special *wonti* groups with whom they share this worship. This seems to go down in families, and may possibly reflect some early recognition of African affiliations. Whether this is altogether borne out or not, a native of Paramaribo hesitates to go to a *wonti*-dance given by a group with which he is not affiliated, for only those of our informants who belonged to families associated with the group giving the dance we are describing were to be seen here. When we suggested to others that we might see them at this dance, they either laughed and said they would come and watch, or said frankly that they had their own groups, and would take us to their own dances. One elderly woman, indeed, went so far as to exclaim, 'What would I be doing at that *wontiman*'s dance?'

Those who were seated on the benches and boxes, - many of the latter were brought by the people who came - were the *wonti*-worshippers and their friends or relatives, and all of them were expected to participate in the singing. Some of those who came brought bottles of beer or of rum, but notwithstanding this, possession was not superinduced by the drinking of strong liquor. From time to time, a drink of rum was given the drummers, but those who were possessed did not indulge, and there was no instance of anything approaching intoxication on the part of anyone at the dance. Indeed, it is safe to say that as much beer and liquor was poured on the ground in the form of offerings to the gods as was consumed by those in attendance at the ceremony.

The first spirit called was that of the Earth Mother. This was termed *begi Gṛ-Mama*, - prayer to the Earth Mother - also sometimes called *presi doti*, - praise for the earth. Most of the songs sung at this ceremony were later recorded; of these we give a few to illustrate the sequence, and all which we were not able to record. The priestess sang:
Plate XVI. The *winti* drums.
Mama-o, wi bɛgi-o,
Wi kari yu nɛm.
Aisa, Awənaisa,
Wi no sab’ bɛgi-o,
Wi piki-o
Wi kari yu nɛm.
Aisa, Awənaisa,
Ma Loko,
Wi kari yu nɛm.

Mother-o, we pray you-o,
We call your name.
Aisa, Awənaisa,
We know not how to pray-o,
We speak to you-o
We call your name.
Aisa, Awənaisa,
Mother Loko,
We call your name.

This was followed by:

Agida-o,
Ma Loko,
Agida-e.

Agida-o,
Mother Loko,
Agida-e.

And:

Aisa bombo Loko
Na mi sisa,
Bombo Loko
Bombo Mande.

Aisa mates with Loko
My sister,
Mates with Loko
Mates with Mande.¹

Then was sung:

Loko na bom,
Awənaisa na doti,
O, Loko na bom,
Awənaisa na doti-o.

Loko in the tree,
Awənaisa in the earth.
O, Loko in the tree,
Awənaisa in the earth-o.

¹ Not translatable.

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As the priestess began the first of these songs, she walked about the enclosure, rattle in hand, keeping time to the music. Her assistant followed her with a calabash filled with water, sprinkling water in front of all those seated, so that the wɩnti might come to them. But the wɩnti were slow in coming. Again and again she repeated this song, singing the leader's part, being echoed by the chorus. Single figures came out and danced, each with a kerchief in hand, waving it back and forth in time to the swaying of the body. They were dancing Bąnya, which, though itself the name of a special dance for the Earth, here was employed to designate the various types of dancing that were going on in the center of the cleared space to do homage to the Earth and the Ancestors, and that were preliminary to the more individual dances for the separate wɩnti. In this category were dances known as Krioro drɔ̂, 'Creole drum', Aisa, and Papa Ingi, which latter is the wɩnti resulting from the mating of the Papa snake and the Earth Ingi. The women danced in single file, the Aisa dancers waving their kerchiefs, and when the Papa Ingi dance came, the women danced in a circle imitating Indians.

Next came the Anąnsi-tɔrị dances. These are dances for the ancestors, and the name is a euphemism derived from the fact that Anansi stories are told at wakes. In this Anąnsi-tɔrị group were Gąŋga and Yorka dances. The latter included a bit of dramatisation of the days of slavery. One man, taking a stick and using it as a crutch, simulated decrepitude. Another, who was standing near the drummers, announced in a loud voice, ‘Tomorrow early you must all come to work.’ There was groaning and limping; the man impersonating the cripple began to protest; and those who danced in the circle joined him, limping, and showing they were incapacitated. The man who was standing at the drums then announced that the next day all were to report for rations. Promptly the man threw away his crutch, and he and the dancers in the center, one behind the other, each holding to the shoulders of the dancer in front so that they formed a winding, twisting line, began an excited dance of jubilation, singing 'Tamara Sɔndɛl!' - Tomorrow's Sunday! to the solo line of 'Amamba Tyɛnde!' This ended, the priestess begged the Earth gods again to let the wɩnti pass so that the dancing might begin. She sang,

\[\textit{Wąnke, są yu wani?}\]

with the chorus singing,

\[\textit{Mi kọ tek’ a sani pąmaŋ},\]

1 Among the Ashanti and the Yoruba, dances which are not ritualistic or are semi-religious in character, are danced by persons who have kerchiefs in each hand. These kerchiefs make for the best form in dancing.

2 The use of the word ‘drum’ for ‘dance’ or ‘ceremony’ is employed extensively by Dahomean natives who speak French. The phrase ‘to perform a ceremony’ is always ‘faire un tamtam’.

3 Song No. 152.
that is, ‘Wanke (name of a deity), what do you wish?’ ‘I have come to take the offerings.’

The next wunti called was the deity of the cross-roads, Lɛba. As the drums played and the singing began anew, several persons, who were seated, began to tremble. Their trembling began with the agitation of the lower limbs, after which the knees began to shake. This was followed by the quivering of the hands, the twitching of the shoulders, and the head. The facial expression was that of a person in a trance. Their eyes were either shut or they stared blankly, and the muscles were set and tense. As the drumming and singing continued, the heads of those who were experiencing possession began to shake agitatedly and to roll from side to side, and in this state they raised themselves from their seats, and sank back again. As the twitching and trembling and rolling of the head became more and more violent, a friend or relative seated beside the ones who were becoming possessed straightened the head-kerchiefs which were by now askew, if the persons were women, and helped them back to their seats. From time to time an exclamation issued from their lips, a shout, a groan, or words spoken rapidly and unintelligibly. They were speaking the secret language of their wunti. As their movements increased in violence, the arms were thrown about so that anyone sitting next to a possessed man or woman was struck. The jerking movements of the head were repeated with greater and greater frequency, until the head seemed to be rolling about on the shoulders. When the one who was going through these movements of possession was not in the front row, room was made so that there would be no obstacle in his way when he rushed forward into the dance-clearing.¹

The priestess was leading the singing as she danced to the god, and a man now joined her. He was the first one under possession. Soon a woman came dancing into the cleared space, and then others, until there were twelve people dancing in the center. They sang,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lɛba- } \text{o, Lɛba- } \text{a,} \\
\text{Ma Aisa, gi mi pasi,} \\
\text{Mi pasa.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lɛba- } \text{o, Lɛba- } \text{a,} \\
\text{Mother Aisa, give me the right of way,} \\
\text{And I will pass.}²
\end{align*}
\]

¹ This description of the way in which possession comes on might apply equally well to komfo dances seen by us among the Ashanti, especially in the details of motor behavior.
² Other songs, sung both to Lɛba and Afrekete, a wunti said to be a child born of the mating of Lɛba and Aisa, have been recorded, and will be found as Nos. 214-219. Afrekete is a Dahomean deity, the youngest member of the Sea pantheon worshipped in that country.
The dancing for Lēba, as it is for all other wunti, is an individual matter for each dancer possessed, though for each wunti, all those who are possessed dance according to a certain definite pattern that distinguishes the worship of that god from the worship of others. Thus, while no two Lēba dancers danced exactly the same steps, or danced in coordination with any other person, each of them impersonated, in his own way, the scratching movements of the tatterdemalion deity of the cross-roads. Each went round and round in the circle, arms crossed from time to time over his breast, the fingers tugging at the clothing, as though scratching to relieve an itching sensation. This continued until more than half the dancers swooned, bringing their possession to an end. To those, and to the others who were still dancing, water was given to koru ɛɲ 'atì, to ‘cool their hearts’, so they might be calmed, and their gods depart, making way for another wunti. Soon the priestess put her foot on one of the drums and the music stopped. She did not speak, for none who dances for a wunti may engage in conversation during possession. The time was then 10:15. Though Lēba had receded, the Aisa spirits had not yet been satiated, and the agida drum continued playing its beat. Again the priestess sang to the Earth Mother.¹ People whispered that the priestess a kisi Aisa, - had ‘caught’ Aisa. For the first time that evening, she showed the full intensity which marks the state of possession. She was a powerful woman, and it soon was apparent that she was a ‘stronger’ dancer than any of the others. Exclamations of praise came from those who were sitting near us, ‘A wunti dansi moj, - her spirit dances splendidly.’ Water was again poured in front of those seated to bring the gods, and the old wuntimàn who was drumming, raised both his hands, and cried out, ‘Presi Gadō, afkodraj a no dde d ye! - Praise God, heathenism is not dead yet!’ The chorus sang ‘Odi, mama! Odi, mama! - Howdo, mother! Howdo, mother!’ Another possessed woman came out, and made the rounds of the seated figures, greeting each of them. Her crossed arms were held out in front of her away from the body, as three times she gave both her hands to all who were sitting in the front row, and to as many of those standing behind as she could reach. Many leaned forward to take her hands, for it was not this woman, but her wunti who was greeting those who had come to the dance. Before long, there were twenty people dancing in the cleared space, only a few of whom were men. One young man who became possessed, took a kerchief, and tied it about his waist. He had a female wunti, and a kerchief worn this way, as mentioned, is the sign of a married woman, and acts as a substitute for woman’s clothing which he would have worn, had the dance been held away from the city. ‘Te män suma ‘abi umän wunti, a weri umän krosi. - When a man has a female wunti, he dresses like a woman.’²

¹ Song No. 200.
² See above, p. 76, Note 1.
The songs now changed to Grɔ̨-Papa. The Earth gods were not yet satisfied, for the Grɔ̨-Papa are the offspring of the mating of Mother Aisa and the male snake-spirit.

Papa Wunti lobi ḳm,
Ma Awąnasa.

Papa Wunti loves her,
Mother Awąnasa

they sang. A woman sitting behind us, who had gone through all the motions of possession, fell to the ground and began to roll. Having the male snake god, she rolled face downward, wooing the Earth deities. The priestess raised her, for it had been raining earlier in the day and the ground was damp; she continued dancing to the Papa god, standing upright, as the others were doing. Water to bring the god was again poured on the ground in front of those seated. At this time, however, there was some grumbling heard from those who wanted to dance for other wunti, for the Aisa deities were still not satisfied, though the time was now 11:15, and twelve people were possessed and dancing. At 11:20 there were seventeen in the cleared space, of whom sixteen were women. Those near us said ‘The Opste and the Aisa never have enough. It is always the same thing. They want to dance all night.’ There was only one thing to be done. Since to stop playing for a wunti before it has had its fill is to endanger the lives of those who are under possession, Aisa was left to the discipline of a wunti more powerful than she, so that she might be compelled by the new wunti to make way. When the Papa wunti was being called, they sang

Grɛ̨nyanagoro,
Ma Aisaɛ loi ɛŋ dyɛngdyɛn,
Papa-umą ɛŋ seki ɛŋ saka.

Run back to the earth
Mother Aisa has rung her bell,
The Papa woman is shaking her rattle.

This had not yet the desired effect, and was followed by the song,

Di ɛ gowɛ,
Di Wąnaisa,
Ma Loko,
Gədeqsi,
Mi Dada.

That she go away,
That Wąnaisa,
Mother Loko,
Gɛdeqsi,
My Dada.
Six people went back to their places, dissenting, and there was argument back and forth that the Earth gods really should leave. At 12:05 A.M., the drums began to play for the snake gods. The priestess greeted her audience with ‘Ala masra ngere, wodil! - All master Negroes, howdo!’ As the drums played and the singers sang their snake-songs, more and more became possessed by the snake-gods, and they went about, greeting the seated auditors with crossed arms as had the woman first possessed by a snake spirit, saying, ‘Odi, odi,’ and naming their individual gods. But among them were still those who were dancing for the Earth. At 12:10 the priestess again bade the Earth gods goodbye, but the Earth wunti would not go, until four older women joined the priestess to saka, - to stop, - the wunti. Two dancers for the Earth still remained, but at 12:15 they were finally pacified.

It should be made clear that nothing in the attitude of anyone present expressed impatience against the dancers themselves for monopolising the evening. The fault found was with the selfishness of the Earth wunti who would not let other wunti come. It might be observed objectively that dancing for the Earth gods is one of the least exhausting of the dances in the whole wunti cycle, and it is not difficult, therefore, to continue dancing the Aisa dance for a long time.

After the Aisa spirits were gone, there was an interval, during which the priestess in charge paced about the clearing, agitated, anxious to dance again, now thoroughly roused. On the fringe of the gathering younger people were dancing what they called Kaseka wunti, the dance, semi-social in character, which comes as an interlude in the lull of wunti dancing. It consists in the skillful manipulation of the feet and the muscles of the buttocks. While the dancing had continued, more and more people drifted into the compound to watch what was going on, so that a group which at six o’clock numbered not more than fifty people, now comprised about three hundred. The drums were quiet, the drummers drifted off to talk with friends, or to the priestess’ house to get a drink, but soon returned, and, at 12:25, when the drum-heads were again tightened, the new rhythms commenced.

This time the drums called the Lōąŋgo gods. This wunti was said to be an Earth and Snake deity in one. The song with which they began has been recorded.¹ The priestess herself was again showing signs of possession coming on, but the spirits of the worshippers were slow in manifesting themselves. She walked back and forth in the cleared space, looking about her, and she called out ‘No habi suma de beif? - Is there no one trembling?’ She changed the song,² - her voice was by now hoarse - and this being a more familiar melody, her lead was quickly taken up. Not all the songs

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¹ Song No. 183.
² To Nos. 184-185.
were equally popular, either because they were not as well known, or because the
tune was not liked. When the chorus did not respond in sufficient volume, the
priestess quickly changed to another song for the same deity. She sang,

Ma Lōŋgo,
Mi na ɣəŋgule Lele.

Mother Loŋgo,
I am ɣəŋgule Lele.

This was followed by,

Bumba-e
Kɛre Bumba-e.¹

After five minutes, the impatience of the priestess was rewarded, and she was joined
first by one woman and then, in quick succession, by five other persons, one of
whom was a man. Some of those possessed talked Lōŋgo, rubbing their
outstretched hands together as they spoke the language of their deity.

At 1:15, when the dance was in full sway, a uniformed policeman came and
demanded to see the permit which had been issued for this dance. This caused
great consternation, and many of the dancers stopped dancing. The large drums
were spirited away at once so they would not be confiscated, for these drums are
especially expensive and difficult to procure. There were many indications of
suppressed anger because the drumming had to be stopped while people were still
under possession, and murmurs that in spite of the fact that all the requirements
had been complied with the dance was being interrupted. The priestess, furious but
disdaining to speak, paced back and forth with quick steps, impatient to get back to
her dancing. The police officer, himself a black man, understood the mood of the
group, and enjoyed his authority. He stood there, joking, though his good spirits
evoked no response from anyone. Finally, the policeman left, but returned in about
fifteen minutes with a superior officer, who again entered the dance-clearing, and
asked questions, seeking to find out, among other things, why White persons should
be present at a wunti-dance. At 1:50, however, the dancing was resumed, but a
uniformed policeman remained to the end.

The priestess had seated herself on a low bench at the second interruption, and
now, with her head buried in her arms, began to

¹ We have no translation for this verse. Encyc., p. 143, states ‘Bomba of Boemba is volgens
Hostmann, Over de beschaving van negers, enz. I, 34, een watergod bij de Boschnegers en
wel, in tegenstelling met hunne meeste goden, een goedaardige.’
Plate XVII. A compound with benches arranged for a *wunti* dance.
Plate XVIII. Within a compound: children at the entrance to a house.
sing for Bush Kromanti, the Lōąŋgo god having left as abruptly as had the drums at the interruption.

\[
\text{Yu mu yɛpi, yu mu yɛpi, yu mu yɛpi mi,}
\text{Yu mu yɛpi, yu mu yɛpi, yu mu yɛpi - o!}
\text{Yu mu yɛpi, Osaj Tąndo}
\text{Yu mu yɛpi, Abɛrewa.}
\]

You must help, you must help, you must help me,
You must help, you must help, you must help-o!
You must help, Osaj Tąndo
You must help, Ancient One.\(^1\)

With emotions stirred by their anger at the intervention of the police, possession came quickly, and a man began to dance almost immediately. He wore a red kerchief about his neck, and danced on his knees. The priestess helped him to his feet. He continued to dance with his eyes closed, and when he stopped for a moment, his body shook as did the others who were feeling possession coming on. Two women soon joined him, and then a boy of about eighteen. Before long, there were ten dancers in the circle beside the priestess, three of them men. As they danced, the arms were alternately outstretched, with index fingers pointing, and this was the pantomime of warriors, shooting. The priestess, who herself was possessed, called out ‘Oso!’ as she made these gestures, and sang,

\[
\text{Sa komanda}
\text{Na Kromanti Akuba}
\text{Sa komanda}
\text{Achawa-o}
\text{Achawa-a}
\text{Dati na komfo}
\text{A komfo na mi, ba.}
\]

\[
\text{Sa komanda}
\text{Kromanti Akuba}
\text{Sa komanda}
\text{Achawa-o}
\text{Achawa-a}
\text{That is the komfo}
\text{My komfo, brother.}
\]

This song in the Kromanti tongue named the priestess’ own Kromanti spirit.\(^2\) It was followed by another, which the priestess also led,

---

1. Song No. 165.
2. We could obtain no exact translation of it, nor would the priestess sing it for us into the phonograph when we visited her the following day.
Yawa, wibɛgi,
Yawasi, Yawasi,
Yawa.

Yawa we pray you,
Yawasi, Yawasi,
Yawa.

While this dance was going on, the young girl of whom we have already spoken in connection with our discussion of the learning of wɩnti-dancing, was shown by the priestess how to dance for this god in the manner we have described.¹ At 2:55 A.M., the priestess asked this wɩnti if it was ready to go. She ran about the circle, clapping her hands, and finally threw her body across the kwakwa and the drums to silence them, and the spirit left.²

Other wɩnti dances we witnessed varied but slightly in general pattern from the one we have described. In one, the priestess carried a black horse's tail,³ which she used as she danced in the same manner as the other devotees used their kerchiefs. In another, when dancing Kromanti, the son of the priestess, who was being trained as her successor, had a kerchief thrown over his head of a blue background dotted with white stars, and his dancing consisted of a rhythmic motion of the head only, for he had one of the most powerful wɩnti of all, - the 'head' wɩnti, that is, a curing wɩnti. In another, the dancers for the snake deities rolled on the ground, those lying on their backs were said to ‘opo den bere gi na tapu, - open their wombs for the sky’, and those lying face downward were spoken of as mating with the ‘goro gadō, - Earth gods’.

In principal outline, these dances showed a complete lack of exhibitionistic motivation on the part of the dancers. Each person danced to his wɩnti, or, rather, embodied his wɩnti who was dancing there, and each seemed unaware of anything about him. All possession, leading from agitation to increasingly greater excitation, culminated in a faint. It is important to recognise how much form mattered in these ceremonies. If a kerchief came awry while the person possessed was dancing, or a koto-yaki got twisted about, or a man's shirt became unfastened, the person who had come with such a one was at once in the circle adjusting the clothing that had become disarranged, while moving along with the dancer in order not to interfere with the behavior of those in a state of possession. Nothing orgiastic took place in the dances we observed. The drinking, as in the case of the dance we have just described, was

¹ See above, p. 73.
² Other songs sung for the Bush Kromanti wɩnti during this dance have been recorded and are to be found as songs Nos. 165, 166 and 167.
³ Among the Yoruba, the Dahomeans, and the Ashanti, we have seen horses' tails employed by those who dance for the gods in the ritual dances.
moderate. Away from the city, where complete freedom is had in the worship of the wunti, whatever takes place in the dances is never regarded as orgiastic in the minds of the people themselves. If there is connection between a woman and a man not her husband, her husband, if he is present, does not view the act as a breach of fidelity, for when connection takes place under possession, it is merely regarded as the will of the wunti. When there is connection between a human being and an animal, as on rare occasions is said to occur in the fullness of possession, this, too, is viewed as the personal expression of the wunti who had temporarily made of the person possessed his medium. However undisciplined these dances may appear when behavior under possession takes on more extreme forms, from the point of view of those, who live by the sanctions of wunti, the dances are rigidly patterned. Those who sat beside us at the dances we witnessed knew the significance of every change of beat in the music, could at any moment tell us the name of the god who was being called, could point out the minute differences which, too detailed to be seen by an eye not expert, were to be discerned when the dancing of one person was contrasted with that of another. In each instance, that slight difference in mode of dancing denoted a different wunti of the same group. We do not underrate the full significance of the physiological and psychological release of tension that comes to those who worship the wunti after the violence of possession, whatever form that possession may take, but it must be emphasized that the patterning of this release follows traditional behavior.

12. Magic, Good and Evil

a) obia - the tapu and the opo

Of the four phenomena which define the world of the supernatural for the Paramaribo Negroes, we have thus far described two, the manifestation and role of the akra, (the soul) and of the wunti (the gods). The third phenomenon concerns magic, good and evil. The generic term for good magic, as among the Saramacca Bush-Negroes, is obia, and for evil magic, wisi. But whereas the word wisi has general currency when reference is made to evil magic, the more usual name for good magic in Paramaribo is ‘luck’ rather than obia. That is, people are spoken of as ‘buying luck’ or ‘wearing luck’, and comments are heard about the importance of carrying one’s ‘luck’ when walking alone at night, when going on a journey, when wooing a woman, or seeking work, or combating the effect of black magic.

1 Cf. Encyc., p. 515.
2 Cf. Encyc., p. 751. There the primary identification of wisi is made with poison, which is perhaps a misapplied emphasis. See below, pp. 103ff.
More specifically, however, this ‘luck’ is divided into two distinct types, the *tapu* and the *opo*. It is when we consider these two designations, indeed, that we come to the twofold aspect of good magic. A *tapu* is good magic which acts as a defensive instrument against evil. Thus, there are *tapu* against *Yorka* (ghosts), against *bakru* (sorcerers’ emissaries), against poison, against slander, against sterility and impotence, and against illness of the soul. In fact, a *tapu* can be provided for any ill within the range of human experience. The *opo*, on the other hand, is called into play to procure for an individual certain definite ends. It is an aggressive force, and it is the offensive factor in the concept of good magic.

The *opo*, in its use as a supernatural instrument to procure positive ends for its owner, is often asked to accomplish such ends to the definite disadvantage of other people. From the point of view of the group, these disadvantages may assume, if not a criminal character, certainly one that is anti-social in nature. That this does not escape the attention of the people themselves is evidenced by the fact that they recognise the *opo* as a marginal instrument between good and evil magic. We heard this point raised several times, one view holding that since the *opo* requires a ghost to act as its agent, it is *wisi*, another maintaining that the *opo* serves to better oneself, and takes that for its primary function as against the function of *wisi*, whose essential purpose is to bring harm to another.

An *opo*, then, is conceived as a supernatural agent which works on the will of others to make that will favorable to the owner of the *opo*. Examples of such *opo* are those which use as a base a piece of paper on which appears the handwriting of a White man. This paper, when combined with other elements, forms a charm for working on the will of White persons, and such charms are called *Bakra* *opo* and form in themselves an entire category of magical devices. Since a charm possessing blanket power to achieve any end, in all situations, is not deemed to have much efficacy, a special *opo* must be procured for each occasion of sufficient importance to warrant the expenditure of the amount necessary to secure it. One of these *Bakra* *opo* might be bought to secure a desired job from a White man; another for a case that is pending in court before a White judge, to bring a judgment favorable to its possessor. A *Bakra* *opo* might also be acquired to conceal irregularities in keeping the larder, or the mercantile stock of a White employer.

There are other categories of *opo*. People buy love *opo*, that is, either *umq* (female), or *mån* (male) *opo*, which make it impossible for the men or women held desirable by the owners of the *opo* to resist their attentions. There are hunting *opo*, *opo* for trade, *opo* to help a person win at cards when played for money, and *opo*
to make it impossible for a police officer to arrest its owner. ‘Te suma habi let-let’ opo,’ in this instance it was an opo against the interruption of a wɩnti dance, - ‘na sxotu no maŋ fom hcm. A no maŋ, srf-srfi. Na opo a no gi ‘cm pasi. Mi si ‘cm tu trɔ̨ kaba. Na sxɔt’ srfi bugi dansi, a ferɡi’ saŋ a kom du. Na opo taki, “Pɛ̨ŋgere, pɛ̨ŋgere, no kom dia tide”... Pɛ̨ŋgere, dati na obia-taki fō sxotu naŋga oru. - When a person has a true-true opo, the policeman cannot beat him. He cannot do it at all. The opo does not give him the right. I saw it twice already. The policeman himself began to dance, and he forgot what he came to do. The opo said, “Pɛ̨ŋgere, pɛ̨ŋgere, don't come here today”... “Pɛ̨ŋgere” is the obia-language for a policeman with his weapon.’ A very famous opo that has earned a great deal of money for its owners is called bambakula, and is said to have been brought from Africa.

An opo may be some medicine in a bottle which, as in the karta-opo, or in the maŋ or umą opo, for example, the individual puts on his person, - on his hair or his hands or some other part of his body - before embarking on the adventure he wishes to engage in; or it may be a charm to be worn on the person, or carried in a pocket, or kept in the house, and used in conjunction with a medicine. Each tapu and each opo has its own trefu, and sometimes an opo or a tapu may have several of them, for it is these food taboos which individualise the opo or the tapu for each owner, and assure him that his charm will remain potent. Thus, if someone, suspecting that a tapu was impeding his black magic, were to seek to nullify its effectiveness, he would be unable to spoil it if he did not know the proper trefu. On the other hand, violation of a trefu spoils an opo, as is to be seen in story 146.1

We have seen how the sweri, - the compact - sealed between an individual and his wɩnti, resulted in the release of that individual’s family from its obligation to serve the wɩnti. This concept of making a sweri with a supernatural force is operative in magic also. An opo which once freed a sentenced man from jail involved such a compact made between the prisoner and a bird. The opo was worked with the head of a cock, and was called kakaforu opo. The compact specified that at the next cock crow the man was to be set free, and it is told that this occurred. This opo could have been made with any bird instructed to enter the cell, and when the bird found its freedom, the man would also have found his freedom. Such power is given to a bird by the maker of the opo, and is based on a formula, such as the one which occurs in story 141,2 where the man makes seven cuts on a calabash, gives seven cuts to the man for whom the charm is being made, and says, ‘Well, you see, I did not cut you any more than I cut the man, so I throw you away under the water. Well, you see, the person who gets you under the water to do something to

1 See below, p. 429.
2 See below, p. 425.
you, that one can do something to the man, too.' This same principle of sealing a compact applies both to the tapu as well as to the opo and is also operative in wisi. What special supernatural agencies stand behind this compact is not clear, but it is generally attributed to the power of the basi-wunti of the practitioner.¹

Though we have spoken of the tapu as a passive agent, there are times when, in its defensive role, it issues positive warnings to its possessor. We have already spoken of the belief that if a drink which had black magic in it were taken up by a person who had a tapu against wisi, the glass would break. There are also tapu in the form of metal arm-bands, which contract when danger threatens, to warn the wearers. Variants of this general type are scgribui (silver link bracelets) which have been ceremonially cleansed in herbs, iron anklets or toe rings, and belts on which cauries or small white buttons are sewed. All of these, when felt to tighten, tell their owners that not only is black magic set against them, but that the wisi is actually entering into these tapu. Another form of tapu is that of ‘getting a koti’. This consists of several small incisions which are made anywhere on the body, and into which medicine is rubbed. An example of this was had in the story of the calabash and the man who was cut seven times. These koti are specialised in power. There are Yorka-koti which insure to the possessor of them the harmlessness of ghosts; there are Bakru-koti, which protect against these ‘little people’; cuts are also made against illnesses, and to prevent anyone from calling away a person’s soul.²

A tapu of this type that has attracted the widest attention in the literature is the sneki-koti.³ Belief in this immunizing agent against snake bite, and in its curative powers if given after the serpent has struck (it may either be taken internally or in a cut), is not only held by the Negroes but by many of the Europeans resident in the colony. This remedy of the Bush-Negroes is said to be made out of the roasted powdered head of a venomous snake, and is sold to the people of the town. We have heard many persons testify to its efficacy, but whether their belief is validated in fact, or whether it is only of folkloristic value, is not our concern here. That this belief is firmly held is significant for our study, and we may quote an incident related to us illustrative of the manner in which faith in the remedy is kept alive. The person who recounted this anecdote was at one time a plantation-overseer whose station was

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¹ It will be remembered, in the case of our informant whose basi-wunti made him write in a script that he could not explain, how it would be this wunti that would make an obiamŋn or a wuntimŋn of him. In Haiti such compacts are called engagements.

² These cuts are given in Haiti for similar purposes.

³ The most recent contribution to the discussion of sneki-koti, in which the literature is critically summarised, is that of Benjamins.
not far from Paramaribo. One day, during his absence in the city, a poisonous snake bit a Javanesian woman who was working on the plantation. The natives who were present did everything possible for this woman, but her condition grew steadily worse, and, toward evening, it seemed certain that she would die. It was at this time that the plantation manager returned. Going to his medicine stores, he took out some of this *koti*, mixed it with liquor, and forced it down the unconscious woman's throat. She soon began to revive, and early the next morning was at work again. This *koti*, it must be noted, is believed to be a preventive in other than the prophylactic sense, for belief has it that if a person with *sneki-koti* encounters a poisonous snake, the snake, recoiling from the influence of the *koti*, glides out of his way.

There is yet another aspect of *obia* to which reference has been made in several connections, and this is its curative power. The internal and external application of various ingredients added to a base of herbs, white clay, washing-blue (for indigo), and other similar substances which have for their purpose curing disease, are all actuated by the principle of supernatural aid that is implicit in the belief in *obia*. We shall see, in the case of black magic, how the Paramaribo Negro does not differentiate between the chemical operation of an actual poison and the supernatural actuation of a charm that has as its end the bringing of evil to another. The same evaluation of cause and effect holds also in the case of *obia*, where the work of chemicals and formulae are for purposes of good magic, and not evil. No efficacy is thought inherent in any medicine except insofar as such medicine is actuated by the power of *obia*, and so strong is this belief that, while the natives of Paramaribo do avail themselves of the expert medical services which are at their disposal, they do not fail to complement the White man's cures with their own *obia* remedies. The view persists, however, that there are fevers that the White doctor can treat, and those that he is powerless to cure. For this last type of fevers, therefore, the *lukumán*, the *wuntîmañ*, or the *obiaman* must be called in, since these ailments are of supernatural origin, and it is only a supernatural remedy that can cure those who have succumbed to them.

b) *Wisi* and *Bakru*

If *obia*, then, is good magic, *wisi* is the magic that brings evil. *‘Wisi wroko ńçnga Yórk’ - Wisi works through ghosts,* and in manifestations of black magic it is not so much the ingredients which go into the making of black magic as the deadly carrying agent which kills. The control of ghosts for these errands is obtained by *wisi*-men in the following manner. It is thought that the souls of men, like the *wuntî*, may belong to the earth, to the water, to the air. In order to procure a carrier for black magic, a
wisimán will call out the soul of a living person and shoot it; if it is a soul of the air, he will imprison it in a tree; if it is a soul belonging to the earth, he will bury it in the ground; or he may destroy it in the water, if it is a soul which in its wanderings would make for the water. A person whose soul had been so treated sickens and soon dies. It is then that the wisimán claims this soul, making it his agent through which he accomplishes his ends. Other souls are obtained by digging up a recently buried body and taking from it some hair or a finger, and calling the ghost of the one who has died to enter into this. Some souls are brought under the control of a wisimán by stealing some of the water in which a corpse had been washed and summoning the Yorka to enter the water. A ghost obtained in any of these ways becomes the slave of the wisimán, and does his bidding. It is made to animate the bakru, to enter fowls, to go into inanimate objects such as wood or clothing, to enter into herbs, or earth, or water in order to carry sickness or death where it is directed to go, and it is the Yorka, too, that actuates the poison put into an enemy’s drink or food.

Before discussing wisi itself, it is necessary to consider two examples of what may be termed ‘marginal’ wisi. These are a form of opo designed to enrich their owners, but since this is accomplished at the cost of the lives of the growing children of the family, native opinion classifies them as wisi. One such opo, less condemned by public opinion than the second, is that of the purchase of a snake, - the Dagowe, or Aboma - from a wisimán, to keep in the house for ‘luck’. Whether acquired by the man or the woman of the household, such a snake serves all those who live in the same cabin with it. It is kept under the bed, or in some hidden corner, and is fed on eggs. Such snakes are said to exact as many as fifty eggs a day, and the Aboma requires yet more in order to be satisfied. The owner, however, is well repaid for such lavishness in terms of wealth, - money, and the prized things which money buys, such as bracelets, koto-yaki, kerchiefs, and ear rings. Not only must this snake be well fed in order that it may not leave the household, and the ‘luck’ leave with it, but it must have assurance of the owner's affection for it, and in proof of this, the owner must speak to it at night in terms of endearment. When children are born to such a household, the snake soon grows jealous of the attention paid them,

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1 This is similar to the Haitian concept of zombi (Cf. Parsons, I, pp. 178-179), though the zombi is more specialised in the work it can do for the sorcerer. The term zombi is not used in Suriname, but when we described the Haitian concept to one Paramaribo Negro, he said that tradition had it that in Africa a wisimán could dig up the body of a person who, apparently deceased, was really only bewitched, and could sell the body, now without a soul, to some far-off land. We were able to confirm the validity of this tradition in Dahomey.
and kills them. Actually, then, it is held that the owner of such an *opo* sacrifices his children to his personal ambitions.\(^1\)

‘Do one snake in the house bring luck? I knows a lady sitting in the market now. She got one *Dagowe* snake in she house. She sell fish, but sometimes one-two month she don't sit in the market at all, but she got plenty gold bracelet on all two hand, and chain, and plenty, plenty money. Everybody say the snake bring she money.’

The second ‘marginal’ case of *wisi* concerns the acquisition of *bakru* for ‘luck’. This special use of the *bakru* is so classified, under the definition that it is designed to enhance one's own position, rather than as a direct instrument of evil magic against a specific individual. ‘If you want luck, you go to a *wisiman* and tell him what you want. Husband, some woman's husband, automobile, plenty money, bracelets. You pay a hundred or two hundred guilders and go home.’ After a short interval, the *wisiman* comes at night and brings two children, a boy and a girl, who have the appearance of very black two-year-olds, except that their heads are large. These are, however, not children, but *bakru*, creatures fashioned by the *wisiman* himself, and each is but half flesh, - the other half of the body is of wood. They have human voices, and human speech, and are given to teasing, which they do to trick and disarm people. Those who own them keep them under the bed, or locked in an empty room, and there they feed and care for them. They do not need to be clothed, however, for the garment they wear when they are brought to their owner, a checked blue and white dress, they never outgrow, or wear out. If they are struck, they turn to receive the blow on the wooden side. Sometimes, when one looks under the bed, the *bakru* are not there. That occurs because they have gone to amuse themselves on the road. They are not always visible on the road, but even when they are invisible, one senses their presence as a hot wind. A person who meets a *bakru* on the road strikes it only if he has a long stick, and above all 'if he got luck with him for bad spirit.' A man who has no 'luck' and strikes a *bakru* dies. The *bakru*, however, never die; even if one were to see them stretched out lifeless on the ground, they would not be dead. If a person returns later, nothing is to be found, for the *bakru* only simulate death, and once left alone, they return to the cemetery where their home is.

The accounts that follow summarize the incidents given by informants as first-hand knowledge of the existence of *bakru*. All who spoke of *bakru* recalled that when they were children, their mothers kept them from school many days, and some days did not even allow them out of the cabin into the yard, because there were *bakru* on the road. ‘Now it is better,’ we were told.

After the owner of a pair of *bakru* dies, and there is no one to care

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1 This concept is paralleled by the Haitian belief in the *baka*, though the Haitian *baka* also resemble in some respects the Suriname *bakru*.
for them, they disappear to live on the road. A favorite diversion of theirs is to mingle with children who are on their way home from school. They try to touch the children, to tease them, and to offer them a drink. It is death for a child to drink from the little bottle each bakru carries in his pocket. One three-year-old child, while drinking, had a bakru pour a single drop from his bottle into her glass. The water turned green immediately, and the child began to swell, so that by evening she was dead. In another yard a man who died three months before this account was given us, was said to have had a pair of bakru for a long time. Neighbors in the yard said he had bought them when he was eighteen, and he was sixty-four years old when he died. His wife had died the year before, and the bakru had killed off all their children when they were little. Since there was no one left to care for the bakru, they went to live on the road. A woman whose own aunt had had two such creatures, looked under the bed after her aunt died, caught a glimpse of the bakru, and fled. They were very black, - black hair, black skin, black eyes, - ‘lejki Djuka-nɛŋgɛre pikin, - like Bush-Negro children.’

Another told how, late one night, she and her brother were coming home with their aunt. They saw two such bakru sitting on the stoop, playing with a string. The boy threw himself at the girl, and the girl at the boy, and both laughed. The three humans stopped to watch, and just then they heard a child crying. One had been born in the yard six weeks before. The girl bakru then said, ‘I wish I had a baby. I have been hearing the child cry all night.’ The boy bakru asked her, ‘Do you want a baby?’ The girl said, ‘Yes.’ Then they saw the two bakru get up, and the boy followed the girl. Both coughed as if to call someone, and the crying stopped. They heard, the next morning, that the child was dead.

Aside from the marginally sinister duties which the bakru and the snakes perform, these ‘little people’ have the more important rôle of carrying magic that is only evil in character. The bakru, who play a major part in the performance of wisi, are created by wisi-men out of the portions of bodies of the dead which, as we have said, come from a disinterred corpse, or a finger, or some hair taken from a corpse. These figures are made animate by injecting into them a dead soul, for it is said of bakru, as of wisi in general, ‘Bakru wroko nɑŋga Yɔrka, - The bakru work through a ghost’, or, ‘Bakru wroko nɑŋga Djɔmbi. Na Djɔmbi nɑŋga na Yɔrka na srɛf-srɛf’sani. - The bakru works with the Djɔmbi. The Djɔmbi and the Yɔrka are the self-same thing.’ Thus, one informant, who said he was a doro-sei pikin, an illegitimate child, explained why he was an only child. The legally married wife of his father had sent a bakru to his mother. ‘Datı bɛn de ʋaŋ wisi fō tap’ hɛm bere. Dat’ meki mi mama no kɔsi pikin noi’ moro. - That was a wisi to stop pregnancy. That is why my mother never had any more children.’ Sterility,
indeed, is usually said to be the work of bakru. Another incident, given by a woman, told how when she was a girl a neighbor in the yard where she lived found a snow-white chicken underneath her table. This neighbor called together the women of the yard to find out to whom this chicken belonged, but no one claimed it. The woman then took a broom and struck it. There was one cry from the chicken, and it disappeared. Later that day, this woman and a rival of hers met on a plantation where they were both trying to sell fish. The other fell upon her and beat her, without her having the power to lift a finger in her own defense, though she had had a reputation of holding her own against men. ‘That was the bakru the other had sent her. The bakru make the woman come weak.’ Late that same night, when they were all sitting on their doorsteps, a bakru appeared at the gate of the yard. It could not enter, however, because there was a wɩnti guarding the yard. ‘That wɩnti was one lock to keep away bad things.’ This wɩnti was lodged in a tree close to the entrance of the yard, and was a Lɛba.

Another example of wisi which occurred during our stay was that sent against a friend of one of our informants, who, working about town, stepped on a nail late one afternoon, and by nine o’clock that night was dead. A death such as this could be explained only as caused by wisi. When the body was placed in the coffin a candle and some other objects, unknown to the church officials who were present, were put with the corpse. This was done to make the spirit of the dead come back to tell who had killed him. The dead person was expected to appear in a dream to name his enemy. Sometimes, instead of placing the candle and other objects in the coffin, or in addition to putting them there, the corpse is placed face downwards, and is so instructed that not before the spirit of the dead comes and reveals the one responsible for his death will his body be able to turn over and rest. In addition to this, in the case just cited, the parents of the dead man were waiting for the important wake of the eighth night after death to be held, after which they would be free to consult a lukumăn as to the cause of their son’s death.

Wisi is worked by the use of menstrual cloths, perspiration, hair, finger-nail clippings, and wearing apparel that has touched the body of the person against whom evil magic is designed. These act as substitutes for the individual himself, and whatever form of destruction is intended is told to a ghost or the bakru animated by a ghost, who puts it into execution. Wisi, like obia, involves the pronouncing of a formula which, magically endowed, makes clear that the object belonging to the person against whom the magic is directed is being used to represent the person himself, and that whatever is done to this representational object shall befall the person meant to be harmed. A simpler form of wisi, which involves slow illness rather than death, is to place a broken basin containing faded, evil-smelling weeds, thorny bits of wood, pins, porcupine
quills, or other pointed objects, or toads either living or dead, in the center of the
yard where the person against whom the evil is designed lives, or at the door of his
cabin. In the morning, when this is discovered, an immediate alarm is raised, and
no effort is spared to find the perpetrator of the deed. If he is found, he is taken
before a magistrate and imprisoned as a wisimān. If this is not possible, recourse
is had to the lukumān to find out what must be done to ward off the effects of this
wisi, and, according to the prescription given, the person will set up a tapu, or will
wash, or will appeal to his wunti or his akra to save him, or if the wisi had already
entered his body, he will see that it is exorcized. Indeed, even if the wisimān is
discovered and imprisoned, this procedure would be gone through to insure the
purification of the yard and its inhabitants from the bad effects of the wisi.

For protection against wisi, a person may go to any lukumān, but actually selects
a lukumān who is known to be versed in the ways of wisi. For in the logic of
Paramaribo Negroes, it is those familiar with the practices of black magic who know
its cure. Perhaps in this logic lies the key to the fact that though there is an abstract
differentiation made between lukumān, wuntimān, obiamān, and wisimān, actually
the practitioner of black magic can cure, and the obiamān, whose duty it is to heal
and to furnish protective magic, also supplies people with opo to enrich them at the
expense of others. This, in a more attenuated fashion, holds for the wuntimān and
the lukumān. It is also because of these factors that, in order to practice his craft, a
man invariably familiarises himself with all these branches of knowledge of the traffic
with the supernatural. As a direct concept wisi is abhorrent to everyone, but as a
measure of recourse in the hands of the weak against the strong, it has the sympathy
of all.

Curing wisi involves exorcising the bad spirit that has been instructed to enter the
individual whose death is sought. The idiom for this it to puru wisi, to ‘remove’ the
evil magic. The ritual for this varies, though the principal elements of the exorcism
include the knowledge of calling the spirit and forcing it to speak, and of driving it
from the body of the person it has attacked. The ceremony of the final driving out
of the spirit takes place at the crossroads, for the cross-roads is a ‘place where bad
and good must cross’. Before the cure is begun, an offering is made at the crossroads
for Ma Lɛba. The individual to be cured is stripped of his clothing, and the practitioner,
dipping a broom into a mixture of water and herbs, beats the naked body of the
patient as he pours the water over him. When satisfied that the spirit is about to
come out, a bottle is held ready to imprison it, and this, quickly corked, is thrown
into the river at low tide, to be carried out to sea at the turn of the tide. If the ceremony
occurs away from the tidal belt, the bottle is thrown into a nearby river where there
is fast water.
A more detailed description of exorcising will be given in our discussion of Yɔrka, for in all these ceremonies the pattern is the same, and the exorcising of wisi differs from that of a Yɔrka only in the details of names of the spirits invoked and to be exorcised, and the ingredients placed in the water used for the washing.

13. The Spirits of the Dead

a) the yɔrka as an ancestor

The fourth element in the supernatural world as it is conceived by the Paramaribo Negro is the Yɔrka,¹ or ghost. The Yɔrka, it is said, never dies, and a person's Yɔrka is good or evil according to the character of the man when he was alive. The life the Yɔrka lead is not visualised as quiescent. The good Yɔrka, when appealed to, helps the members of his family, warding off evilly disposed ghosts, working with the gods of the Earth for a good harvest, interceding in behalf of the living members of his group with deities who may be angry, counseling the family in dreams, and bringing them well-being and good fortune. If evil, a Yɔrka harasses the living, bringing illness, bad luck and death. A Yɔrka may enter the body of a member of his own family, or of a family not his own, even when not acting under the instructions of a wisimän. And a Yɔrka may turn into an animal and haunt a cabin, or a yard, or a road.

Even though the Yɔrka can appear in many guises, no trouble is spared when a corpse is prepared for burial to dress it in such a way so that later, when the Yɔrka walks abroad, it can be identified. This consists in stopping up the nose with cotton so that when it speaks, 'A n'e taki krįŋ, - It does not talk clean', that is, its speech is nasal. Cotton is put into the ears and a folded white kerchief is tied about the head to hold the jaw in place. Since ghosts are known to dislike gunpowder, firecrackers are an important element in all the tapu against Yɔrka, and when there is a death, though ceremonial shooting is not permitted in the city, firecrackers are placed before the bier and lighted, in this case performing not only the ritual of honoring the dead, but above all, serving to drive away the bad Yɔrka that might cluster about the corpse. Care is also taken that the Yɔrka does not come back to claim the living for whom the person who has just died has felt affection. Thus string is used to measure each of his children, and the pieces of string are put into the coffin as substitute companions, or several knots are made in one piece of string, each marking the size of a child, or the young children are passed across the coffin three times as a gesture of separation. The man's most ultimate friend also addresses the deceased as he lies in his coffin, telling the dead man that they had

¹ Yoroka is a Carib Indian word (Encyc., p. 393).
been friends, but now their friendship is at an end, for the dead must associate with the dead and the living with the living.¹

For the good Yorka the wake serves to entertain the recent dead, as well as the spirits of those other dead that may care to come. There is propitiation of these good Yorka, with offerings of food and dancing at the opening of wunti dances; there are offerings of food, and the lighting of a lamp for them when the year draws to a close, or at the anniversary of the death of those who have died not long before; and, finally, the Yorka eat of the first crops, especially of staples such as rice. ‘When you plant rice, the first rice you must not eat. Then you boil some. Then you throw (it) away on the ground. If you can afford it, you give a dance. I saw when this was not done. There was no second crop from that field.’ When rice offered the Yorka is cooked, neither salt nor pepper is put in, for the dead must not eat salt.

This offering is given for the Earth Mother as well as for the ancestors, for both of these must eat of first fruits if the fields are to prosper. Nor is this the only instance where Earth and Ancestors are associated in ritual. For example, one dance for the Earth² is called banya, and that for the Ancestors is termed baka-futu-banya = back-foot banya. For the baka-futu-banya, food is given the ancestors before the dance takes place. ‘Yu teki cn yu bori aqesi naqga foru di no hab’ sotu, no hab’ pepre. Da’ yu trow lontu ‘a dyari.’³ Dǝn yu teki ‘afu, pot na un wǝq baki. Efǝ yu wani, yu poti wǝ pigino sopi. Dǝ’ yu saka a wǝ presi, pǝ suma n’e si. Da’ yu gi dǝnsi. Efǝ suma habi Yorka wunti, a wer’ weji naqga kakumbe ‘ajgis. - You take and you cook rice and chicken, which has neither salt nor pepper. Then you throw some away about the yard. Then you put half in a basin. If you like, you add a little rum. Then you put it down somewhere, where no one sees it. Then you give a dance. If someone has Yorka wunti, he is dressed in white, and he wears the kerchief of the dead.’⁴

The Yorka are also given food when they are called upon to help a person, that is, when the lukumǝn or the wisimǝn goes to the cemetery and calls the Yorka to find out what food and other offerings it wishes for help on a special venture on which a member of

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¹ Among the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes, at one funeral we witnessed, the dead man was separated from his family, from the Kromanti group, and from his village.

² This is actually a social dance which Earth deities and ancestors are felt to enjoy. The Martinique cycle of dances in Haiti resembles the Suriname banya.

³ At this point the informant interpolated the explanation that if no people are about, the food is thrown down anywhere at all, but if it is a yard where other people live, then the food is thrown where no one sees it.

⁴ This means that the kerchief is tied so that it goes over the head and under the chin, in the manner in which a white kerchief is put about the head of the corpse to make it easy to identify a ghost as such.
the family is embarking. The usual offerings in such a case are rum and white rice grown in the colony, and cooked without salt. 'Mi no sabi san ede, ma noit'i ben poti sotu te i boru nanyam gi Yorka. - I do not know why, but you never put salt in the food you cook to give a Yorka.'

b) the Yorka as an enemy ghost

The Yorka, then, as a friendly ancestor, is worshipped at harvest-time, at the close of the year, at wakes, at the opening of wunti-dances, and on special occasions when its services are sought in behalf of a particular enterprise, or for special intervention with the gods, as during childbirth, or in times of drought. At the same time, it should be made clear that in the daily life of the individual, such awareness of the existence and importance of the Yorka which a person may have is not of the good YorKa but of those who do evil. The association of the ghost with wisi, and the danger from those ghosts who, because not satisfied with the rites offered them, have become evilly intentioned, is sufficient to explain this attitude. Thus it is that so many of the YorKa stories, - and in these as a cycle, the bad YorKa is chiefly referred to - bring out the point of the danger of being abroad alone at night. When going home late from wunti-dances, we were led away from certain thoroughfares, and went a rundabout way to avoid a corner, or a tree, or a house, because these were known to be 'bad' places, - that is to say, they were haunted. At least two persons accompanied us home, so that, in returning to their own homes, they would not have to walk the streets alone. The hours that are dangerous are midday, from 5:30 to 6:30 in the evening, and from 12:30 to 1:30 at night.

Many tales of such encounters are current. A few months before our first stay in the colony, a taxi-driver, a friend of the teller of this tale, was in his cab at eleven o'clock at night near a motion-picture house, when two young women 'dressed in pink, like for church' asked him to drive them home. They made a price with him of one guilder fifty cents, and indicated a road leading past the cemetery as the one that led to their house. When he had passed the cemetery, he turned to them to get the exact directions, but there was no one in the car. The man was sick with fever for months after. 'He went to the hospital, but they couldn't do anything for him. A wisimang cured him. He had no "luck" with him, because, if he had a tapu, the YorKa couldn't come in his car.' In another case, a hunter on his way to the bush before dawn met, on several mornings, a tall White man dressed in white with silver buttons on his coat.

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1 This idea that the dead must not be 'fed' salt in offerings to them is prevalent in many Negro cultures of West Africa and the New World. To our knowledge, Haiti is one of the New World exceptions.
One morning this man stood on the road with arms outstretched blocking the hunter's way. The hunter turned back and loaded his gun with a special bullet, and though his wife pleaded with him not to go out that day, he went back. The man was still there, standing as before, arms outstretched. The hunter shot at the man, but took fright, and ran home. Later, when it grew light, he went once more to see what was there, and he found a large white cat lying in the road. 'It was the bad spirit of a White man. Everybody went to look at the cat. It was big, like a dog. A policeman made a black man throw it in the river. The man didn't get sick because he had a good tapu, but he was afraid.'

The Yorka who enters the body of a living person does not kill outright. 'Na Yorka, a no kən kiri yu wəŋ-trən. A kiri yu pikin a pikin, ma fos' a shwax yu.' The Yorka cannot kill you all at once. It kills little by little, but first it weakens you. One man told of an instance of a Yorka that had entered a man's body. When the Yorka was in him, he spoke like a woman, for the ghost was that of a woman. This same man told of having heard the voice of a Yorka in a girl. It was a male ghost, who kept saying, 'I'm going to kill her. There's nothing you can do.' This girl, however, did not die because a wintimən exorcised the Yorka. This was done by beating the girl as she was given a cleansing bath at the cross-roads. One such attempt at a cure, however, ended disastrously, according to this man, for it was interrupted by a police officer who arrested the entire party, and the girl died.

When a Yorka has entered a person and must be exorcised, the person who is possessed is seated on a bench and a white sheet is put over him. A drum begins to play, - often in town it must be an improvisation of a real drum. The bonu, or wintimən, who does the exorcising, sings

Sabana wer' wejti,
Yu n'e so sidq dc,
'A Yorka sidq dc,
'A Yorka sidq dc.

The cemetery is clothed in white,
You shall not sit down there,
The Yorka sits there,
The Yorka sits there.

This is repeated until the possessed person, hidden by the white sheet, begins to tremble. The man who does the exorcising addresses the spirit, and orders it to leave. The Yorka answers nasally, 'No, mi n'e gowe! Mi basi pəj mi. Ef' yu wani mi gowe, də' yu pəj mi baka. - No, I will not go away! My master has paid me. If you want me to go away, you must pay me again.' The one who is in charge of
the ceremony asks 'Sān yu bās' pāj yu? - What did your master pay you? 'Fo kōpro sēnsi, nāŋga sēbi-aj nēŋgēre-kondre pēpre, nāŋga dī rī pis' kṛtī. Dān yu mu tyari go potī na sabana. Ėfī yu no potī 'a sabana, mī nē gōw. Mi broko yu ŋeki. - Four copper cents, and seven grains of African pepper, with three pieces of kṛtī(?). Then you must take them and put them in the cemetery. If you don't put them in the cemetery, I won't go away. I will break your neck.' The one exorcising sings

A sabana den teki yu,
A sabana yu sō go baka,
Tide a kaba fō yu.

From the graveyard they took you,
To the graveyard you will return,
Today you are through.

He then comes forward with a cord of twisted white cotton, seizes by the hair the person who is being treated, and ties the cord around it. This symbolizes tying the Yɔrka. After several songs such as we have recorded¹ are sung, he loosens the hair, and puts the cord quickly into a bottle. 'Na Yɔrka a-i kō na unì na tṣetej. - The Yɔrka comes into the cord.' He then corks up the bottle. 'Na batra kōm hɛbi lɛjki fa a ben dë libi suma na unì. - The bottle becomes heavy, as though there were a human being inside it.' This bottle is carried to the river, and thrown in. If someone were to take up the bottle and open it, the Yɔrka would at once enter into that person, and possess him.

Not all possession by the Yɔrka is dangerous, for there are friendly ancestral Yɔrka who on occasion seek out a descendant and enter his body to demand offerings and dancing. This occurs at the baka-futu-ɓanya dances at the end of the year, when those so possessed dress in white, tie a kerchief about their faces, and stop up their ears and nostrils with cotton, and dance. This dress is necessary because while the Yɔrka possess them, they cease to be themselves, and become the Yɔrka. Each family generally has some member to whom an important ancestor so manifests himself.

¹ Songs No. 228-231.
Part II Stories, riddles, proverbs and dreams

A. Introduction

1. data and informants

Folk expression among the Paramaribo Negroes may be said to be chiefly embodied in the tale, or An gsi-tori, the proverb, or kot'-odo, and the riddle, or lei-tori. The collection of these which follows was made principally, in the city of Paramaribo; the proverbs and riddles in the Saramaka tonggo, the language of the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes, are included here in order to point to the unity of these forms in the bush and the coastal areas, as well as to indicate the basic linguistic unity of these two regions.

In collecting this material, a special problem of method presented itself with regard to informants. It is a truism that in the collection of folk-lore a large number of story-tellers assure a rich sampling of folk-literary forms, and the majority of students have sought such representativeness for their collections. At the same time, as has often been experienced by those in the field, the story-teller, when confronted with the novel situation of a collector, note-book in hand, loses all ease of presentation, and as a result of his self-consciousness and his inability to narrate effectively at the tempo at which what he is telling can be written down, the tale is given in an abbreviated form. It is not strange, then, that many suggestions have been given to overcome this.\(^1\) This problem, moreover, presented a special difficulty in the instance of this collection, since it comprises a portion of data gathered in Suriname which, though aiming at a description of the Dutch Guiana Negroes, were essentially pointed toward a study of the problem of the extent to which there has been retention of aboriginal African cultural elements not only among the Negroes of Guiana, but of the New World Negroes in general. It seemed desirable, therefore, to work through one or two principal informants, whom we might so interest in the study, and so accustom to the mechanics of recording.

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\(^1\) Thus Rattray, (III), pp. v-vi, speaks of the difficulties in the way of obtaining 'living' reproductions of tales, and suggests that only tales which have been heard in their natural setting should be recorded. Andrade, p. 24-26, discusses this problem and suggests the tale should be rehearsed before it is taken down by the collector. See also Parsons, (II), pp. xiii-xx, and (III), pp. x-xi, for illustrations of other methods of 'getting at' informants.
texts, that we could be assured of an idiomatic rendition. It did, in fact, happen that our principal informant became sufficiently interested in the making of this collection to spend entire nights at wakes where these tales are best told, in order to refresh his memory and to hear again the well-known stories. We count ourselves fortunate in our informants, for the one who gave us the longest series came of a family of famous story-tellers, and the one who seconded him was himself a gifted teller of tales, who had travelled extensively in the Colony, where he had often told these stories and heard them told.

The following list gives the names of the informants; the number before the name of each is appended to the tales they told, so that the student interested in tracing characteristic narrative style may see how one differed from the other in this respect.

1. Frederik Bekker, our principal informant.
2. Johan Bekker, uncle of Frederik. He is reputed to be one of the best story-tellers in the city of Paramaribo; he is a church elder whose story-telling ability is much in demand at wakes.
3. Magdalena Bekker, aunt of Fred, who has lived for many years on the Saramacca River, in the country of the Bush-Negroes. With her two relatives named above, she identifies herself as deriving from Dahomean ancestral stock, her family belonging to the group known as *Demakuku* Negroes.¹
4. Edwin Bundel, who, as guide and cook, has travelled extensively in the interior of Dutch Guiana, and has had contact with the Negroes of the border regions of British and French Guiana.
5. Emilius Bundel, brother of Edwin.
6. David Bottse.
7. Lupi Horner, the only non-adult, aged 15 or 16.
10. M.H. Nahar, a Paramaribo citizen of Javanese descent, who was Van Cappelle's principal informant. The difference between his *taki-taki* and that of our other informants is noteworthy.
11. W.J. van Lier, a local student of Bush-Negro ethnology, whose publications have been mentioned in Part I of this work.
12. Mathilde de Vries.
13. A woman whose name we did not learn, but who, while listening to Informant 1 dictating a tale, volunteered two stories.

¹ *Demakuku* Negroes have long been known in the colony; see above, p. 71, note 3.
2. orthography

In taking down the *taki-taki* text, we have employed a phonetic orthography rather than the traditional Dutch method of writing this speech. In the light of the body of literature dealing with *taki-taki*, and of the texts given in the language, it may be well to indicate our reasons for doing this. In considering the manner in which *taki-taki* is usually written, it is soon seen that the letters of the European alphabet come to have that standardised significance characteristic of the letters of any written language, and hence, for the purposes of scientific analysis, such rendition makes for loss of accuracy. To cite but one example, there is no symbol in European orthography which represents the nasalisation that is so outstanding a characteristic of Surinamese speech. But nasalisation is also an outstanding characteristic of African speech, and if correspondences with African languages are to be traced, this cannot be neglected. In order, therefore, to secure a reproduction of *taki-taki* which might be most adaptable for a study of African relationships, we employed a phonetic system of notation, and we found that, having done this, we were also in a position to analyze the variations in the speech of a given individual, as, *man* or *mą* for ‘man’, of *uma* or *umą* for ‘woman’, of *wą*, *wan*, or *wąn*, for the numeral ‘one’. To make our system clear to those accustomed to *taki-taki* written with Dutch spelling, we give here an excerpt from Van Cappelle’s collection of tales, with an interlinear rendering of our own notation of the words, and a word-for-word translation.¹

Anansi ben moeso zorgoe vo hem heri famirie,
Anansi ben musu sorgu fō hem heri famiri,
Anansi had must look-after for his whole family,

ma a no ben de kisi foere vo da san a ben
ma a no ben de kisi furu fō da sə a ben
but he no had is catch much for that thing he had

de tjari kom na hosō; foere tron a go na bedie
de tyari kq’ na hosō; furu trq’ a go na bedi
is carry come to house; many time he go to bed

nanga hangri-bere en disi no ben fiti hem ai.
Nangga ọngri-bere en disi no ben fiti hem ai.
with hungry-belly and this no had fit his eye.

A no kan go so moro langa, a denki na hem srefi,
A no kq’ go so moro ląŋga, a denki na hem serefi,
He no can go so more long, he think to him self,

¹ Van Cappelle, p. 303.
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vo wroko vo pikienson monie en vo habi wan
fō wroko fō pikīnso mēn fō habi wān
for work for little-so money and for have one

hangri-bere, dati no kan go so moro langa...! A
ɔŋŋri-bere, dati no kə' go so moro lāŋga...! A
hungry-belly, that no can go so more long...! He

praktiseri na hem serefi en a go foefoere wan pisi
prakṣeri na hem serefi en a go fufuru wā psi
study to him self and he go steal one piece

bere vo wan kaw. Mi no sa taki sortoe passi
bērē fō wān kāy. Mi no so taki sortu pāsi
belly for one cow. Me no shall talk (what) sort path

a wakka go na ini kaw bere. Dem moe tape
a waka go na ini kāy bērē. Dēm mu tapu
he walk go the inside cow belly. They must stop

nanga da gridi maneri, mi no de go na hoso
nāŋga da grīdi maneri, mi no de go na hoso
with the greedy manner, me no is go to house

jete, fosi mi sa njam pikienson en a san de
yete, fosi mi sa njām pikīn-so en 'a sān' de
yet, first me shall eat little-so and the thing is

libi mi sa tjari gi dem.
libi mi sa tyāri gi dēm.
leave me shall carry give them.

3. Linguistic Notes
As indicated, the language spoken in Paramaribo is taki-taki, or Negro-English, that of the Saramacca people is the Saramaka tąŋgo, or Negro-Portuguese and English. In rendering the translations of the texts we collected we have retained as much of the idiom and sentence structure as would not do too much violence to simple
English constructions. A literal translation was impossible, since it would have rendered the tales unintelligible.\footnote{This is readily seen from a glance at the word-for-word translation of the fragment from Van Cappelle given above.} An analysis of some of the texts raised the question as to what cultural mechanisms operated to produce the linguistic elements that recur with such regularity, for even a first reading of the material made evident that we were dealing with an inner structure that was the result of something other than the blind groping of
minds too primitive for expression in modes of speech beyond their capabilities.\(^1\)

We may name some of the characteristics that stand out as forms foreign to the idiom of European languages, but which occur with a consistency that characterises grammatical forms.\(^2\) Among these may be noted the absence of sex-gender in pronouns, and the failure to utilise any methods of indicating sex except by employing as prefix the word for ‘man’ or ‘woman’, or the use of relationship terms, like ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘brother’, ‘sister’;\(^3\) the manner of indicating the possessive;\(^4\) of expressing comparison;\(^5\) of employing nouns for prepositions of place.\(^6\) The use of a series of verbs to express a single action,\(^7\) or the use of verbs to indicate habitual and completed action also characterises this speech, as does the employment of the verb ‘to give’ as a preposition,\(^10\) the use of ‘to say’ to introduce objective clauses, making the only English translation possible the word ‘that’;\(^11\) the use of ‘make’ in the sense of ‘let’,\(^12\) of ‘back’ to mean ‘again’, ‘behind’, ‘in

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1 This hypothesis is the one most commonly met with in discussions of Negro pidgin dialects, and of Negro speech variants.
2 In giving examples, we cite only one or two instances of each point; similar forms occur repeatedly in the texts.
3 Wəq’ m’maw bsn dc di ’ab dri umq-p’ki’n - ‘There was a mother who had three daughters (lit. women-children).’ (Tale No. 99).
4 Dq’ Tiqri mamaw bsn dc li bi na wam presi di ’ç kari Sotwatrasei. ‘Then Tiger’s mother (lit. Tiger mother) was living at a place which was called Saltwaterside.’ (Tale No. 3), or Ma di den hari den ttiti kom na doro, na kuy fə Anansi bsn mŋŋrį. ‘But when they pulled out the cords, Anansi’s cow (lit., the cow for Anansi) was lean.’ (Tale No. 34).
5 Na karu fő ju moj, ma di fő mi moro moj. ‘Your corn is nice, but mine is nicer (lit., the corn for you nice, but that for me more nice).’ (Tale No. 19).
6 Lći na Konum stupu tapu si wan Škrepatu bcn dc... ‘Even on the King’s stool there was a Tortoise... (lit., Right the King stool top see one Tortoise was there...)’ (Tale No. 25; see also p. 132, note 3).
7 Anąnsi hati-brğn. A naki na godo broko. ‘Anansi was angry. He smashed the gourd (lit., he knocked the gourd broke).’ (Tale No. 65) Dq’n tyari na forú ncki ky gi Konum. ‘Then he brought the bird’s neck to the King, (lit., then carry the fowl neck come give King).’ (Tale No. 67).
8 Anŋnsi bsn go fufuru na Konu ’oso. ‘Anansi was robbing (i.e., was in the habit of robbing) the King’s house.’ (Tale No. 9).
9 ... dq’n ty ju poti na nyam na ini na patu kaba, dq’ yu prej nqŋa na pat tapu ’qŋa na tiki, ‘Then when you finish putting the food into the pot, then you play with these sticks on top of the pot. (lit., then time you put food the inside the pot finish...’ (Tale No. 117).
10 Na Satra fɔs’ Anŋnsi go prek na teryki, a taigiy eŋ fro taki mek’ a ’qŋa biaka pak’ gi’ eŋ... ‘The Saturday before Anansi was going to preach he said to his wife said, let her hang up his black suit for him... (lit. make her hang black suit give him...)’ (Tale No. 88).
11 Ma Kaimŋ bsn sabi taki na so Anŋnsi bsn kiri den tra meti. ‘But Alligator knew that it was so that Anansi had killed the other animals’, (lit., But Alligator was know say...) (Tale No. 29). Rattray (V), p. 51, says: ‘se. This word has lost its association with its original root se, and becomes exactly the equivalent of the English “that”’.
12 Mek’ wį go na Papa, go puru nanyam, ‘ ‘Let us go to the Papa, and gather food (lit., make we go).’ (Tale No. 48).
Repetition of words for emphasis is a regularly employed mechanism, and this form is also used to indicate a more intense degree of the action, or to change a verb into a noun, while the verb ‘to go’ often carries the significance of ‘will.’ Stylistic traits that appear regularly are the opening of many sentences with the word ‘then,’ the change to the future tense to mark an explanatory interval between two actions which are separated from each other in time, and the use of the adverb te to express emphatic distance, or effort, or emotion, or degree. Phonetically, also, deviations from the pronunciation of European words are quite regular, as, for example, the interchange of ‘r’ and ‘l’; the degree of nasalisation, about which we have already commented; or the insertion of a ‘y’ after ‘c’ in such words as ‘car’ and ‘carry’ and ‘can’t;’ or the tendency to end all words with a vowel, so that ‘call’ becomes kari or kali, ‘look’ becomes luku, ‘must’ changes to musu; the use of elision and the dropping of final syllables.

It soon became apparent that the characteristics which could be singled out in the Negro-English of Paramaribo were also manifested in other regions of the New World where Negroes speak English. Our first comparison was made with the speech of Jamaica, and in the following list we give some of the correspondences to Suriname speech we found:

1. Di a waka so tc... a miti tu pikan boi baka, - ‘As he walked so till... he met two boys again (lit., met two boys back).’ (Tale No. 104). So a tenapu na baka wɔn bom, - ‘So he stood behind a tree (at the back of one tree).’ (Tale No. 104).
2. Tru-tru, mɛn dɛ mɛrɔ lejki mi, - ‘There are indeed men who are more than I am.’ (Tale No. 105).
3. Ma nɔ, Sckrepatu no mɛŋ waka, ma kɔŋpi a dɛ kɔŋpi, - ‘But now Tortoise could not walk, but creeping he crept along.’ Sckrepatu pina-pina gowɔ, - ‘Tortoise mournfully went away.’ (Tale No. 17).
4. Konum habi wɔn grɔt, a habi furu nanyam, - ‘King had a field, he had many crops.’ (nyɔm as a verb means ‘to eat’; nanyam is contracted from nyɔm-nyɔm). (Tale No. 8).
5. Yu dɔŋk te yu dɛ mek’sɔ mi n’i go tyari ya na Konu hoso? - ‘Do you think if you carry on so I won’t take you to the King’s house?’ (Tale No. 31). G. Merrick in ‘Notes on Hausa and Pidgin English’, pp. 304-5, says: ‘Intention is expressed by the idea of motion. Example “I will do” by “I go do”... The above remarks though probably applicable to other African languages, have been written with speech reference to Hausa.’
6. As in Tale No. 22; also Balmer and Grant p. 38, ‘The past tense may also be indicated by placing nna (then)... before the present.’
7. As in Tale No. 7, the third paragraph. Parsons (II), p. 41, has a similar example, and interestingly enough this is one of the stories written by the informant.
8. de Gaye and Beecroft, p. 6, state ‘Without any exception all Yoruba verbs end in a vowel, or in the nasal n.’
9. We take our examples from Beckwith (II), and the page numbers in parenthesis after each quoted phrase refers to this work. In this, as in the lists that follow, only the first occurrence of a given idiom is referred to, though all those we cite are quite common. Following the example, we give the corresponding taki-taki equivalent.
In addition, we found correspondences in such pronunciations as ‘bwoy’ (p. 2), for ‘boy’, of ‘kyan’t’ (p. 2), for ‘can’t’, ‘kyan-crow’ for ‘carrion-crow’ (p. 80, Suriname yankoro), of ‘busha’ for ‘overseer’ (p. 80, Suriname basha or bassia), while the words ‘nyam’ for ‘eat’, ‘Buckra’ for Bakra, ‘white person’ (p. 22), ‘oonoo’ for ‘you’ (p. 40, Suriname un or unu), as well as the exclamation ‘Cho!’ which is often heard in Suriname, were further indications of linguistic similarity between the two regions.

However, these correspondences in speech were true not alone of the idiom and pronunciation of Jamaica where resemblances could be explained on definite historical grounds, for in our next com-
parison with the speech recorded by Parsons of the Andros Islanders in the Bahamas," we found the following correspondences:

says to Boukee, says (p. 1) \( taki a \) \( taki \)
day clear (p. 3) \( dej kr\) 
dat sweet (p. 6) \( doti sujti \)
but b'o' Boukee was beeg eye (p. 9) \( ma ba \) \( 'abi bugi aj \)
V when he reach in de half way (p. 10) \( te a kisi na 'af pasi \)
an' he went, an' he meet no rabbit yet (p. 11) \( en a go, en a no miti kon-koni ycte \)
de han' fasten (p. 13) \( na hanu fasi \)
gal, you love me so till (p. 14) \( um\) \( yu lobi mi so tc... \)
brer, loose me (p. 16) \( ba, lusu mi \)
next day evening (p. 19) \( tra dej neiti \)
finish eat (p. 24) \( kaba nyam \)
Two-Yeye (p. 28) \( tu yeye\)
I sick \( bad \) (p. 30) \( mi siki ogri \)
bathed his skin (p. 37) \( wasi hcm skin\)
... an killed two thousand men dead one time (p. 38) \( en kiri tu dujisen suma dced w\) \( qa \)
eat her bellyful (p. 39) \( nyam hcm bcri furu \)
time he hear dat, he get up an' call Lizabet, say.. (p. 44) \( te a yere dati, a opo kari Lizbet, taki.. \)
they fry fowl egg, many cake, give him (p. 53) \( den bor\) \( foru eksi, furu kuku, gi 'cm \)
yer only goin' meet poppaone.. (p. 60) \( yu go miti papa w\) \( qa... \)
torectly\( ^{7} \) Rabby cry... (p. 85) \( no mo Konkoni bari... \)
...va you dere gwine? (p. 114) \( pc yu de go? \)
show you macasee\( ^{9} \) (p. 141) \( sori yu, mek a si \)

As in Jamaica, there were also correspondences to Suriname pronunciation. Many of these have been given above, but others are ‘kyarry’ (p. 3, Suriname tyari) for ‘carry’, ‘kyarridge’ for ‘carriage’ (p. 28), ‘ooman’ (p. 115) for ‘woman’, or ‘kyamp’ for ‘camp’ (p. 148).

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1 Parsons (Il).  
2 \( Taki-taki \) has no ‘Boukee’; it is the idiom to which we wish to call attention.  
3 In both Suriname and the Bahamas, the meaning of a ‘big eye’ is greedy.  
4 That is, ‘two eyes’.  
5 In both regions, ‘skin’ is used for ‘body’.  
6 We know of no \( taki-taki \) word for ‘fry’.  
7 Parsons, in a footnote, explains that ‘poppaone’ means ‘poppa by himself’, which corresponds to the Suriname and Jamaican usage already illustrated.  
8 ‘directly’ or ‘at once’.  
9 ‘macasee’ here is evidently a coalescing of the phrase ‘make a (him) see’, found in \( taki-taki \) for ‘let him see’.
Yet another comparison was had when we analysed the language of the tales recorded by Parsons\(^1\) in the Sea Islands. Some of the correspondences to Suriname Negro speech we found in this collection are as follows:

Rabbit tell Fox, said (p. 9) \(\textit{Konkoni taki...}^{2}\) taki.

an' dat make Ber Rabbit have short tail ... (p. \textit{en dati meki Ba Konkoni habi pikin tcre...})

... an' de tail come fo' white 'til to-day (p. 19) ...\textit{en na tcre ko' fô weiti tc tide.}

she was too happy now\(^3\) (p. 24) \(\varepsilon\eta\) ben tumusi breiti nô

tell de gyirl fo' love him (p. 25) \(\textit{taki na umq fô lobi 'em.}

... de han' fasten (p. 26) ...\textit{na hanu fasi}

day clean (p. 28) \(\textit{dej krj}

man, don't you see all dis fresh meat\(^4\) standing in dis lot? (p. 32)

Rabbit lie in de sun on his so' skin (p. 44) \(\textit{Konkoni dido' na sôn na hêm soso skin.}

an' all her people died out an' leave her one \(\varepsilon\eta\) hem heri famiri go dexe \(\varepsilon\eta\) libi hêm wâwä

so he study... (p. 78) ...\textit{so a prakseri...}

... your rice too much better (p. 104) ...\textit{na aleisi fô yu tumusi betre.}

... people tell, say... (p. 140) ...\textit{suma piki taki...}

Some of the phonetic correspondences are 'yeddy' (p. 1, Suriname yere) for 'hear', 'kyart' for 'cart', 'kyarry' for 'carry', 'kyan't' for 'can't' (p. 1), and 'shum' for 'see him (or them)' (p. 18). Similar phrases and phonetic shifts\(^6\) are to be found in the speech of the islands as reported by Peterkin, Gonzales, Stoney and Shelby, and Johnson.\(^7\)

Correspondences of this character made it clear that, whatever the provenience of these phrases and phonetic parallels, they were

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1 Parsons, (II).
2 \textit{Taki-taki} has no word for 'fox' that we know of.
3 The footnoted explanation of 'too' as 'a characteristic use for "very" exactly corresponds to the way Suriname Negroes employ \textit{tumusi}.
4 Note the use of the word 'meat' with the meaning of 'live animal' in both instances.
5 Once again the use of 'one' for 'alone' is to be remarked.
6 Tribute must be paid to the insight with which Schuchardt, pp. ix-xiv, discerned the resemblances between the speech of various groups of Negroes in the New World and \textit{taki-taki}, on the basis of a vastly smaller amount of data than is available today.
7 This is not the place for an analysis of the provenience of the speech of the Gulla Islanders and of American Negroes in general. However, sufficient data are in hand to make it evident that it is in this matter of idiom, rather than in vocabulary (as Johnson, I, attempts to show), that an explanation of its peculiarities and provenience is to be sought.

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\textit{Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore}
common to Negro-English in the New World. This suggested that it would be
profitable to investigate pidgin English as spoken in the region of Africa from whence
came the Negroes who laid down the fundamentals of New World Negro culture.\(^1\)
As only few data on pidgin are available,\(^2\) it was necessary to go into the field to
obtain the requisite material for such an investigation, and a field-trip to West Africa
made this possible. During a short stay in Nigeria a small collection of tales in pidgin
was made,\(^3\) and though these numbered but seven, the following significant phrases
occurred in them:

\begin{align*}
\text{chop no de'} & (p. 448) & ny\text{ąm no de} \\
\text{my neck is pain me too much} & (p. 448) & \text{mi \text{n\text{c}ki 'ati mi tumusi} \\
\text{I be good man, true} & (p. 449) & \text{mi wą bō' mąn, tru} \\
\text{... all de white man, dey fit to make men by demself...} & (p. 455) & \text{...ala Bakra suma, dę fiti fō meki suma den srcfi...} \\
\text{w'en Adjapa reach inside de bird...} & (p. 451) & \text{te \text{Adjapa kisi na unī fō na foru...} \\
\text{an' her mother took one give to her pikin} & (p. 456) & \text{en na \text{mama teki wą gi na ēŋ pikin} \\
\text{he run come from inside de hole.} & (p. 458) & \text{a \text{lō kōmōto na unī na sōro} \\
\text{... took de man fo' dey house ...} & (p. 458) & \text{...teki na man fō na 'oso...} \\
\text{...if I salute you two more time...} & (p. 461) & \text{...efu mi piki yu tu trō moro...}
\end{align*}

In Africa, as in the New World, we found the phonetics of Negro speech producing
such changes in English pronunciation as 'cyap' for 'cap', 'dyah' for 'jar', 'hyar' for
'hear'.

The tales told us in Nigeria, however, were given by informants who had had
some degree of schooling, and whose pidgin English was therefore modified by
what teaching they had received. The extracts from historical tales of Dahomey
which follow were told us, however, by an informant who had learned his English
entirely 'by ear'. This man, a son of former King Behanzin,\(^4\) had left Dahomey and
had lived in the coastal and interior regions of Nigeria for more than ten years, where,
in the course of his everyday life, he had learned what English he knew.

\(^1\) Herskovits, (III).
\(^2\) There are the tales of Cronise and Ward, and it is worthy of remark that several students of
New World Negro dialect have noticed correspondences between the speech recorded in
these tales and that of the Negroes which those students have investigated. The paper by
Merrick is perhaps the only study extant of West African pidgin as such.
\(^3\) Herskovits, M. and F. (II).
\(^4\) François Behanzin. The tales from which these excerpts are taken were recorded in Abomey,
Dahomey.
Dis princess, she palaver too much. If he marry dis man today, tomorrow he go way leave ‘um. He suffer everybody. He vex he fadder too much, so he sell ‘um go ‘way. He no can kill he own daughter, so he sell go ‘way. When he never see he daughter no mo’, he sorry now. He say, ‘Who find daughter, I give dash plenty,’ say, ‘I give every’t’ing.’ Now dey bring him come. Now he start make lau again. He fadder say, ‘You be my proper blood,’ say, ‘I like you too much when you be quiet.’ But he make too much trouble. Sell ’em again to Portuguese. White man take him go. Dey de’ fo’ Whydah. Dey no go fo’ sea yet... Dis princess he was ploud. He was fine too much. He fine pass all woman. Dere was hole in Allada, nobody mus’ go. Princess he steal he fadder sandal at night. Nex’ day ol’ woman see someone was in hole, come tell king. Everybody go for look, see king foot. King vex, say, he no go. Princess he laugh, say, ‘Who go? Look, you foot.’... He (Hwegbadja) give dem order again say, if be somebody go put faiah to anode’ man house fo’ burn anode’ man house, if sometime he no like ‘em, he burn house, if he see, kill ‘um, bring him head come, show, say, ‘Dat man burn house.’ I see, I kill ‘um. Den if he tell dem so, den man have enemy, take man who do not’ing, cut head and bring, den if he fin’ man lie, he go kill ‘um de same. Den he say, if take small small gyal (girl) no be big’nough, if somebody spoil ‘um dey go kill ‘um. Make nobody see people dey pass wit’ load, go sell ‘um. If somebody do so, he go find out, he kill ‘um... Den de people who de’ fo’ odde’ king country de’ lon com’ fo’ Hwegbadja, say, ‘If my fadde’ die, you go bury fo’ me. To put fo’ stick no good.’... So people like it too much.

Many of the idioms and phonetic shifts of Surinamese speech, the West Indies, and the United States appear in these excerpts: ‘too much’ for ‘very much’, ‘sell go ‘way’ for ‘sell and send away’, ‘bring him come’ for ‘bring him (her)’, ‘take him go’ for ‘take away’, ‘dey de’ fo’ Whydah’ for ‘they are at Whydah’, ‘dey no go fo’ sea yet’, literal translation of the Suriname *den no go fô si ycte*, ‘ploud’ for ‘proud’, ‘he fine pass all women’, the African comparative that finds its Suriname equivalent in *a moj moro ała uma*, ‘gyal’ for ‘girl’, ‘if somebody spoil ’em’, the Suriname equivalent of *pori* in the significance of ‘deflower’, ‘make nobody see people dey pass...’, *mek’ nowâ si suma den pasa*, ‘lon com’ for *lo kom*, and, finally, the use of the term ‘stick’ to mean ‘tree’, a usage which has its equivalent in the Saramacca use of the term *pay*, also ‘stick’, for ‘tree’.

In Dahomey, a possession of France, this was the only English we heard. French has little pidgin, yet occasionally, in contact with a native who had not been educated in the schools, we would hear...
une fois, the French equivalent of the Suriname waɔŋ, used exactly as the people
of the Sea Islands employ ‘one time’. We would hear a native telling another to go
doucement, doucement, - safri, safri, as the Suriname Negro has it, - while phonetic
shifts which cause the White man to eat ‘fied potatoes’ in Nigeria and in Suriname,
make him eat pommes flîtes in the French territory of Dahomey, or cause a native
to point out a young woman walking along the road with the remark ‘C’est mon fleure,
là. C’est femme, eh?’

Still pursuing the subject of correspondences between New World and West
African Negro English, we collected more tales in pidgin among the Ashanti of the
British territory of the Gold Coast, - among some of these very people to whom the
Suriname Negroes, in their folk-lore, owe their trickster-hero, Anansi. We give here
some of the correspondences in phraseology which are to be found in these stories:

if Kwaku Anansi chop dat co'n he go die… ef Kwaku Anansi nyam dati karu, a go
dədɛ...
hunger go kill me hɔŋgrigɔ kiri mi
hungry kill him too much hɔŋgrigɔ kiri ɛŋ tumusi
w’y you big man sabi war, you no wan’ go səŋ ‘ɛdɛ yu bɪgi məŋ sabi feti, yu no wəŋ’
war, sen’ pikin go?
go kiri’ em one time go feti, sen’ pikin go?
in de mawnin’ time… na mamɛntɛm…
w’en you go, don’ go small, small like t’ief te ‘i go, no go pikin pikin lejki futurumə
he run-go and cut it a lə-go, kɔti ɛm
sasabonsam fin’ dat he tail no de s….fəni dati ɛŋ tɛre no dɛ
you must call my sheep come yu muso kari mi skapu kɔ
W’en Kwaku Anansi he come de, he no Te Kwaku Ananssi a kom dape, a no sabi,

1 Not enough data in Negro-French were available when this section was written to make the
sort of comparisons we make here between Negro-English in Africa and in the New World.
Our experience with Negro-French in Dahomey, however, compared with the few examples
of Haitian French were able to find in the literature, and with the sketch of (Louisiana) Creole
grammar by Fortier (II, pp. 125-147), convinced us that study would show a unity of
Negro-French wherever spoken that would be akin to that of Negro-English and, more, that
a basic similarity in idiom between Negro-French and Negro-English would also be found to
exist. These assumptions have been more than validated by the texts published by Parsons
(VII), which appeared while this work was in press, by her unpublished manuscripts of Haitian
tales, which we have been privileged to examine, and by the findings of our own field-work
in Haiti during the summer of 1934.

2 Herskovits, M. & F.; (III). These tales being in manuscript, no page references can, of course,
be given here.
He tell he husband, say, ‘I finish’.  
den he fear too much.  
den he sen' all him pikin one, one  
Den himse'f say, make he go see ‘em.  
dey laugh, laugh, laugh te ... make small 
dey all two...  
dey run long te... he no catch Aduwa.  
he go cover hi'self someplace  
two weeks catch  
Some small, small man say, wan' go bush. Wą pikin, pikin mąn taki, wani go na busi.  
W'en he go, he meeti some big wate’ in bush de.  
Den he sta't to heah talk fo every't'ing in de  

While with the Ashanti, we were also able to obtain some characteristic expressions from a member of the Mossi people from the northern territories of the Gold Coast, whose pidgin was as untutored and as rich in flow as any we heard in West Africa.

de chief hask dem say...  
So you be chief pikin. Make you sing, make
Know.
he cover he siki’n all  
w’en dey get up fo’ dance, now dance go  
‘bout six ya’ds  
he run go bush wit’ pikin  
dis firs’ time he de’ fo’ town  
rabbits den chop all bush meat  
so he cali a house again, say...  
rabbit he pass all sense for play trick

Still other examples are to be found in Cronise and Ward's Temne tales. These are rendered in pidgin, and beside the idiomatic

1 The use of the word ‘cover’ having the sense of ‘hide’ is to be remarked.
2 Again one finds the use of ‘skin’ for ‘body’. One morning our steward-boy, after receiving a message from the chief of Asokore for us, translated as follows: ‘De chief he sen’ hask how you siki’n be tiday.’ It was a formal inquiry about our health.
3 In Suriname the unit used for measuring is the ell and not the yard.
4 ‘Bush-meat’, i.e., wild animals.
expressions and constructions cited by the authors in their 'Introduction', the following may be also found; under each of the expressions we place the taki-taki equivalent:

One ooman get girl-pickin (pickaninny), (p. 49)
Wån umą ktsi umą-pikin

He go inside one big forest whey all de beef duh pass. (p. 41)
A go na un wån bigi busi pe ala de' meti de pasa

Spider take de hammer soffle he hit Lion one tem... (p. 43)
Anansi teki na mokro safri, a naki Leõ wån tem

De ooman ax de man: ‘Nar true?’ (p. 47)
Na umą aksi a man: ‘Na tru?’

Spider go nah puttah-puttah, he look sotay (until)... (p. 48)
Anansi go na ..., a luku so te...

‘Na play I duh play’ (p. 48)
Na prej mi de prej

One day me bin say Bowman long pass dis tick... (p. 48)
Wån dej mi bën taki Aboma lônga moro dis’ tiki...

One net big rain fà’ down (p. 55)
Wan net’ bigi alein fadq’

Dat make tay (until) today... (p. 63)
Dat meki tc tidc...

...en I mus’ kare dis fiah go home (p. 64)
...en mi mus’ tyar’ dis’ fajah go na hoso

Dey all tow, dey duh sleep (p. 66)
Den ala tu, den de sribi

...all run go (p. 70)
...ala lo go

...'tan’ up nah de do’-(door) mout’ (p. 70)
...tënapu na dôro môfo

1 pp. 32-34.
2 This word does not exist in taki-taki.

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This simple sentence illustrates admirably the manner in which taki-taki has incorporated words from many sources into a grammatical form common to African languages. Thus meti, 'meat', for animal, kom, for 'come', no for 'not' are from English, ala, 'all' is from English or Dutch, proberi, 'try', is from Dutch, while man, 'to be able' is from Ewe.

1 In Surinam they would say Nę̌ngc kəndre, 'Negro land', for 'Africa'.

2 This simple sentence illustrates admirably the manner in which taki-taki has incorporated words from many sources into a grammatical form common to African languages. Thus meti, 'meat', for animal, kom, for 'come', no for 'not' are from English, ala, 'all' is from English or Dutch, proberi, 'try', is from Dutch, while man, 'to be able' is from Ewe.
The correspondences between the speech of New World Negroes in idiomatic expression and the pidgin English of West Africa suggested a further inquiry. It seemed logical to investigate whether there might not be some underlying similarity in aboriginal speech that could account for the large number of parallels between New World and African Negro English. To this end we drew up a list of *taki-taki* idioms, and asked our interpreter to give us the corresponding Twi phrases for these, being careful, however, to state them to him in the English, rather than *taki-taki* manner of expressing the ideas contained in them. The following list gives some of the resultant Twi idioms, with their literal meaning expressed in English words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Twi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bring</td>
<td>fá bra,² (take come)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take (away)</td>
<td>fá ko’ (take go)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run away</td>
<td>djuåne ko’ (run go)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am hungry</td>
<td>ɑkɔm di mî (hunger eat me) or ɑkɔm oky mî (hunger kill me)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give birth to a child</td>
<td>wa nyá abofrá, (he catch child)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let us go</td>
<td>ma yɛ ɣɛkɔ’ (make we go)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I traveled for a long time</td>
<td>m(i) anan ti, anan ti, anan ti, (I walked, walked, walked)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I went to look for something</td>
<td>mi ko’ hwi hwè, m(i) ɑn hyn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did not find it</td>
<td>(I go look for find, I no see)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early in the morning</td>
<td>anɔpa tûtû, (morning early)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of you,</td>
<td>mɔ nyina’, (you all)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She is very nice,</td>
<td>no hɔn ɣɛ fc’ dodo’, (he skin is nice much-much).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do it at once</td>
<td>ɣɛ no prɛn:ko (do it time one)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That is why</td>
<td>ašɛm nüti, (case head)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He told me</td>
<td>ɔkâŋ tchiɛ misê (he tell show me say)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A thing done one at a time</td>
<td>nkorô (n)koro, (one, one)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little by little</td>
<td>kakrá kâkra, (small, small)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bigger</td>
<td>esũŋ sune nɔ’, (big pass it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 It is a pleasure to record our indebtedness to our interpreter, Charles Donkoh, for the assistance he gave us while among the Ashanti.

2 In transcribing Twi, the same phonetic system employed for *taki-taki* has been used except that an apostrophe here stands for a glottal stop, and that tonal marks (á = high, a = middle, à = low, ã = middle to low, ã = middle to high, à = high to low) are employed.
Edge of the road  kwán hɔ̀, (road-skin)
I am angry      m(i) akūmā́' ehurú,¹ (my heart burns)
In the road      mi wo kwanemu, (I am road inside)
He came to a stream  oba tüwō esúyó bi, (he-came met river some)
Add one to it      fa kóró toso, (take one put top)
After this       yej echiri, (this back)
To calm a person  djödjö n(a) akómá máno, (cool he heart give him)
'Meat' (for animal)  o kokúm nám, (he go kill meat)
Wild animal      wirɛm nam, (forest meat, = bush meat)
He is very foolish   oye kwasi á dodó, (he is fool too much)
He is very strong    'eye diŋ dodó, (it is strong too much)
The tale is very nice  așɛm’ no ye dc dodó, (story it is sweet too much)
I am afraid       sûrō kā mē, (fear touched me) or sûrō chire mī,
                   (fear catch me)
He walked a short way ɛnantî kakrá, (he walked small)
Do you understand English? wó tê brofô, (you hear English)
He brought it to me to see ɔfá brá mi hwc, (he took come me see)

The above list shows that many of the idioms peculiar to Paramaribo, Jamaica, Andros Islands, and the Sea Islands are literal translations of Twi. The presence of similar idiomatic expressions in Yoruba, Fɔ̨, Ewe and Hausa speech, and as reported by Cronise and Ward and others, leads to the further hypothesis that these idioms are basic to many, if not all, of the West African tongues.

Though this establishes the provenience of a large proportion of the idioms, explanation of the non-European constructions remained to be made. In earlier studies of takí-taki and other New World Negro speech, there had been several attempts to trace the provenience of vocabulary,² but not of morphology. Parsons³ makes some cogent observations on prevalent grammatical forms, and offers as a possibility that these may derive from African usage. Available grammars of West African languages throw considerable

¹ Ehurú means ‘something that is put on the fire and cooks’.
² Cf. Ortiz, (II), passim, for Cuba, Guy Johnson, Ch. I, for the Sea Islands, and, outstandingly for takí-taki and Saramaka tongo, with full bibliography, Schuchardt, op. cit., passim.
³ Parsons, (II), p. xx. On p. xvii, note 5, similarities in idiom between the Sea Island speech and that of Sierra Leone, as recorded by Cronise and Ward, are cited.
light on these perplexing constructions, and, though it is not possible here to give a complete discussion, a few examples will make the point that in this, as in the instance of many of the idioms whose literal translation we have given, the peculiarities of Negro speech are primarily due to the fact that the Negroes have been using words from European languages to render literally the underlying morphological patterns of West African tongues.

Let us consider first the tendency of New World Negroes to use the verb ‘to give’ for the English preposition ‘for’. In Ewe ‘na’, ‘to give’ is used in just this manner, and we read that

‘...what one does to another is done for him and is, as it were, given to him, e.g.,... *he said a word (and) gave (it) to the person*, i.e., he said a word to the person; *he bought a horse (and) gave (it) to me*, i.e., he bought me a horse.’

In rendering Ashanti tales, it is explained that *ma*, which is translated by the preposition ‘for’ is really the verb ‘to give’. In Ga, *ha*, ‘to give’, is used as we would use ‘for’ in English, when employed with persons. The Fante-Akan language utilizes the verb *ma*, ‘to give’ as an equivalent of the English preposition ‘for’; while, turning to a Yoruba text we find a phrase which, literally translated, reads

‘*Ils prennent vont donnent au roi*, and has the meaning of ‘They bring to the king’.

In the matter of gender, we find in grammars of West African languages the explanation of the seeming lack of differentiation of sex in the use of pronouns. We have noted how ‘he’ and ‘she’ are interchanged in West Africa and Suriname; how, in the West Indies and the Gulla Islands, ‘he’ is employed to indicate both a man and a woman. Ewe, we find, ‘has no grammatical gender’. Do the Ewe, then, fail to distinguish persons who differ in sex? Not at all; they must, however, employ nouns, such as ‘man’, ‘woman’, ‘youth’, ‘maiden’, ‘father’, ‘mother’, or they must add either -*su*, ‘male’, or -*nu*, ‘female’ to a given word as a suffix. Yet this latter method is that of New World Negro English, as, for example, when the Suriname Negro speaks of *a man-pikin*, - a boy, - as against an *uma-pikin*, a girl. In Ga, as in Ewe, gender is designated by a prefixing or a suffixing of an element, in this case, *yo* for woman and *nu* for man, though there are a few differ-

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1 Westermann (Ia), p. 50. The examples cited for Ewe also apply in the case of Fɔ, the related language of Dahomey, as can be seen by referring to Delafosse’s *Manuel, passim*.
2 Rattray (III), p. 28.
3 Wilkie, p. 30.
4 Balmer & Grant, p. 24.
5 Bouche, (I), cols, 129-30. Other Yoruba examples may be found in de Gaye and Beecroft, *passim*.
6 Westermann, (Ia), p. 43.
7 Wilkie, p. 7.
entiating words such as ‘husband’, ‘wife’, ‘father’, ‘mother’, and the like. Similarly, in the related Fante-Akan speech, it is by affixing particles or utilising different words, that the difference of sex is indicated. Of Yoruba we read that

‘The Yoruba language being non-inflective, genders cannot be distinguished by their terminal syllables, but by prefixing the words ako, male, and abo, female, to the common term;...’

Perhaps no other element in taki-taki proved more difficult to translate than those expressions containing what Westermann terms ‘substantives of place.’ While taki-taki does not have all the connotations given for each of the words listed in his Ewe grammar, all the words he cites in this connection have their taki-taki equivalents, and many of these equivalents have retained several of their meanings in Ewe. Thus, in taki-taki as in Ewe, na mndri, (the Ewe dome) not only means ‘a place between’, but is also used with the meaning of ‘between’, ‘among’, ‘in the midst of’. Ta pu, (Ewe dzi), means not only ‘top’ but also ‘the sky’, and ‘over’, ‘on’, and ‘above’. Iniseji in Suriname (Ewe me), as in Africa, carries the significance not only of ‘inside’ but also of ‘the context of a word of speech’. Na baka is difficult to translate into English until its equivalence to the Ewe megbe is perceived, when it becomes clear that it not only signifies ‘the back’ but also ‘behind’ and ‘after’ and ‘again’. A last example (though this does not exhaust the list) shows the derivation of the numerous curious uses of the taki-taki word hocce, ‘head’. The Ewe equivalent, ta, besides its initial significance, means ‘point’ or ‘peak’, ‘on account of’, ‘because’, ‘therefore’, and ‘for that reason’, the last being the exact translation of the Suriname word in such a phrase as fō dati cdc. For Gą we find similar constructions reported. Thus, the Gą people say, ‘he looked at his face’ for ‘he looked in front of him’; ‘my garden is at the house’s back’ for ‘my garden is behind the house’; ‘he went to their middle’ for ‘he went among them’; ‘walk my back’ for ‘walk behind me’. In Fante the same construction is found. If one wishes to know the grammatical bases of such usage as the reflexive pronoun, den fom den s’efi; the order in which those in a compound subject involving the speaker are named, mi nanga yu; the cohortive form, which expresses an invitation, as mek’ wi go for ‘let us go’; forms like mi dc go, mi ben go; the use of a separate term (like the taki-taki kaba) to denote completed action; the use of the word ‘to say’, a taki, to introduce objective phrases; the use

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1 Balmer and Grant, pp. 62-64.
2 S. Johnson, p. xxxvi; Gaye and Beecroft, p. 8.
3 Westermann, (Ia), pp. 52ff.
4 Wilkie, p. 29.
5 Balmer & Grant, ch. xi.

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of the term ‘more’ (‘surpass’)
1 to make the comparative form of the adjective, he will find all these discussed in grammars of West African languages. Let us here only indicate, from Westermann, some other rules of Ewe that, as for other West African tongues, still are operative for taki-taki. When one says ‘he is four years old’, 2 he says ‘he has received four years’ - the Suriname a kisi fo yari kaba; if one wishes to say ‘I know something’, he says ‘I have come to know something’, 3 - taki-taki mi de kom sabi wá sani. In Ewe, for ‘tell the Governor’, one says, ‘say it give Governor say’, our taki gi Grama taki; 4 the Ewe use of the double verb occurs also in taki-taki as krojpi a krojpi.5

In our examples, we have cited the language of the Negroes of Paramaribo. Except, however, for the greater presence of both African and Portuguese words in the Saramaka tongo, 6 a greater use of elision, and the omission of the r, this language follows in idiom and structure that of the town, as the several Saramaccan proverbs with the equivalents in taki-taki, and the interlinear English translation serve to illustrate.

It may be well to restate the conclusions arrived at on the basis of comparing taki-taki with Negro English in the New World, pidgin English in Africa, Ashanti idioms, and West African grammatical forms as illustrated in Yoruba, Ewe, Fɔ, Gą, Twi, Mende, Hausa and other West African languages. 8

1. Parallels to taki-taki were found in Jamaican speech, in the Bahamas, and in the Sea Islands of the United States.

2. Similar parallels were also found in pidgin English as spoken in Nigeria and on the Gold Coast, as well as in such specimens of Negro-French spoken by natives with no schooling as were available.

3. Phonetic peculiarities which Negro speech exhibits in the New

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1 Thus King, p. 196, states of Hausa, “The absence of any proper comparative is one of the weakest spots in the language. The English... ‘too many’, ‘too good’, etc., can only be rendered by the use of the verb fi - ‘to pass or excell’... ‘He is cleverer than you’ - Ya fika nankali (lit., ‘He surpasses you as to sense’)…”
2 p. 116.
3 p. 119.
4 pp. 126-7.
5 p. 129.
6 Cf. Schuchardt, pp. 46ff., and Herskovits (I).
7 A somewhat more detailed consideration of Saramaka tongo must be reserved for inclusion in a projected analysis of the culture of the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes.
8 We have not mentioned influences of the languages of the Indians of Suriname in our discussion because these influences lie mainly in the field of vocabulary, which we have not considered, and also because Indian influences, compared to European and African, have been slight. We have also not mentioned the languages of the Congo in our consideration of African tongues, but only because grammars of these languages were not available to us.

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World were met with in African pidgin, and it was possible to trace them to African speech.\(^1\)

Therefore, it must be concluded that not only *taki-taki*, but the speech of the other regions of the New World we have cited, and the West African pidgin dialects, are all languages exhibiting, in varying degrees of intensity, similar African constructions and idioms, though employing vocabulary that is predominantly European.

We have thus far made no mention of the element of tone in *taki-taki*. Tone is to be found in Paramaribo Negro speech, as it is in Africa, but whereas in Africa tone is ‘significant’, in Paramaribo we have come across no example where tone entered into the determination of grammatical form. An extended study is necessary to determine definitely whether all significant tone has been lost in the New World. It can be assumed, however, that relatively little tone of grammatical importance has held over in *taki-taki*, though in *Saramaka tongo* it has been possible to isolate tonal configurations of significance.

One point has yet to be touched upon, and concerns the European elements, other than vocabulary, that have entered into the organisation of *taki-taki*. It must be evident that with the loss of tone certain Europeanisms had to be introduced to meet the linguistic needs of the Negroes in their new environment. It need not be stressed here that this involves no implication that the recognition of such a need is a conscious one. That acculturation was not limited to vocabulary, but made for the introduction of morphological characteristics of European origin as well, is to be seen in the position of the adjective in the sentence, for example, where the modifier most frequently appears before the word it modifies, instead of after the word, as in African usage.

Finally we must call attention to the fact that just as English words had in earlier times replaced Portuguese, as is evidenced by the difference in the speech of the bush and town Negroes, and as African words for non-ritual phenomena are tending to disappear, to be replaced by English, or Dutch ones, so Dutch is today replacing many of the English words. Instead of *boi* we often hear *yungu*, instead of *umą-pi̯kin* we hear *meishe*, instead of *umą* we hear *fra*, and we hear the words *drei̯* for ‘turn’, and *wars:* for ‘worthy’, *dax* for ‘howdo’ (*odi*), and *hemel* for ‘sky’. One encounters *n̄otu* for ‘need’, *reckfardig* for ‘just’, *ferstå̯n* for ‘understand’, *fertro* for ‘trust’, *xolōku* for ‘luck’, *sipotu* for ‘ridicule’, *frandra* for ‘change’, *mɛshandɛl* for ‘abuse’, *beina* for ‘almost’, *ondrosuku* for ‘examine’, *gṣbọrọ* for ‘born’, *regɛl* for ‘rule’, *stofu* for ‘stewed’, *strafu* for ‘punishment’, *skotu* for ‘fence’, *sontu* for ‘healthy’. Still other words are sufficiently similar, both in English and Dutch,

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1 Cf., for example, Balmer & Grant, p. 14, sections 12 and 13, for their remarks on the ‘glide’ in Fante.
to make difficult the determination from which of the two languages they stem. What is significant is that, whether English or Dutch, these words are spoken in sentences which adhere to the rules of grammar we have described.

4. Notes on Proverbs

When we consider the specimens of Suriname folk-literature that have appeared, we find that it is pre-eminently the proverb that has received the attention of collectors. From the time of Wüllschlägel, who published over seven hundred, various shorter collections of proverbs have appeared. A number of these collections, published locally in Suriname, are now not available. The most recent collection to be published is one which, up to the fifth section, contains over three hundred sayings. It is not strange that this form should have been the one to which collectors turned, for in comparison with riddle and story, the proverb is heard more often, and presents much less difficulty in gathering. Among the Suriname Negroes of both town and bush, proverbs are employed in every kind of situation, as they are in Africa. They are a prime factor in the education of the young, in pointing a lesson to a fellow adult, in passing a judgment on someone newly met. We have already discussed the use of the proverb in connection with the naming of designs and the methods of tying the head-kirchiefs worn by the women in town. In the bush, proverbial sayings are woven into all conversation, and it is characteristic of an elder of a village, or a man who has standing in his group, that he is an adept at introducing these pithy sayings, so that at times what he says reduces itself to the quotation of one proverb after another, with so few connectives to point these to any definite subject as to make it a form of elliptical expression understood only by men of like rank and experience. Indeed, in the bush it may well be said that the skillful use of these proverbs marks the man who in our own civilisation would be regarded as scholarly. In the town, also, it is the older people who introduce these proverbial asides and comments most frequently, but since, as we have indicated, the culture is carried on chiefly by women, the proverbs in most frequent and most vigorous use are those that enter into disputes, either as threats, or with vituperative intent, or as expressions of
indifference to threats. Yet another factor enters into the use of the proverb in quarrels, namely, that these Negroes, like those in other parts of the New World and Africa, attach supernatural power to ‘cussing.’ Thus it is safer to take recourse in a traditional expression to vent their feelings than to become involved in accusations and recriminations, because of the mishaps that befall the one who had been ‘cussed.’ It is not intended to suggest, however, that there are not sayings to comment fatalistically, or jibingly, or wittily, on human experience. We find, in fact, that human ingratitude is remarked upon, and the faithlessness of women; that foolish show of courage is deplored, and boastfulness is ridiculed; that caution is recommended, and discretion, but not timidity; and the point is made that no one is so powerful or exalted that there is not someone to meet him on his own terms; greed is criticised, but reckless generosity is enjoined; the importance of wisdom is cited, and the role of necessity stated.

In the bush the belief exists that these proverbs are constantly being added to by the elders, and the chief in particular was credited with having originated countless of these. For at least one of the proverbs attributed to Gramṇ Moana Yaṅkusuo, however, we have found a parallel in West Africa, 1 and what is happening in the bush may, as in the city, be that within the framework of a traditional proverb a few words are changed or added. For example, proverbs 9, 9a, 15, 77, 97 2 all are stylistically the same, but references such as those to the lottery or to the Ice Company are recent adaptations. Tradition in town holds that there was in olden days a Bas’ Džaki who was the originator of many of these sayings. Only one of our proverbs cites him as the speaker of the proverb, but our informants assured us that many which are spoken had first been heard from him. He is said to have been an iron-worker, remarkable not alone for his craftsmanship and supernatural strength, but for his gift of improvisation.

This device of attributing the sayings to a given character, animal or human, follows African pattern, and, as might be expected, is met with most frequently in the bush. Thus, out of forty-nine Saramacca proverbs, we have ten attributed to definite speakers, whereas out of one hundred and seventy-four from the town, we have but six references to the character who is citing the proverb. Stylistically, the proverbs are given in a few instances as rhymed couplets, and all show a fixed rhythmic patterning.

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1 Saramacca proverb No. 35.
2 Unless otherwise stated, the proverbs are those in taki-taki.
5. Notes on Riddles

Summaries of the small numbers of riddles and tales published up to 1926 have been made by the Penard brothers.1 They notice twenty-three examples of riddles, to which they add sixty-seven, while of tales they give a bibliography of ten titles containing twenty-one stories, in addition to the four tales they contribute and the thirty-nine stories given in Van Cappelle's contribution.2 It is not surprising that so few riddles have been collected and published, for this form is not as popular in Suriname as it is elsewhere. Here its use seems to be restricted, as the Penards remark, 'to the children and occasionally to the mourners at... wakes.'3 Indeed, it was our experience that except for the wakes, where the riddle is not used 'occasionally' but practically without exception, and repeatedly in the course of the night to amuse the people who are present, riddling is not indulged in by the Suriname Negroes to any appreciable extent. Again and again, when we asked for riddles, we were told that unless a person frequented the ceremonies for the dead, he rarely heard them, and that they were, therefore, not so well known. When we pressed for them, we found that a small number were given to us by different informants, and that the greater number of these were the same riddles.

In Suriname, as elsewhere among African peoples, the riddle depends upon double entendre for much of its effect, and it may be that this is the reason why more riddles have not found their way into print, for it is possible that informants hesitated to give riddles of this type through fear of offending the collectors. After coming to know our informants, we ourselves found no such inhibition, but rather a decided relish for the obscene elements. The absence of a large number of riddles in Suriname may then be accounted for, perhaps, by the fact that it has here come to have a specialised function of serving at funerary rites, and has ceased to play a part in the folk expression of everyday life; whatever the cause, its restricted use is especially interesting in view of the prevalence of riddling found in most New World Negro cultures, where the riddle is as important, if not more important, than the proverb.4 The stylistic device of introducing the speaker's mother or father as the person involved in the action stated in the riddle has been remarked

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1 Penard, (II), pp. 239-40, and (III), p. 411. See also Van Panhuys, passim.
2 The Penard brothers state that they had collected more than eighty tales, and mention their intention to publish them (II, p. 243), but to our knowledge they have not done so.
3 (III), p. 412.
4 Practically all large collections of New World Negro folk-tales, such as those of Andrade, Beckwith, Parsons, and others, contain examples of riddles in numbers. We ourselves found that some White children we met in South Carolina delighted in riddling, and, on inquiry, were informed it was their Negro nurse who had taught them this form of amusement.
by the Penards. This again follows the African pattern of riddling, and is met with elsewhere in the New World. In the bush, riddles are at times used for the opening of Anansi stories.

6. The Telling of the Tales

Though few tales have been recorded, these play an important role in the life of the Suriname Negroes. They are, whatever their nature, called Anansi-tori, the stories of Anansi, the Twi trickster-hero, who, like in Curaçao and Jamaica has survived his migration to the western hemisphere to be here, as on the Gold Coast, the most important single character in the folk-tales of the Negroes of these regions. Whether a story deals with animals, or recounts the adventures of kings and princesses, or tells of ghosts, the name is still Anansi-tori, though at times one hears the term ‘ondrofeni tori’ applied to those purporting to recount personal experiences. The explanation for the generic term of Anansi-tori for all stories may be had from the myth told in Ashanti, which tells how Anansi acquired the right to have all tales bear his name - formerly they were called ‘God's stories’ - by performing the tasks set for him by God.

1 (III), p. 412.
2 See, for example, the tale given by Schuchardt, pp. 41-2. We were present at a story-telling session in Abeokuta, Nigeria, and there each narrator was asked a series of riddles as a prelude to his story. These riddles were spoken rapidly, one after another, while the children in a chorus shouted the answers. In Dahomey, riddles are the opening formulae for stories, and as in Nigeria, the riddles need have no bearing upon the content of the story. In Dahomey, too, the children organise into story-telling groups, with a ‘head-man’ who is chosen among themselves to act for the group, and this ‘head-man’ opens the story-telling session at dusk by riddling with his group. Those who, when called upon, cannot give the answer, are ‘assessed’ a certain number of stories which they must tell.
3 See Cardinall, (I) and Rattray (III), for Anansi among the Gold Coast peoples. It must not be assumed, however, that the spider (under other names, it is true) is found only on the Gold Coast. He is a prominent character in Cronise and Ward's and in Thomas' collection (VI) from Sierra Leone, among the Guro, Gagu and Agni of the Ivory Coast (Tauxier, I, III), in Togoland (Speiss, I), and among the Hausa, where, according to Tremenrane, (III, p. 10) 'since the spider is the king of cunning and craftiness, all fables are told in his name.' Even in the far-off Cameroons, the spider is the wahrsager of the animals (Lederbogen, I). For Anansi in Jamaica, see Beckwith (II), passim. Encyc. p. 44, states that in Curaçao these tales are called Cuenta di nansi. Van Cappelle (p. 267, note 2), states the spider in Curaçao is called 'Nanzi'. It is perhaps not without significance that 'Miss Nancy' figures as an occasional character in the Sea Island tales (Parsons, II, No. 62, IV, and passim).
4 Rattray's statement that 'all of the stories in this volume would, however, be classed by the Akan-speaking African under the generic title of "Anansesem" (Spider stories) whether the spider appeared in the tale or not,' is pertinent (II, p. xiii). Indeed, we ourselves found among the Ashanti that most of our informants began by offering to tell us the story of how Nyakonscm came to be called Anansesem.
What is the role of the Anansi-tori in the life of the Paramaribo Negroes? Its most important function is its place in the complex of the rites for the dead, and it is from this that stems the reason why these tales may not be told during the day, for the belief holds that the dead would come and sit beside the tellers of the tales if this were essayed, thus causing their death. Among the Saramacca Bush-Negroes, these tales are told to entertain the dead while they lie in state in the dɛdɛ-wosu, the house of death that every village possesses, since burial seldom takes place, even for a man of no great rank in the community, until six or seven days have elapsed since his death. In Paramaribo, though stories are told at all wakes, and often at anniversary celebrations for the dead, the most important story-telling ceremony for the dead is what is called aiti-dei neti, 'eighth-day night (after death). This wake, beginning early in the evening with hymns which last for about an hour, continues, after what is called pratiskrati ('serving the chocolate', as the refreshments are known), with riddling, and games of forfeits and impersonation, and story telling until daybreak. It must not be thought, however, that the Anansi-stories are told only on occasions associated with honoring or entertaining the spirits of the dead, for they serve an important educational function, and serve, as well, to entertain during the leisure of an unoccupied evening in the 'yard', on the plantation, or in work-camps where men from the city are isolated in the bush.

The tales may be divided into three general groups; those that have animals as their dramatis personae, those with human characters, and those containing animals and humans, who appear to share the world they inhabit on equal terms. Among those tales in which only humans figure are to be found the incidents dealing with magic manipulation or with idiosyncrasies traceable to the world of the tellers of the tales, or with ghosts. The animal tales may in turn be subdivided into those in which Anansi, the spider, figures as leading character, and those in which other animals appear. In arranging the stories, we have followed the sequence of presenting the animal tales about Anansi first, then those about other animals.

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1 While we were unable to collect tales in Saramaka ɪŋgo, we heard many Anansi-tori told in the bush, and we found that both in the tales told and in the social setting of the stories, there is but little difference between town and bush.
2 This reluctance to tell tales during the day is characteristic of New World and West African Negroes alike, and has been remarked upon by almost every student.
3 The Penards (II, pp. 242-3) state 'It is considered unlucky to tell Anansi-tori in the daytime; but, if this is to be done, the narrator may avert the evil consequences of his indiscretion by first plucking a hair from his eyelids.' Though most of our tales were gathered during the day, we have never seen this done.
4 Cf. Beckwith, (II), pp. xi-xii, for a similar statement as regards Jamaica.
and finally the tales of humans, following in our grouping the distinctions made above.\(^1\)

With the exception of Elephant, asau\(^2\), and Whale, who figure in the Tug of War tale, there are no animals who do not come from the immediate environment of the people of Suriname. Thus we find among them Anansi, the spider, Tiger (by which term the jaguar is named), Konikoni (variously denoted the rabbit and the aguti), Deer, Buffalo (the tapir), Monkey, Wild Dog, Goat, Cock, Cockroach, Wren (Tyotyoforu), Toad, Tortoise, Hog, Ant-eater, Parrot, Cricket and Alligator.\(^3\) Of supernatural characters we have Death, the Devil, and Lɛba, god of the crossroads; of personifications we have ‘Gun’ and the magic peanuts who break into speech. The traits that individualise these characters are, as is usual in animal stories, those which they manifest in everyday life. Thus, Tortoise is slow and Spider is cunning, while Tiger is strong, but lacking in shrewdness.

In the majority of the tales in which Anansi figures as trickster, he attains his ends by some ruse, but there are instances of retribution; one of them comes at the hands of Rabbit (No. 23); another comes from Alligator (No. 29), and yet another from Tortoise (Nos. 83 and 84). In three instances he is outwitted by his own wife (Nos. 43, 44, and 45), and for the rest, it is usually ‘the king’ or ‘the chief’ who sees to his punishment. There are instances where a son surpasses him in cunning (No. 65), or where he saves Anansi’s life (Nos. 11 and 12). The common factor in all the animal tales is that the small animal outwits the larger one. We see this in Anansi’s exploits against Tiger (as in No. 30), or in the story of the flying contest (No. 26), where the little bird who mounts on the back of Falcon is made king of the birds, or where Rabbit and Tortoise save themselves from Tiger (as in No. 18).

This motif also occurs in the human tales, where the small boy (No. 128) or the poor boy, endowed with magic (No. 103) or given magic by a witch (No. 104), outwits the king and marries the king’s daughter. It is tempting to refer the human tales figuring kings and hunters, and boy heroes, and princesses and witches, to a European provenience, because of their resemblance to the fairytales found in such a collection as that of the Brothers Grimm. This assumption, however, is by no means entirely borne out when reference is also made to the African literature. Thus, in a tale such as ‘The Good Child and the Bad’ (No. 100), although we have

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\(^1\) We collected all versions of any tale told to us, and have grouped the variants, whatever their characters, hence in some instances the above classifications are not held to.

\(^2\) Compare Kongo nzau, in Bentley, p. 68.

\(^3\) It is not necessary to indicate how in these, as in the tales of most folk whose lore is living, the stories reflect the everyday life of the people. This can be seen in the way such tales as No. 100 or as No. 122 are embroidered with details arising out of the experiences and beliefs of those who tell them.
a combination of two, and perhaps three, well-known European tales (Frau Holle, Cinderella, and the Magic Whip), it is equally true that an impressively large number of West African correspondences for both the Frau Holle and the Magic Whip portions of the tale are found in the available literature. Indeed, the Frau Holle tale is an excellent case in point in illustrating the manner in which a story that lies deep in African patterns may be credited by the comparative folk-lorist, studying New World Negro tales, to European provenience exclusively. West African folk-lore, however, shows frequent occurrence of what may be termed the ‘orphan’ cycle of tales, the moral of which teaches consideration for the orphan. When recording tales in Dahomey, we repeatedly heard the expression, ‘this will be a notchiovi story’, and notchiovi means ‘motherless child’. Most African collections contain the well known and often repeated tales of the market of the dead, where the orphan is helped by her dead mother to destroy the co-wife who had mistreated her, or, even more frequently, they contain this Frau Holle motif of the orphaned child obeying difficult and apparently meaningless injunctions and being rewarded, while the well-treated child refuses to obey, and is punished.

That there is an appreciable European influence in the stories, particularly in the tales about human beings, is indisputable. But that there are also elements of African provenience in these tales of kings and princes, of demons and changelings must not be ignored. A consideration of the correspondences to European and West African tales does, in fact, bring up problems of a larger nature which cannot be discussed here. In the light of the number of African correspondences for human as well as animal stories, it may, however, be queried whether the conclusion that New World Negro tales of this character are largely derived from European influences, may not profitably be reinvestigated.

The arrangement of the stories in this collection to follow a sequence of animal, animal-human, and human tales was made in order to facilitate comparative work of students of folk-lore. They might have been grouped otherwise, - as explanatory and moralising tales, for example, with an intermediate group for tales which overlap these two types. There would have been ample reason for such classification, for these aspects of the character of the tales explain their function as an educational factor among the Negroes. ‘While you Whites have schools and books for teaching your children, we tell them stories, for our stories are our books,’ the West African Dahomeans say. In Paramaribo, though a large proportion of the children attend school, they still listen after dusk to Anansi-stories, and they are encouraged by the older women in the yard to recount them to one another, to break the flow of narrative with songs, and to end with the proper moral, or the proper explanatory sentence. If riddles are asked the children, no
emphasis is given to the elements of *double entendre*, but stress is laid upon
memorising the answers.

The tales told by adults at night for their own entertainment fall principally into the
group of stories about human beings, though animal tales, whether they point a
moral or not, are included if they afford the teller an opportunity for impersonation
and mimicry. Such tales as the Tar-baby, with the pantomimed description of the
trickster striking the doll, or those which pit Anansi’s cunning against the Tiger’s
strength and afford the teller the opportunity of imitating the mincing voice of Anansi
and the gruff tones of the larger animal, are special favorites.

Story-telling among these people is not an art which is dependent upon the skill
of the narrator alone, for any well told story becomes a dramatic presentation with
a principal impersonator, and a chorus.1

To understand the character of this participation by the listeners, it is necessary
to go beyond story-telling, and to examine the pattern underlying conversation in
the Suriname Bush, or in such regions of West Africa as the Gold Coast, or Nigeria,
or Dahomey. Among the Bush-Negroes, whether two men pass each other on the
river, and state their respective errands and exchange greetings, or two women
meet on the path to the fields, and stop to recount some domestic incident, or men
meet in the council-house, or gather for a joint enterprise, what is spoken by one is
punctuated with a phrase of interpolation by the other, so that all speech consists
of a series of statements and responses and becomes liturgical in its rhythms. These
interpolations may come at the end of a pause, or they may break the length of a
sentence, and they are often no more than ‘Yes!’ ‘Well, so it is!’ ‘So I hear!’ ‘True-true!’
‘That’s so!’ ‘Yes, brother!’2 To listen to speech passively would be considered boorish,
or unfriendly. The interpolations which punctuate the flow of the story and introduce
the songs are, therefore, fundamental to narrative structure.

In the Paramaribo tales, these interruptions are called *kɔt’ tori*, literally ‘cutting the
story’, and the songs are *kɔt’ sugi*, ‘songs that cut (the story)’.

Before we discuss the formulae for these *kɔt’ tori*, however, we must mention the
two most popular openings for stories. The first is

‘*Er, tin, tin*’

with the answer

‘*Tin, tin, tin*’3

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1 This characterises the telling of tales by Negroes everywhere; cf. the descriptions of story-telling
given by Dennett, (I, ch. II), Rattray, (III, p. vi, x-xi), Cronise and Ward, Tauxier, (I),
Westermann, (III, pp. 357ff.), and Parsons, (III, pp. xx-xxi), among numerous others.
2 One may refer to the ‘Yes, Lawd!’, ‘Glory!’, and other exclamations from the congregation
which, in Negro churches in the United States, punctuate a prayer or a sermon.
3 This formula is said to mean ‘Once upon a time.’
and the second is

‘Kri, kra, all men on their kra-kra’

A tale may also open with a proverb (as in Nos. 98 or 107), or by an invocation (as in No. 121), in order to give the listeners the clue to the theme.

The first interruption may come after the narrator has spoken but five or six sentences.

Man in Audience: ‘Kri-kra’
Narrator: ‘Fa yu taki? - What are you saying?’
Man. ‘Bato! Mi bɛn dape. - Bato, I was there.’
Narrator: ‘Sän yu si? - What did you see?’

The rejoinder to this is a song, led by the man who has interrupted, to the accompaniment of the listeners singing a chorus.

It is possible to shorten this formula, and simply call out ‘Bato!’ as a signal to the narrator to stop, and then to begin a song, or to call, ‘Kri-kra’ and answer the narrator’s first question with a song. It often happens that the story-teller himself cuts his own story, and breaks into a song, in which his audience joins. He may do this because his audience is listless, or because he wishes to heighten suspense, for the good story-teller introduces these interruptions with fine dramatic effect. One such kot’tori goes as follows:

Narrator: ‘Harki tori! ye ri tori! - Hear the tale! Listen to the tale!’
Voice from Audience: ‘A so go? - Will it go?’
Narrator: ‘A mus’ ką go! - It must go on!’

The teller may pause long enough to assure his audience that what follows is interesting, whereupon he will pause his narrative and exclaim,

‘Moksmoriq, nąŋa shuba, shuba’

or

‘Wc, mi mąn, opo yu yesi, ye ri tori, fő te yu go taki baka fő yu no lej. - Well, my man, open your ears and hear the story, so that when you go to repeat it, you won’t lie.’

These intervals are usually followed by at least one song.

The songs employed for the purpose of ‘cutting’ the story vary widely as to their character, as may be seen in the songs that ‘cut’ the tales of this collection. Only few of the traditional songs that are considered as an integral part of the story itself have been retained, for these are often replaced by more recent ones. The newer songs may be Dutch tunes to which some old words have been fitted, or a Dutch verse sung to an old tune, or a fresh adaptation of a traditional melody. Kot’sngi may also be religious songs, or those of the Kauna dances, the first being introduced

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1 This formula is said to mean ‘All in their places’, kri, kra being a bird’s cry, and kra-kra a perch on a tree.
2 This is said to be an African assurance that the tale will delight the listeners.
because they are well known, their simple lines enabling the chorus to sing with the leader; and the second because the Kauna songs abound in satirical and gross allusions, and thus overcome the handicap of the longer recitative by the leader with the hilarity aroused by the rendition of words that are more or less known to all.

These interpolations, with song intervals and often short dance intervals as well, continue until the end of the tale, when the narrator closes with a proverb, or simply says, 'A kaba - It is finished,' or 'Na tori kom kaba, - The story is at an end.' Someone in the audience may interrupt at the very end of the story with yet a final exclamation, such as 'Bato! Mi ben dap! - Bato! I was there!' and go on to tell how he himself shook hands with the prince and the princess whose trials the story had brought to a happy conclusion; or how he sat at their wedding feast; or how otherwise he participated in the action of the story's end. Or it may be that it is the teller of the tale who himself recounts how, as in story 99, it was the shock of the concluding action that brought him to the very place where he is recounting the story. Thus the effect sought is the illusion of actual participation in the action, not only by the teller but by the entire audience. The swaying of the body to the rhythms of the songs, the accompaniment of hand-clapping, and the few dance-steps often introduced by the leader of a song or by the narrator, and repeated by others standing on the fringe of the listening group, all make for the heightening of this illusion, and it is this enjoyment of rhythmic participation that makes stylistic repetition in the tales a pattern that is as welcome as the similarly patterned repetition in songs and drum rhythms.

The formulae with which the tales are opened and closed call for some further mention, principally because in them we find one of the deep-seated African characteristics of folk-tales that has persisted in all portions of the New World. It is not easy to find illustrations of such devices in the published collections of African tales, mainly because these most frequently consist of abstracts, - though the abstracts may be extended ones, - rather than full renditions of the tales themselves. But where tales are given in close translation, or where attempts have been made to render them as they are told, examples do appear. The best instance is found in Rattray's collections. In his Ashanti stories almost every tale is prefaced by the statement 'We do not really mean, we do not really mean (that what we are going to say is true)', while each ends with the formula 'This, my story, which I have related, if it be sweet, (or) if it be not sweet, take some elsewhere, and let some come back to me.' In Rattray's collection of Hausa tales, one often finds the opening 'A story, a story. Let it go, let it come.' In Nigeria, one of the

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1 For other instances see Nos. 18, 23, 79, 96, 104, 119, 127, 128.
2 (III), passim.
3 (IV), passim.
tales collected by us began, in a fashion we have heard during evenings of story-telling ‘Alo, alo. Itomi - Alo, alo. My story’; another began with the proverb that also ended it and was the point of the tale, while a third began with the statement

‘We live in de worl',
We live in de worl',
But no, we live in de devil-people country.’

In Dahomey, one informant, in writing for us a list of riddles, prefaced it with the heading, ‘Les formules que on se prononce d’abord avant le raconter les contes.’

Examples abound of New World correspondences to this trait of Suriname folk-lore style. Thus, in the Bahama Islands, Parsons gives numerous rhymes which open the stories she reports, -

‘Once upon a time, a very good time,
Monkey chew tobacco and spit white lime’

is the one that appears most often. Her Sea Island tales carry no such openings, but Johnson maintains that this opening which we have quoted is common on Ladies Island, and quotes two others. Closing formulae are also very common in New World collections, and they are of close resemblance to the type of closing we have quoted from Suriname. Thus, in Louisiana, Fortier reports the ending of one story as consisting of the sentence

‘As I was there when all that happened, I ran away to relate it to you’

and another with

‘The young girl said “Yes” and there was such a wedding that they sent me on to relate the story everywhere, everywhere.’

From the Sea Islands, to cite only one instance from Parson’s tales we find

‘Of course I couldn’t stay any longer to see any more done’

while as a variant to this ending, she gives

‘I was watching them very close, and I turn aroun', -
I step on a tin and the tin bend
And there my story end.’

2 (III), p. 1 and often elsewhere in this volume.
3 G. Johnson, p. 156.
4 (I) story XV, p. 53.
5 (I), story XVI, p. 61.
6 (II), p. 51.
In the Bahamas, numerous examples of both kinds of ending dot Parsons' collection, two such, taken at random being the narrative ending

‘Boukee he started back, an' de reins broke an' hit me an' cause me to tell dis storee,’

and the formulary

‘E bo ben,
My story en’.

In Jamaica, no set beginning is reported, but Beckwith ends many of her tales with ‘Jack man doraf’, apparently a favorite closing formula. In Santo Domingo, where, according to Andrade, 'the majority of the tales seem to be of European origin', he finds that 'it was customary at one time to begin a story with certain formulistic expressions...' and states that 'endings may be extemporised, but the one most commonly resorted to is... y a mí me dieron una patá y me dejaron aquí sentao.' It is not claimed, of course, that these endings to Negro tales are not European in provenience, for in some of the tales of such a collection as that of Grimm Brothers, endings reminiscent of these are present. They may perhaps be best regarded as representing a coalescing of African and European cultural elements.

7. Titling

The titles which head the individual stories are not those given by the informants; where informants gave us titles, they will be found at the head of the taki-taki text. The usual heading was of the type of 'Anansi and Tiger', although in a few instances, such as that of No. 122, set titles by which the tale is known in Surinam were given. In all instances of stories with well-known themes, we have used the titles that are coming to have currency in the literature to facilitate comparisons. In instances where current catch-phrase titles were replaced by others, as in stories 1-4 'Outwitting Creditors', the choice was dictated by the fact that the point of the stories both in Suriname and West Africa seemed best to fit the title given here. In stories 66 and 67, the title of 'Enfant Terrible', is another instance of African affiliations dictating our designation. The motif of the young boy, born with the full power of speech and the ability to perform feats of valor and cunning, figures very

1 (III), pp. 30-31.
3 (II), passim.
4 P. 26. See also the end of tale No. 43 for a different narrative closing.
5 As a matter of fact, we took this title from that of an entire cycle in Tauxier (I).
widely in one form or another in West African folk-lore, - indeed, this character is not only a folkloristic one, but also figures in the mythology of West African peoples, as, for example, the *tɔxɔsu* of Dahomey. In most West African collections, it will be found that these ‘precocious-child’ tales form a cycle of appreciable bulk, and their hero shares with the hunter and the twin the ability to perform feats which only the strength given by magic makes possible. But of these three, the ‘precocious child’ is the strongest, the most feared, and the most told of in story. Stories for which current titles were not available were given titles that would supply a clue to the material contained in the tale; where it seemed that two or more general motifs were contained in one story, a compound title containing a description of each of the principal elements of the tale was employed.¹

8. Arrangement of Bibliographic Notes

A word must be said regarding the bibliography of collections of folk-lore read for the purpose of finding correspondences for the Suriname stories. It will be noted that it is chiefly the West African literature that was gone through, and to which correspondences in plot and incident will be found. This selection was made advisedly, for in the light of our historical knowledge of the West African derivation of the Suriname Negroes, and the manner in which comparative study of African customs and languages validated the historical data², it seemed best to concentrate upon the literature of that area, rather than to achieve a thin sampling of literature from all of Africa. It was also desired, however, to indicate the correspondences with New World Negro folk-tales, and several of the more extensive collections of New World Negro lore have therefore been employed to this end. Since all but one of these collections have especially full bibliographies on the New World material, no attempt other than this was made to cover the field in this area. For European correspondences, the work of Bolte and Polivka has happily lightened the labors of the comparative folk-lorist, and, with Dähnhardt’s *Natursagen*, has been relied upon to indicate where the correspondences between this collection of tales and those of Europe are to be found. No correspondences, either African, European, or New World Negro, were attempted for the proverbs or riddles, since the series in this volume were not felt to be sufficiently full to provide an adequate sample of the resources of the Suriname Negroes in these forms, and to proceed to investigate correspondences on the basis of inadequate samples would

¹ We are indebted to Dr. Parsons for her suggestions on titling, as we are for the titles she has used in her own works.
² Cf. Herskovits (III).
lead to biased results. In the comparative notes appended to each tale, the references are arranged in the following order: first come the West African correspondences from the north and west (Senegal and the Sudan) along the coast to the Congo; these are followed by New World references; and finally, by the Indo-European.¹

¹ Where correspondences with Van Cappelle's and the Penard brothers' collections have been found, these are also noted. Two of the Penards' four tales are found in our collection, and nineteen of Van Cappelle's thirty-nine. In addition, two of Van Cappelle's tales (given as correspondences, though not close, to two of ours) are identical with two we collected in West Africa.
B. Tales from Paramaribo
1.

Anąnsi go na Hontimą', a taki', 'Hontimą, lęni mi fejftin xulder. Na uni dri mün, mi so gi yu na moni baka.' Hontimą taki, 'A bo.' Anąnsi taki ęŋ taŋgi, 'A tän fa wi taki.' N'ya a gowe. A komopo na Hontimą, a go na Tigri. A taki Tigri, 'Tigri, wän pina dę nąŋga mi. Lęni mi wän hondro bankǒnotò.' Tigri taki, 'O tem yu so gi mi hem baka?' Anąnsi taki so srefi, 'Dri mün mi so gi 'em baka.' N'ya a taki hem ađiọsi, a gowe. A go noya a Kakaforu. 'Lęni mi wän hondro bankǒnotò. Mi habi na moni tumusi fanodò. Mi wejfi nąŋga mi p'kin 'e siki ogrì, ogrì.' En Kakaforu gi na moni. Kaka oksi, 'O tem mi dę go kiś' na moni baka?' Anąnsi piki Kakaforu, a taki, 'Dri mün yu so kiś' na moni baka.' A taki ađiọsi, a gowe. A go na Kakalaka, taki, 'Odi. Mi kom be'g' yu len' mi wän hondro bankǒnotò. Mi so gi hem baka na uni dri mū.' A taki Kakalaka ađiọsi, a gowe.

Di na tem kōm klosibaj, a go na Kakalaka, a tajìgi, 'Kō' so wän deji na aji yuru, dą' mi so paj yu.' A komopo na Kakalaka, a go na Kakaforu. A tajìgi, 'Kakaforu, pikinso pasa aji yuru yu mu' kō' na mi, kom teki na moni di mi mu' paj yu.' A go na Tigri, a taki, 'Matì Tigri, na tem doro fō mi gi ju yu yu moni baka. We, mi kō' bègi yu fō kom teki hém na so wän deji.' A gi Tigri na srefi deji di a poti gi Kakalaka nąŋga Kakaforu, ma a gi Tigri pikinso moro latì. Tigri taki, 'A bō'. Wi so miti baka.' Nowa a go na Hontimą, a taki Hontimą, 'Odi, moji Hontimą. Mi kōm pik' yu na so wän deji yu kom teki na moni fō yu, kom teki hém.' A taki pikinso moro lati a bèn tajìgi Tigri.

Na deji kom. Kakalaka kom. Anąnsi taki, 'Mōj, yu kō' dyόnso. Sidōn pikinso.' En a hori hém nąŋga wän pikin tori. Na uni na tori, Anąnsi luku, a si Kakaforu de kom. Anąnsi naki hanu, a taki, 'Kakaforu de kom!' Kakalaka taki, 'Mi ddx! Fa mi dę go du?' Anąnsi taki, 'Go na baka mi doro.' Kakaforu taki, 'Masra Anąnsi, odi. Mi kō' fa wi bèn taki.' Anąnsi piki a Kakaforu, a taki, 'A bō', mi klari gi yu, ma sidōn pikinso.' En den taki wän tori te... Kakafo-

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2 Wilkie (I), p. 22, states that a form from ame forms the impersonal pronoun; in Paramaribo it also takes the usage of the 3rd personal singular pronoun (he, she, it).
ru opo eη aj, a si Tigri dc kom. A naki hanu, a taki, 'Tigri kom! Mi dcdc! Anąnși, kibri mi!' Anąnși taki, 'Go na baka na doro.' Kakaforu go na baka na doro, a si Kakalaka, a swari hɛm. Dąn eη kibri. Tigri kom na uni. 'So, Anąnși, mi kom tek' mi moni fa wi ben taki.' Anąnși taki, 'Wakti pikinson.' Tigri taki, 'No, mi no habi ɛm. Paj mi wantɛ.' Anąnși taki, 'No mek' trobi. Go na baka doro, mi kibri wɛn sani gi ju.' Tigri go na baka doro, a feni Kakaforu, a nyam eη wantɛm. Nowa a kom baka na Anąnși, a taki, 'Gi mi na moni.' Fa a dc oksi na moni, den luku, den si Hontimán. Anąnși taki, 'Mi mama! Hontimán dc kom!' Tigri taki, 'Mi dcdc! Anąnși, kibri mi!' Anąnși taki, 'Luku na bom dia. Go na tapu.' Tigri feti go na tapu. Na bom pe Anąnși meki Tigri go na tapu, bifo' Tigri kom, Anąnși ben poti wɛn tobo watra na ondro na bom.


So lejki Hontimán gowe, Anąnși tek' eη nefi, a fari na buba fɔ Tigri. A dɛj eη moj fɔ a go sɛri.
1. Outwitting Creditors: Chain of Victims.¹

Anansi went to Hunter, and he said, ‘Hunter, lend me fifty guilders. In three months I will give you back the money.’ Hunter said, ‘All right.’ Anansi thanked him. ‘It stands as we said.’ Now he went away. He left Hunter, and went to Tiger. He said to Tiger, ‘Tiger, I am having a hard time. Lend me a hundred bankonoto.’³ Tiger said, ‘When will you give it back to me?’ Anansi told the same (thing), ‘In three months I will give it back.’ Now he said good-bye to him, and he went away. He went now to Cock. ‘Lend me a hundred bankonoto. I need the money very much. My wife and children are terribly, terribly sick.’ And Cock gave the money. Cock asked, ‘When am I going to get the money back?’ Anansi answered Cock, he said, ‘In three months you will get the money back.’ He said good-bye, and he went away. He went to Cockroach, and said, ‘How do I come to beg you to lend me a hundred bankonoto. I will give it back in three months.’ He said good-bye to Cockroach, and he went away.

When the time approached (to repay the debts), he went to Cockroach, and he said, ‘Come on such a day at eight o'clock, and I will pay you.’ He left Cockroach, and he went to Cock. He said, ‘Cock, a little after eight o'clock you must come to me to take the money which I must pay you.’ He went to Tiger, and he said, ‘Friend Tiger, the time has come for me to give you your money back. Well, I come to beg you to come and take it on such a day.’ He gave [told] Tiger the same day which he had set for Cockroach and Cock, but he gave Tiger a little later (time). Tiger said, ‘All right. We shall meet again.’ Now he went to Hunter, and said to Hunter, ‘How do I come to tell you to come on such a day to take your money.’ He said a little later (time) than he had told Tiger.

The day came. Cockroach came. Anansi said, ‘Fine, that you come just now. Sit down a little.’ And he held him with a little story [gossip]. In the midst of the story, Anansi looked, and he saw Cock coming. Anansi clapped his hands, and he said, ‘Cock is coming!’ Cockroach said, ‘I am a dead one! What shall I do?’ Anansi said, ‘Go behind my door.’ Cock said, ‘Master Anansi, how do I come as we had agreed.’ Anansi answered Cock, he said,

¹ Told by 7. Compare, for Sierra Leone, Koelle 159-161, No. 3 (Fables); Togo (Ewe), Speiss 118-120, No. 5; Hausa, Rattray (IV), ii. 58-72. No. 26, Tremearne (I) 210-212, No. 7, (III) 372-4, No. 78; Northeastern Nigeria (Bura), Helser 115-120, No. 17; S. Nigeria (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 6-10, No. 2; Cobham 307-8; Gabun, Nassau (I) 245-7, Fang No. 11; Congo (Bakongo), Struyf 744-5, No. 2; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 55-56, No. 45; Brasil, Eells 115-119, No. 11. Another Suriname version of this tale is given by Van Cappelle 307-313, No. 9.

³ A bankonoto is half a guilder.
‘All right, I will settle with you, but sit down a little.’ And they gossiped till... Cock opened his eyes, and he saw Tiger coming. He clapped his hands, and he said, ‘Tiger is coming! I am a dead one! Anansi, hide me!’ Anansi said, ‘Go behind the door.’ Cock went behind the door, and he saw Cockroach, and he swallowed him. Then he hid. Tiger came inside. ‘So, Anansi, I come to take my money as we had agreed.’ Anansi said, ‘Wait a little.’ Tiger said, ‘No, I have no time. Pay me at once.’ Anansi said, ‘Don’t make trouble. Go behind the door, I hid something for you.’ Tiger went behind the door, and he found Cock, and he ate him at once. Now he came back to Anansi, and he said, ‘Give me the money.’ As he was asking for the money, they looked, and they saw Hunter. Anansi said, ‘Mother! Hunter is coming!’ Tiger said, ‘I am a dead one! Anansi, hide me!’ Anansi said, ‘See that tree there? Go on top.’ Tiger fought to the top. Before Tiger came Anansi had put a tub of water under the tree where Anansi had Tiger go.

Hunter came. ‘So, Master Anansi, the day has come. Just as we had agreed, I come for the money.’ ‘Hunter, you can come in my house, but your feet are dirty. You must wash your feet first. Look, there is a tub of water under the tree.’ Hunter said, ‘Yes.’ As he went, and he stooped down to wash his feet, he looked at the water, (and) he saw Tiger. He said, ‘Tan! What do I see?’ Anansi said, ‘Tiger is there.’ At once Hunter shot Tiger. Anansi said, ‘Oh man, what did you do? You killed the King’s tiger! The King placed Tiger here for me teach him to talk. Now you killed him. What must (shall) I do? I must go and tell the King!’ Hunter was afraid, ‘No, no, Anansi, don’t make an uproar, I beg you. I will pay you two hundred bankonoto. The payment due me, you can keep, but please don’t let the King hear. No one must know that I killed Tiger. If the King knows, he will kill me.’ Anansi said, ‘Yes, let it be so. But, you must go away at once. Then I will dig a hole and bury Tiger. Then I will go and tell the King that Tiger was sick, and he died. I buried him.’

So as Hunter went away, Anansi took his knife and skinned Tiger. He dried it [the skin] well in order to sell it.

2. Anansi wən bɔgi pina tɛm.


1 Idiom for ‘hurried’.
2 The idiom ‘that sickness sickened Tiger’, as used here, has the connotation of emphasis of a normal death, one not caused by sorcery, etc.
Tɛ you kɔ' na tro-woso, yu sɔ kisi dobrô.' A tek' 'a fejftin xoldɛ, a gowɛ.

A miti Krab-dagu no'. A tagi 'ɛm tajgi. 'Mati, mi ᵗ go tro, ma Konu tak', suma len' mi twɛnti xoldu, a sɔ kisi dobru. Ma yu mu kɔ' di-dɛ-wroko na tro-woso.' A waka baka, a miti Tigri nô, a taki, 'Mi tata, mi ᵗ go tro, ma Konim taki, suma len' mi derti xoldɛ a sɔ kisi ŋi dokro. Di-dɛ-wroko yu mu kɔ' na tro-woso.' A tek' 'a moni, a gowɛ.

A mit' Hontiman no, a taki, 'Hontimà', mi ᵗ go tro, ma Konim taki, suma len' mi fejfti xoldɛ, a sɔ kisi dobrro. Ma yu mu kɔ' di-dɛ-wroko na tro-woso, ɛ' tc yu kɔ', yu mu tyari yu gq' kom.'

Anąnsi go na 'oso, a sidon moj. ŋi fro, Sa Akuba tajki, 'Mat' Anąnsi, Kakafuru e kɔ'. Di a kɔ', dål' a gi ŋi wå pikinsɔ sɔfó a dəŋgi. Fa-i-si Kakafuru e dəŋ na sɔrp, no mo a taki, 'Mat' Anąnsi, Krab-dagu e kɔ!?' Kakafuru tajgi, 'Mat' Anąnsi, kibri mi. Mi gadu, mat' Anąnsi!' A mɛk' a go na ondرو bedi.

Krab-dagu kɔ'. Fa-i-si Krab-dagu kɔ', a gi' ŋi pikinsɔ fu 'a sɔrp. A tak', ʻ‘A sɔrp switi, yɛre.' Anąnsi taki baka, 'Kakafuru kɔ' diaso dəŋgi so te... Ma ɛdɛ ni mi pɛj yu...' Krab-dagu taki, 'Mɛk' a moni tą, taki mi pe Kakafuru!' Taki, 'Kaka de na ondرو bedi.' Fa-i-si Krab-dagu go feti fò nyam Kakafuru, Sa Akuba taki, 'Mat' Anąnsi, Tigrî ɛ kom!' Krab-dagu taki, 'Mi gadu, kibri mi! Fa mi go do?' Dål' dem tą tiri na ondرو 'a bedi.

Đan Tigrî kɔ', Sa Akuba gi' Tigrî na sɔrp. Di Tigrî dəŋgi, a tak', 'Hm! so wà switi sɔrp yu e dəŋgi?' A tak', 'Mi tata, a di ni mu pɛj yu wà pikin moni nô, no so, mi bèn sa taig' yu Kakafuru na Krab-dagu dəŋgi so te... 'Tigrî tak', 'Mɛk' a moni tą', taig' mi, pe den de.' Tak, 'Den de na ondرو bedi.' Fa-i-si Tigrî e feti fò nyam dɛm, Sa Akuba taki, 'Mi Gadù! Hontimà ɛ kɔ!' Tigrî taki, 'Mi mama, kibri mi, kibri mi! Wɛ, so a mɛki Tigrî go 'a tapu na wan bom. Đan a pòt' wà beki naŋga wa'ta na ondرو na bom, đan na sxadu fò Tigrî ɛ kom lɛt' na beki wàtra di de na ondرو na bom.


Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
2. Outwitting Creditors: Chain of Victims.³

Anansi studied to come into money. He boiled syrup. Then he said to Sa Akuba, said, ‘Well, I am going to look for money.’ He came out [of the house] and went away. He met Cock, and said to Cock, he said, ‘Friend, I am going to get married, but the King

³ Told by 1. Comparative references as for the preceding tale.
says I must have a black coat.' Said, 'Lend me fifteen guilders. When you come to the wedding you will get double.' He took the fifteen guilders, and he went away.

Now he met Wild-Dog. 'He said to him, he said, 'Friend, I am going to get married, but the King says whoever lends me twenty guilders will get double. But you must come to the wedding Tuesday.' He went farther on, and now he met Tiger, and he said, 'Father, I am going to be married, but the King says whoever lends me thirty guilders will get double. Tuesday you must come to the wedding.' He took the money, and he went away.

He met Hunter now, and he said, 'Hunter, I am going to get married, but the King says, whoever lends me fifty guilders, will get double. But you must come Tuesday to the wedding, and when you come you must bring your gun.'

Anansi went home, and he sat down nicely. His wife, Sa Akuba, said, 'Friend Anansi, Cock is coming.' When he came, he gave him a little of the syrup to drink. Just as Cock was drinking the syrup she [Sa Akuba] said, 'Friend Anansi, Wild-Dog is coming.' Cock said, 'Friend Anansi, hide me. My God, friend Anansi!' He made him go under the bed.

Wild-Dog came. Just as Wild-Dog came he gave him a little of the syrup. He said, 'The syrup is sweet, hear?' Anansi said again, 'Cock came here and he drank till... but since I must pay you...' Wild-Dog said, 'Let the money wait. Tell me where Cock is!' He said, 'Cock is under the bed.' Just as Wild-Dog was hurrying to eat Cock, Sa Akuba said, 'Friend Anansi, Tiger is coming.' Wild-Dog said, 'My God, hide me! What am I going to do?' Then they remained quietly under the bed.

Then Tiger came. Sa Akuba gave Tiger the syrup. As Tiger was drinking, he said, 'Hm! so sweet a syrup you drink?' He said, 'Father, I must pay you a little money now, or I would tell you how Cock and Wild-Dog drank so till...' Tiger said, 'Let the money wait. Tell me where they are.' Said, 'They are under the bed.' Just as Tiger was hurrying to eat them, Sa Akuba said, 'My God! Hunter is coming!' Tiger said, 'Mother, hide me, hide me!' Well, so he had Tiger go on top of a tree. Then he put a basin of water under the tree, and then the Tiger's shadow came right into the basin of water that was under the tree.

Well, then when Hunter came, then he had Hunter sit down right beside the basin. Then they gossiped. No sooner did Hunter look at the water in the basin than he saw Tiger. Just as he saw Tiger, he took up his gun and shot Tiger. Once Tiger was dead, Anansi said to him, he said, 'You must know what you did to me. The King gave me this Tiger to raise for him. I am going to tell the King, you must pay for the Tiger since you killed him.' The Hunter said, 'Well, then, you can keep the money which you must

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1 This animal is related to the North American raccoon; Encyc., p. 590.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
pay me.’ Anansi said, ‘You must pay one hundred guilders for the Tiger.’

The hunter paid him the money, and so Anansi got all the money which he had borrowed from the others for nothing. So Anansi was clever.

Tibo, tibaŋ.
San a naki män trowe.
Tibo, tibaŋ.
San a naki man trowe,
Mi go buku balansć,
Tĩŋgi ṭuŋgi ṭuŋgi
Buku balansć,
Tĩŋgi ṭuŋgi ṭuŋgi

3. Tyotyoforu nąŋga Anąnsi

Nō, Tyotyoforu ṣe go lènì moni na Anąnsi, taki, te ṭuŋgi kóm bugi ṭuŋgi so pàj. No, Anąnsi de kóm aksi Tyotyoforu na moni ala dej. Tyotyoforu taig’ ṭuŋgi taki, ‘Mi no bugi yète.’ So mèni ya’ lènagh Tyotyoforu no män kóm mòro buŋ’. No, wàŋ dej wàŋ suma kóm taig’ Anąnsi, taki, ‘Tyotyoforu n’e go bugi mòro. Na so no mo a dè bugi.’

We, Tigri no yère so. Dàŋ’ à kari Anąnsi, a taki, ‘Mi so pàj ‘a moni gi Tyotyoforu.’ Ma nò, Tigri pàj mòro fur’ moni lek’ sà’t Tyotyoforu bcn habi pàj. Dàŋ nò, te Tigri kóm aksi Anąnsi na tra moni, Anąnsi’ c kibi. Dà’ wàŋ dej Tigri kóm, dàŋ a kóm miti Anąnsi na hoso. Dàŋ Anąnsi taig’ Tigri taki ṭuŋgi de sèni wàŋ fò ṭuŋgi pikin fò go tek’ moni gi hèm nàŋgà wàŋ godo.

Ma nò, di na fos’ wàŋ ‘c go, dàŋ’ Anąnsi taig hèm taki, te a go, dàŋ’ a mu go na unì na godo, bika’ no wà’ suma bcn mu pàj Anąnsi. Di na fos’ wàŋ go, a n’e kóm. No mo Anąnsi sèn’ na trawàŋ, tak’ mek a go luku pè na trawàŋ tà’. Ma te a go, mek’ a go ‘a godo. So a sènì ala den pikin. Dàŋ den ala go n’ unì na godo.

Ma di Tigri si den n’e kóm, no mo Tigri sèỹi komopo go na pè Anąnsi tak’ ṭuŋgi de sèn’ go tekì na monì. Di Tigri go, a no si nowàŋ suma, ma a si wàŋ godo soso. No mo a tek’ ‘a godo, tak’; ‘Mi ‘c tyari ṭuŋgi gowe.’ Dàŋ’ a tek’ ‘a godo.

Dàŋ’ Tigri mama bcn de li bi na wàŋ presì di ‘kì karì Sotwatrarsei. Dàŋ’ a gowe nàŋgà godo. No mo Anąnsi bùgin bari na unì na godo,

1 Song No. 135.
3 Tyotyoforu is given as Troglydytis musculus in Encyc., p. 687.
‘Mi tata Tigri, mi tata Tigri-o! Yu mama dɛdɛ na Sotwarasej.’ No mo Tigri harki. A yɛre ’a sani bari baka. Dànakɔ̃mbribi. A dɛn'k taki na wàñ suma bar' gi hɛm taki ūŋ mama dɛdɛ. Dà a fŋŋ 'a godo, a bugin ɪþ' fɔ go luku ūŋ mama. Ma di a go, a si ūŋ mama no dɛde.

Dàn ala den Anãnsi komopo fɔ na godo. Tigri no kus' 'a mɔni te lɔk' tide.


Now, the Tyotyo-bird went to borrow money from Anansi, saying, when he grew up he would pay. Now every day Anansi came to ask Tyotyo-bird for the money. Tyotyo-bird said, he said, ‘I am not big yet.’ So many years passed, but the Tyotyo-bird could not grow bigger. Now one day a man came to tell Anansi, say, ‘Tyotyo-bird is not going to grow bigger. He is only so big.’

Well, Tiger did not hear this. Then he called Anansi, and he said, ‘I will pay the money for Tyotyo-bird.’ But now Tiger paid more money than Tyotyo-bird had to pay. Then now, when Tiger came to ask Anansi for the other money, Anansi hid. Then one day Tiger came, and he found Anansi at home. Then Anansi said to Tiger, said, he would send one of his children to fetch the money for him in a gourd.

But now, when the first one was going, then Anansi said to him, said, when he went, then he must go into the gourd, because no one owed Anansi [money]. When the first one went he did not come [back]. At once Anansi sent another one, saying, let him go look where the other went. But when he went, [Anansi told him] let him go into the gourd. So he sent all his children. Then they all went into the gourd.

But when Tiger saw that they did not come [back], at once Tiger himself went where Anansi said he was sending to take the money. When Tiger went he saw nobody, but he saw only the gourd. At once he took the gourd, and he said, ‘I will take it away.’ Then he took the gourd.

Then Tiger's mother was living at a place which was called Saltwaterside. Then he went away with the gourd. At once the

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spiders began to call from inside the gourd, ‘Father Tiger! Father Tiger-o! Your mother is dead at Saltwaterside.’ Instantly Tiger listened. He heard the thing call again. Then he came to believe. He thought that someone was calling to tell him his mother was dead. Then he flung the gourd [from him], and he began to run to go and see his mother. But when he went, he saw his mother was not dead. Then all the spiders came out of the gourd. Tiger has not collected his money till today.

4.

Ba Tigri na Ba Konkon bi dɛ. Da’ Ba Todoto da bi sidɔ’ na pasi. Da’ Ba Tigri bi pα sα. Da’ Ba Todoto hakisị ɛŋ tajgi ef’ a no wαn’ Iɛni ɛŋ wα’ pikin mɔni? A tajgi ᵃm taki, a so pái ɛŋ te a kusi bği. Tigri tajgi ɛŋ taki, ‘ai.’ Da’ Ba Konkon tajgi Tigri nowa, taki, Ba Todoto a n’e go pái ɛŋ, bikasi Ba Todoto no so máŋ wroko mɔni. A no habi fɔ bɔiği moro. ‘A so a pikin, ‘a so a so tα. Na so hɛm mama na hɛm papa. Da’ di ’a Ba Tigri mti Ba Todoto, a tyα’ ɛŋ gowe, bikasi na hɛm nɛŋɛrɛ. A kom teki hɛm bikasi a nɛŋɛrɛ fɔ paimaŋ.

4. Outwitting Creditors: How Slavery Began.¹

There were Ba² Tiger and Ba Rabbit. Then Ba Toad was sitting on the road. Then Ba Tiger was passing. Then Ba Toad asked him, said, if he wouldn’t loan him a little money? He said to him, said, he would pay him [back] when he grew up. Tiger said to him, said, ‘Yes.’ Then Ba Babbit said to Tiger now, said, Ba Toad isn’t going to pay him, because Ba Toad won’t be able to earn money. He won’t grow up any more. Little as he is, so he will remain. His mother and his father are like that. Then when Ba Tiger met Ba Toad, he took him away [with him], because he was his slave. He took him because he was a slave for the debt.

5. Ananṣi nάŋga Bɔfru.


Ma nọ, di a tyar’ ‘a moni go gi Bofru baka, den a taig’ Bofru taki, ‘Yu mu gi mi na pagara baka.’ Ma nọ, di Bofro tyar’ a pagara kom, a taig’ Bofrō taki, mɛk’ Bofr’ op’ ‘a pagara kant ɛŋ na tap’ tafra fɔ teri ɛfu’ na san’ di dɛ n’ u’ a pagara no mankan’i. Bofro dɛ so dɔm, a tek’ na pagara, a op’ ɛŋ, a kant’ a tap’ tafra. Nọ mọ Ananṣi taki, ‘So, bẹgin fɔ teri, mi T’ta. Ma ef’ a mankan’i, mi n’e gi ‘a moni baka, bika’ na hɔndert xulđe yu bę’ gi mi, na hɔndert mi mu gi yu baka. So ef’ te yu teri den sani na u’ na pagara a mankan’i, i n’e kus’ ‘a moni.’ Bofru bign fɔ teri. A ter’ na karu, nάŋga n’alejẹsi,

¹ Told by 9. Compare, for Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS No. 32.
² Ba Tiger, that is, Brother Tiger.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
ma na asisi a no maŋ f' ter’ ɛŋ. Nō mō Anānsi taiŋ’ ɛŋ taki, ‘We, bajya, mi no kə yɛpi yu. So ləŋa yu no ter’ ḍəməni na asisi də, mi no kə gi’ a moni baka.’

Bofru nō, no maŋ kə’ ter’ asisi, ɛn no wą’ suma bę’ kə’ ter’ ɛŋ tu. O Anānsi komopo nąŋga na moni. ElementException1; no pą Bofru.

**5. Outwitting Creditors: Anansi Tricks Banker Buffalo.**

Anansi had no money. He studied what he should do to come into money. Buffalo was director of the bank. Anansi said, ‘I am going to borrow some money from Buffalo.’ When he went, he asked Buffalo if he could not lend him some money.

Buffalo said, ‘All right, how much do you want?’ He said he wanted a hundred guilders. But Anansi now said to Buffalo, he said, ‘When I come to take the money, I am going to bring you a little Indian basket. But, I am going to lock it. Then you must hold it until I come to pay you. Then I will take it back.’ Anansi took corn and rice and ashes, and he put them in the basket. Then he brought it to Buffalo. He took the money and gave Buffalo the basket.

But now, when he brought the money to give back to Buffalo, then he said to Buffalo, he said, ‘You must give me back my basket.’ But now when Buffalo brought the basket, he said to Buffalo, he said, let Buffalo open the basket, and turn it over on top of the table to count if what was in the basket was not short. Buffalo was so stupid that he took the basket, and opened it, and turned it over on the table. At once Anansi said, ‘So, begin to count, Father. But, if it is short, I won't give the money back to you, because you gave me a hundred guilders, and I must give you

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3 Told by 1. Compare, for Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 313-314, No. 54.
back a hundred. And so if when you count, the things in the basket are short, you
won't get the money.' Buffalo began to count. He counted the corn, and the rice, but
the ashes he could not count. At once Anansi said to him, he said, 'Well, brother, I
cannot help you. As long as you do not count how many ashes there are, I cannot
give you back the money.'

Now Buffalo could not count ashes, and no one else can count them, either. So
Anansi came away with the money. He did not pay Buffalo.

6. Anansi nąŋga Konkoni.

Anansi nąŋga Konkoni den bɛ' frieri wɑŋ-tu medjɛ. Ma nɔ, dem medjɛ lɔbi Konkoni
moro furu. Dans Anansi 'atibrɔŋ. Dans a go taŋji medjɛ taki, 'Soso Konkoni waka so,
te neʧi a-i xrotu na ɛŋ presi.' Da' den medjɛ taki, 'Dem Konkoni fisli.' Anansi taki, ef
den wani mek' dɛ ori wɑŋ fishty te neʧi, dɛn de' tɔ' sribi dɛ, dɛn den medjɛ sɔ si.

Ma nɔ, fos' den go, da' Anansi tajig' Konkoni taki, a no mu kari ɛŋ 'Anansi' moro, a
mu kari 'Mi Ka.' Da' a neʧi di den go didɔn, dæn Anansi opo, da' ɛŋ xrotu wɑŋ moj
hipo xrotu na Konkoni presi. Da' di Konkoni wejiki, dæ' i bari, 'Mi Ka, Mi Ka.' Dans Anansi
taki, 'ɛʃ' yu kaka, da' yu go puru ɛŋ.' Dans Konkoni taki, 'A no mi.' Ma ala dem metjɛ
yeri wɑ' tro', so dem biri Anansi no lej, wan Konkoni xrotu ne ɛŋ presi. So den 'atibrɔ'
nąŋga Konkoni, ɛ' den lɔbi Konkoni. Dɛn de' tek' Anansi.

So Anansi wroko Konkoni nąŋga koni.

6. Slandering a Rival: Anansi and Rabbit.1

Anansi and Rabbit were courting several girls. But now the girls loved Rabbit more.
Then Anansi was angry. Then he went to tell the girls, say, 'Rabbits behave this
way, at night they defecate in their places.' Then the girls said, 'Rabbits are nasty.'
Anansi said, if they wished, let them prolong the visit (of Anansi and Rabbit) till night,
then they would sleep there, and the girls would see.

But now, before they went, then Anansi said to Rabbit, he said, he must not call
him 'Anansi' any more, he must call him 'My Excrement'. Then at night when they
went to lie down, then Anansi rose, then he defecated generously in Rabbit's place.
Then when Rabbit awoke, then he cried, 'My Excrement, My Excrement.' Then
Anansi said, 'If it is your excrement, then you go and remove it.' Then Rabbit said,
'It is not mine.' But immediately all the girls heard, so they believed Anansi did not
lie that a Rabbit defecated in his place. So they were angry2 with Rabbit, and they
left Rabbit. They took Anansi.

So Anansi tricked Rabbit with cunning.

7.

Den bɛn dɛ tu sisa. Dia bɛn dɛ frej wɑŋ fɔ den sisa. Ma nɔ, Dia lɔbi 'a wɑ' sisa, ɛŋ
'a sisa bɛn lɔbi Dia tu. Ma nɔ, Dia bɛn weiri moj. A no bɛn weiri lejik' wɑŋ meti. A de
proro. Ma nɔ Anansi bɛn ɛ ɔ. Anansi si na srefi sisa, en a lɔbi hem. ɛn 'a sisa taki,
‘No, no, Anansi. Mi manDia na wa’ tumusi moj man. A wer’ tumusi moj krosi. Ef’ a-i-kɔm so, a gi lɔbi.’

Ma nó, wàŋ neti, Dia nàŋga Anansi miti. Anansi taki, ‘Mat’ Dia, na uma fò yu a moj, ba.’ Ma Dia taki, ‘Wɛ, mi lɔbi hɛm. Mi nàŋga ðì no so prati te dcde.’

Anansi so taig’ na wàŋ fò den sisa taki, ðì no sabi fa ’a sisa kà’ tek’ Dia. Dia mɔrsu.
There were two sisters. Deer was courting one of the sisters. But now, Deer loved one of the sisters, and the sister loved Deer, too. But now Deer dressed nicely. He did not dress like an animal. He was spruced up. But now there was Anansi. Anansi saw the same sister, and he loved her. And the sister said, 'No, no, Anansi. My man Deer is a very nice man. He wears the nicest clothes. When he comes [dressed] so, one must love him.'

But now, one night, Deer and Anansi met. Anansi said, 'Friend Deer, your woman is pretty, brother.' But Deer said, 'Well, I love her. She and I will not part until death.' Anansi will say to one of the sisters, that he does not understand how the sister can take Deer. Deer is dirty.

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3 Told by 4. See reference to preceding tale.

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Well, Deer and Anansi will be in a rum shop, drinking rum. He will say to Deer, say, 'Deer, you mustn't call me "Friend Anansi" any longer. You must say "My Excrement".' At once Deer said, 'No, no, friend Anansi, I can't do that.'

Now the woman said, if Deer and Anansi loved her truly, then tonight they should come to sleep with her in a room. Well now, when they lay down, then friend Anansi got up softly, and he went to Deer's side, and he dirtied it. When Deer turned, his entire body was dirty. Now then, friend Anansi went back to his place and lay down softly. Well, when Deer awoke, he smelt the excrement. At once he called Anansi, and he said, 'My Excrement, My Excrement, My Excrement.' At once Anansi was angry. He said, 'Your excrement, or not your excrement, what is that to me?' At once Deer said, 'My Excrement, look, there is something on me. It is your excrement, my Excrement.'

So, when Deer got up in the morning, his entire body was dirty. He took off his clothes, and he ran away to the bush. He came no more. He was too ashamed.¹ Anansi said, 'Now, didn't I tell you that Deer was dirty?'

So Anansi took the woman, and he married her. So Anansi won.

8. Tara Poptie.


Dαŋ Konim kom feni suma dɛ na fufurumən. Konim fom ίŋ te... a kisi ɬiti futu nəŋga wān krojus na baka.

8. Tar Baby: How Anansi Came by Eight Legs.²

The King had a field, and it had much food. Then Ba Anansi was stealing the food which the King had planted. Then the King did not know who was stealing the food. When he wanted to know who was stealing the food, he put a Tar-doll in the ground. Then Ba Anansi saw the doll, and then he thought a person was there. He said,

¹ Lit., 'he shame too much'.
² Told by 9. Compare, for Sierra Leone, Thomas (VI) 59-60, Cronise and Ward 101-109, Schlenker 57, No. 2; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 388, No. 14, (Gola), ibid. 493, No. 22; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 332, Gagu No. 20; Gold Coast, (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 57-9, Barclay and Sinclair 69-72, No. 10, Herskovits, M. & F. (III), MS No. A6a; Togo (Krachi), Cardinall (I), 234-6, (Ewe), Speiss 106-9, No. 2, Ellis (II) 275-7, No. 4; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS No. 69; Hausa, Tremeerne (I) 214-15, No. 9, (II), 212-14, No. 15; Nigeria (Yoruba), Lomax, 5, No. 3, Bouche (II) 223-4, (Warri) Herskovits, M. & F. (II) No. 7, pp. 460-463, (Ikom) Dayrell (II) 3-6, (Eko), Talbot (III) 398-9, Mockler-Ferryman 288-9, (Flort), Dennett 92-93, XXIII, (Bura), Helser 72-3, No. 16; Cameroons (Duala), Lederbogen (II) 58-60; Gabun, Nassau (I) 18-25, Mpongwe No. 2; Congo, Weeks; Angola, Chatelain 183-189, No. 22; East Africa, Werner; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 136-7, No. 1 (appendix), Sea Islands, Parsons (II) 26-27, No. 14 I; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 23-26, No. 21 a-c; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 13-16, No. 10-12; Santo Domingo, Andrade 210-213, No. 156-159, Brazil, Eells 123-131, No. 12. Comparative, Dähnhardt, XV, 26ff.; for general study cf. Espinosa. See Van Cappelle 317-318, No. 12, for another Suriname version of this tale.
'You boy, what are you doing there?' The doll did not answer him. He said, 'If you won't answer, I am going to kick you!' Then he kicked him. Then his foot stuck. He said, 'Loosen me, or I will strike you!' Then his hand stuck too. He said, 'I will kick you with the other foot!' It stuck too. He struck with the other hand. It stuck, too.

Then the King came to find out who the thief was. The King beat him until... he got [to have] eight feet, and a cross on his back.


Daŋ mamantem di Konu kom, a kom kisi Anansi. A mɛk' dɛn wipi ɛŋ na ɛŋ bɔtu, dat' mɛk' Anansi bɔtu kom fini so.

A kaba.
9. Tar Baby: Why Anansi's Thighs are Thin.¹

Anansi was robbing the King's house. But the King set a trap to catch him. The King made a tar doll, and put it up with a cake [in its hand]. Then Anansi came. He said to the doll, he said, let her give him a piece of cake. The doll did not speak to him. He said, 'If you do not give me, I am going to strike you!' As he struck her, his hand stuck. He said, 'I am going to kick you!' As he kicked, his foot stuck. He took his head, and he butted her. Head stuck. He took his belly, and he butted her, then his belly stuck. Then Anansi stood fastened to the doll.

In the morning when the King came, he caught Anansi. He had them whip him on his legs, and that is why Anansi's legs became so thin.

It is finished.

10.

Kɛskɛsi bɛn dc. Dɑ' i waka fufur' karu. Te a futur' na karu kaba, da' i gowe na busi baka. So ala dej' na suma den kɔm luku na grɔ', na karu mankeri. 'A suma a set' wakti gi hɛm, ma a no bɛn kɔsi hɛm na ʉni na grɔ'.

En so, di na suma komopo na ʉni na grɔ' gowe, Kɛskɛsi dc le' drap' baka fɔ nyam. So na suma mek' wɑn tarɑ pɔptiɛ, ɔt' dapɛ nɑŋga wɑn karu na ʉŋ hanu. En di Kɛskɛsi kɔm, a no sabi moro betre, a go na na tarɑ pɔptiɛ, a bɪgin sŋgi gi hɛm:

Sen' kari bja, bja,
Sen' kari bikeble duą.
Ktì dyompo un' de pot yoti,
Ta maka ɣɑŋki!
Sineki-yo!
Sineki-ɣɑŋki-ho!

En nò, aksi 'a tarɑ pɔptiɛ, a taki, 'Gi wɑŋ pis' karu. Eʃ' yu no gi mi, mi 'ɛ krap yu!' A naki hɛm; hɛm hanu fasi. Kɛskɛsi taki, 'Lus' mi hanu!' A naki nɑŋga 'a trawɑŋ. 'A trawɑŋ fasi. A tak', 'Mi dc skɔp', eʃ' yu no lus' mi hanu! So Kɛskɛsi skɔp' ʉŋ nɑŋga wɑn futu. 'A fut' fasi. 'Eʃ' yu no lus' mi fut', mi de go skɔp' yu nɑŋga trawɑŋl!' A fasi tu. So a teki ʉŋ hɛdc, a buk' na tarɑ pɔptiɛ. ʉŋ hɛdc fasi.

¹ Told by 1. References as for preceding tale.
A so dyariman kɔm, a taki, ‘So, na yu furumɔń?’ Kɛskɛsi taki, ‘Kɛ, mi grɔ̌’mɔń, mi bɔgi yu, lus’ mi. Na hangri tyari mi dati mi kom fufur.’
A so, grɔ̌’mɔń fom Kɛskɛsi tɛ… a kiri ɛɛm.

10. Tar Baby: Monkey as Thief.

There was a Monkey. Then he went about stealing corn. When he finished stealing the corn, then he went back to the bush. So every day when the people came to look after the field, corn was found missing. The people lay in wait for him, but they did not catch him in the field.

And so when the people left the field and went away, Monkey was right there again for the purpose of eating.

So the people made a tar doll, and put it there with a corncob in its hand. And when Monkey came, he did not know better, and he went to the tar doll, and he began to sing to him:

Send call for bia, bia,
Send call for bikeble duą.
Kɔti jump in the pot yoti,
Ta maka ɣanƙi!
Snake-ya!
Snake-yanƙi-ho!

And now he asked the tar doll, he said, ‘Give [me] a piece of corn. If you don't give me, I will slap you.’ He struck him; his hand stuck. Monkey said, ‘Let go my hand!’ He struck with the other. The other stuck. He said, ‘I'm going to kick, if you don't let go my hands!’ So Monkey kicked him with one foot. The foot stuck. ‘If you don't let go of my foot, I'm going to kick with the other!’ It stuck, too. So he took his head, and he butted the tar doll. His head stuck.

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2 Told by 4. References for No. 8, though it may be remarked that in the Angola and Brazil correspondences it is monkey who is caught on the tar baby, as is the case in this tale.
3 Indian Winti-song. See song No. 145.
And so the yard-man came, and he said, ‘So you are the thief?’ Monkey said, ‘Ke! I beg you, field overseer, release me. It is hunger that has forced me to steal.’

And so the field overseer beat Monkey till... he killed him.

11.

Konu bèn habi wà prejì naŋgà ala sortì frôxtu, naŋgà ba’ana, naŋgà tra sortì nanyàm. Ma doro-sumà bèn dc fufuru den fruxtì naŋgà den nanyàm. So Konu bèn mek’ den pot’ wàŋ bigi tarapopkì na unì na dyari.


Fòs’ Anànsì dc go dècè, a sèn’ kar’ den pikìn fò hèm. A takì, ‘Mi pikìn, yu si mi dc go dècè. Ma sà’ yu dc go du gi mi?’ ubriwà’ fò den pikìn bèn tajì hèm wàŋ lày-lày sani, ma na mòro pikìn wàŋ bèn tajì hèm taki, ‘Mi pàpà, yu sabì sà’ mi dc go du?’ Pè den so potì yu fò kiri, mi so kìbri na tapù wàŋ’ hej bòm. Dà’ mi so sùŋgi:

Den kír’ Anànsì tè...  
Den kír’ Anànsì tè...  
Heri konndre so su’ùŋ;  
Ala suma so dècè;  
Konu srefi so dècè,  
Anànsì wàwà so tà’.

’A yurtèm Konu yere na stèm dc sùŋgi, a takì, ‘Sàŋ’ a dati?’  
Anànsì taki, ‘Tyé! Mi Konu, ycré, Gadu srefi dc bégì gi mi.’  
Konu taki, ’A no tru. Wàŋ’ fufurumà’ mu’ kìsi strafu.’  
Anànsì taki, ‘Tyé, mi Konu, yu so ycré taki na tru, bikasi Gadu dc go bégì gi mi agçn. Wàntèm den ycré na stèm baka:

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The King had a place with all kinds of fruit, and plantains, and other kinds of food. But outsiders were stealing the fruit and the food. So the King made them put up a large tar doll in the yard.

Now the thief came at night. This was friend Anansi. When he saw the doll he was alarmed. He said, 'Father, how are you?' But he did not get a single word in answer. He said, 'If you do not answer, I will slap you.' The doll did not answer. Anansi struck him a blow. His hand stuck. He said, 'If you do not release me, I will give you another with my other hand.' Anansi struck with the other hand. But that hand stuck, too. He said, 'If you do not release me, I will butt you.' Anansi butted him. His head stuck. He said, 'If you do not release me, I will kick you.' So Anansi kicked him. But he could do nothing more because his head, his feet, and his hands were stuck. So he had to remain there until they came and found him. They made an announcement that Anansi was the thief. So the King said he would kill Anansi.

Before Anansi was going to die, he sent to call his children. He said, 'My children, you see I am going to die. But what are you going to do for me?' Each one of his children told him a foolish thing, but the youngest one said to him, said, 'Father, you know what I am going to do? I am going to hide on top of a tall tree, where they will put you in order to kill you. Then I will sing:

They kill Anansi till...
They kill Anansi till...
The whole country will be flooded;
All the people will die;
The King himself will die,
Anansi alone will remain.'

When the King heard the voice singing, he said, 'What is that!' Anansi said, 'Tyɛ! Listen, my King, God himself pleads for me.' The King said, 'It is not true. A thief must receive punishment.' Anansi said, 'Tyɛ, my King, you will hear that it is true, because God will plead again for me.' At once they heard the voice again:

The Heri kõnëndresu’ųŋ;
Ala suma so dɛdɛ,
Konus refi so dɛdɛ,
Anąnsi wawaw’ so tą’.


11. Tar Baby: God Above.¹

1 Told by 6. References for Tar Baby as in tale No. 8, for God Above as in tale No. 12.
2 Song No. 116.
3 Lit., ‘one time’.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
They kill Anansi till...
They kill Anansi till...
The whole country will be flooded;
All the people will die,
The King himself will die,
Anansi alone will remain.

Then the King grew alarmed. He was afraid. He freed Anansi.

12.

Anansi go fufuru na Konu hoso. Ma Konu mek' den kis' ëη, dæn den bɛn go kiri hɛm.
A no sab' sàq fò du. Dà' a meki ëη pikin go na tapu wan bom. Dà' i sëŋgi:

Ųnkir'Anansi tɛ...  
Ųnkir'Anansi tɛ...  
Ala suma sa dɛdc,  
Konum weği sa dɛdc,  
Konum s'refi sa dɛdc,  
Anansi wawan sa tą' na lìbi.

Dan di Konum yɛrɛ, a bɛn kɔm fredɛ. A dɛńki taki na Gadu bɛn dɛ taki. Dà' a lq' go a tægi ëη uma taki, mek dɛn lusu Anansi baka. Èf' den kir' Anansi, dæn alà 'ɛ go dɛdc.

So den kɔm lusu Anansi. Anansi no dɛdc moro.

12. God Above.¹

Anansi went to rob the King's house. But the King had them catch him, and they were going to kill him. He did not know what to do. Then he had his child climb a tree. Then he sang:

You kill Anansi till...
You kill Anansi till...
All the people will die,
The King's wife will die,
The King himself will die,
Anansi alone will remain alive.²

Then when the King heard, he became afraid. He thought that it was God speaking. Then he ran and said to his wife, said, let them free Anansi again. If they kill Anansi, then all are going to die.

So they came to free Anansi. Anansi did not die.

13. Lei Hati Mòro Sòro.

¹ Told by. Compare, for Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 256-257, No. 71, Cardinall (I) 171-2; Togoland (Ho), Spith 580, No. 5, (Ewe) Speiss 124-5, 126-8, Nos. 7 and 8; Congo (Lamba), Doke 131-3, No. 69; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 38-9, No. 24 I and II.
² Song No. 116.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
Anansi go taig' Konum taki, efu Konum wani strej, taki, lej hati moro soro. Konum taki, 'Datí no kan. Ef' yu habi wan soro na yu sukin, a de hat' yu, ef' lej so hati moro lejki datí?' Anansi taki, 'Konum, yu wani mek' mi sor' yu taki dati kan?' Konum taki, 'A bō'. Mi wani si.'

Wan neti Anansi go moj na tapu Konum trapu, a kaka wan bigi hipi kaka; dan a go kibri na ondro. Mamentem, di Konum de saka, a si na sani. A taki, 'Sa!' A kari ala den suma, oksi den taki, 'Suma du na sani?' Den strej, den taki, dem no sabi. Ma di wan srodati tenapu, nō mō a ye re na kaka taki, 'Na Konum srefi pot' mi dia.' Dan na srodati harki. A ye re baka na sani taki baka. Dan a go kari Konum kom harki. Ma ala doti na Anansi bēn de taki na uni na kaka.

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Anansi went to say to the King, say, if the King wanted to bet that a lie hurt more than a wound. The King said, ‘That cannot be. If you have a wound on your body it hurts you, how can a lie hurt more than that?’ Anansi said, ‘King, do you want to let me show you that it can?’ The King said, ‘All right. I want to see.’

One night Anansi went to the top of the King’s staircase and he defecated there generously; then he went and hid underneath. In the morning when the King was coming down he saw the excrement. He said, ‘What!’ He called all the people, and he asked them, said, ‘Who did this thing?’ They bet, they talked, they did not know. But, as a soldier was standing, suddenly he heard the excrement say, ‘The King himself put me here.’ Then the soldier listened. He heard the thing repeat this again. Then he went to
call the King to come and listen. But all this Anansi had spoken from inside the excrement.

Then the King grew very ashamed,¹ because it was not he who had done that. So the King was ashamed till... he became ill. But now as one of the soldiers went to remove the thing, then he saw Anansi come out from underneath. Then they went to tell the King that they saw Anansi come out from inside the thing. Then the King sent for Anansi to come. When Anansi came, he said to the King, said, ‘King, did I not tell you that a lie hurt more than a wound?’ But the King had seen that that was so, because the thing had hurt the King when Anansi lied about him. Then he took Anansi and arrested him. When he arrested Anansi, he said they must kill him.

But when they took Anansi to kill him, Anansi begged the Tyotyo-bird that in the morning before they killed him, it must go to the top of a tree, and it must sing, say:

You kill Anansi till...
You kill Anansi till...
All the people will die,
The King himself will die;
The King's children will die;
The King's wife will die;
Anansi alone will remain alive.³

When the King listened, he heard the thing. Then he became afraid. He said, 'It is better you do not kill Anansi. Do you not hear what God is singing? If we kill Anansi we are all going to die.' So the King had them free Anansi. They did not kill him any more. He won from the King.

14.

Wān Konum bcn de. Anānsi a go na Konum, a ɔksi Konum, 'Mi Konu, mi Konu, lej fō soro, sortu wān moro hati?' Konu taki, 'Soro moro hati.' Anānsi taki, 'No, no, mi Konu, lej moro hati.'

Anānsi go na hoso, a tajgi hēm pikin, tak', 'Tamara mamɛntɛm, di yu go na Konu doro, dān yu go xrotu na grɔ' na doro, dâ' kibri dape.'

Anānsi go na Konu, a tak', 'Mi Konu, yu wan' si fa na grɔ dɛ taki?' Konu taki, 'Ya.' So Konum fom prokoti, sɛn' kari ala tra Konu fō kom yere, taki grɔ' i taki. Nō, mamɛntɛm, Konu sɛn' kari fō ala suma kom yere fa na grɔ' i kom taki. So mamɛntɛm, ala suma den kom, kom yere grɔ' dɛ taki. Anānsi meki hɛm p'kin

¹ Lit., ‘came to catch big shame’.
³ Song No. 116.
There was a King. Anansi went to the King and he asked the King, 'My King, my King, which is more painful, a lie or a wound?' The King said, 'A wound is more painful.' Anansi said, 'No, no, my King, a lie is more painful.'

Anansi went home and he said to his child, said, 'Tomorrow morning, when you come to the King's door, then you are to go and defecate on the ground before the door, and then hide there.'

Anansi went to the King, and he said, 'My King, do you want to see how the earth speaks?' The King said, 'Yes.' So the King beat a message [on the drum] to call all the other kings to come and hear how the earth spoke. Now in the morning, the King sent to call all the people to come and hear how the earth came to
speak. So in the morning all the people came to hear the earth speak. Anansi had his child go and hide underneath the excrement. In the morning Anansi came together with the others.

Anansi asked, ‘Kunkun, kunkun, whose kunkun is here?’ The kunkun answered, said, ‘I am the King's kunkun.’ He said once more, ‘Kunkun, kunkun, whose kunkun?’ ‘I am the King's kunkun.’ So the King was so ashamed, he fainted.

Anansi came to the King the next morning and he asked, ‘My King, didn't I tell you that a lie hurts more than a wound?’ The King said, ‘Yes, Anansi. Now, I see truly that a lie hurts more than a wound.’ And so the King had to give Anansi half of his kingdom, and his wives, and his children. Anansi won from the King.

15. Go' Dede.

Anansi go leni wan gɔ' na Hontiman. Daŋ a sɛn' piki ala den meti, taki, den mu kom na qŋ, bikasi gɔ' dɛdɛ. Ala den meti bɛn brejti bikasi gɔ' bɛn de wan takru sani. Na gɔ' bɛn de kiri den na busi. En so den bɛn brejti fō yeri taki a dɛdɛ.

Daŋ Anansi meki den meki wa trapu. Daŋ a poti gɔ' na tapu taki, dę i go berti hɛm. Ma a meki den meti waka lcti na fesi, daq' a poti gɔ' mofo leti na tapu 'a trapu. Daq' den pikin fō qŋ tyari na trapu. Daŋ Anansi go sidon na tapu gɔ'. Fa-i-si a luku ala den meti de na wan rẹj na fesi fō gɔ, so a süt' gɔ'. Ala den meti dɛdɛ, daq' Anansi bɛn fen' furu nyam.

Anansi koni tumusi.

15. Mock Funeral. - Gun is Dead. 4

Anansi went and borrowed a gun from Hunter. Then he sent word to all the animals that they must come to him, because gun was dead. All the animals were happy because gun was an evil thing. It was gun that had been killing them in the bush. And so they were happy to hear that it was dead.

Then Anansi had them make a ladder. Then he put the gun on top, saying they were going to bury it. But he made the animals walk right in front, and he put the nozzle of the gun right on top of the ladder. And his children carried the ladder. Then Anansi went to sit down on top of the gun. As he saw all the animals in a single row in front of the gun, he discharged the gun. All the animals died, and Anansi found much food.

Anansi is very cunning.

16. Tigri nąŋga Kɔnkɔni.

Tigri sɛn' kari ala meti fō den kom na dɛdɛ hoso, bikasi na gɔ' dɛdɛ, na feanti fo ala meti. Ala dati Tigri poti wàŋ gɔ' na ondro parada. Ma Kɔnkɔni nąŋga Anansi bɛn sabi na triki fō Tigri. So bifoś' den go na berti, Anansi sɛn' ala den twalfu p'kin fō hɛm

1 Informant said it was African for excrement.
2 Lit., 'so the King catch so shame'.
3 Lit., 'true-true'.
4 Told by 1.
gowenąŋga hɛm weifi. Nö mö a go na Tigri a taki, 'Mi Tata Tigri, luku fa na weifi fő mi nąŋga den p'kin no habi wą' hej maniri nąŋga respɛki fő yu. Ma mi de go, nö mö, na hoso go tyar' den kɔm baka.' Anąnsi gowe. Ėn nąŋga den twalfu p'kin fő hɛm nąŋga hɛm weifi kubri na papa-godo.

Den wakti Anąnsi so te... ma den no kəŋ wakti hɛm moro, bikasi na de de mu' gowe. Tigri taki, 'Ala mạ' mu' waka na ląŋga lo.' Ma Konkoni sorgu tạ' fő lasti wą'. A tajgi Tigri taki, 'Mi kəŋ waka hesi-hesi so, a moro bɛtɛ yu meki mi tɔn krɛpsi.'
Tigri taki, ‘A bọ’. Ma yu mu’ waka leti na fesi na láŋga lo.’ Konkoni dc na fesi, a bën srapi hëm yeisi. Tigri dc na baka, a dc kiri den meti wàn fô wàñ. Ma Konkoni bën dc lọ’ ala tcm, go na wà’ sej. Nô mô a de bari şungi:

Ụn luku bọ',
Mi Tata Tigri
De go nyam ūn.


16. Mock Funeral, - Gun is Dead.5

Tiger sent to call all the animals to come to a funeral, because Gun, the enemy of all animals, was dead. In the meantime6 Tiger put Gun under the bier. But Rabbit and Anansi knew Tiger's tricks. So, before they went to the burial, Anansi sent away all his twelve children and his wife. Presently he went to Tiger, and said, ‘Father Tiger, see how my wife and children are lacking in proper manners and respect for you. But I am going home, this very moment, to bring them back.’ Anansi went away. He and his twelve children and his wife hid in a large gourd.

They waited for Anansi so till... but they could not wait longer, because the dead had to be taken away. Tiger said, ‘All men must walk in a single row.’ But Rabbit saw to it that he should be last. He said to Tiger, said, ‘I can walk so fast that it is better that
you make me krepsi.' Tiger said, ‘All right. But you must walk right at the head of the file.’ Rabbit was in front, and he sharpened his ears. Tiger was in back, and he was killing the animals one by one. But Rabbit was running all the time from one side to the other. Soon he cried out, singing:

‘You take care,
My Father Tiger
Is going to eat you.’

Tiger said, ‘You boy Rabbit, does not the condition say that you must walk in single file? But you jump and jump. Don’t you realise you are at a funeral?’ Rabbit said, ‘I cannot help it. But so I like to jump and jump. You know that I am Rabbit, and I cry from the back of my neck.’ The others do not care to look out for themselves, but I am one who takes care of myself.’ When the sheep heard this they cried out, ‘Beh! Beh!’ They set out on a run. All the others did the same, too. But Tiger was not disturbed, because he had killed enough animals already at Gun’s burial. So Gun was dead, but Tiger remained to kill the other animals.

17.

Tigribɛnprejtakiadɛdɛ. Dą’ala den meti na busi den kom lontu Tigri. Den kom na dɛdɛ-hoso. Wǎn Tigri dɛdɛ. Den tak’, ‘Mi Tata Tigri dɛdɛ.’ Ma nō, Sekrepatu no māŋ waka, ma krajpi, a de krajpi. Nō mō di a lük’ ēŋ si Tata Tigri, nō mō a bar’ na wǎn Kromanti tongo, a taki,

‘Bia, bia, bia,
Sẹns’ yu de,
Yu yere suma dɛdɛ,
Dẹŋ ěŋ bakasej de bro?’

Nō mō Sekrepatu taki, ‘Ba, yu sab’ sā? Mi ’c go ’a doro, go psi.’

Sekrepatu pina-pina gowɛ. Nō mō Konkoni si dɔti, Konkoni taki, ‘Hɛm! Mi Tata Tigri, a hati mi, mi papa Tigri dɛdɛ. Ma mi papa

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1 A man chosen by the government to lead the funeral, and to see that the body in the coffin is not tampered with before the coffin is closed and put into the ground. The origin of the word was explained as being the name of the first man who was chosen by the government to hold this office. No burial can take place without a krepsi. The explanation given by the informant was that in former times the body was often molested for purposes of black magic.

2 This innuendo has reference to the manner in which the tiger kills his prey, i.e., by attacking it from the back and seizing it by the neck.
Tigri 'ɛ dcɛc, na hɛm baka hɛm bro.' Dæn Tigri opo hɛm ai, pikinso, a luku dæn, a tapu ɛŋ ai baka.

Bofru dc krej, Dia dc krej, Tamanwa 'ɛ krej. Nō mō ala den meti 'ɛ Gowə wə' wə'. Nō mō Hagu drapɛ, 'ɛ bari,

'Bia, bia, bia,
Mi yrɛsum ɛdcɛc,
Ma karaki dɛ bro.'

Nō mō Bofru pina tak', 'Yu sab' saq'? Mi 'ɛ Gowə.' 'Agu sidɔ' dc krej nō mō.

A i tɛm Tigri opo hɛm ai, a si ala den meti dc Gowə. 'Agu wən sidɔ' dc krej. Nō mō Tigri hopo na dcɛc, a naki wan krapu. Dæn ɛŋ hanu pasa na un Hagu ai. Dæn 'Agu aj watra kusi na un na Tigri hanu. Dæn a leki hem, dα i taki, 'Boj, aj-watra fɔ yu swit' sọ, ọc, yu meti no!'

'A so ala den bus'-meti Gowə. A kiri Hagu.

17. Mock Funeral, - Tiger Plays Dead.

Tiger was playing [pretending] that he was dead. Then all the animals of the bush gathered around Tiger. They came to the funeral. A Tiger died. They said, 'Father Tiger is dead.' But now Tortoise could not walk, but creeping, he crept along. No sooner did he look and see Father Tiger, than he shouted in a Kromanti language, and he said,

'Bia, bia, bia,
As long as you live,
Have you heard of a dead person,
Whose backside breathed?'

At once Tortoise said, 'Brother, you know what? I am going outside to urinate.'

Mournfully Tortoise went away. No sooner did Rabbit see that, than the Rabbit said, 'Hmm! Father Tiger, it hurts me [that] my

1 'Hagu-tɔngofōbaka-sej'.
2 Told by 4. Compare, for Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 219-222; Liberia, Bundu 417, No. 16; Ewe, Bassett 213-14 (from Ellis (II), 274-5, No. 3); FIGIN, Föhr, Trautmann 32-33; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS. Nos. 47 and 53; Nigeria (Yoruba), Bouche (II) 226, Frobenius 256, No. 26; E. Nigeria, Mockler-Ferryman, 287-288; Hausa, Tremea (I) 209-10, No. 6; Gabun, Nassau (I) 13-17, 25-26, 27-30, Nos. 1, 3 and 4; Angola, Chatelaine 187-9, No. 23; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 65, No. 59c; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 87-89, No. 43 I-III; Santo Domingo, Andrade 291, No. 245. For another Suriname version see Van Cappelle 297-8, No. 3.
3 The secret language spoken by those who are possessed by the Kromanti spirit.
Father Tiger is dead. But my Father Tiger is dead, [yet] his backside breathes.' Then Tiger opened his eyes a little, and looked, then he shut his eyes again.

Buffalo was crying, Deer was crying, Tamanwa\(^2\) was crying. No sooner did all the animals go away one by one, than Hog called out,

\[\text{‘Bia, bia, bia,}
\text{I hear a person died,}
\text{But his backside\(^3\) breathes.’}\]

At once Buffalo mournfully said, ‘You know what? I am going away.’ Hog sat down and he wept without stopping.

When Tiger opened his eyes, he saw all the animals were gone. Hog alone sat crying. At once Tiger rose from his death-bed, and he struck a blow. Then his hand went into Hog's eye. Then Hog's tears were caught in Tiger's hand. Then he licked it, and he said, ‘Boy, if your eye-water is so sweet, well, [how must] your meat [be] now!’

And so all the bush animals went away. He killed Hog.

18.

Tigri ben pre taki 'cm dcdc. A meki dcm scni kari ala meti, taki hɛm dcdc. Ma nô a taki te dcm kọ' na dcdc-'oso, dɛm no muso sŋgi tra sŋgi leki dem sŋgi dɔnši-sŋgi. Krabita bɛn sabi pre fiol, cɛ Dia bɛn sabi pre gita'. Nô, di den gô na dcdc-'oso dem bgin fô pre, no mô Sekrepatu a si taki Tigrí no dcdc, Tigri bɛn wani fô kiri den alamala. No mo a sŋgi -

Asasa sambaj sambaj sa
Asasa sambaj sa
Suma n’a futu
A bgün bitcm.

So a gô, a taği Krabita taki Tigrí no dcdc, ma a i dc luku den, fo' kiri den. Dâŋ Krabita teki çŋ fiol, a pre -

Suma no abi futu,
A bgün bitcm,
Suma no abi futu,
A bgün bitcm.

2 Ant-eater.
3 Informant's explanation of 'karaki' was 'hog language for “backside”.'
18. Mock Funeral, - Tiger Plays Dead: Bone for a Stump.4

Tiger played that he was dead. He made them send to call all the animals saying he was dead. But now he said when they came to the funeral, they must not sing other songs than dance songs.

Goat knew how to play the violin, and Deer knew how to play the guitar. Now, when they went to the house of the dead and they began to play, at once Tortoise saw that Tiger was not dead. Tiger wanted to kill all of them. At once he sang -

Asasa sambai sambai sa  
Asasa sambai sa  
He who has no feet  
Beginning betimes.

So he went to tell Goat that Tiger was not dead, but was lying in wait for them, to kill them. Then Goat took his violin, and he played -

He who has no feet,  
He begins betimes,  
He who has no feet,  
He begins betimes.

4 Told by 1. For ‘Mock Funeral’ correspondences, see preceding tale. For ‘Bone for a Stump’ compare, for Senegal (Toucouleur), le Brun 183, No. 1; Sudan (Bambara), Travélé 142-143, No. 53, (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 433-435, fables No. 23 and No. 24, (Hausa), Tremearne (III) 219-220, No. 18; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 197, No. 50; Gabun, Nassau (I) 45, Mpongwe No. 41; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 51-52, No. 40a and b; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 103-104, No. 55 I and II.
So all the animals began to run. Tiger ran after Goat to catch him, but as he ran so
till... then Goat went into a hole and he put [left] his horns outside.

Then Dog, now, was standing far away. At once he said to Tiger, he said, ‘If you
are strong, fling across the stump that is there.’ And so, as Tiger was angry, he took
Goat's horns, and he pulled at them, and flung them across. Then, when he had
flung them, he came to see that it was Goat. At once he struck his hands.

Proverb: The earth does not tell people why knowledge is so costly.

In the bush villages we do not play so,
Without an Akrima;¹
On my soil, we do not play so,
Without an Akrima.

My head is turning,²
Oh Ancestors!
My head is turning,
My hair turns gray,
When I behold such things.
My head is turning,
Oh, Ancestors!


Kri-kra! Ala man na ɛŋ Kra-kra!
A so go?
A so go!
Anąsi nanga Syɛęnsyɛęŋ bęŋ dę bıgi mati. Den tu 'ɛ wroko makandra. Dą' wan lepi 'a
trawą wroko. ‘A trawą lepi 'a trawan. So den libi. We, no den pran' wąŋ pșsi karu, ma
na karu fọ Syɛęnsyɛęŋ kom moro moj leįki di fọ Anąnsi. Dą' Anąnsi kom kus' bigi aj.
Dą' a wan' 'pur 'a karu fọ Syɛęnsyɛęŋ. Dą' a taig' Syɛęnsyɛęŋ taki, ‘Na karu fọ yu moj,
ma di fọ mi moro moj. Di fọ mi bęŋ de leįki di fọ yu, dą mi waj ɛŋ, dą a kom moro
moj.' Ma Anąnsi leį. Te i koť karu a n'ę gro moro. Dą' i kor Syɛęnsyɛęŋ...

Bato, mi bcn dopę!
Sąn a taki?

¹ A drum.
² Idiom for being possessed by a Kromanti spirit, because Kromanti enters the head, as the
vulture (Opete) does the eyes, and the snake (the Dagowe, Papa, etc.) the abdomen.
Asanti boyo
Da mi a widya!
Akolo!
Asanti boyo
Da mi a widya!
Akolo, akolo, abanu ba.
Asanti boyo
Da mi a widya!
Akolo!
Asanti boyo
Da mi a widya!
Akolo, akolo, abanu ba.

Waka 'ŋga yu tori!
... Syɛ̨nsyɛ̨nkɔt'a-i-karu. Dą' di suma de pasa baka-dina, da' den si 'a karu koti, dąn
den taki, 'Są' mek' Syɛ̨nsyɛ̨nkɔt' na karu so? Wą moi karu.' Dą' taig' den suma taigi,
na Anąnṣi mek' eŋ kɔt' 'a karu. Dą' den suma taki a nε go gro moro. Dą' Syɛ̨nsyɛ̨n
taki, 'Wɛ, a bon. A kus' mi nŋga karu, ma mi go kus' eŋ nŋga eŋ mama.'...

Bato, mi ben dape!
Sàn taki?

Kom tcsi mi,
Mi na mąn;
Kom firi mi,
Mi na mąn,
Mi na Sofia Bada,
Bò' mąn fò Alada,
Kom tcsi mi,
Mi na mąn.

Mek' a go!
A sa go!
... Syɛ̨nsyɛ̨n a wroko mòni tε a baj wan tyapu. A baj ala wroko' sani, ɔru, ɔksi, a baj
ala wroko krosi. A wroko wàŋ pîkin saka mònì, a tkbri. Dàn a taig' hcm, a taki, 'Wɛ,
mi mama, mi go taki yu dɛdɛ; dą yu mu tą na tap' sodro. Dą' mi 'ɛ go mek' kɛsi, mek'
den bɛri yu.' Di a du dati, d' a sɛn' bɔskopu gi ala meti taki eŋ mama dɛdɛ.

Dàn Anąnṣi kom. Dą' di dεn go bɛri, dą a meki eŋ mama go na ọndro na parada. A
pot' ala den sani di a baj na ọndro-sej pe na

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*

Ma ala dej te Anansi naŋga eni mama kus’ trobi, a taki, ‘Yu no ka’ dede komopo lejik fa Syensyen mama dede?’ Wà dej eni naŋga eni mama kus’ trobi. A tek’ wà tuki a nak’ eni mama. A kiri hêm...

**Batô, mi bcn dace!**

- Moj man Amusi,
- Moj man.
- Moj man Amusi,
- Moj man.
- Te yu ter’ ‘a Gadu
- Yu mu ter’ Amusi.

... A du so srefi lejik fa Syensyen ben du. Pot’ parada moj, da’ a bigin fô krej lejik fa Syensyen ben krej. Ma a no kisi noti. Den tyari eni mama go bere.


A kaba.

**19. Mock Funeral: Gifts from the Dead: Fatal Imitation.**

Kri-kra! All men on their Kra-kra!

*Will it go?*

*It will go!*

Anansi and Syensyen* were great friends. The two of them worked together. One helped the other work and the other helped the one. So they lived. Well, now they planted a field of corn, but the corn of Syensyen grew better than that of Anansi.

Then Anansi became envious. He wanted to destroy Syensyen’s corn. He said to Syensyen, he said, ‘Your corn is nice, but mine is much nicer. If mine were like yours I should cut it, then it would grow better.’ But Anansi was lying. When corn is once cut it will not grow any more. He was misleading Syensyen...

**Bato! I was there.**

What was said?

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3 Told by 1. Compare, for Senegal, Zeltner, ‘Histoire de Koli’, esp. pp. 68-71; Sierra Leone (Mende), Westermann (III) 456-457, No. 16; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 285-6, Guro No. 25; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 263, 265-267, 269-271, Nos. 30-33; Gabun, Nassau (I) 194-5, Benga No. 26; Cameroons (Duala), Lederbogen (II) 77-78, No. 36; Congo, Weeks; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 104, No. 103; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 164-5, No. 135 and No. 136; Santo Domingo, Andrade 29-31, Nos. 3-5.


5 ‘Anansi came to catch a big eye’.
Ashanti earth spirits
Make me possessed!
_Akolo_!
Ashanti earth spirits
Make me possessed!
_Akolo, akolo, abanu ba._
Ashanti earth spirits
Make me possessed!
_Akolo_!
Ashanti earth spirits
Make me possessed!
_Akolo, akolo, abanu ba._

Get on with your story.

... Syensyen cut the corn. Then when the people went by in the afternoon, then they saw the corn was cut, then they said, ‘What made Syensyen cut the corn? Such fine corn.’ Then he told the people, he said, Anansi had him cut the corn. Then the people said it would not grow any more. Then Syensyen said, ‘Well, all right. He tricked me with the corn, but I am going to trick him with his mother.’...

_Bato! I was there._

What was said?

Come try me,
I am the man;
Come feel me,
I am the man,
I am _Sofia Bada_,
Good man of _Alada_,
Come try me,
I am the man.

Let it go on.

_It will go on._

...Syensyen earned money until he had enough to buy a scythe. He bought all sorts of tools, hoes, axes, and he bought working clothes. He worked until he had a little sack of money which he hid. Then he said to her, he said, ‘Well, Mother, I am going to say you are dead; you must go upstairs. Then I will make a coffin and have them bury you.’ When he did this, he sent a message to all the animals that his mother was dead.

Then Anansi came. Then when they were going to bury her, he made his mother go under the bier. He put all the things which

1 Song No. 132.
2 A bad spirit. The native conceives him as a man with a tail who dances upon a woman, and drinks her blood.
3 Song No. 234.
he bought underneath the bier. He knew that Anansi was very greedy. Then before they buried her, he began to wail, 'O Mother! Look how you go away. You do not leave even an axe for your boy. Your boy hasn't even a tool to work with.' All the things began to come out from under the bier. Anansi took them. He wished his own mother would die at once so that he could get all these things. Syensyen cried and begged his mother for some money. His mother flung the money at him. They buried her handsomely. Then they went away.

But every day [thereafter] when Anansi and his mother quarrelled, he said, 'Can't you die like Syensyen's mother died?' One day he and his mother quarrelled. He took a stick and struck his mother. He killed her...

Bato, I was there!

A fine man is Amusi,¹
A fine man.
A fine man is Amusi,
A fine man.
If you trust in God
You must trust Amusi.²

... He did the same as Syensyen had done. He fixed the bier nicely, and then he began to wail as Syensyen had wailed. But he got nothing. They took his mother away to bury her.

A week later Syensyen had his mother come to the field. Then Anansi came, and he saw Syensyen's mother. Anansi said, 'Friend Syensyen, isn't that your mother here?' He said, 'Yes, it is my mother. You had lied to me about the corn, and now I have tricked you with your mother.' Syensyen's mother was alive. Anansi's mother was dead.

It is finished.

20. Anąnsi nąŋga Tigri.

Tigri fe'n wəŋ kroŋtə. Daŋ Anąnsi kəm. Daŋ Anąnsi tɛk' a kroŋtə, daŋ i tya' Gowɛ. Daŋ' Anąnsi si wan tra Tigri nō, daŋ' a broko a kroŋtə, daŋ' i nyam. Daŋ' Tigrì oksi hɛm, tak', 'Saŋ' yu nyam!' A taŋi a Tigri taki, na wan pis' fo aŋ ston a nyam. Daŋ' Tigrì taŋi taki, 'Təŋ! Anąnsi! Di a waka so na yu ston sǔt' so?' Daŋ' tak', 'Mi Tata, fa di fō yu bĩgĩ fatu de sǔt' a so sǔt' so!' Daŋ' taŋ' aŋ taki, 'Wɛ, fa mi sō broko di fō mi fō mi nyam?' 'Mi Tata, waka kɔ na

¹ Inf.; 'This is an obian name and the song is a Komfo song.'
² Song No. 190.
20. Fatal Imitation: Monkey's Urine is Sweet.

Tiger found a cocoanut. Then Anansi came. Then Anansi took the cocoanut and he carried it away. Then Anansi saw another Tiger now, and he broke the cocoanut and he ate it. Then Tiger asked him, said, 'What are you eating?' He said to Tiger, he said, he was eating a piece of his testicles. Then Tiger said to him, said, 'What, Anansi! How does it happen that your testicles are so sweet?' Then [he] said, 'Father, then how sweet [must be]
yours that are so big and fat!' Then he said to him, he said, ‘Well, how shall I break mine in order to eat them?’ ‘Father, come to the corner.’ He knew where a blacksmith lived who had a big anvil. So he said, let him lie down. Just as Tiger lay down, he struck him with a hammer and broke his testicles. Tiger died instantly.

Then the next day he met Tiger’s brother. Then he found a gourd with honey, and Tiger asked him, he said, ‘Is it not you who killed my brother?’ He said, ‘No, no!’ He said, ‘What are you drinking then?’ Then Anansi said, ‘I am drinking a young monkey’s urine.’ Then he said, ‘Well, come let me taste it.’ The Tiger said, ‘What is monkey’s urine so sweet?’ Then he asked him, he said, ‘How shall I get a little of the monkey’s urine?’ Then he said to him, let him come to a creek, then they will see them [the monkeys] there, and they will catch one. They went there; the monkeys came, and then he caught one.

In the morning he said, ‘I am not going to kill you, but urinate a little for me.’ The monkey urinated, [but] when he tasted it, it was not as sweet as that which Anansi had given him. He said, ‘Boy, urinate the same urine; if not I will kill you.’ The monkey urinated until he urinated blood, but he could not get sweet urine.

Then Anansi came now. He said, ‘Father, didn’t he urinate yet?’ Then he said to him, ‘Father, I am going to tell him to urinate for you.’ At once Anansi said to Monkey, ‘You must run, and I will duck well.’ Tiger asked him, ‘What are you saying?’ He said, ‘I am saying to him to urinate urine for you.’ So he said to Tiger again, he said, ‘Father, loosen him a little, let him come to himself.’ Just as Tiger loosened him, the monkey ran. At once Anansi ducked under the water.

Sharpen my knife, fine, fine,
I am cutting Akuba’s beard.
Sharpen my knife, sharp, sharp,
For I am going to cut Akuba’s beard.¹

Susanne rei
Susanne rei
You have a fine bosom;
The breasts, they are yours,
But when I play
They are mine.²

¹ Song No. 140.
² Song No. 136.
21.

Dagu naŋga Tigrĩ bɛn meki barki fõ nyâm Krabita. Dagu naŋga Tigrĩ tyari Krabita go na Tigrĩ hosο. Dagu poř' waŋ bɔŋ biŋi poř' waatra 'a fajya fõ te a hati fõ den poř' Krabita na un. Ma na Dagu bɛn habi na wroken fõ go luku te 'a watra hati. Ala yurutŋ' Tigrĩ sènî hɛm, a de kem piki taki na watra no hati yɛte, bikasi ɛŋ hati bɛn kem dreŋ. A bɛn kem kus' sari-hati fõ Krabita. So di Tigrĩ sènî hɛm tak' go luku ef' na watra hati, Dagu oksi Tigrĩ 'a taki, 'A moro bstre ye go dis' lesi go luku?' Tigrĩ taki, 'A bɔŋ.'


Dagu naŋga Krabita lɔŋ' te den kem dorø na fesi waŋ krik. Ma nõ, fa Dagu de go du naŋga Krabita? Bikasi Krabita no sabi swɛŋ. Dagu taki, 'Mat' Krabita, yu sab' saŋ mi 'e go du 'aŋga yu? Mi 'e dik' waŋ bigi horo, dan mi de poti yu na un. Dan mi tap' hɛm baka, ma mi de lib' den tutu na lɔktu.' Dagu du so. Dì a kaba, a kɔtì-go na abreṣe.

Pikinso na baka Tigrĩ dorø na fesi na krik, eŋ a si Dagu na abreṣe. Ma Tigrĩ sɛfî frede watra. So Dagu de na abreṣe, i Tigrĩ sɛc. Tigrĩ taki, 'Yu boj Dagu, pe yu poti Krabita?' A taki, 'Mi no sabi. Krabita go na busi.' Dagu taki, 'Mi Tata Tigrĩ, yu hati de brɔŋ 'aŋga mi, no?' 'Tigrĩ taki, 'Yu boj, ef' mi go kus' yu, mi go sɔrì yu.' Nõ mò Dagu piki Tigrĩ taki, 'Mi Tata Tigrĩ, ef' yu hati 'e brɔŋ 'aŋga mi trutru, tek' den tu pis' tuki frŋ nak' mi.'

Tigrĩ naŋga na hatibrɔŋ a grabu deŋ tu pis' tuki, ala doti na Krabita tutu, a frŋ' eŋm go na abreṣe fõ naki Dagu. 'A yurtm, te a fadõ' na abreṣe, Tigrĩ si tak' na Krabita.

Na sɛfî hatibrɔŋ' dati fõ tigrĩ mek' a no kɔŋ si krabita naŋga dagu, a no suku fõ nyâm den.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
21. Plot to Cook Goat: Bone for a Stump.¹

Dog and Tiger had made a bargain to eat Goat. Dog and Tiger took Goat to Tiger's house. Dog put a large pot of water on the fire, so that when it was hot, they could put Goat in it. But Dog had the task to go and see if the water was hot. Every time Tiger sent him, he came and answered that the water was not yet hot, because he had a turn of heart. He had become sorry for Goat. So when Tiger sent him to see if the water was hot, Dog asked Tiger, he said, 'It is best you go and look this time.' Tiger said, 'All right.'

When Tiger went away, Dog and Goat set out on a run. When Tiger returned, he saw that Goat and Dog were gone. So Tiger knew what Dog did. He set out to run after them.

Dog and Goat ran until they came to a creek. But now, what was Dog to do with Goat? Because Goat did not know how to swim. Dog said, 'Friend Goat, you know what I am going to do with you? I will dig a large hole, then I will put you in it. Then I will fill it in again, but I will leave the horns out.'² Dog did so. When he was through, he crossed to the other side.

A little later Tiger came to the creek, and he saw Dog on the other side. But Tiger himself was afraid of water. So Dog was on the other side, and Tiger was ashamed. Tiger said, 'You boy Dog, where did you put Goat?' He said, 'I don't know. Goat went to the bush.' Dog said, 'Father Tiger, you are angry at me, no?' Tiger said, 'You boy, if I catch you, I will show you.' At once Dog answered Tiger, said, 'Father Tiger, if you are really angry at me, take the two sticks and fling them at me.'³

Tiger in anger snatched the two sticks, which were Goat's horns, and he flung them to the other side, in order to strike Dog. When they fell on the other side, Tiger saw that it was Goat.

And that same anger is the reason why tigers cannot see goats and dogs without seeking to eat them.

22.

Tigrin na nga Anansi go strej suma hanu moro tranja. De' go nak' den sręfi, ma ala manęntɛm fejfi yuru den de i kom pe de' i libi, dan den 'ɛ go nak' den sręfi fô si suma hanu moro hɛbi lejik' trawan.

Anansi go na smctman, a meki wà bigi mokro. Fa-i-si manęntɛm a go, a kari Tigrì taki çi kom fô naki. Fa Tigrì opo na doro, Anansi naki na nga mokro. Tigrì skréjì. A no prakseri taki, na so Anansi

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¹ Told by 6. For comparative references, see Tale 18.
² Lit., 'in the air'.
³ Lit., 'fling strike me'.
⁴ Lit., 'all that were...'
hanu hɛbi. Tamara mamɛntɛm Tigri dɛ go naki Anansi nɔ. Bakadina Anansi go na Konkoni a taig' hɛm taki, ala mamɛntɛm wan suma dɛ tyari nanyam kom gi ɛŋ, ma ɛŋ habi koru, ɛŋ no dɛ maŋ go fɔ opon na doro tamara mamɛntɛm. Meki Konkoni kom sribi naŋga ɛŋ. Mamɛntɛm, fa Tigri naki na doro, a mek' Konkoni go opon na doro. Na so, Tigri naki Konkoni; a dɛŋki taki na Anansi ɛŋ bɛn naki.

Na tra dej, di Anansi go fɔ go naki Tigri, a naki 'a doro. Tigri bɛn skrejkì bika' a bɛn dɛŋki taki fa a naki Anansi, Anansi no bɛn kaŋ kom fɔ naki hɛm baka. Anansi taki, 'Mi tata, opon 'a doro, mi kom.' Fa Tigri hopo 'a doro, Anansi naki 'aŋga mokrō baka. Tigri skreki, a taki, 'Sà! Na Anansi hanu hɛbi so!'

Tamara Anansi kar' Dia, taki, mek' a kom sribi naŋga hɛm. Mamɛntɛm wan suma dɛ tyari nanyam kom gi hɛm, dà' meki Dia opon na doro teki nanyam. Fa Tigri kom, Dia opon na doro, Tigri naki hɛm, a fadq'. Tigri gowc.

Na tra dej Anansi go fɔ go naki Tigri baka. Dàŋ Tigri kom frede. Dàŋ a kari Anansi, a taki, 'Mi bègi yu, yu pikinso, ma yu hanu mɔro hɛbi leki di fɔ mi.' So Anansi kom wuni Tigri.

22. The Boxing Contest: Anansi Uses a Hammer. 5

Tiger and Anansi went to test whose hand was the stronger. They were going to strike each other, but [the condition was] every morning at five o'clock, when they came where they [each] lived, then they were going to strike each other to see whose hand was heavier.

Anansi went to a smith and made a large hammer. When morning came he went to call Tiger to say he came to fight. As Tiger opened the door, Anansi struck him with the hammer. Tiger was

5 Told by 1. Compare, Sudan (Mande), Binger 9; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 388-390, No. 15; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 147-151, No. 39; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS No. 7.
frightened. He had not thought that Anansi’s hand was so heavy. Now, the next morning Tiger was to go to strike Anansi. In the afternoon Anansi went to Rabbit and he said to him, said, every morning someone brought him food, but he had fever and he would not be able to open the door tomorrow morning. Let Rabbit come and sleep with him. In the morning, as Tiger knocked on the door, he made Rabbit go and open the door. And so Tiger struck Rabbit; he thought that he had struck Anansi.

The next day when Anansi went to strike Tiger he knocked on the door. Tiger was frightened because he had thought that the way he had struck Anansi, Anansi could not come to strike him again. Anansi said, ‘Father, open the door, I have come.’ As Tiger opened the door Anansi struck him with the hammer again. Tiger was frightened, he said, ‘What! Is Anansi’s hand so heavy!’

The following day Anansi called Deer, saying let him come and sleep with him. In the morning someone would bring him food, then let Deer open the door and take the food. As Tiger came, Deer opened the door, Tiger struck him, he fell down. Tiger went away.

The next day Anansi went to strike Tiger again. Then Tiger was frightened. Then he called Anansi, and he said, ‘I beg you [for forgiveness], you are little, but your hand is heavier than mine.’ So Anansi came to win from Tiger.

23.

Mati Tigri naŋga mati Anąngsi dɛm bɛn streŋ suma hanu mоро trạŋga. Dą' mati Tigri taŋgị mati Anąngsi, taki, mati Anąngsi fos' kāŋ kom naki mat' Tigri, ma tɛ Kaka bari, dą' musu dęj.

Dą' a mati Anąngsi go 'a tumbremaŋ', a meki waŋ bọ' kodya. Dą', mamentɛm, go kar' mat' Tigri, mek' mat' Tigri opo kom gi ɛɛm waŋ kofo. Dą' mat' Tigri gō, dą' Anąngsi naki ɛɛm waŋ naŋga kodya na ɛɛm fesi ɛɛdɛ. Dą' mat' Tigri a kom skrejiki. A no prakseri doti mati Anąngsi hanu trạŋga so.

Dą' na tra dęj, mat' Anąngsi bęgi mat' Dia, taki ɛŋ ɛɛdɛ hati ɛɛm, mek' mat' Dia kom sribi naŋga ɛɛm. Mati Dia go, bika' a no sabi. Dą' mndri neti, mat' Anąngsi taŋgị mat' Dia, taki. ‘Te yu yere mi Tata Tigri kom, dą' yu mu opo hesi go na ɛŋ, dą i go tyari switi-mofo gi mi. Dan yu so teki ɛɛm gi mi.’ Dą' mat' Dia opo tɛ Tigri kom. Dą' Tigri naki Dia waŋ kofo, dęn Dia fadqę. Dia dędɛ. Dą' mat' Anąngsi tek' Dia pot' 'a brakoto.
23. The Boxing Contest: Anansi Uses a Cudgel.¹

Friend Tiger and friend Anansi contested whose hand was the stronger. Then Tiger said to friend Anansi that friend Anansi could come first and strike friend Tiger, but when the Cock crew, then [it] must be [considered] day.

Then friend Anansi went to a carpenter and made a good cudgel. Then, in the morning, he went to call on friend Tiger, to have friend Tiger get up for his blow. Then friend Tiger went, then Anansi struck him on the forehead with the cudgel. Then friend Tiger became frightened. He had not studied that friend Anansi’s hand was so strong.

Then the next day friend Anansi begged friend Deer, he said his head hurt him, would friend Deer come and sleep with him. Friend Deer went with him, because he did not know. Then in the middle of the night, friend Anansi said to friend Deer, he said, ‘When you hear my father Tiger come, then you must get up quickly and go to him, for he is going to bring me delicacies.’ Then you will take them for me.’ Then friend Deer got up when Tiger came. Then Tiger struck Deer one blow, and Deer fell down. Deer died. Then friend Anansi took Deer and put him on the barbecue rack.

¹ Told by 3. Comparative references as in preceding tale.
² Lit., ‘sweet-mouth’ or sweet morsel, but idiomatic for meat and salt fish. Rattray, (V) p. 147, explains that sweet-mouth means delicacies.
Then in the morning Anansi went to his Father Tiger, and he said, ‘Father, I am here. Tonight I come to give you another blow.’ Then Tiger was frightened, because he thought Anansi was already dead. He did not know that he had struck Deer. Tiger said, ‘Tonight the boy is going to kill me.’ But, when Anansi went to call friend Tiger, Tiger rose and went trembling to find Anansi. He struck friend Tiger one with the cudgel, and Tiger fell down. At once Tiger cried out, ‘My God, the boy’s hand is so strong!’

Then friend Anansi came to beg friend Rabbit to come and sleep with him. Then in the middle of the night, he said to Rabbit that he had fever. Then he begged friend Rabbit, he said, ‘Please, please, get up and go to my Father Tiger, and take the meat for me.’ But Rabbit did not want to [go]. Rabbit said he would not go to Father Tiger. Anansi begged Rabbit, ‘Please, please.’ Then Rabbit said, he said, ‘Friend Anansi, you are cunning, but I am not your boy.’ Then Tiger was angry. He opened the door and went inside. Then Rabbit hid. Then friend Tiger struck Anansi. Anansi died.

So then friend Rabbit remained in friend Anansi’s house. Then friend Rabbit ate friend Deer.

24. Tug of War.

Anansi go taig’ Walfish na ondro watra taki, mek’ den strej suma sa ’ari trawą moro tranja. A go baka, a aksi Asaų, taki ćη dc gō na ondro watra, đañ meki den tu taj dem scruti fō sì suma sō har’ trawą moro tranja. So a taj wan tçeə gi’ Asaų, ćη a go na ondro watra. A no taj ’ćm scruti, ma a taj Walfish naŋga Asaų, bika’a bən sab’ taki a no kaj’ hari no wən fō den tu.


24. Tug of War.¹

Anansi went to say to Whale under the water to say, let them contest which of them could pull the harder. He went back and asked Elephant, said, he would go under the water, then let both of them tie themselves to see who could pull the other harder. So he tied a rope to Elephant, and he went under the water. He did not tie himself, but he tied Whale with Elephant, because he knew he could not pull against either of the two.

¹ Told by 1. Compare, Senegal, Zeitner 111-112, and (from Niger territory), 195-197; Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 117-121; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 274, Guro No. 4; Sudan, Monteil (I) 49-51, (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 432-433, fable No. 22, (Hausa), Rattray (IV) ii 124-148, No. 30, Tremeerne (I) 203-4, No. 1; Togoland, Cardinal (I) 139 and 207; Fq, Trautmann 37-38; Nigeria (Ibo), Blasden 277; (Ontscha), Thomas (III) 145-146, (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 104-106, No. 29, Cobham 307; Gabun, Nassau (I) 37-41, Mpongwe No. 5; Cameroon (Cross River), Mansfield, 230, No. 18, (Duala), Lederbogen 28-30, No. 13; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier 3-7, No. 1 (reporting a correspondence with F. Didot, ‘Fables Sénégalaises’, No. 2, Wolof), and 13-19, No. 3; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 74-76, No. 34 I-II; Brazil, Eells, 47-50, No. 5. For another Suriname version, see Van Capelle 329-334, No. 20.
Now, when he had finished tying the two, Whale pulled Elephant, and Elephant pulled Whale. They pulled against each other so till... Anansi laughed at them. They did not know that Anansi did this. Then they all [both] came to study, and said, ‘Is Anansi so strong?’ But when they had pulled until they were weary, Whale came a little on [toward] the shore. Now he saw that Anansi held him up to ridicule. He came to see that he was pulling against Elephant. And so they freed themselves. Anansi laughed at them, and went away. Anansi is a clever animal.
25.

Dia nāŋa Sekrepatu go strej fô lq'. Nō, Sekrepatu no maŋ fô lq'. Dān a poti wan sekrepatu dia na tap' uku, εn a poti ala ukutapu wan sekrepatu, so doti ala pe Dia 'c lq' na fesi a i mit' sekrepatu. Leti na Konum stupu tapu si wan sekrepatu bèn dè, so doti di Konum kom na fensrε a si na Sekrepatu, wantrɔn a taki Sekrepatu wni Dia, bikasi Dia no bèn doro ye."tε.

Ɛn so Sekrepatu bèn teki erste preis. Ala suma bèn ferwondru fa Sekrepatu bèn wni Dia.
25. Relay Race.

Deer and Tortoise went to race. Now Tortoise could not run. Then she put a tortoise here at the corner, and at every corner she put a tortoise so that everywhere Deer ran he met a tortoise ahead of him. Even on the King's stoop there was a tortoise, so that when the King came to the window he saw the tortoise, and at once he said Tortoise won from Deer, because Deer had not arrived yet.

And so Tortoise took first prize. Everybody wondered how Tortoise won from Deer.


Nő, foru kom prakseri nő, taki, a dc fanodu fô den kus' wâŋ konum, bike' ala sani habi wâŋ konum. Dân den go na Leô, go tajqi Leô taki mek' a kar’ wâŋ komparsi, bike' na Leô bën de konum fô ala meti. Di na komparsi bigin, na den foru kom makandra fô si suma so trò' konum. Konubri bën dc da moro p'kin wâŋ. A prakser' taki, 'Mi na moro p'kin, ma mi so dc konum.'

Di den bigin fô taki, Leô prakser' taki, 'Fa wi so du?' Ma Falek bën prakser' taki, 'Mi ka' frej hej, so mi wnsi dcm meki wi strej fô frej. Da' mi sab'-tak' mi so frej moro hej lejki wâŋ, dâm mi so trò' konum.' Ma a no bën sabi fa fô taki doci, bike' a sab'-taki den tra foru bën dc go taki, na di a ka' frej hej, mek' a tak' so. Ma a no sab'-taki Konubri srcfi bën habi na hcm hâdc sà a i go du. Di den ala taki so te... Nakti gal taki, 'Mi wan' fô tak' wan sani, ma mi no sabi ɛfu a so bo' na .unshift.' Dân ala piki taki, 'Taki, mek' wi yeče.' A taki, 'Mi no sataki meki ʃun teki wâŋ fô wi di kân şuŋi moro switi, bike' mi sab'-taki ɛfu mi opo mi stčn, mi dc go wuni alamala. Ma mi so tak' wan sani. Gado gi ʃun ala wâŋ sani, ʃn dati na wâŋ frej. So mek' wi pót' hcm taki, suma kâ frej' moro hej lejk' tra wâŋ, dat' so trò' konum.' Na Falek kom prcsiri di a yeče so, bike' dat bën lânga tcm na ʃn hâdc. A dyompo, a taki, 'Ya. Da' yu tak', wâŋ bo' sani.' So den alamala fenî fô bo'. Den so du so.

Ma di dem go fô strej, Konubri go sid' na Falek mundi baka. So, fa Konubri bën p'kin, Falek no sabi-taki san a du. Ma di den frej so te... wâŋ pisi na hej, nô mö den luku, den taki, 'Falek teki

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1 Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone (Mende), Migeod (I) 232-236, No. 12; Liberia (Kru), Bundy 419, No. 21; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 314, Guro No. 73; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV) MS No. 57; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 260-261, No. 29, (Onitsha), Thomas (III) 153-154, (Ibo) Blasden 274, (Ikom), Dayrell (II) 82-84; Gabun, Nassau (I) 65-68, Mpongwe No. 14, 96-98, Benga No. 5; Cameroons (Cross River), Mansfeld 224, No. 3, (Bulu), Schwab (I) 277, No. 18, (Duala), Lederbogen 40-41, No. 18; Angola (Umbundu), Bell 116-117 (though not a close correspondence); Lamba, Doke 65, No. 29; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 79, No. 70 I and II; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 65-66, No. 60a; Brazil, Eells 50-52, No. 5; comparative, Bolte u. Polivka iii, 339-355, No. 187, Dähnhardt IV, 46ff.
26. The Flying Contest.

Now, the birds came to study that they had need of a king, because all things had a king. Then they went to Lion, to tell Lion to have him call a council, because Lion was king of all the animals. When the meeting opened, all the birds came together to see who would become king. Konubri was the smallest. He studied and said, ‘I am the smallest, but I shall be king.’

When they began to speak, Lion studied, and said, ‘What shall we do?’ But Falcon studied, and said [to himself], ‘I can fly high, so I hope they make the contest one of flying. I know that I should fly highest of all, and then I should become king.’ But he did not know how to say that, because he knew that the other birds would say since he could fly high, he suggested this. But he did not know that Konubri himself had a plan in his head about what he was going to do. As they were all talking so till...

Nightingale said, ‘I want to say something, but I do not know if it will be agreeable to you.’ Then all answered, said, ‘Speak, let us hear.’ He said, ‘I will not suggest you take one of us who can sing the sweetest, because I know that if I raise my voice, I shall win from all. But I will say one thing. God gave you all one thing, and that is wings. So, let us decide that whoever can fly the highest, that one shall become king.’ Falcon was pleased when he heard this, because that had been in his mind for a long time. He jumped up, and he said, ‘Yes, what you say is a good plan.’ So they all found it good. They would do so.

But when they went to race, Konubri went and sat down in the middle of Falcon’s back. So, as Konubri was small, Falcon did not know what he was doing. But, when they had flown till... some

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2 Told by 1. Compare, Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 155-156, No. 30; Angola (Umbundu), Bell, 116-117; comparative, Bolte u. Polivka, iii, 278-283, No. 171, Dähnhardt IV, 160ff.

3 There is a possible Cameroon derivation of this bird’s name when it is compared with the character in Lederbogen’s Tale No. 1, ‘Der Kolibri und der Webervogel’.
distance high, soon they looked and they said, 'Falcon takes first prize.' But just as they looked again to see who was the highest, they saw Konubri on top of [above] Falcon. So at once they said, 'No, no, Konubri shall become king, because he was higher than Falcon.'

So that Falcon had thought that he would be king, but it did not happen as he had thought.

27.

Anansi went to bet with Cockroach [to see] which of them could climb higher. But now Cockroach was able to fly, and Anansi was able to climb well. But now, when they went to compete, Cockroach said to him, said, 'Let us climb to the top of the tree.' Now Anansi could not fly, and so Cockroach flew up, and went to the top of the tree. He sat down. Anansi struggled to climb, but the thorns stuck him. Soon he cried out 'Friend Cockroach, the tree has ants, I cannot climb it.' At once Cockroach cried back from the tree-top, he said, 'Well, fly up.' Anansi said, 'But I do not fly, nor did you beat me, because we did not bet about flying. We were betting about climbing.'

But now Cockroach said he won, because he was the first to arrive. Then they went to call Cock to settle the dispute. When Cock came, he saw immediately that Cockroach was his delicacy. At once he cried out, 'Ko-ko-dia-ko!' Then Cockroach asked Cock, he said, what was the meaning of this cry which he cried? He [Cock] said, if he wanted to hear, then he must walk over to him on foot. So just as Cockroach came toward him, Cock ate him. That is why he eats Cockroach to this day.


1 Told by 2.
2 A thorny palm tree identified in Encyc. as Astocaryum Segregatum Drude. (p. 60).
3 Lit., 'fought'; also idiomatic for 'hurried'.
4 Lit., 'to cut the trouble'.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
Den Kakaforu nånga Botro bęn dę bigi mati. Den libi na wán presi. Ma ala mamant'i dę' go kojì. Ma nô, nowa' mamant'i Kakaforu ko' na 'oso fosi. Ala mamant'i Botro fosi kom na 'oso. Kakaforu a no bęn sabi taki ef' Botro waka na son a-i smelter. Dot mek' a i kom fruku na 'oso. Wán mamant'i di dę' gowe, dän Kakaforu tek 'a scroto tya' gowe.

Di Botro kom, a no mân go na uni na 'oso. Dân a tân na mofo na doro. Dân, son opo, Botro smelter. Di Kakaforu kom, a si
są pasa nąŋga Bɔtro. A go na sej a kari êŋg birfrō mek’ a kɔm luku są’ pasa nąŋga Bɔtro. Di na birfrō kɔm Kakaforu aksi êŋ taigi, ‘Są wi so du nąŋga Bɔtro?’ A taki, ‘Tek’ wąŋ nefi kɔm, dən mi so so ri yu.’ Fa a tyari na nefi kɔ’, nò mò birfrō tek’ na nefi, a kɔ ti êŋ nɛki, a pot’ êŋ nąŋga Bɔtro na unu patu, a bòr’ êŋ mɔj.

Dat mek’ wi dè bɔrì Kakaforu nąŋga Bɔtro te tide.

Na birfrō na Kakalak’, so na odo taki: Yu na Kakalaka, yu n’ab’ leti na foru mọfo.

28. Why Cock and Butter are Cooked Together: Enemy as Judge.

Cock and Butter were great friends. They lived in one place. But every morning they went walking. But no morning was Cock the first home. Every morning Butter was the first to come home. Cock did not know that if Butter walked in the sun he would melt. That was why he came home early. One morning when they went away, then Cock took the key and carried it away with him.

When Butter came he could not get into the house. Then he stood in the doorway. Then, when the sun came up, Butter melted. When

5 Told by 1. Compare, Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 304, Guro No. 54; Hausa, Tremeame (III) 191-193, No. 4, Equilbecq I, 193-201; Nigeria (Ibo), Blasden 276-277, (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 83-85, No. 24; Jamaica, Beckwith (II), 75-76; Bahamas, Parsons, (III) 125-126, No. 75. In all these correspondences, however, the parallel is to the character made of some substance which melts when exposed to heat. Usually it is a wife that is lost through being melted.
Cock came he saw what had happened to Butter. He went and called his neighbor to have her come and see what had happened to Butter. When the neighbor came Cock asked her, said, ‘What shall we do with Butter?’ She said, ‘Bring a knife, then I will show you.’ No sooner had he brought the knife than the neighbor took the knife, cut his neck, and put Cock and Butter into a pot. Then she cooked him nicely.

That is why we cook Cock and Butter to this day.

The neighbor was Cockroach, so the proverb says: You are Cockroach, Chicken will never say you are right.


29. Fling Me!

Anansi went to a fishing hole to catch fish. But when he went inside the hole to feel about for fish, something held him. The Thing did not want to let go of him. Anansi said, ‘Who holds me so?’ The Thing said, ‘It is I who fling.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, fling me.’ Then the Thing flung him. When it flung him, he fell down far away. But when Anansi fell down he marked the place where he fell down. When he got up, and he saw the place, then he went and made many pointed stakes. Then he buried them in the ground, so that if an animal should fall down there, then the stakes should pierce it. Then Anansi went away.

He called Rabbit first, and said, ‘Let us go fishing.’ When they went, then Anansi knew already that something was there which held people. So he did not go there to feel about, but he sent Rabbit. No sooner did Rabbit go there, than the Thing held him. Rabbit called out to Anansi, ‘Friend, something holds me.’ At once Anansi said to him, said, ‘Ask, and say “What holds me so?”’ When Rabbit asked, the Thing at once answered him, said, ‘It is I who fling.’ Anansi said to Rabbit, ‘Well, say “Fling me, then.”’ No sooner did Rabbit speak than the Thing flung him. He fell just on top of the stakes. He died. Anansi went and he took him. So Anansi had killed many animals who did not know that this was what Anansi had been doing.

But Alligator knew that it was so that Anansi had killed the other animals. One day Anansi went to call Alligator to say let him come fishing. Alligator said, ‘All right.’ When they went inside the hole, Anansi said to Alligator, said, ‘Feel about on that side.’ Alligator said, ‘Why do you send me there? You know the hole better than I, so it is you who must go.’ But since Anansi knew already, then he did not want to go. Alligator called Anansi, and said, ‘Come look, here is a big fish.’ No sooner did Anansi come, than Alligator pushed Anansi. Anansi went right where the Thing

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1 Told by 1. Compare, Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 310-312, No. 53; Lamba, Doke 9-11, No. 7; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 43-44, No. 33. This tale, however, corresponds closely in plot and point to the ‘Bearded Rock’ tale that is widely spread throughout West Africa, examples of which may be seen in Schlenker 66-73, No. 5, or Tauxier (III) 231-232, No. 4.
was. So the Thing held Anansi now. Anansi begged Alligator, and said, ‘Alligator, go look on the upper path, and you will see many stakes buried there. Pull them up for me.’ Alligator said, ‘Yes.’ He asked Alligator again, he said, ‘You have pulled them up already?’ Alligator said, ‘Yes.’ He said, ‘True-true? You are not lying?’ Alligator said, ‘No.’ Well now, Anansi did not know what to do. He had to tell the Thing, say, ‘Fling me.’ As Anansi asked, said, ‘What holds me there?’ the Thing said, ‘It is I who fling.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, fling me.’ No sooner did the Thing fling Anansi, than he fell down right on top of the stakes. He died.

Alligator went, and took all the animals that Anansi had there. He took them away. So Alligator’s cunning surpasses Anansi’s.

30.

Anansi a go tajgi Konu taki ṣẹ rej Tigrileki wan 'asi. Konu taki a i lej, a no ká rej Tigrile. Anansi taki, ‘A i bọ.’


Di a miti pẹ na krawasi de, no mo a tak’, ‘Mi Tata, maskita i bet’ mi. Mek’ mi tek’ wọ sani, dq’ mi so wọp’ na maskita.’ Dq’ tek’ ’a krawasi. A bọgin wọ’ Tigrile. Di dẹ’ i doro krosbej fọ Konum ’oso,

A kaba.

30. Anansi Rides Tiger.¹

Anansi went to tell the King that he rode Tiger like a horse. The King said he lied, he could not ride Tiger. Anansi said, ‘All right.’

Anansi made a bridle, he made a saddle, he made a whip. He scattered them on the road. Then the King sent to call Tiger, and told him, [that] so Anansi had spoken. Then Tiger ran to Anansi. But Anansi knew what there was to do. He immediately complained that he had a fever. He shivered. Then Tiger came, and Tiger said, ‘Why did you go and tell the King that you rode me like a horse?’ Anansi said at once, ‘What? The King lied about me. But if I were not sick I would go to the King. If I could find someone to take me up and carry me to the King, I would go there.’ At once Tiger said, ‘Well, come, I will take you up, and put you on my back.’

Anansi went on Tiger’s back. As they came to the place where the bridle was, Anansi made as if he were going to fall down. At once he said, ‘Please, Father, look something is there. Let me put it in your mouth so that I may have something to support me to keep me from falling down.’ He took the bridle and put it on Tiger.

They went on. They traveled until they came to where the saddle was. Then he said, ‘Father, look, something is there. Let me take it and give it to you. Then I will have more strength to sit astride you.’ He put the saddle on Tiger and they went on.

When they came where the whip was, he called out at once, ‘Father, a mosquito bit me. Let me take something, and I will whip the mosquitoes.’ Then he took the whip. He began to whip

¹ Told by 1. Compare, Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 70-75; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 427, fable No. 16, (Hausa), Rattray (IV) i. 186-198, No. 9, Tremearne (I) 205-207, No. 3; Nigeria (Yoruba), Ellis, (I) 265-266, Tortoise No. 3, Frobenius, 280-281, No. 40, (Eastern Nigeria), Mockler-Ferryman 289-290; Angola, Chatelaine 203, No. 28; Lamba, Doke, 161-163, No. 83; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 112-113, No. 6 (appendix), (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 53-54, No. 38 and No. 39; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 5-6, No. 3; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 30-32, No. 19 I and II; Santo Domingo, Andrade, 37-38, No. 12; Brazil, Eells 55-57, No. 5.
Tiger. No sooner did they come close to the King's house, than the King said, 'Anansi did not lie. He is riding Tiger.' Then the King had built a stable. When they reached the King's doorway, Anansi began to whip Tiger. He rode Tiger into the stable. The King came to believe him at once that he did not lie. He truly rode Tiger.

It is finished.

31.

Anansi bèn go na Konu hoso, a tajg' Konu, taki çŋ rej Tigrī. Konu taki, 'Yu sowà p'kin, p'kin Anansi! Na wān lej-tori fō yu. Mi n'è bribi yu. Mi so ɔksi Tigrī.' A taki, 'Konu, yu kān bribi mi. Yu so si taki na tru.' Konu sèn' wān boskopu gi na Tigrī sèn' kari hēm fō a kom ye re wā' sani. Tigrī bèn brej' so tē... fō di a kā' go na Konu hoso. A dège, 'Sort' boskopu Konu so habi fō mi?' Ma di a go 'a Konu hoso nāŋga so wān presiri hati, Konu aksi hēm taki, 'Tigrī, yu sòwān trāŋga bugi meti, yu so meki p'kin, p'kin Anansi rej yu?' Tigrī hatibrē', a taki, 'Konu, mi dē gowè wāntc wāntc, mek' Anansi kom, bikasi a lej gi mi.'

A yurutem wān fō den p'kin fō Anansi bèn dē a strati de prej, a miti Tigrī 'a pasi. A taki, 'Yu boj, pē yu tata dē? Mi dē go sōri hēm lej gi mi tide.' Ala dati Anansi bèn taigi 'a boj kaba. Anansi taki hēm, 'Ef' yu si mi Tata Tigrī, kaba aksi fō mi, dān yu mu' taigi hēm, taki mi dē sūki, mi habi trāŋga korshu.' So na boj piki Tigrī taki, 'Mi Tata Tigrī, mi pāpa sūki, a i bèfī nāŋga korshu na hoso.' Tigrī taki, 'M' n' habi trobi. Ma a mu' kom na Konu hoso nāŋga mi, awas' mi tyari hēm srefi.'

Tigrī kom na Anansi hoso, a tak', 'Sa Akuba, pē 'a boj Anansi dē?' Akuba taki, 'Mi Tata, a i sūki, korshu dē mor' hēm.' Tigrī taki 'Pē a dē? Mek' mi go shī 'ēm.' Akuba tyari Tata Tigrī go na unisej na Anansi bèdē. Tigrī aksi hēm taki, 'Yu boj Anansi, sān yu go tak' 'a Konu hoso?' Anansi piki hēm taki, 'Mi Tata Tigrī, mi dē sūki. Ma Konu lej gi mi, mi no tak' so.' Tigrī taki, 'Mi nā trobi, ma kom nāŋga mi na Konu hoso.' Anansi piki hēm taki, 'Tyē! Mi Tata Tigrī, luku fa mi dē bèfī. Mi no māŋ waka. Yu no watkti dē mi kom betre?' Tigrī taki, 'No, no, mi no kā' wakti. Yu mu' kom nō, tide srefi.' Anansi taki, 'Wē, mi Tata, mi no māŋ waka, fa mi dē go waka go na Konu hoso?' Tigrī taki, 'Wē, kom sidō' na mi baka. Mi so tyari yu.' Anansi taki, 'Wē, mi Tata, mi 'a' wan p'kin saka dīa, nāŋga wan dējka. Yu no kān mek' mi tek'

1 Lit., 'He rode Tiger for true'.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
Anansi went to the King's house, and he said to the King that he rode Tiger. The King said, 'So little a spider as you! This is one of your lies. I do not believe you. I will ask Tiger.' He said, 'King, you can believe me. You will see that it is true.' The King sent a message to Tiger to call him to come and hear something. Tiger was happy so till... that he could go to the King's house. He thought, 'What kind of a message will the King have for me?' But as he went to the King's house with such pleasant feelings, the King asked him, said, 'Tiger, you are such a strong and big animal and you allow little Anansi to ride you?' Tiger was angry, and he said, 'King, I am going at once, at once, to make Anansi come, because he lied about me.'

As one of Anansi's children was playing in the street, he met Tiger on the road. He said, 'You boy, where is your father? I am going to show him how he lied about me today.' All that [meanwhile] Anansi had told the boy already. Anansi had said to him, 'If you see Father Tiger, the moment he asks you for me, then you must tell him that I am sick, and that I have high fever.' So the boy answered Tiger, said, 'Father Tiger, my father is sick. He is at home shaking with fever.' Tiger said, 'That doesn't bother me. But he must come to the King's house with me, even if I must carry him.'

Tiger came to Anansi's house, and he said, 'Sa Akuba, where is the boy Anansi?' Akuba said, 'Father, he is sick, fever has gripped him.' Tiger said, 'Where is he? Let me go see him.' Akuba took Tiger to Anansi's bed. Tiger asked him, said, 'You boy

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Anansi, what did you go and say at the King's house?’ Anansi answered him, said, ‘Father Tiger, I am sick. The King lied about me, I did not say that.’ Tiger said, ‘That doesn’t bother me. But come with me to the King’s house.’ Anansi answered him, said, ‘Tyé! Father Tiger, look how I am trembling. I cannot travel. Can you wait until I am better?’ Tiger said, ‘No, no. I cannot wait. You must come now, this very day.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, Father, I cannot walk. How am I going to travel to the King’s house?’ Tiger said, ‘Well, come sit on my back. I will
carry you.' Anansi said, 'Well, Father, I have one small sack here, and a blanket. Won't you let me take them to use when I am cold?' Tiger said, 'All right, take them. But you must come at once, at once.' Anansi climbed up on Tiger's back, and Tiger went on his way. Then they went to the King's house.

Anansi shook as he sat on Tiger's back. Tiger said, 'You, boy, why do you act so? Sit still!' Anansi said, 'Father, it is the fever. I have something here. Won't you let me put it in your mouth, so that I might brace myself a little when I hold on to it?' Tiger said, 'All right.' Tiger traveled on in great haste.

Anansi shook again. Tiger said, 'You, boy Anansi, why do you act so? Do you think if you carry on so, I won't take you to the King's house to show how you lied?' Anansi said, 'Tye! Father, I have something here like a saddle. Couldn't you let me shoot my feet inside it, then I could sit a little better?' Tiger said, 'I don't care. Do what you like, but you must go to the King's house.' Anansi put the saddle on Tiger.

They traveled a good piece farther, and Anansi saw the King's house some distance ahead. He began to shake himself again. He was shivering. Tiger said, 'You boy, why are you carrying on so? When you see the King's house you begin to tremble, no? I am going to show up your lie.' Anansi said, 'Father, my shivering is from fever, and a small mosquito bit me too.' Tiger said, 'Didn't I already tell you I don't care? Whether you shake or you don't shake, you must go. Don't you see the King's house ahead of you?' Anansi said, 'Father, one last thing I am going to beg of you. I have a small whip here. Couldn't you let me strike at the mosquitoes with it? Then I wouldn't shake, so much.' Tiger said, 'All right. I don't care. I am taking you to the King's house to show how you lied about an important man like me.'

Anansi felt for the bit he had put on Tiger, and the saddle, and he had the whip in his hand. The moment Anansi saw all the people on the King's balcony, he gave Tiger three lashes with the whip. Tiger jumped in the air. Anansi said, 'Kon! Kon!' Tiger was angry. Tiger ran. Anansi pulled at the bit all the harder, and he called, 'King, King, come look, Anansi is riding Tiger.' Tiger was ashamed so till... but Anansi was already riding him.

32.

_Hciri tin-tin-tin._

Anansi mën strej na nga Grama' fô rej Tigri. Grama' taigi eŋ dati a no so kâ' du. Anansi taigi Tigri taki, 'Luku, mi de go shori yu dati mi so tek' yu, meki mi 'asi.' Tigri lafu, e'n a taig' gi Anansi, 'Ha, ha, ha, yu bigi mofo boj, yu go tek' mi meki yu 'asi?' 'No wa'

1 Imitating the sound made when driving a horse.
tra suma leki yu mi so rej, mi so tya' go tɛ na Gramą fesi.' Tigri taki, 'Yu boj, luku bo'. Mi naki yu wą' klap puru tifi yu tifi f'na un yu mofo.' Anąnsi lafu, a taki, 'Wi so mit' makandra na lɔŋgrɔ.'

Anąnsi teki na tra mamąnṭn aleis' saka, wən pis' tɛtej nąŋga wą' pis' tiki, en a go dido', na na pasi pe Tigri de a go p'sa. Di a si Tigri kom, a bègən krei en a mɛk' ɡumɛ. Tigri si Anąnsi en aksi en, 'Yu boj, a yu dido' de, di de go rej mi?' 'Kɛ, mi brada, mi p'pa,' Anąnsi taki, 'yu no sabi taki mi mofo na mi trąŋga? Fa mi so mąŋ fɔ rej yu, so wąn p'kin meti lek' mi de. aj, mi Gadu, mi go dcde. Mi bèri de hati mi, en mi no ką tunapo moro. Mi bèri de go komopo na doro.' Anąnsi bari, 'Wai-i-i, wai-i-i, o mi Gadu, mi go dcde! Kɛ, mi brada, ycpi mi. Na m'ma meki mi tu! Kar' wą' datra gi' mi, kar' wą' datra gi mi, mi bro go tapu!

Tigri piki Anąnsi, 'Oh-ho! yu boj yu, i–si, noya so yu habi mi na fanodu. We, fɔ̌q Gadu fasi nąŋga sari-hati mi so yɛp' yu. No so, yu so dcde dia.' Anąnsi a de bari nò mò. Tigri taigti Anąnsi, 'We, yu wani mi tya' yu go na wən datra?' Anąnsi piki Tigri, nąŋga wa' shwaki stɛŋ, 'Ya, mi omu.'

'Wɛ, opo tenapo dañ.'
Anąnsi taki, 'Mi no mąŋ, mi go dcde, mi shwaki.'
Tigri kṣi sari-ati nąŋga Anąnsi. A gi' Anąnsi 'anu. En a na opo tenapo, ma a tròwɛ ɛŋ serefi baka na grə'. Tikri sheki ede, en a taki, 'Hm, 'a boj a go dcde. A no i lej.'

A yɛp' Anąnsi baka, en a hɔri ɛŋ baka. A kɾɛŋ na wą' sej, en na tra sej a fadō' baka nąŋga bɛri. Anąnsi bègi bari, 'Hoi, 'oji, 'oji, wą' sani brok' n'un' mi bèri. Hoi, hoji, hoji.'
Tigri go skreki, en a kom fredi. Taki, 'Luku, efu mi bèn sabi, mi na bèŋ p'sa diaso. Ef Anąnsi go dcde, dą' mi de go na 'anu fɔ̌q sxotu, dą' mi dcde. Luku na mi wejɛ' nąŋga mi p'kin. Anąnsi! Anąnsi! Ma Anąnsi tą' tiri, a hɔri ɛŋ serefi tiiri lejik a fląŋ.

Tigri taki, 'Mi boj, opo p'pa, opo. Gadu de. 'A m'ma mek'-i-tu; 'a boj' P'pa so yɛp' yu tu. Yeri mi, boi, i so kom bètrɛ.' Tigri de bègi Anąnsi bikasi a frede taki, Anąnsi go dcde, ɛŋ de go kɛ' na bègə trobi. A saka ɛŋ s'refi, a taki, 'Mi boj, kɔ' siod' na mi baka.' Nąŋga tumusi furu moji, a kɾɛŋ go na Tigri baka, en a bari, 'Waj, waj, waj, waj!' 'SFrançois dati, Anąnsi?' Tigri aks' ɛŋ. Anąnsi piki Tigri, 'Hu, hu, mi hu ɔmu, dem baki bonyo f'yu de sùtu mi na mi bakasej. Mi no ką' siod'.' Ɛŋ trowe ɛŋ s'rɛfi na grə'.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
Tigriskreki moro furu lejiki na fos' trq', en a bari, ‘Saq' de go p'sa na mi tide?’ ‘Mi omu, hu, waq' saka dusi, hu, meki mi pot' em na mundri baka, en mi taj ef nga t'tej, so dati dem bonyo no ka' shu tu mi, ef' mi ‘abi krakti fo sidq.’ Tigrig piki Anansi, ‘Ko' hes-hesi, bikas’ mi no ‘abi te.’ Anansi sidq' na tapu na aleis' sak, ‘en Tigrig bigun fó waka.

Anansi bari baka, ‘Mi go fadoq’, en dusi lejisi mi de go broko mi neki.’ Tigrig skrek, ef a tenapo. Anansi tajgi Tigrig taki, ‘Mi omu, a ttej dsi nga na tiki, hori ef na un’ yu mofo. Dan mi kà hori em, en daq’ mi no ka’ fadoq.’

Tigrigli lasi tem fó go na wROKE nga Anansi. Dati 'ege a tajg’ gi Anansi taki, dat’ ef nga go waka hesi. Anansi taki, ‘A bò, mi omu, bikasi mi de go dde. Mi s’rçfi wan’ wà datra ‘esii.’ En Tigrigli b’gun lòn. Ma Tigrigli no kà’ go pe ef wani, ma ope Anansi de stür ef. A tyari Tigrigli lò’ p’sa na mofo Grà'mà dòro. Ef’ a bar’ gi Grà’mà taki, ‘Grà’ma, mi tyari mi hasi ko nò, en pot ef na stal. Grà’mà, yu si, mi nga ga yu strej dot’ mi so’ rej Tigrigli, en yu tajg’ gi’ mi dòt’ ‘i no kà’. Yu si, mi wni yu, en yu lasi. O di pajamàn yu gi mi?’ Grà’mà’ tajg’ gi Anansi, ‘We, di yu kyari dati hasi gi’ mi, yu kà’ tà’ so lañga yu libi na un’ me oso.’

Dati hedc mi habi serefi te na un’ Gramà hoso, Anansi.

En Anansi tajgi Tigrigli tu, ‘Fa nò, yu, ‘a so mi rej yu of mi no rej yu? Mi gebruk yu leki mi ‘asii of nut?’ A kaba.

32. Anansi Rides Tiger.²

Heri tin-tin-tin.

Anansi made a bet with the Chief to ride Tiger. The Chief told him that he could not do it. Anansi said to Tiger, said, ‘Look, I am going to show you that I will take you, and make you my horse.’ Tiger laughed, and he said to Anansi, ‘Ha, ha, ha! You

² Told by 10. For this same tale written by the same narrator for another investigator, see Van Cappelle, 321-322, No. 15.
big-mouthed boy, you are going to take me, and make me your horse?’ ‘No other man than yourself will I ride and take before the Graman.’ Tiger said, ‘You, boy, take care. I will strike you a blow and knock out the teeth in your mouth.’ Anansi laughed, and he said, ‘We will meet at the racing field.’

The next morning Anansi took a rice sack, a piece of string, and a stick, and he went and lay down on the path where Tiger was going to pass. When he saw Tiger coming, he began to cry, and to groan. Tiger saw Anansi and asked him, ‘You boy, is it you who were going to ride me, lying there?’ ‘Ke! my brother, my father,’ Anansi said, ‘don’t you know that my mouth runs away with me? How should I be able to ride you, so small an animal as I am? Yes, my God, I am going to die. My belly hurts me and I can no longer stand up. My belly is going to burst open.’ Anansi cried, ‘Wai-i-i, oh! my God, I am going to die! Ke, my brother, help me. A mother has borne me, too! Call a doctor for me, call a doctor for me, my breath is giving out!’

Tiger answered Anansi, ‘Oh-ho! you boy, you see now you need me? Well, for the sake of God and pity, I will help you. Otherwise you would die here.’ Anansi cried without stopping. Tiger said to Anansi, ‘Well, you want me to take you to a doctor?’ Anansi answered Tiger in a weak voice, ‘Yes, uncle.’

‘Well, stand up, then.’

Anansi said, ‘I can’t. I am going to die. I am weak.’

Tiger took pity on Anansi. He gave Anansi his hand. He [Anansi] stood up, but he threw himself on the ground again. Tiger shook his head, and he said, ‘Hm! the boy is going to die. He is not lying.’

He helped Anansi again, and held him up. He [Anansi] climbed up on one side, and [pretending to climb] on the other side he fell down again on his belly. Anansi began to cry, ‘Hoi, ‘oi, ‘oi, something broke inside my belly. Hoi, hoi, hoi.’ Tiger was alarmed, and he became frightened. Said, ‘See here, if I had known I would not have passed by here. If Anansi dies, then I will fall into the hands of the police, and then I will die. Look, [I have] my wife and my children. Anansi! Anansi!’ But Anansi kept quiet. He held himself quiet, as though he had fainted.

Tiger said, ‘My boy, get up father, get up. There is a God. A mother has borne you, too; the good Father will help you also. Hear me, boy, you will get better.’ Tiger was begging Anansi, because he was frightened that Anansi would die, and he would be in great trouble. He stooped down, and he said, ‘Boy, come sit down on my back.’ After many, many trials he climbed up on Tiger’s back, and he cried, ‘Wai, wai, wai!’ ‘What is that, Anansi?’ Tiger asked him. Anansi answered Tiger, ‘Hu, hu, my, hu, uncle, your bones are hurting my backside. I cannot sit down.’ He threw himself on the ground.
Tiger was even more alarmed than he was at first, and he cried, ‘What is going to happen to me today?’ ‘My uncle, hu, this sack, hu, let me put it in the middle of your back, and tie it with a string, so that the bones should not hurt me, if I should have strength to sit down.’ Tiger answered Anansi, ‘Come, quickly, because I have no time.’ Anansi sat down on top of the rice sack, and Tiger began to walk.

Anansi cried out again, ‘I am falling down, and this time I am going to break my back.’ Tiger was frightened, and he stopped. Anansi said to Tiger, said, ‘Uncle, hold this rope and this stick in your mouth. Then I can hold them, and then I will not fall down.’

Tiger had lost time going to work because of Anansi. That is why he said to Anansi, said that he was going to walk fast. Anansi said, ‘All right, uncle, because I am going to die. I, myself, want a doctor quickly.’ And Tiger began to run. But Tiger could not go where he wanted, but where Anansi guided him. He took Tiger past the Chief's door. And he called out to the Chief, he said, ‘Chief, I bring my horse now, and I put him in the stable. Chief, you see, you and I made a bet that I would ride Tiger, and you said to me that I could not. You see, I won, and you lost. What reward will you give me?’ The Chief said to Anansi, ‘Well, since you brought me this horse, you can remain in my house as long as you live.’

That is why you have spiders even in the Chief's house itself.

And Anansi said to Tiger, also, ‘How now, you, did I ride you or didn't I ride you? I used you as my horse, didn't I?’ It is finished.

33. Anansi nanguard Dagu.


Ma di a kır’ hɛm, a aksi Dagu, taki, ef’ a no wani wan pisi. Dagu taki, ‘No.’ Anansi taki, ‘Tek’, ba.’ Dagu no wani. Ma
33. Greed Test: The Earth Has Teeth.

The King gave them two cows. But now, when they went to take the cows, the cows were behind a screen. And when they went, one of the cows was lean and one was fat. The fat one was tied with a thin rope, and the thin [cow] was tied with a stout rope. When Anansi and Dog went to take the cows, Anansi did not look, and took the one which was tied with the stout rope. Dog took the other. But now, when they went away, Anansi was envious. Then he wanted to take the fat cow, but he did not know what to do. He studied and said, 'I am going to make Dog kill his cow.' He said to Dog, said, 'Friend Dog, I am going to kill my cow.' Dog said, 'I don't care, she belongs to you. You can do what you like.' So Anansi killed his cow.

But after he killed it, he asked Dog, said, if he did not want a piece of it. Dog said, 'No.' Anansi said, 'Take, brother.' Dog

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1 Told by 1. Compare, Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 51-54, No. 6; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV) MS. No. 121a and b; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 450-451, fable No. 46, (Hausa), Tremearne (I) 212-214, No. 8, (III) 263-4, 266-7, Nos. 34 and 37; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 287, No. 32, (Awka), Thomas (III) 110-115, (Edo), (II) 64-68, No. 26; Lamba, Doke 177, No. 95; Suriname (another version), Van Cappelle, 322-324, No. 16.
refused. But after he urged Dog so till...Dog took a piece of liver. But now, Dog is
this kind of an animal: when he eats, the food does not go down into his stomach,
as long as he does not drink water. As they walked so till... Anansi suddenly said,
'Friend Dog, give me back the liver.' Dog vomited the liver and gave it back to him.
Anansi said, 'I was joking with you. Eat the thing which is yours.' Dog ate it again.
As they walked so till... Anansi thought the liver was in Dog's stomach, and said
again, said, 'Friend Dog, give me back the liver.' Dog vomited the liver and gave it
back to him. He said, 'It is a little joke I am playing on you. Don't be angry. Eat that
which is yours.' Dog ate it again.

But as they went on now again, Dog drank some water. Then the liver went down
into his stomach. Finally, as they walked some distance farther, Anansi said again,
'Give me the liver, friend Dog.' But friend Dog was unable to take it out again. Anansi
said, 'I don't care. You must kill your cow so that you can give me back that liver.'
Dog could not do otherwise. He killed his cow. But when he finished killing it, Anansi
took all the meat. Dog said nothing to him.

Dog ran ahead [along the road] where Anansi must pass. He dug a large hole
and went inside. He bared his fangs. When Anansi came by, Anansi did not know
that Dog had done this. When he approached, he saw the fangs. He was startled
and became afraid. 'Please, Father, may I pass?' Dog did not answer him. He said,
'Father, I am going to throw down a piece of meat for you. Then will you let me
pass?' He threw down the piece of meat. Dog did not answer him. Again Anansi
threw down a piece. Dog did not answer him. Anansi said, 'I beg you, if I throw down
all the meat for you, will you let me pass?' Dog did not answer him.

But when Anansi saw that the fangs refused to disappear, he ran away. He went
to tell the King that the earth had teeth, let the King come and see. But when they
went, they saw nothing, because Dog had taken all the meat, and then had gone
away. So, when Anansi could not show the King the place where the earth had
teeth, the King had them lock him up, saying he was a liar.

Proverb: Anansi's greed causes fools to lie about him.

34.

34. The Mosquito Test: The Greed Test: The Earth Has Teeth.¹

The King had a place where there were many mosquitoes. No one could live there. But Anansi went to contest with Dog that they should see which of them would remain longer with the mosquitoes. Anansi and Dog sat down. The mosquitoes bit Dog. They bit

¹ Told by 6. For comparative references, see notes to Tales No. 33 and 35, also for Nigeria (Edo), Thomas (II) 64-68, No. 26; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 111, No. 113; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 36-37, No. 29.
Anansi, too. Anansi could stand it no longer. He said, ‘My King, I am going to tell you a story.’ He said, ‘My father had a cow. It was spotted here, it was spotted here, it was spotted here, my King....’ [pantomime of slapping the parts of his body where the mosquitoes were attacking him].

So Anansi won first prize. So he was to get a cow, and Dog, too.

But the King took a lean cow, and a fat one. The lean cow they tied with a stout cord, and the fat one with a thin cord. As Anansi came to take his cow before Dog came, he grabbed the stout cord. So Dog had to take the fine cord. But when they pulled out the cords, Anansi’s cow was lean. After a little while, it could not walk.

But what could Anansi do? He had to take it. He and friend Dog went along the road, and his cow could not walk any more. So Anansi killed his cow. He put half inside his carrying basket, and he gave friend Dog a piece of liver.¹ But Dog did not eat the liver. He held it under his tongue.

When they had walked so till... Anansi said, ‘Friend Dog, friend Dog, give me my liver.’ Dog put out his tongue, and said, ‘Friend Anansi, here is your liver.’ Anansi said, ‘I was making fun.’ But as they walked so till... Dog became thirsty.² He went to a creek to take a drink of water. So he swallowed the liver. A little later, Anansi said, ‘Friend Dog, friend Dog, give me my liver.’ Dog put out his tongue, but the liver was not there, because he had swallowed it when he went to drink water. So Dog had to kill his cow in order to give Anansi his liver.

When Dog had given Anansi the liver, he took his meat and he ran on ahead. He dug a large hole, and he went inside, and he bared his fangs, which alone showed.³ When Anansi was coming by he saw the fangs. He said, ‘Howdo, father.’ Dog showed his fangs all the more. Anansi said, ‘Yes, father, I know what you want. A piece of meat.’ Dog showed his fangs all the more. And so Dog did the thing till... Anansi threw down all his meat.

He ran away to the King, and said, ‘King, the earth has teeth.’ When Anansi went away, Dog came out of the hole, [and] he took away all the meat. The King sent some people with Anansi, to go and see if it was true that the earth had teeth. But when the people went, they found nothing.⁴ So they got angry with Anansi, and they began to whip him.

So you see, Anansi ran away to hide in a post-hole.

¹ The etiquette here, as in Africa, is that anyone who looks on while an animal is being cut up must get a piece, no matter how trifling.
² Lit., ‘water came to catch Dog’.
³ Lit., ‘he showed his teeth to the air’.
⁴ Lit., ‘they no did find nothing’ - always the double negative.
35.

Konu bən ab' wən uma-p'kin. A taki, suma wan' tro nəŋga 'a p'kin, a mu' kɔ' nyəm wən krabasi pepre səndra meki, 'FFahhh'. Wən dej Anənsi taki, 'Mi 'ɛ go si ɛf' mi no kəŋ go tro nəŋga ɛŋ p'kin.' Anənsi komopo, a go. Ma di a go, ala san' a de tak' nəŋga Konu, a i tak' so, 'FFahhh, odi mi Konu, ffahhh. Fa mi Konu tə', ffahhh? Ma mi Konu, mi kom, ffahhh.'

Di ɛŋ nəŋga Konu tak' moj, Konu de luk' ɛŋ. Konu taki, 'Maŋ, we fa ya tak' so dəŋ?' Anənsi piki ɛŋ, 'FFahhh, na so mi tak' tə', ffahhh.'

Ala doti Anənsi wroko truki fō te a nyəm 'a pepre, dəŋ te 'a pepre brəŋ ɛm, dəŋ Konu no kəŋ sabi taki na na pepre de brəŋ ɛm. Anənsi go, Konu 'ɛ gi ɛm na pepre. Ma ala di na pepre brəŋ həm, dəŋ a de meki, 'FFahhh.' Dəŋ a nyəŋ den krabas' pepre. Dəŋ Konu dc taki, 'Na so na maŋ taki tə', dc so na pepre n'e brəŋ ɛŋ. Biika' na so a i taki, ala san' dati həm taki a meki so, "FFahhh".'

So dat' Konum bən musi mek' a tro nəŋga həm p'kin. Ala di na pepre brəŋ ɛŋ, Konu no dc mek' anmerkən tak' na pepre ɛ brəŋ ɛŋ.
35. The Pepper-Eating Test.²

The King had a daughter. He said, whoever wishes to marry his daughter, must come and eat a calabash of pepper without making ‘F-fah.’³ One day Anansi said, ‘I am going to see if I cannot marry his daughter.’ Anansi left [his house] and he went. But when he went, everything he said to the King, he said so: ‘F-fah-howdo, King, f-fah. How is the King today, f-fah? But King, I came, f-fah...’

While he and the King were talking nicely, the King looked at him. The King said, ‘Man, well why do you talk like this then?’ Anansi answered him, ‘F-fah, this is my way of talking, f-fah.’

All that Anansi worked as a trick in order that when he ate the pepper and when the pepper burnt him, then the King should not know that the pepper was burning him. Anansi went, and the King gave him the pepper. But, when the pepper burnt him, then he made ‘F-fah.’ Then he ate the calabash of pepper. Then the King said, ‘Such is the man's speech, and so pepper does not burn him. Because so he talks, everything that he said, he made so, “F-fah”.’

So the King had to let him marry his daughter. When the pepper burnt him, the King did not notice that the pepper was burning him.

36. Anansi nangá Didibri.¹


‘Yu mama pima yu! Dagu yu!’
‘Hmmm!! Nas im ud uy?’ (‘Sân mi du yu’?)
‘No aksi mi, yu. Mi dê teki na faja is’i di, mi dê fom yu nangá hêm te yu kaka-saka bastar!’
‘Sân mi du yu dan, mi ba?’
‘F’rêk! Mi a no yu ba! G’we! Sâ yu wani diaso?’

‘Wa, mi ba, di mi bê de a kôm, mi yere ñ fa yu dê naki na is’i nangá yu amra. A dê lejikí poku de prej. Taki sàñ’ yu wani, yu dê wàñ bô’ smêtmâ’. A wroko no hebí nofo, no so, yu dê du ñ. Basidjáki serefi no kà’ fô asuwà’ nangá yu.’

² Told by 4. Compare Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 129-131; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 418; fable No. 5; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 274-275; Guru No. 6; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 129-131; Togo (Dagbamba), Fisch 158; No. 7; Nigeria (Warri), Herskovits, M. and F. (II) 448-452, No. 1; (Edo), Thomas (II) 27-28, No. 7.

³ According to the teller of this tale, this is the sound made when tasting something hot.

¹ The idiom of this tale, told by a man of Javanese descent, is to be compared with that of the other tales.

Sofasi yu habi Anąnsi te.... na ɔni smcti-hoso.

36. A Challenge to the Devil.4

One early morning a fine, fine rain was falling, and Anansi came out of one of his wives' houses. He passed Yosi’s forge. Anansi said, ‘Woh era uoy?’ - (‘How are you,’ in the language of the damned souls).

‘By your mother's genitals! You dog!’

‘Hm! tahw evah I enod ot uoy?’ - (‘What have I done to you?’)

‘Don't ask me, you. I'll take this hot iron, and I'll beat you with it till your intestines burst!’

‘What will I do to you then, brother?’

‘Curse you! I'm not your brother! Go away! What do you want here?’

‘Well, brother, when I was coming this way, I heard how you were hammering the iron with your hammer. It was like a drum playing. Say what you will, you are a good smith. There is no work too hard for you to do. Basi Jakî himself, could not surpass you.’

4 Told by 10.
5 A name assumed by the devil.
6 Said to have been a slave, who, many years ago, was renowned for his fine iron working.
The Devil's head swelled with pride when Anansi said that to him. The Devil said to Anansi, 'Yes, yes, our whole family are smiths.' The Devil put his hand in the fire. He pulled out a piece of hot iron, and he showed it to Anansi. Anansi went and hid because he became afraid. 'There is no work I cannot do. No iron wire is so twisted that I cannot straighten it.' Anansi said, 'You are lying, you.' 'Do you want to bet?' Anansi said, 'Yes.' Anansi shot his hand into his shirt. He pulled out a pubic hair, and he gave it to the Devil to hammer it straight. The Devil hammered, and hammered, and hammered, and hammered, but he could not get it straight. It curled more and more. Anansi said, 'You see, I won from you. What will you give me?' The Devil took the hot iron, and threw it at Anansi. After that Anansi went to hide in a post-hole.

So that is why you have Anansi till... inside the forge.

37. Anąnsi nąŋga Tigri.

Anąnsi tąi'g' Tigri, 'Mi Ta, yu no wani wasi? Wąn mọj fefer mi hab' diaso.' Tigri taki, 'No, no, mị boj, ef mi go wasi, mị mu' puru mi bɛre, dą' fos' m' ką' go wasi.' Anąnsi taki, 'We, dą' i puru, mi Ta.' Tigri puru ef'm bɛre, dąn a go wasi. Anąnsi luku di Tigri go wasi, dąn a nyam Tigri bɛre. Di Tigri kaba wasi, Tigri taki, 'Pe mi bɛre dę?' Anąnsi taki, 'Mi no sabi, di dyọnso, a bɛn di diaso.' Anąnsi taki, 'Mi Ta, mi so sori yu sumatı nyam yu bɛre.' Tigri g'we; Anąnsi, tu.

Na pasi, Anąnsi miti furu kęskęsi. Dęm bɛn dę sęngi, dęn dę go na wą dędę-hoso. Anąnsi taki, 'Ụn boj, ụn no mu sęngi so, ụn mu sęngi,

'Wi nyam Tigri bɛre,
A swiți;
Wi nyam Tigri bɛre,
'A sọtu,
'A pɛpre.'

Den kęskęsi taki, 'aj. Wą' mọj sęngi.'

Dàn Anąnsi go na Tigri, a tąi'g' Tigri taki, 'Mi Ta, mi sabi suma nyam yu bɛre. Mị sọ tyari yu go sori pɛ dęn dęc.' Tigri taki, 'Mọj, mi boj.' Anąnsi tyari Tigri go na dędę-hoso pɛ dęn kęskęsi dęc. Den kęskęsi sęng' wąn tra sęngi. Anąnsi kari wą fọ dęn kęskęsi, a taki, 'Hɛlo, mat', yu fruđi na sęngi dì mị bɛn tąjị yu fọ sęngi?' Kęskęsi

1 Lit., 'The Devil's head came to grow'.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*

Anansi said to Tiger, ‘Father, don't you want to bathe? I have a fine pool here.' Tiger said, ‘No, no, my boy. If I go to bathe, I must take out my belly,' then only can I go and bathe.' Anansi said, ‘Well, then, take it out, father.' Tiger took out his belly, then he went to bathe. Anansi watched, and when Tiger went to bathe, then he ate Tiger's belly. When Tiger finished bathing, he said, ‘Where is my belly?' Anansi said, ‘I don't know; [but] just now it was here.' Anansi said, ‘Father, I will show you who ate your belly.' Tiger went away; Anansi, too.

On the way, Anansi met many monkeys. They were singing, they were going to a wake. Anansi said, ‘You boys, you mustn't sing so, you must sing,

'Ve ate Tiger's belly,
It was sweet;
We ate Tiger's belly,
With salt,
With pepper.'

The monkeys said, ‘Yes, a fine song.'

Then Anansi went to Tiger, and he said, ‘Father, I know who ate your belly. I will take you where they are.' Tiger said, ‘Fine, my boy.' Anansi took Tiger to the wake where the monkeys were. The monkeys were singing another song. Anansi called one of the monkeys, and he said, ‘Hello, friend, did you forget the song I told

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2 Told by 9. Compare, Sudan (Malinke), Monteil (I) 45-49, Travelè 102-104, No. 40; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 273, Guro No. 3, 324, Gagu No. 9; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS. No. 44 and No. 48; Nigeria (Bura), Helser 72-73, No. 16, (Calabar), Dayrell, 36-37, No. 7; Angola (Umbundu), Bell 133-135, No. 14; Lamba, Doke 35-39, 75, No. 16 and No. 32; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 25-27, No. 8, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 108-109, No. 110; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 13, No. 10b, 47-48, No. 37a and b.

3 Entrails.
you to sing?’ The monkey said, ‘Yes, I know it.’ He went in the house and he told
the others to sing what Anansi had told them,

‘Tiger’s belly is sweet,
Tiger’s belly,
With salt,
With pepper.’

Tiger heard them. He jumped inside the house and killed the monkeys.

Half ran away. Anansi went with those who ran away. He said, ‘So, come, I am
going to show you a nice thing.’ He put a kettle of water on the fire. He said, ‘You
boys, I am going inside the kettle. When I say “Man is ripe”, then you must take me
out. Then you will go now. When you say “Man is ripe”, then I will take you out again.’
The monkeys went. When they felt the heat, they said, ‘Man is ripe’. Anansi said,
‘When man is ripe, the teeth must appear.’

38. Keskesi naŋga Tigri.

Tigri a no bɛn ’abi sani fô nyam. Daŋ’ a prakseri fa e’ gô du. Daŋ’ a mek’ wan bûgi kapa
naŋga doro. Đan a kari ala bû gi taki ɛŋ dac go prê kînî. Đeŋ’ mu’ ɛŋ’ luku.

Đan a go na ɛŋ na kapa, taki ɛŋ dac go pôti dem plât, ma te ɛŋ bari a waran, đan den
mu puru ɛŋ, bika’ a ben pot’ faja na ɔndro na kapa. Đan di a bari ’A waran,’ đan dë
opo na doro. Đaŋ’ a mek’ ala den bû gi na ɛŋ na kapa tak’ dë’ go luku kînî. Ma
wan pikin bû gi no bɛn go na ɛŋî. A kibiri na tapu wan bom. Đan a luku ala sa’ pasa.
Đan di den bû gi na ɛŋ na kapa, đaŋ’ Tigri pot’ faja gi’ na kapa. Đan den bû gi bori,
daŋ’ a kî’alamala, so a kâ’ fén s’ti-mîfô.

Wan tra dej’ baka, di a i pina, daŋ’ a kari ala keskesi no. Taki, mek den kom luku, ɛŋ
dac go prê kînî. Đan di den keskesi kom, đan na pikj’ bû gi di ben taj na tap’ na bom
tra lesi, đan a taig’ den taki, te Tigri go ɛŋ’ na kapa, đan dë’ no mu opo na doro te a
bari a waran. Den mu tajgi, ’Te a waran man tifì mu piri a wejî.’ En so, di Tigri go
na ɛŋî, đan den no opo na doro gi’ ɛŋ’. Den pot’ faja na ɔndro na kapa, ɛn so Tigri
décè.

1 This word is also idiomatic for ‘mature’, and when used as a verb means ‘help’. The point of
the ending involves a conscious play on words, with the three meanings in mind.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
38. The Killing Hot Bath: Tables Turned.²

Tiger had nothing to eat. Then he studied what he was going to do. Then he made a big kettle with a lid. Then he called all the baboons,³ saying he was going to play a cinema. They must come and look.

Then he went inside the kettle, saying he was going to put in the plate (the film), but when he called it was warm, then they must take him out, because he had put fire under the kettle. So, when he cried, ‘It is warm,’ then they opened the lid. Then he made all the baboons go inside the kettle, telling them they were going to look at a cinema. But one little baboon did not go inside. He hid in a tree top. Then he watched everything that happened. Then when the baboons went inside the kettle, then Tiger lit the fire under the kettle. Then the baboons were cooked, he had killed all of them, that he might find meat.

Some time later, when there were hard times, then he called all the monkeys. He said let them go look, he was going to play a cinema. Then when the monkeys came the little baboon who had been in the tree top the other time, said to them, said, when Tiger went in the kettle, then they must not raise the lid when he cried it was warm. They must say, ‘When it is warm, man’s teeth must show white.’ And so, when Tiger went inside, then they did not raise the lid for him. They lit the fire under the kettle, and so Tiger died.

² Told by 1. For comparative notes see preceding tale, and also compare for Nigeria (Awka), Thomas (III) 94-95; Cameroons (Bulu), Schwab (I) 277-278, No. 19; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 19, No. 16.
³ Suriname Negro term for howling monkeys.
Proverb: When someone digs a hole for another, he himself will fall into it.
This was the payment for what he had done to the baboons.

39. Anąnsi go pre fō Datra.

Anąnsi nô, mek' wą' 'ospital, taki, ṉ̃ sabi fô drɛsi siki mą'. Nô Tigrî bç' 'abi siksì p'kin, dem p'kin ñe dem sì. We, di Tigrî yeri tak' Anąnsi dc so wą' bô' datra, a tyar' dem p'kin go mek' Anąnsi luku dem. Anąnsi taki, 'Mi ką' mek' dem p'kin kom bctre, ma i mu' tya' dem kom na 'atì-oso, kɔ' didq' fô wą' tịn dej.' Tigrî sëni ṉ̃ p'kin kom na Anąnsi.

Anąnsi nya' ala dem p'kin Tigrî. Dän, di Tigrî kom fô luku dem p'kin, a tajg' Tigrî taki, Tigrî no ką' si dcm. ṉ̃ gi' dcm wą' drɛsi, suma no ką' tak' naŋga dem. Di Tigrî gow, Anąnsi prakseri taki, te Tigrî kò' luku dem p'kin baka, sa' i so tak' Tigrî? A prakseri, a taki, 'Mi sab' sa' mi go du kabà.' A suku tɛtɛj, d'a span na tɛtɛj na un' na kamera. Dän a 'aŋga den p'kin Tigrî bɔ̌nyo na na tɛtɛj. Dän di Tigrî kò' luk' na pikin baka, a tajg' Tigrî taki, 'Yu no ka' si dem p'kin 'ɛte, ma çi yu wani, mi so meki yu yeri fa dç a lafu.' Daq' taig' Tigrî taki, 'Luku na tɛtɛj dia. 'Ar' ṉ̃ p'kinso, daq' i so yeri fa i dcm dç lafu.' Ma Tigrî n'e si na un' dem kamera. Te a 'ar' na tɛtɛj, den dem bɔ̌nyo, dcm meki, 'Tchara, tchara, tchara.' Dän Tigrî yeri, a dçŋgi taki na den p'kin ñe dç taki. Di a kom wą' tra dej. Anąnsi du so scref' baka. A mek' Tigrî har' a tɛtɛj. Di Tigrî har' a tɛtɛj, dän dcm bɔ̌nyo meki, 'Tchara, tchara, tchara,' baka. Tigrî gowc. Di a go na 'oso, a tegi ṉ̃ frò taki, 'Dem p'kin de kom moi bctre, bika' de-a tak', 'Tchara, tchara, tchara, tchara.' Alà dej te a go luku dcm p'kin, na na wą' 'Tchara, tchara' yeri.

Wą' dej a i oks' Anąnsi taki, 'Tą'! Ma san' wą' tak' dati? Alà dej na wą' 'tchara, tchara, tchara' den p'kin taki! Mi n'e ferstand. Mek' mi scref' go luku n' un' na kamera.' Fa-i-sì a opo na doró, a si sosó bɔ̌nyo 'aŋga na den t'ɛtɛj. A draj' g'a dorosej fô go nak' Anąnsi. Anąnsi lò' gò a post' óro.

Dati mek' Anąnsi dc tą' te tidej na un' post' óro.


Anansi now made a hospital, and he said he knew how to cure sick people. Now Tiger had six children, and the children were sick. Well, when Tiger heard that Anansi was so fine a doctor, he took the children to have Anansi examine them. Anansi said, 'I can make the children better, but you must bring them to the hospital to lie there for ten days.' Tiger sent the children to Anansi.

Anansi ate all the little Tigers. Then when Tiger came to see his children, he said to Tiger that Tiger could not see them. He gave them a medicine and people could not talk to them. When Tiger went away, Anansi studied, what should he say to Tiger when Tiger came to see his children again? He studied, and he said, 'I know already what I am going to do.' He found a cord, and he put up the cord in the room. Then he suspended the little 'Tigers' bones from the cord. Then when Tiger came again to look at the children, he said to Tiger, he said, 'You cannot see the children yet, but if you like, I will let you hear how they laugh.' Then he said to Tiger, he said,

Told by 1. Compare, Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 226-230; Hausa, Rattray (IV), ii, 100-104, No. 28; Nigeria (Ikom), Dayrell (II) 58-61, No. 22; Gabun, Nassau, (I) 125-126, Banga No. 12.

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‘See that string there. Pull it a little, and you will hear how they laugh.’ But Tiger did not see inside the room. When he pulled the string, then the bones made ‘Tchara, tchara, tchara.’ Then Tiger heard, and thought that the children were speaking. When he came another day, Anansi did the same thing again. He had Tiger pull at the string. When Tiger pulled at the string, then the bones made ‘Tchara, tchara, tchara’ again. Tiger went away. When he went home, he said to his wife, he said, ‘The children are better, because they say “Tchara, tchara, tchara, tchara”.’ Every day when he went to see the children, he heard the same ‘Tchara, tchara.’

One day he asked Anansi, he said, ‘Tan! but what does that mean? Every day the children speak the same “tchara, tchara, tchara.” I don't understand. Let me go in the room to look at them myself.’ As he opened the door, he saw only bones and cord. He turned and rushed outside to strike Anansi. Anansi ran away into a post hole.

That is why Anansi lives in the post holes until today.
Konum bɛn habi wən umq-p'kin. 'A p'kin bɛn siki so tɛ... Somɛni datra bɛn luku 'a p'kin, ma nowan bɛn kə' drɛs.

Anɑnsi prakser' takî, 'Mi go suku wən p'kin mɔni a Konu.' Anɑnsi baj wən blaka pak' nəŋga wəŋ bɛrɔ. Anɑnsi mek' dem mek' wən shesi. A yuru wən kəširi. Anɑnsi go na un na shesi wən dej, a meki na kəširi tyari hɛm pasa let' na Konu mofo-doro. Di a i pasa, Konu mek' den sɛn go luku suma de pasa dia, ef' a no wən datra. Den takî den so go luku. Di den kar' na datra, datra go, en di a luku 'a p'kin, a taig' Konu taki, 'Na p'kin so kom bɛtre, ma tɛ... ala kaba.' Konu no sab' sɑn Anɑnsi bɛn prakseri. Anɑnsi prakser' takî, 'Datì wəŋ takî, te Konu n'a' mɔni moro.'

Na fos' dej, Anɑnsi oksi Konu dojzen xulder. Konu gi hɛm. A gi Konu wən drɛsi. A taig' Konu taki, 'Na drɛsi nem Tɛ-not-no-de-moro.' So Anɑnsi de luku na p'kin pasa wən yari tɛ... beina Konu ala çŋ mɔni kaba. Ma ala dej, te Anɑnsi go, a i tak' Konu taki, 'Mi Konu, no habi frede. 'A p'kin a kom bɛtre, ma tɛ ala kaba. So láŋga sani de, mi 'e gi hɛm drɛsi Tɛ-not-no-de-moro, daq' a sa kom bɛtre.'

So wən dej, Konu go ferteri wən suma taki na so wən datra de luk' na p'kin, ma na p'kin n'ɛ kom bɛtre. Ma ala dej, 'a datra a i taig' hɛm, te ala kaba, dɑn fos' 'a p'kin kom bɛtre, en te not' no de moro. Na suma taig' Konu taki, 'Te na datra kom, dɑn yu mu aksi hɛm sɛn wəŋ tak' doti?' We, na wən dej, di na datra kom, dɑn Konu aksi hɛm takî, 'Otɛm ala so kaba dɑn? Bika' ala dej yu de taig' mi, "Tɛ ala kaba'? Anɑnsi taig'hɛm takî, 'We, mi Konu, na tɛ yu n'a' mɔni moro, en tɛnotnodemoro, dat wən takî na tɛ na p'kin bro koti.' Na Konu taig'i hɛm takî, 'We, dɑn, Datra, yu no hab' fɔ kom, bika' na p'kin no sa kom bɛtre nojiti.'

Ma wən suma kom ferteri Konu, taki na Anɑnsi bɛn kom prej fɔ' 'a datra. Konu sɛn' tek' Anɑnsi, a mek' den wu' Anɑnsi so tɛ... 'A yurutem di den lus' Anɑnsi, a no sab' pe fɔ lɔŋ'-go. A lɔŋ'-go na un post horo. Dat' mek' Anɑnsi tə' na post horo, di a go prej Konu truki. A bɛn wani mek' ala Konu mɔni kaba.
40. Curing the Sick: Till Nothing Remains.¹

The King had a daughter. The daughter was sick so till... So many doctors had examined her, but no one could cure her.

Anansi studied, and said, ‘I am going to the King to seek a little money.’ Anansi bought a black suit, and a high hat. Anansi had them make a carriage. He hired a coachman. Anansi went into the carriage one day, and he had the coachman bring him right by the King's door. When he was passing, the King had them send to see if the person passing there was not a doctor. They said they would go and look. When they called the doctor, the doctor went, and when he examined the child, he said to the King, said, ‘The child will get better, but when... all is finished.’ The King did not know what Anansi had studied. Anansi studied and said, ‘That is to say, when the King has no more money.’

The first day, Anansi asked the King for a thousand guilders. The King gave it to him. He gave the King some medicine. He said to the King, said, ‘The name of the medicine is Till-there-is-nothing-more.’ So Anansi looked after the child for over a year, till... almost all the King's money was finished. But every day, when Anansi went, he said to the King, said, ‘My King, don't be afraid. The girl will get better, but when all is finished. So long as things are there, I will give her the medicine Till-there-is-nothing-more, then she will get better.’

So one day, the King went to tell someone that such a doctor was looking after his daughter, but that the girl was not getting better. But every day the doctor said to him, when all was finished, then only would the child grow better, and when nothing more was there. The person said to the King, said, ‘When the doctor comes, then you must ask him what that means.’ Well, one day, when the doctor came, then the King asked him, said, ‘When will all be finished? Because every day you tell me, “When all is finished”? Anansi said to him, he said, ‘Well, King, when you have no more money, and when there is nothing more, that is to say, when the child's breath is gone.’² The King said to him, said, ‘Well, then, Doctor, you don't have to come, because the girl will never get better.’

But someone came to tell the King that Anansi had pretended he was a doctor. The King sent to take Anansi, and he had them whip Anansi so till... When they freed Anansi, he did not know where to run. He ran into a post hole. That is why since he went to play tricks on the King, Anansi lives in post holes. He had wanted to make all the King's money come to an end.

¹ Told by 4. The general resemblance of the 'Till Nothing Remains' motif to 'Playing Godfather' type of tale (as given by Parsons (III) 1, No. 1, with bibliography) is to be noted.
² Lit., 'breath is cut off.'

D'a go na 'oso, a pot' 'a prapi a tap' εη sodro. A no mek' na wa' suma sabi. A bɛn gridi, εη wa'wà n bɛn wani f'i go nyam. So a la dej a i go safri go nyam. Te a nyam kaba, dà' i saka kom. Dà' i tājgi εη umà, tak', tide a n'a f' gi' εη nyam f'a bori. Εη no de lostu n'nyam tide. Na fro no sab' sà' i du.

Ma wa' dej, di Anansi go na tap' sodro, dan wa' f' den p'kin krn' safrì, go luku sa εη p'pa i du. Di a gò, a kibri. Εη p'pa no si εη. Dà' εη p'pa go na prapi, a taki, ‘Agitafræ, gi tafra.' Wà' tròq' wa' tafra dèk. Anansi nyam! A no si taki suma si εη.

'A p'kin f'εη go na gro', a tājgi εη m'ma taki, ‘Mi m'ma, na so wa' sani mi p'pa ε du, mek' a i tājgi taki, te yù bori, yù n'å fò gi' εη. A i nyà' ala dej 'a tap' sodro. Mi kibri, luk' εη. Mi si sàñ a i du.' Dàn wa' dej Anansi no dc, εn na p'kin tekì 'ɛm m'ma naŋga den bràda f'εη, dan de' g'a tap' 'a sodro. A tak' a sreñi lek' fa Anansi ben tak' gi' 'a prapi. Dan tafra kom, dan tafra dèk. De' nanyam! Di Anansi kom, a no sab' sàñ p'sa. A g'a sodro, a tak' nàng' 'a prapi, ma tafra no dèk.

Anansi prakser’, taki, ‘Na suma kò’ na prapi fò mi, ma mi go shor’ den.’

A go baka na sereñ presi pe a bɛn fen' na prapi, en kot' wà' bom. Di a i koti, εη s'reñ trowe n'aksi na un' na wastra. Nò, a no fen' prapi, ma a fen' wàŋ wpi. Na wpi bgin fò wip' εη. Anansi lòn. ‘A wipi de lòn εη baka. Ma di a prakseri, nò mò a bari, ‘Mi wipi, tapu!’ Dàn na wipi tapu. Dàn a tek' na wipi, a tya' gò, a pot' 'a
tap' sódro. Ma di den p'kin si a g'a tap' sódro, dę' no sab' saq' tyar' go. Dān Anānsi
gowɛ.

Di a gowɛ, dā' den alama krįŋ' g'a tap' 'a sódro. Dān dę' fas' na wip, 'a wip' a bigin
wip' den. Dę' no sab' fa' fō barĩ, f'a wip tāpu. Nō m'a Anānsi barĩ, 'aj, gi' den! Mi sō
pur' fufuru gi' den, den fufur'mat!' Na wip wip' den te yu kɔ' si Anānsi botu fini so.
Dot' mēki Anānsi botu fin' so.
**41. Pot and Whip.**

Anansi went to cut down a tree beside a creek. Just as Anansi began to cut down the tree, his axe fell into the water. Anansi dived to go and feel about for the axe. He found a pot. Anansi said, ‘I found a pot.’ Instantly the pot said, ‘I am not a pot. I am He-gives-a-feast.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, give a feast, let me see.’ At once all kinds of food appeared on top of a table. Anansi ate! When he had eaten until he was satisfied, he took the pot and he went home.

When he went home he put the pot up on the ceiling. He did not let any one know. He was greedy, he alone wanted to go there and eat. So every day he went quietly to eat. When he had finished eating, then he came down. Then he said to his wife, said, today she need not give him food when she cooked. He had no desire for food today. His wife did not know what he did.

But one day, when Anansi went upstairs, then one of his children climbed up quietly to go and see what his father was doing. When he went, he hid. His father did not see him. Then his father went to the pot, and he said, ‘He-gives-a-feast, give a feast.’ Instantly a table was spread. Anansi ate! He did not notice that somebody was seeing him.

His child went down to the ground, and said to his mother, said, ‘Mother, this is the kind of thing my father does which makes him say to you that when you cook you need not give him [anything]. He eats upstairs every day. I hid and watched him. I saw what he did.’ Then one day Anansi was not there, and the child took his mother and brothers and they went upstairs. He spoke just as Anansi had spoken to the pot. Then the table appeared, and the table was spread. They ate! When Anansi came [back] he did not know what had happened. He went upstairs and spoke to the pot, but the table did not appear.

Anansi studied, and said, ‘Some people came to my pot, but I am going to show them.’

He went back to the same place where had found the pot, and he cut a tree. When he was cutting it, he himself threw the axe into the water. Now he did not find a pot, but he found a whip. The whip began to whip him. Anansi ran. The whip ran after him. But after he studied about this then, at once he cried out, ‘My

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1 Told by 1. Compare, Senegal (Toucouleur), le Brun, 206-208, No. 18; Sudan (Bamana), Monteil (I) 57-61, (Gurmantie), Equilbecq ii, 95-99; Sierra Leone (Mende), Westermann (III) 453-454, No. 10, Migeod (I) 223-226, No. 10; Liberia (Gola), Westermann (II) 112, No. 31, (III) 499-502, No. 31 and No. 32, (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 440, No. 46; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 287-288, Guro No. 28; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 39-44, No. 4, (Ashanti), Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS No. 11 and No. 12, Rattray (I) 63-67, No. 19; Togo (Dagomba), Cardinall 153; Hausa, Rattray (IV), i, 80-106, No. 5; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 310-312, No. 53, Lomax 11-12, No. 15; Trautman 79-81, (Ibo), Thomas, (IV) 87, (Agbede), Thomas (II) 86-88, No. 5, (Calabar), Dayrel (I) 20-28, No. IV; N. Nigeria (Jukun), Meek 469-474, (Bura), Helser 29-38, No. V; Cameroons (Cross River), Mansfeld 229-230, No. 16; Gabun, Nassau (I) 113-120, Benga No. 11; Lamba, Doke 33-35, No. 15; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 31-33, 25a and b; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 141; No. 92, I and II; Santo Domingo, Andreau 189-193, No. 140-142. Comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, i, 346-361, No. 36.

2 Lit., ‘had eaten his belly full’.

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whip, stop!’ and the whip stopped. Then he took up the whip and brought it upstairs. But when the children saw him go upstairs, they did not know what he brought. Then Anansi went away.

When he went away, all of them climbed upstairs. Then they touched the whip, and the whip began to whip them. They did not know how to cry out for the whip to stop. At once Anansi cried out, ‘Yes, give it to them! I shall cure them of their thieving [habits], the thieves!’ The whip whipped them till... you could see the spiders’ legs become thin.

That is why spiders’ legs are so thin.

42.

**The Magic Whip.**

Anansi found a whip under the water. Then he brought it to his house. But when you said to the whip, said, ‘My whip, open,’ then all sorts of food came to the table.

Then Anansi did not wish to have his children and his wife know about it. Then he alone went on the ceiling; then when he had eaten, he came down. But one of his children hid to see what he was doing, and when Anansi went away, then the child took the others and they went upstairs. Then they said to the whip, ‘My whip, open.’ Then when the whip opened, all sorts of food came to the table. Then they ate.

But when Anansi came he knew of this. Then he was angry. Then he said, ‘I am going to show them.’ Then he went and took the whip and spoiled it. Then the children went back. Then when they said, ‘My whip, open,’ instantly the whip began to whip them. Then they began to run. The whip ran after them, beating them.

That is why Anansi (spiders) hide in post holes until today.

43.

Anansi sabi taki a i go pina. Daŋ a wani kiri ṣi pikin nāŋga ṣi umā. Daŋ a yuru wan papa den bɛn kari Papa Akala, poti na ɔndro ṣi bɛdi fọ kiri ala den pikin nāŋga umā

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1 Told by 1. Comparative references as for the preceding tale, and in addition, for Gold Coast (Ashanti), see Rattray (I) 213-219, No. 55.
Anansi knew that hard times were coming. Then he wanted to kill his children and his wife. Then he hired an old man whom they called Papa Akala,3 and put him under the bed to kill all his children and his wife that night. But his wife came to know that Anansi did this. Then the wife found a little honey, and she drank it. When Anansi came he asked her, he said, 'What are you drinking so?' She said, 'I am drinking a little oil from Papa Akala's eye.' At once Anansi said, 'I am a dead one, one of them is under the bed. Catch him, let me pluck out his eye.' The old man heard, then he began to run. Anansi ran after after him. But he did not catch him.

So that is the reason that the children and the mother did not lose their lives.

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2 Told by 1.
3 Yoruba name for vulture.
44.

Anansi ben 'abi twarfù p'kin. Ma nò, te ɛŋ frò bori, a i gi' ɛŋ siksi ba'ana. 'A ba'ana n'e sér' Anansi. Anansi prakseri taigi. 'Mi ɛ go prè wą' koni.' So dati a kari ɛ' wejì, a taigi ɛŋ taki, 'Músi, te i bori, yu no 'a fu gi mi n'nyam, ma mi sa teki wà' ba'ana na twir wàŋ fò den p'kin.' Na fro prakser' taki, 'A yu go kos tèm morò furù wàŋ. Èfu Anansi teki wà' ba'ana den pikin, da' i ko' twarfù ba'ana.' So dati na fro taigi' ɛŋ taki, 'Èf' yu wan' du so, dan te mi 'è go bori, yu mu' gi mi morò moni fò mi bai ba'ana, bika te mi 'è gi' yu na siksi mi 'è gi' yu, ma ef' yu tek' wà' fò na twirwà' fò den p'kin, a i kom twarfù.' So dat' na fro bèn morò kon' ièjì Anansi.
44. Anansi's Wife Can Figure.¹

Anansi had twelve children. But now, when his wife cooked, she gave him six plantains. The plantains did not satisfy Anansi. Anansi studied, and said, 'I am going to play a trick.' So that he called his wife, and he said to her, he said, 'Wife, when you cook, you need not give me anything to eat, but I will take one plantain from each child.' The woman studied, and said, 'This is going to cost you more. If Anansi takes one plantain from each of the children, then it will come to twelve plantains.' So that his wife said to him, she said, 'If you want to do this, then when I go to cook, you must give me more money with which to buy plantains, because before when I gave you, I gave you six, but if you take one from each of the children that will come to twelve.' So that his wife was more clever than Anansi.

45.

Anənsi fen' taki getResponse, Sa Akuba, n’e gi hɛm nanyɛm nofo. A tajg ‘a umə taki, ɛŋ nɛf so bori. Ma nɔ, Anənsi si taki tok tɛ a bori, a mu’ gi ɛŋ umə. Anənsi prakser’ taki, ‘No, mi wani nyan ala nanyəm.’


Ma bifosis a go na hatihoso, da’ a miti wani ɔru umə. Na umə bɛn sabi sani Anənsi bɛn du. Dą’ a gi na umə Sa Akuba wa’ batra nangga wa’ sani, a taki, ‘Te yu go na hoso, dropu na watra na ala den kukru sani fö yu pati, yu krabasi, sipu, en den prejti.’ Di a go na hoso, a du so, dąn a go na hatihoso.


¹ Told by 1. Compare, Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 31-32, No. 25a.
boji. Yu boji no feni wq' dropu. Fa yu si yu boji bɛn wan' pur' den nanyam, na so den sani ɛn.' En so, ala dej'a sani bɛn de pasa so nanga Anansi. En a go puru na uma na hatihoso, en so den puru gridi gi ɛm.

45. Collusion with Doctor: The Pots Acquire Feet.²

Anansi found that his wife, Sa Akuba, did not give him enough to eat. He said to his wife that he himself would cook. But now, Anansi saw that when he cooked, he had yet to give some to his wife. Anansi studied, and said, 'No, I want to eat all the food.'

He went and agreed with the doctor that he would go and send Sa Akuba to the doctor, and the doctor must tell Sa Akuba that sickness was sickening Sa Akuba. She must go to the hospital. Anansi studied that when she went to the hospital, then he alone would eat all the food he cooked. So he did just as he had planned. He sent Sa Akuba, and said let the doctor look her over. She looked like she was sick. The woman did not know. She went to the doctor. When she went, the doctor examined her, and the doctor said to her, said, 'You cannot remain at home. You must go at once to the hospital.'

But before she went to the hospital, then she met an old woman. The woman knew what Anansi had done. Then she gave the woman, Sa Akuba, a bottle with something in it, and she said, 'When you go home, sprinkle the water on all your cooking utensils, your pots, your calabashes, your spoons, and the plates.' When she went home, she did this, then she went to the hospital.

The next day Anansi was happy. Anansi put a pot of okra soup and dumplings on the fire, and he cooked it. Just as he was about to begin to take out the food, then, when the food boiled, he saw the pot acquire feet, the cups acquire feet, all the things acquire feet. They began to run. They ran until they came to the hospital to the woman, Sa Akuba. Anansi ran after them, but before Anansi got there, they had already arrived. When Sa Akuba had finished

² Told by 1. Compare, Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 152-159; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 280-281, Guro No. 17; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 294, No. 47.
eating, Anansi reached the hospital. He begged his wife, and said, ‘Ke! mother, leave a little for your boy. Your boy hasn't found a drop. Just as your boy had wanted to take out the food, the things began to run.’ And so, every day this thing happened to Anansi. And he went and took his wife out of the hospital, and so they cured him of his greed.

46.

Anansi bɛn 'abi wą' krabita. Ma nò, a bɛn wani fò nyąm na krabita, ma a no wani meki suma nyam ɛŋ nąŋga 'ɛm. 'Em wąwąn bɛn wan' fò nyąm ç'. A go na lukuma', go luku fa hɛm so du. Dàn lukumà' tāği ç' taki, ‘Yu mu' poti wàń koko na unì yu mofo, dàn yu mu' tāği yu wejị dati yu tifì dè hàt' yu. Dà' mek' a sèn' kari mi, fò mi kò' luku gi' yu, sàŋ dè du yu. Dàn mi dè go taki so ląŋga yu no nyąm na krabita na tifì no dè go saka.' Dì lukumà' kòm, a luku. A tāği, a mu' nyąm wą' krabita, no so, ç' go dècè. 'Em wejị taki, ‘Wɛ, pè fò yu dècè, da' nyą' na krabita.' Anansi bɛn presirì, bika' na dati a bɛn wani ląŋga tì' kaba.

Ma dì a teki na krabita fò go nyąm, a go tè... na mindri busì fò go nyąm ɛŋ, fò nowà' suma kysi wą' pisi. Dà' a si wą' pampũn na unì na busì. Dàn a taki, ‘Møj, mi so nyąm na krabita nąŋga na pampũn.’ Ma na pampũn bɛn dè na sani disì dem kali maduŋgu, çn dì Anansi broko na pampũn nyąm, wantròŋ a kisi maduŋgu. Dà' a kali Aka taki, meki a teki ɛŋ na ɛŋ mofo. Dàn a mu' flej nąŋga hɛm. Dàn di Aka du so, dàn a dè bari taki, 'Suma no 'abi maduŋga mek' a kôm teki.' Dàn Aka lusu ɛŋ. A fadɔ' na grɔ', çn di a fadɔ', a pąnya.

Dɔti meki ala suma di kisi maduŋgu. A bɛn dè te na mundri busì, ma Anansi teki ɛŋ tya kò' na foto.

46. Collusion with Diviner: How the Madungu Disease Spread.¹

Anansi had a goat. But now he wanted to eat the goat, [but] he did not want to let anybody eat it with him. He wanted to eat it alone. He went to the diviner to divine what he should do. The diviner said to him, ‘You must put a nut in your mouth, then you must say to your wife that your teeth hurt you. Then let her send to call me that I may come to divine for you what is troubling you. Then I am going to say that as long as you do not eat goat the toothache will not stop.’ When the diviner came, he divined. He said he [Anansi] must eat goat, otherwise he is going to die. His wife said, ‘Well, if it is a matter of your death, then eat the goat.’ Anansi was happy, because that is what he had wanted for a long time.

But when he took the goat to eat, he went into the deep bush to eat it, so that no one would get a piece. Then he saw a pumpkin in the bush. Then he said, ‘Fine, I will eat the goat with the pumpkin.’ But the pumpkin was a thing which they call madungu,² and when Anansi broke open the pumpkin, then at once he caught madungu. Then he called to Hawk and said, let him take him in his mouth. Then he must fly with him. Then, when Hawk did this, then he cried out and said, ‘He who

¹ Told by 1. Compare Hausa, Rattray (IV), ii, 106-110, No. 29, and Tremearne (III) 255-7, No. 52. Another Suriname version is given by the Penards, (II) 245-6, No. 2.
² The name for enlarged testicles.
has no madungu let him come and take.’ Then Hawk freed him. He fell to the ground, and when he fell, it [the disease] scattered.

That is why all the people catch madungu. It had been in the deep bush, but Anansi took it and brought it to the city.

47. Tata Koŋgodifa.

A bɛn ðɛ wàŋ mɔn. Nowa suma bɛn sabi fa a nɛ. Ala suma di go a wroko dapɛ, tɛ dɛ' bɛn wroko, Satra te a mu paj den, dɛ na taki dɛ' mu wraj ɛŋ nɛ' fɔsi. Ef' dɛ' no sabi ɛŋ nɛm, dɛ' i kir' dɛm. So a kir' somɛni suma kaba.
Dăń Anănsi yɛri fō ɛŋ. Da' Anănsi taki, ɛŋ go proberi ɛfi ɛŋ kan sabi fa a nɛm. Dăń Anansi meki ɛŋ wefi, Sa Akuba, weri wăn nyu-nyu pikin yapon gi ɛŋ nāŋga pusi-duko. Dăń a tek' papa nāŋga broko krosi leik' wan nyu-nyu pikin. Dăń a (Sa Akuba) go suku wroko na Tata. Dăń, di a kisi wroko, dăń a bɛgi na Tata meki ɛŋ li bi na pikin. Ma a no bɛn de wą' pikin, na wan bgi sumá. Dăń di a gô na wroko, dăń Anănsi bignon bari. A no wani tā tiri. Dăń na Tata 'atibrɔ̨', da' a taki, 'Gadu pres' mi, Kɔ̨ŋgodífa. Sɛnsi mi de sani leik' dsi no mit' mi.' A no bɛ' sab' taki na wan bgi Anănsi, a bɛn dɛŋki doti wan pikin nɛŋre di no kan taki, so a no bɛn sa sabi fō kari na nɛ'. Ma di a kari ɛ' nɛ', wą' tro Anănsi yeri.

Bakadina di Sa Akuba komopo na wroko, dăń Anănsi tājī ɛŋ taki, 'Na Tata nc' Kɔ̨ŋgodífa.' Bika' no wą' suma bɛn sabi na Tata nɛ'.

Tamara mamantɛ⁹, fa Sa Akuba kɔ̨ na wroko, nō mō a taki, 'Odi, Tata Kɔ̨ŋgodífa.' Wanтро' na Tata dcde, bikasi a bɛn mek' wą sweri, suma so sabi fa 'a nɛ', watro a so dcde. En di a dcde, dăń Anănsi tekí ala den san' fı naŋga na heri presi. So Anănsi meki pre koni fō a ką' sabi fa na Tata bɛn nɛm.

Na mofo boko brojki
Na mofo boko brojki
Bọnyo 'ɛ wak' a i suku dagu
A wći ɛŋg ɛri kreti
A wći ɛŋg ɛri kreti
Bọnyo 'ɛ wak' a i suku dagu
Mu santô baj dagu
Mu santô baj dagu
Fō go beti Msi Na-na.

47. Guessing a Name: Anansi Disguises as a Baby.³

There was once a man. No one knew what his name was. To all the people who went to work there, when they had worked, and Saturday came when he must pay them, then he would say they must first write his name. If they did not know his name, then he killed them. So he had killed many people already.

³ Told by 1. Compare Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 279-80, Guro No. 15, and 281, Guro No. 18; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 45-49, No. 5; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 483-4, fable No. 84; Nigeria (Calabar), Dayrell (I), No. 22; Cameroons, Lederbogen (I) 66-67, No. 30; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 28, No. 23, 77-79, No. 69a and b (for guessing motif only); Bahamas, Parsons (III) 116, No. 68, III.
Then Anansi heard of him. Then Anansi said he would try if he could learn his name. Then Anansi had his wife, Sa Akuba, put on him an infant's dress and a diaper. Then she took pap in an old cloth, like for an infant. Then she went to look for work with the Tata. Then, when she got work, she asked the Tata to let her leave the child. But it was not a child, it was a grown person. Then when she went to work, Anansi began to cry. He did not want to remain quiet. Then the Tata became angry, and he said, 'God bless me, Kongodifa. Since I live nothing like this has happened to me.' He did not know that this was a grown up Anansi, he thought it was a small Negro that could not talk, so he would not know to call his name. But when he called his name, then at once Anansi heard.

In the afternoon when Sa Akuba came from work, then Anansi said to her, said, 'Tata's name is Kongodifa.' Because no one knew the name of the Tata.

Next morning when Sa Akuba came to work, she said immediately 'Howdo, Tata Kongodifa.' Instantly Tata died, because he had sworn an oath if someone should learn his name, he would die at once. And when he died, then Anansi took all of his things, and the entire place. So Anansi played a trick so that he might know the name of the Tata.

At the mouth of the broken bridge
At the mouth of the broken bridge
Bonyo walks looking for a dog
She wears her yellow dress
She wears her yellow dress
Bonyo walks looking for a dog
Mu santo baj dog
Mu santo baj dog
To go and bite Mistress Na-na.¹

48.

Wān mān bèn meki wān bugi grɔ̌'. A prani na grɔ̌' nāŋga furu nanyām, ma a no dɛ seri da nanyām. Ma ɓiri suma dɛ kɔm na ɗi, a dɛ taki, 'Go na uni grɔ̌', yu kà' puru somɛni nanyām lejik' yu wani, ma yu mu tají' mi bejnɛ̃m.'

Ma ɓali sortu suma bèn go, ma den no bèn kà' tyari nanyām gowɛ, bikasi den no bèn sabi ɗi bejnɛ̃m. Ma wàñ dej Anansi tajig hɛm weijí, a taki, 'Mi weijí, tijè wi no habi no nanyām nāŋga wi pikin. Mek' wi go na Papa, go puru nanyām. Ma, yu kàŋ puru somɛni lejik' yu i kà', bikasi no wà' sumà no māŋ tyari na nanyām gowɛ. Ma mi, Anansi, ditì 'ɛ' go tyari hɛm.' A taki, 'Mi weijí, wer' wàŋ

¹ Song No. 247.
Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
A man had cleared a large field. He planted the field with many kinds of food, but he did not sell the food. But to everyone who came to him, he said, ‘Go in the field and gather as many provisions as you like, but you must tell me my surname.’

But all kinds of people had gone, but they could not carry away the food, because they did not know his surname. But one day Anansi said to his wife, he said, ‘My wife, today we and our children have no food. Let us go to the Papa, and gather food. But, [it is a place where] you may gather as much as you can, for no one is able to take the food away. But [yet] I, Anansi, am the one to go
and take it away.' He said, 'My wife, put a diaper on me, and lay me down in a basin, then I am going to pretend I am a newborn child.' So his wife took Anansi and dressed him in a diaper. She put him inside a basin, and walked with him to the Papa's field.

She said, 'Papa, I come to ask you if you haven't a little food for me?' The Papa answered her, he said, 'Look, I have so large a field. If you care to, and if you know my surname, you can take it all away.' She said, 'Papa, I will go in the field, and begin to gather. When I finish I will try to see if I can guess your surname. But please, may I be allowed to leave my newborn child here in front, because there are too many mosquitoes in the field?' The Papa said, 'If he doesn't fret, I will gladly look after him for you.' So Anansi's wife left the child in front, and went to the field.

She gathered food so till... that she almost could not carry it. When she came to the front she said, 'Father, I came to look after the child. I came to feed him a little.' Now she took Anansi on her knee. Anansi said to her softly in her ear, he said, 'Gather more, because we are going to take it away.' So, when the mother was through feeding him, she went to the back of the field, to gather more provisions.

A little later, when Anansi's wife had returned to the back of the field, Anansi began to fret. He screamed, and screamed, and screamed very much, and he kicked his feet in the air. So Papa became angry, he said, 'As long as I live, I never saw such a fretful child.' The more he rocked Anansi, the more he screamed. So he said, 'By God! I, Kongodifa, as long as I live, I never saw a fretful child like this.' When Anansi heard the name of Kongodifa he was very pleased. He screamed all the more. So Papa left him in front and went to the back of the field to call his mother. He said, 'Miss, come take your child because he is very fretful.' The mother said, 'I am very sorry to hear that, because at home he is not so fretful. Perhaps a mosquito bit him and that is why he frets so. But I will come up front immediately to look after him.'

So she came up front, and she took her child, and she rocked him. She said, 'What makes you fret so, till the Papa himself becomes angry with you?' Then Anansi said softly in his wife's ear, he said, 'The food is yours, did you gather enough?' He said, 'If you did not gather enough go and gather more.' So the mother said to Papa, she said, 'Papa, I want to go and gather a little more food.' So Papa answered her, he said, 'You do not need to go and gather more because you cannot take it away unless you know my surname.'

So Anansi said to his wife, softly again, he said, 'His name is Kongodifa.' So Anansi's wife knew already Papa's surname. She said, 'You are right Papa. I needn't be so greedy. No, I don't know how I am to take away the food, because I don't know your surname. But I will try, perhaps I will have the luck to guess
it.' She said, ‘Isn't Kwaku your name, Papa?’ The Papa said, ‘No, no.' She said, ‘Is not Kodyo your name?’ The Papa said, ‘No, no. You aren't going to take away the food, because you don't know my surname.' At once Anansi’s wife answered him, she said, ‘Papa, if your name is Kongodifa, then may I take away the food?’ As she called the word Kongodifa, the Papa fell to the ground dead of fright.

So Anansi and his wife and all their children took the field and all the food, because you yourself know Anansi best for his greed and his thieving.

49.

Gramą bèn gi wà' prejìmi fò i kà' sabì Tigrì weʧi ñɛm. No wàñ suma bèn kàñ tajì' gi Gramà ò fa Tigrì weʧi bèn ñɛm, bikasi a no bèn dc kàri hɛm weʧi na hɛm ñɛm.

Anànsi tajìi Gramàì, a nak' ðì' hanu na takù hɛm hatì, ën a tajì' gi Gramà dotì tamara tamara a wùnsì san dc p'sa ðì Anànsì, so taki gi' Gramà ò fasi Tigrì weʧi ñɛm. 'A boç,' Gramàì taki gi Anànsì, 'wi so si trutru ef' yu no dc lej, bikasi mi sabì yu nàŋga yu lej mofo.' Anansi lafu, ‘Hu, hu, hu, hu, hu, mi Gramà, bribi mi, tamara tamara mi dc tajìi yu fa Tigrì weʧi ñɛm.'

Anànsi go na 'oso. A tajìi Ma Akuba dotì ðì nàŋga Gramàì 'abi wà' strej fò kosi fò sabì fa Tigrì weʧi ñɛm. 'Wè, a boç' Kapton,' Ma Akuba piki ðì. ‘Mi sabì trutru taki yu so muso fò sabì fa na uma ñɛm.' ‘Wè, Ma Akuba, tamara mamàtìm, y' i 'taj mi na yu baka. Mi 't go taŋ soso s'kin. Yu dc tya' mi go na Tigrì bikasi ðì na datra. Dàŋ yu mu' tajìi hɛm dotì mi no kùŋkùŋ àjì-dej kaba, ën mi bëri dc həti mi. Mi dc go djènë, ën mi dc go krey. Èfu den fas' mi, mi dc go bari.'

Wè, na tra mamàntì' Ma Akuba tyari Anànsì go na datra, let' lejì Anànsì bèn taki di Ma Akuba na dej na fesi. A pot' Kongodıfa na i baka, ën a tya' na boj go gi datra Tigrì. A taki dotì na p'kìn dc sìki kaba na àjì-dej. Ëm a no go na bakasej. Tigrì kàri hɛm weʧi, ën a tajì' gi hɛm, 'Pòt watra na fàja, meki a broko kòru, wàraŋ, wàraŋ. Dàŋ yu pik' mi.' Di na watra bigun wàraŋ, Tigrì weʧi tajì' gi ëm datì 'a watra wàraŋ kaba. Tigrì oksi Ma Akuba ò oru na p'kìn dc. A piki, 'Tu wiki.' Tigrì tajìi ðì weʧi, 'Pot' na boj na un' na wàraŋ watra, ën dàmpu ðì bëre, meki a kà' kìs' lusu bëri.' Tigrì weʧi tajì' gi Ma Akuba, 'Gì mi na boj.' Ma Akuba gi' ðì. Di Tigrì weʧi teki na boj, a skreki, taki, 'Hu! Mi Adjuba!
Wan boi fo tin-na-fow deyi tyari sitowirir so! Anansi tajig so, ’Grantangi, musi Adjuba. Mi sabi yu nem. No wan meti ben ka’ kusi fa yu nem, ma mi, Anansi, kusi fo sabi fa yu nem.’

A kaba.

49. Guessing a Name: Anansi Disguises as a Baby.¹

The Chief offered a prize in order to learn the name of Tiger's wife. No one had been able to tell the Chief what Tiger's wife was called, because he never called his wife by her name.

Anansi said to the Chief, [as] he struck his hands against his heart, and he said to the Chief that day after tomorrow, no matter what happened he, Anansi, would tell the Chief what Tiger's wife's name was. ‘All right,’ the Chief said to Anansi, ‘we shall indeed see if you do not lie, because I know you and your boasting.’ Anansi laughed, ‘Hu, hu, hu, hu, hu, Chief, believe me, day after tomorrow I am going to tell you the name of Tiger's wife.’

Anansi went home. He said to Mother Akuba that he and the Chief had a wager to learn the name of Tiger's wife. ‘Well, all right, Captain,’ Ma Akuba answered him. ‘I know that you really must learn what the woman's name is.’ ‘Well, Mother Akuba, tomorrow morning you will tie me on your back.² I will remain naked. You will take me to Tiger, because he is a doctor. Then you must tell him that I haven't defecated for eight days, and my belly hurts me. I am going to groan, and I am going to cry. If they touch me, I am going to scream.’

Well, the next morning, Ma Akuba took Anansi to the doctor, just as Anansi had told Ma Akuba the day before. She put Kongodifa on her back, and she took the boy to doctor Tiger. She said that the child had already been sick for eight days. His bowels had not moved. Tiger called his wife, and he said to her, ‘Put some water on the fire, heat it to break the cold. Then you call me.’ When the water began to heat, Tiger's wife told him that the water was already warm. Tiger asked Ma Akuba how old this child was. She answered, ‘Two weeks.’ Tiger said to his wife, ‘Put the boy in the warm water, and steam his belly to have him get a loose belly.’ Tiger's wife said to Ma Akuba, ‘Give me the boy.’ Ma Akuba gave him. When Tiger's wife took the boy, she was frightened and said, ‘Hhu! I, Adjubal³ A boy of fourteen days has such pubic hair!’ Anansi said. ‘Thank you very much,

¹ Told by 10.
² Children are carried on their mothers’ backs.
³ I.e., ‘as my name is Adjuba!’
Miss Adjuba. I know your name. None of the animals has been able to get to know your name, but I, Anansi, got to know what your name is."

It is finished.

50.

Anansi bën 'abi wəŋ umə pikin, ma ɛŋ sɛrefi bën lobi na pikin. Đan a wani fô libi namaŋa na pikin, a no sabi fa a fô du. A go a lćn' wəŋ blaka yas namaŋa wa' bruku, đan a weri. Na jeiti đan a gö na strati, go weri na krosis. Đa' a kɔ' oksi taki,.cfu a no dja wəŋ pikin dc libi dc m kari Atande. Đi a kom, a taki ɛŋ lobi na pikin, 'cm wani fô tro namaŋa 'um. Ma den no mâ' sabi taki na Anansi sɛrefi bën weri so kom dapɛ.

Đi a puru na krosis, đan a kɔ na 'oso. Đan ɛŋ weffi taigi 'ɛm taki, 'Wə' Bakra bën kɔ luku na pikin, ɛŋ a lobi ɛŋ na pikin. A wani fô tro namaŋa ɛŋ. 'Anansi taki, 'Đati b'o'. Ma na ɛŋ sɛrefi bën du so. A taigi ɛŋ weffi taki, 'Mi no 'abi trobi. Na Bakra kɔ' tro namaŋa 'um.' Ma noiti te na Bakra kɔ na 'oso a dc si na pikin papa, bikasi na ɛŋ papa sɛrefi bën dc pre fô na Bakra.

Wə' neti di na Bakra kom, đan na mama taki, 'Mi dc go sibli, ʊŋ sidq' fisiti. .Url na tu yungu suma.' Ma di den' bţiŋ fô pre, đan na međc wani bosí na man. Fa a go fô bosí ɛŋ, no mō a si taki na ɛŋ papa. Đan a bari taki, 'Mi Gadu, mi mama, na mi papa sɛrefi wan' fô libi namaŋa mi.' Đan Anansi ðq' gowe.

Đi a kom na 'oso, đan dc maksi 'ɛm ɛfu a so a dc. A taki, 'No, no, ma mi bën wani ȵaŋ mi ɛgi fatu.' Bika na pikin bën moŋ tumusi, a no bën wan' fô wəŋ tra suma libi namaŋa ɛŋ.

50. Anansi Disguises as a White Man.¹

Anansi had a daughter, but he himself loved the child. Then he wanted to live with the child, he did not know what to do. He went and borrowed a black coat and breeches, and he dressed himself in them. At night, then, he went down the street wearing his clothes. Then he came to ask, to say, if it was not here a child called Atende lived. When she came he said he loved the child, he wanted to marry her. But they could not know that Anansi himself came there dressed like this.

When he took off his clothes, then he came home. Then his wife said to him, said, 'A White man came to see the child, and he loves the child. He wants to marry her.' Anansi said, 'That is good.' But he himself had done this. He said to his wife, said, 'I don't mind. The White man can marry her.' But when the White man came to the house he never saw the child's father, because her father was himself playing the White man.

One night when the White man came, then the mother said, 'I am going to sleep, you sit down and visit. You are two young people.' But when they began to play, then the girl wanted to kiss the man. No sooner did she go to kiss him, than she saw he was her father. Then she cried out, she said, 'My God, mother, my father himself wants to live with me.' Then Anansi ran away.

¹ Told by 1. Compare Ivory Coast (Agni), Tauxier (II) 229, No. 1; for Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 285, No. 42.
When he came home, then they asked him if he had done this. He said, ‘No, no, but I wanted to eat my own fat.’² Because the child was very beautiful, he did not want to have another man live with her.

51. Ma Akuba fredɛ fø Amer‘ką.

Wą’ dej Anąnsi mɛn wani fø nyąm foru-meti naŋga doksi, bikasi Ma Akuba mɛ’ habi wą’ buki kweki fø fouru naŋga doksi. Ma a no mɛn de gi’ Anąnsi foru-meti fø nyąm. Dati ‘ɛdɛ Anąnsi meki wą’ koni fø kan nyąm ala den kweki fø Ma Akuba. Anąnsi kon wą’ bakadina lati na ’oso. En Ma Akuba aksi hɛm pɛ a komɔtɔ, en a tajgi hɛm dat’ ɛŋ komɔtɔ na sıpi, na wą’ Amerika’ Kaptɛn di de ɛŋ mati, en dot’ Ma Akuba mu’ hɔri ɛŋ sɛreﬁ klari, bikasi na

² This is a proverb used when a man makes free with his own children, or with his siblings.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
Kapten de a go kom fô luku hcm. Ën dot' Ma Akuba no muso gi' hém shém, Ën dot' a muso meki wà' bigi tafra gi' ëŋ, want' da mán lòbi foru-meti. Ma Akuba gîmcc, 'Masra, fa mi go begin? Mi fred' f'â Amer'kàq', Ën mi no sab' fô taki English. Yu mu' sørgu doti yu de na 'oso te 'a Bakra kò' dia.' 'A bôn,' Anânsi taki, 'ma bigin mek' klar fô wà' tafra, ma no gi' mi shém.' 'Hm,' Ma Akuba piki, 'a bô,' Kapten. Mi so du sà yu taki.'

Na serefi neti Anânsi lëni wàn bigi yas, wà' broku, wà' broru nàŋga wàn blaka brl. A naki 'a doro, ko, ko, ko, ko, ko. 'Suma dape?' Ma Akuba aksi. Anânsi piki, 'aj yam ët.' Ma Akuba tajgi wà' fô den p'kin dat' ëŋ meki a o ço na doro gi na Bakra. Anânsi kò' na ëni, Ën a taki, 'Gutfrûng, gutfrûng!' Ma Akuba nàŋga den tvarf' pikin meki kosi gi na Bakra, Ën hari ëŋ futu. 'Nafu, mi Kaptein.' 'Gutfrûng, gutfrûng,' Anânsi piki. 'Leti na lampu.' 'No, no, no, no,' Anânsi taki, 'Mi 'abi soro haj, Ën mi no kà' si fajà. Anânsi sidóë, Ën a nyam ala na n'nyam. Ën Ma Akuba dati de béji fô skrekì, want' a no taki noiti nàŋga Amerikàñ.

Di Anânsi kaba nyàm, a tajgi' ëm taki, 'Te Anânsi kom, tajgi' gi hém dot na n'ýam ben sujì, Ën dat a so si mi baka. Ma tamara mamantçm meki a kom na mi na shùpi. Ma Akuba, ef yu wani, yu kà' kom tu nàŋga dé' p'kin.' 'No, no, no, no, mi Kaptein. Mi fred' f'g'à tap' watra.'

Anânsi gowc. A pur' den krosi, Ën a baka wàn yuru a kò' na 'oso. Ma Akuba kisi trobi nàŋga Anânsi, bikasi na Bakra mç' i kom, Ën 'ë' wàwà na dc na 'oso nàŋga den p'kin, Ën dcm no ben kà taki nàŋga hcm. 'Ma a nýam?' Anânsi aksi. 'Mm! Masra!' Ma Akuba piki Anânsi, 'Éfu a nýàq?' A dc wà' tumusi gridi màn. Na mati f'yu nýam serefi dem bônyo. A no lib' wà' p'kin pisi fô' den pikin kà' soígì. A kr' na tafra.'

'Nô, yu mu' presiri bikas' a dc wà' grani f'yu want' na n'nyàm ben sujìt. No so, a no ben dc go nýam alamala. Mi bleià, bikasi ef' mi g'á shùpi, na man dc gi mi ala sani dot' a habi. A no aks' yu wiskì fô dònggi?'

'San i 'c taki, kaptein, wisi?'

'No, no, wis-ki. Doti na wàŋ sortu fô Amer'kà dònggi.'

'Mm! Na fos' trôq' mi dc yèri so wà' sani. Wisi.'

'No, no, no, no. Wiskì, wiskì!'

'Kal' i fa yu wani, mi no sabi ëŋ. Mar Kaptein, tângi, tângi, no go mòro na mofo néji na doro, bikasi yu dc go kom feni mi dëdë-dëdë na ëni mi 'oso, bikasi mi kra no tek' a Bakra.' 'No, yu no mu' fred' f'ëŋ, a dc wàŋ libi suma lejìki mi nàŋga yu.'

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1 I.e., the American says, 'I am it.'

Di a k'ëntikì eñ krosi, a kò' na 'oso. A miti Ma Akuba nàŋga den p'Kin dc krei. 'San dc fò du agein?' Anansi aksi eñ. 'San de fò du?' Ma Akuba piki, 'A sani di yu wàni yu go fèni èmt! Yu sa kò' fèni mì dèdc-dèdc na uni na 'oso, bikasi na matì f'yu kusi wà' hatibron, dati bikasi yu no bcn dc na hoso. Luku fa mi bèg' yu! Mi teki mi dèdc m'mà bèg' yu fò yu no lib' mi wà'wàŋ moro na un' na 'oso.' Anansi piki Ma Akuba, 'Maaku', yu no mu' de so. Yu no gowënti nàŋga Bakra, no so, yu no bcn so de so. 'Masra, mi dè bèg' yu fò yu no g'we moro na neiti na doro, bikasi wàŋ onxceluku dè go p'sa.'

'No, no, Ma Akuba, mi no sa libi yu. Mi sa sorgù dat' mi dè na 'oso.'

Anansi du dati nàŋga Ma Akuba tc ala den kweki kaba. Na wà' nehti Kaptein kò' baka, kò' suku Anansi. Ma Ma Akuba no bcn meki n'nyàm, bikasi ala hèm foru nàŋga doksi kaba. Kaptein kusi 'ati-bròn, aksi, 'Pce Anansi dc? Bikasi somëni tò' mi de kom na hèm, ma mi no dè fèni eñ na 'oso. Èn te a kò' na mi, ala tè' mi dè.'

Ma Akuba hatì b'gùn bròn, èn a scri eñ hèdc. A teki wàn tamarin wipi, a fom Kaptein. Dàn Kaptein bègin bari, 'Kaba, kaba, habi sari hati nàŋga mi! Mi a no Kaptein, ma mi na yu man Kòŋgodifa.'

Dàti èdè Anansi prati na tu. Na tamarin wipi naki eñ na mundri eñ bëri.

51. Anansi Disguises as an American. 3

One day Anansi wanted to eat fowl and duck, because Ma Akuba had a large chicken and duck farm. But she would never give Anansi chicken to eat. For that reason Anansi made up a trick so that he might eat the whole flock belonging to Ma Akuba. One afternoon Anansi came home late. And Ma Akuba asked him where he came from, and he told her that he came from a ship of an American Captain, who was his friend, and that Ma Akuba

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3 Told by 10. For this tale, as written some years ago by the teller of it, see Van Cappelle 335-337, No. 21.
must hold herself ready, because the Captain was going to come to see her. And that Ma Akuba must not bring shame on him, and that she must prepare a fine table for him, because the man loved fowl. Ma Akuba groaned, ‘Husband, how am I going to begin? I am afraid of Americans, and I don't know how to talk English. You must see to it that you are at home when the White man comes here.’ ‘All right,’ Anansi said, ‘but begin to prepare the meal, and don't shame me.’ ‘Hm,’ Ma Akuba said, ‘very well, Captain. I will do as you say.’

That same night Anansi borrowed a large coat, a pair of breeches, a high hat, and a pair of black spectacles. He knocked at the door, ko, ko, ko, ko, ko. ‘Who is there?’ Ma Akuba asked. Anansi answered, ‘I yam it.’ Ma Akuba told one of the children to open the door for the White man. Anansi entered, and said, ‘Gutifning, gutifning.’ Ma Akuba and the twelve children made a curtsy for the White man, and pulled their feet. ‘Good evening, Captain.’ ‘Gutifning, gutifning,’ Anansi answered. ‘Light the lamp.’ ‘No, no, no, no,’ Anansi said, ‘I have sore eyes, and I cannot look at a light.’ Anansi sat down, and he ate all the food. And Ma Akuba shook with fear, because she had never talked with Americans.

When Anansi was through eating he said to her, said, ‘When Anansi comes tell him the food was very good, and that he will see me again. But early tomorrow have him come to my ship. If you like, Ma Akuba, you and the children can come, too.’ ‘No, no, no, no, my Captain. I am afraid to go on the water.’

Anansi went away. He took off the clothes, and an hour later he came home. Ma Akuba quarreled with Anansi, because the White man had come, and she had been alone in the house with the children, and they had not been able to talk with him. ‘But he ate?’ Anansi asked. ‘Mm! Husband!’ Ma Akuba answered Anansi, ‘Did he eat! He is a very greedy man. This friend of yours ate even the bones. He did not leave even a small piece for the children to suck. He cleaned up the table.’

‘Now, you should be pleased, because it is a sign that your food was good. Otherwise he would not have eaten all. I am delighted, because if I go to the ship, the man will give me all the things he has. Didn't he ask you for whiskey to drink?’

‘What is it you are saying, husband, wisi?’

‘No, no, whis-key. That is a kind of American drink.’

‘Mm! The first time I hear of such a thing. Wisi.’

‘No, no, no, no. Whis-key, whis-key.’

‘Call it what you like, I don't know it. But Captain, please, please, do not go out at night, because you are going to find me dead in my own house, because my kra doesn't take to the White men.’ ‘No, you must not be afraid of him, he is a human being like me and you.’

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2 The story-teller is imitating American speech.
3 Lit., ‘sweet’.
4 Black magic.
5 Soul.
The following night Anansi came again like an American, and Ma Akuba had prepared more food. Anansi came again as a Captain, and again he asked, ‘Where is Anansi?’ Ma Akuba told him that Anansi had gone to the ship in the morning, because the Captain had called him to come to the ship. He was gone since, and he had not yet come back to the house. The Captain got angry. He took his stick, and struck the top of the table. He said he did not find it polite of Anansi, because he had said to him that he was going to come to his house, and that he must wait for him, and he was not a small boy of Anansi’s. He took his stick and struck the top of the table again. Ma Akuba was frightened, and from fear she urinated on the ground. The Captain sat down quietly, and again ate all the food. After that, he took out a large pipe [filled] with American tobacco, and he began to smoke until he was drunk. After that Anansi went away.

When he changed his clothes, he came home. He found Ma Akuba and the children crying. ‘What is the matter again?’ Anansi asked them. ‘What is the matter?’ Ma Akuba said, ‘The thing that you want [to happen] you are going to find! You will come and find me dead in the house, because this friend of yours got angry, and that [happened] because you were not home. See how I plead with you! In the name of my dead mother, I beg you not to leave me alone in the house again.’ Anansi answered Ma Akuba, ‘Ma Aku’, you must not act like this. You are not accustomed to White men, or you would not act so. ‘Husband, I beg you not to go out again at night, because a misfortune will come.’ ‘No, no, Ma Akuba, I will not leave you. I will see to it that I am home.’

Anansi did this with Ma Akuba until all the fowl which she had raised were gone. One night the Captain came again to look for Anansi. But Ma Akuba had not cooked food, because all her chickens and ducks were gone. The Captain got angry, and asked, ‘Where is Anansi? Because I come to him many times, but I haven’t found him home. And when he comes to me I am always there.’

Ma Akuba began to get angry, and she lost her head. She took a tamarind whip and she struck the Captain. Then the Captain began to cry, ‘Enough, enough, have pity on me. I am not a Captain, but I am your husband, Kongodifa.’

For this reason Anansi split into two parts. The tamarind whip struck him in the middle of his belly.

52. Ba Anansi wını Dom’ni.

Anansi go iäre fufuru. Di a go fufuru, wăn măn tăği hım taki, ‘Domını ’abi wan Ɨŋga na hım Ɨŋga. Efı yu fufuru derti gi mi, dăn yu dë wan bọ’ fufuru mâń.’

1 Lit., ‘caught heart burn’.
2 Strong name for Anansi.
Anansi went to learn thieving. When he went to steal, a man said to him, said, ‘The priest has a ring on his finger. If you steal that for me, then you are a good thief.’
Anansi sewed for himself a white dress with wings. He dressed as an angel. At night he went to the church. The priest lived directly opposite. When the priest saw a light inside the church, he said, 'Let me go and see.' When he went inside he saw an angel flying about. He did not know that Anansi had dressed as an angel.

And now Anansi said to him, said, 'God sent me to come and take you to heaven.' Then he took the priest and put him in a sack. He flew about with him for a long, long time. As he flew about so till... Anansi suddenly said to the priest, said, 'You have one earthly thing which hinders you from going to heaven.' At once the priest said, 'You do not lie, it is the ring on my finger.' And so, the priest pulled off the ring and gave it to Anansi. Anansi took the ring and flew with the priest to the priest's house, then he put the priest in the chicken coop.

Then in the morning, the housekeeper awoke and went about talking to herself, until the priest heard. At once the priest asked her, said, 'Nene Anna, when did you come to heaven?' Because the priest did not know, he thought that he was in heaven. When Nene Anna heard the voice speak, she went to look. She saw the priest in the chicken coop, inside a sack.

So Anansi won first prize as thief, because he had stolen the ring.

53.

Anansi bɛn dɛ slaf. Ma n่อย, bɛm mamɛ no wani fɔ bai hɛm puru na un slaf, bika' Anansi bɛn hogri tumusi. Wɔn dej Anansi prakser' taki, 'Mi c go suku wɔn koni fɔ mek' mi mama bai mi.'

Anansi weri wɔn weji yapɔ' gi hɛm nɛŋga wɔn frej, đan neti a go na na kamera pɛ xɛsa mama dɛ srbi. No mɔ a taki, 'Mi na ɛŋgɛl Kεbriel. Gadɔ sɛni mi fɔ kom tajig Ma Akuba fɔ a bai na boj, puru na slaf. Đan Mam' Akuba so kisi wɔn bɔ' prejisi na hɛmel.' Di Ma Akuba opo hɛm aj fɔ luku, a si na weiti. A kom frede. A tap' hɛm aj baka. Đan a kom bɔbi taki na Gadɔ bɛn sɛni wɔn ɛŋgle kom. Đi a weji kɛmećemi, a go tajig ɛŋ bɛfrau taki na so wɔ' sani bɛn pasa nɛŋga hɛm. Đan hɛm bɛfrau tagi hɛm taki, 'Wɛ, di na Gadɔ sɛfi sɛni kom bɛgi yu fɔ bai na boj, đan yu mu' bai hɛm.' Na mama go, a bai na boj. Ma tɛ na boj du hogri, đan na mamɛ de kos' hɛm taki, 'Yu dɛŋk' taki na fɔ bo' fɔ yu, mi bai yu? Ma na Gadɔ sɛfi bɛn sɛni bɛgi mi.'

Ma n่อย, Anansi bɛn wani fɔ xɛsa mamɛ bai na xɛ wefï, tu. Đan a du na sɛfi' fasɩ lejiki fa a bɛn du kaba. Ma di a go, a bɛn hab
Anansi was a slave. But now, his mother did not wish to redeem him from slavery because Anansi was very bad. One day Anansi studied, and said, ‘I am going to find a trick to make my mother buy me.’

Anansi dressed himself in a white dress with wings, then at night he went to the room where his mother was sleeping. Soon he said, ‘I am the angel Gabriel. God sent me to come and tell Mother Akuba to redeem the boy from slavery. Then Mother Akuba will be rewarded with a fine place in heaven.’ When Mother Akuba opened her eyes to look, she saw the white. She was frightened. She closed her eyes again. Then she came to believe that God had sent an angel. In the morning, when she awoke, she went to tell her neighbors that this thing had happened to her. Then her neighbors said to her, said, ‘Well, since God himself sent to beg you to buy the boy back, then you must buy him.’ The mother went and bought the boy. But when the boy misbehaved, then the mother cursed him, and said, ‘Do you think that I bought you for your own sake? It was God himself who had sent to beg me.’

But now Anansi wanted his mother to buy his wife, too. Then he did the same as he had done before. But when he went, he had

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1 Told by 1. Comparative references as for the preceding tale; see also, for Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 408, No. 26.
a cold. Soon he said, ‘Mother Akuba, God sent me again to tell you that you did as he had ordered you.’ But when Anansi talked he coughed, because he had a cold. Anansi said, ‘Mother Akuba, God sent me word to have me tell you that if you will buy the boy's wife for him, then he will send to show you where some money is buried on your land.’ But, as he spoke so, he coughed again. At once his mother said, ‘How the voice resembles the voice of Anansi!’ Immediately Anansi said, ‘Mother, I will never do it again.’ Then the mother lit a light and came to look, she saw her own son dressed like an angel. At once she said, ‘You accursed angel! Take the money which is buried on my land and buy your wife back, you thief.’ She said, ‘Angel Gabriel! You are a fine one. You are the devil's angel. Come down from on top, you thief.’ Then the mother became angry. In the morning she began to curse all the people who had told her to buy the boy, since the angel had come to her. She said they had plotted together.

54.


So ṣe’ no kis’ Anansi, bika’ na di bẹn seri’ ‘a dagu mọfo no bẹn ọja, en dis’ mọfo ọja. A kaba.

54. Contortion as Disguise.’

Anansi stole a dog. He went and sold it to Alligator. But now when the owner of the dog lost the dog, then he went to search for him. He found the dog with Alligator. Alligator said, ‘Anansi sold me the dog.’ The owner went to the police station to enter a complaint that Anansi stole a dog of his and sold him. The police said let Alligator take them to show them the thief who sold him the dog. When they went, Anansi twisted his mouth. Then Alligator said, ‘This person resembles the very one who sold me the dog, but his mouth was not twisted.’

So they did not catch Anansi, because when he sold the dog his mouth had not been twisted, and this one's mouth was twisted. It is finished.

55.

Anansi, ala san’ den tak’ ñaŋga hɛm, a i piki, ‘No, ser,’ en ‘Ye’, ser.’ Nō, a go suku wroko na Kon’ oso. Konu ọks’ ẹn te a mu’ n’yàm, ẹf’ a wani n’nyàm. Nō mō Anansi piki, ‘Ye, ser.’ Te Konu ọks’ em taki, ef’ a g’a wroko, a i piki, ‘No, ser.’ Ma a no bẹn tak’ wàni no tra fasí ọja, ‘Ye, ser,’ en ‘No, ser.’

Konu praxeri, taki, ‘Wẹ, sortu män na män dısı? Tu sani, nō mō, a i taki. Te-i ọksi ’um fọ wàni bọn sani, a i piki, “Ye, ser,” en te i ọks’ em fọ wan ọgí sani, a i piki, “No,

1 Told by 1.
55. **Speech Mannerism as Disguise.**

Everything that was said to Anansi, he answered ‘No, sir,’ and ‘Yes, sir.’ Now he went to look for work at the King's house. The King asked him when it was time to eat, if he wanted to eat. At once Anansi answered, ‘Yes, sir.’ When the King asked him, he said, if he was going to work, he answered, ‘No, sir.’ But now he did not talk in any other fashion than ‘Yes, sir,’ and ‘No, sir.’

The King studied, and said, ‘Well, what sort of man is this? Two things only does he say. When you ask him about a good thing, he says, “Yes, sir”, and when you ask him about a bad thing, he says “No, sir”.’ The King asked him again, ‘Is hunger killing you?’ He said, ‘Yes, sir.’ When the King asked him later, ‘Do
you want to come and do an errand for me, Anansi?’ At once he answered, ‘No, sir.’
So the King had them seize him and lock him up, saying, ‘He is mad, he is mad.’
Anansi walked into a post hole in order to come out of prison. The King went about
trying to find where a man lived who said only ‘Yes, sir,’ and ‘No, sir.’ To this day,
the King has not caught Anansi. He stopped saying, ‘No, sir,’ and ‘Yes, sir.’

56.

Sɛkrepatu nɑŋga Tigri bɛn dɛ bugi mati nɑŋga ma' Anɑnsi. Dɑŋ Tigri bɛn kiri ala
meti tɛ den taki ɛŋ tori. Dɑŋ ma' Anɑnsi lɛre mati Sɛkrepatu fɔ a kɑn kiri mati Tigri.
A tajgi mati Sɛkrepatu, a taki, a mu bai wɑn kɑkɑ fɔ kɑ hɛdɛ, dɑŋ tɛ a dɔro mati Tigri
hoso, dɑŋ te mati Tigri aksì hɛm pɛ ɛŋ dɛ ɡo, dɑ' mati Sɛkrepatu mu piki mati Tigri,
taki, ‘Mi dɛ go 'a ma' Anɑnsi. Mi go kɑ mì hɛdɛ wiwiiri.' A du so.

Dɑŋ, te mati Sɛkrepatu pasa, nɔ mɔ mati Tigri taki, 'ɼ, mati Sɛkrepatu 'ɛ lau. A no
habi hɛdɛ wiwiiri, na soso buba habi. Pɛ aî go kɑ?' Dɑŋ a taki so, 'a ma' Tigri wɑntɛ
fadq' dɛdɛ.

Odo: Yu no mu luku fɔ trawɑŋ fɔ taki tumusi. (Da mati Tigri tek' ɛŋ nyɑm. Mati Tigri
obia wroko doti, ma' Anɑnsi kɔni, na so a lɛre ma' Sɛkrepatu fɔ meki Tigri kom
dɛdɛ).

56. Magic Against Gossip.

Tortoise and Tiger were great friends of Anansi's. Then Tiger had been killing all
animals who gossiped about him. Then friend Anansi taught friend Tortoise how to
kill friend Tiger. He said to friend Tortoise, said, he must buy a comb to comb his
hair, then when he reaches friend Tiger's house, and when friend Tiger asks him
where he is going, then friend Tortoise must answer friend Tiger, say, ‘I am going
to friend Anansi. I go to comb my hair.’ He did so.

Then, when friend Tortoise passed, friend Tiger suddenly said, 'Eh! friend Tortoise
is foolish. He has no hair on his head, he has only skin. Where is he going to comb?'
Then as he said this, friend Tiger instantly fell down dead.

Proverb: You must not be on guard against another's talking too much. (So friend
Tiger took [found] his food. Friend Tiger's obia worked that; [but] Anansi is cunning,
and so he taught friend Tortoise to make Tiger die.)

57.

Wɑŋ kɔndre bɛn dɛ. Ef' yu taki suma sani, wɑŋtɔŋ' yu go dɛdɛ. Ma nɔ, wɑ' meti bɛn
dɛ, dɑŋ a meki 'ɛm 'oso leti na paşi. Dɑŋ a dɛ du sɔmɛn sani te den tra me ti p'sa.
Te den taki san den si, wɑŋtɔŋ' dɛ' dɛdɛ. Dɑŋ a dɛ teki dɛm, dɛn a dɛ 'abî dɛm fɔ
nyɑm.

Ma wɑ' dej Sɛkrepatu taki, 'Mi 'ɛ go meki a dɛdɛ.' Na Sɛkrepatu nɔ tek' wɑŋ kɑŋkɑ'
nɑŋga fatu batra. Dɑŋ a ɡo, p'sa leti dɑpɛ. Nɔ mɔ na meti aks' 'ɛm taki, pɛ a de go?

1 Told by 3. Compare Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 436-7, fable No. 27, (with reference to this
same tale collected by Froger, and published in his 'Etude sur la langue des Mossi', pp. 242-3).

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
A taki, 'Mi de go kam mi wiwiri.' No mo di a p'sa a meti taki, 'Ma sani de, ba! Luku Sekrepatu, di a go kam wiwiri. Mi no si pc wiwiri de, di Sekrepatu 'et a go kam.' No mò, wə'trə p a fa dq de.de.

57. Magic Against Gossip.²

There was a country. If you said something about a person, then at once you died. But now there was an animal who made his home right on the path. Then he did many things when the other animals passed. When they spoke of what they saw, then at once they died. Then he took them, then he had them for food.

But one day Tortoise said, 'I am going to make him die.' Tortoise now took a comb and a bottle of oil. Then he went and passed right there. At once the animal asked him, said, where was he going? He said, 'I am going to comb my hair.' No sooner did he pass than the animal said, 'But things are happening, brother! Look at Tortoise who is going to comb his hair. I don't see where the hair is which Tortoise is going to comb.' That very instant he fell down dead.

² Told by 1.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore


Anąnsi ìq’ go na hoso, bigin bari, ‘Un go kibri, Dɛdɛ de kom!’ Ma Afi taki, ‘Anąnsi, libi mē! Ṣan’ de kari Dɛdɛ?’ Anąnsi g’we, go kibri na postohoro. Na Dɛdɛ no beŋ kān fenì Anąnsi. Ma a kur Afi nঐnɡa ala den pikin. Dan de Dɛdɛ g’we, nō mō Anąnsi bigin sŋgin:

   Erikondre so su-um,
   Ala suma so dɛdɛ,
   Anąnsi wঐn so tŋ’.
58. Trading with Death.  

Anansi went into the bush and he met a man. The man had much fish and meat on the drying rack. Then he asked, 'Baya, can't you give me one or two fish?' Baya said, 'You can take.' Then Anansi filled his basket. Every day Anansi came back to take fish and meat. Soon Death said, 'What are you going to give me in exchange?' Anansi said, 'I will give you my daughter, Akuba.'

Then one day, Anansi brought Akuba to Death. At once Death took his stick and struck Akuba in the middle of the head. Then Akuba fell down. She died. Anansi cried out, 'Akuba, Akuba, get up, then.' But Akuba could not get up, because she was dead.

Anansi ran home, and began to shout, 'Go hide, Death is coming!' But Affi said, 'Anansi, let me alone! What do they call Death?' Anansi went away to hide in a post hole. Death could not find Anansi. But he killed Affi and all their children. Then when Death went away, at once Anansi began to sing:

All countries will be flooded,  
All peoples will die,  
Anansi alone will remain.

59.

Dɛdɛ no bɛn dc tə' na mundri foto, a bɛn libi te na mundri busi. Ma wɛn dej Anąnsi no habi nanyəm. A teki hem katasuy nangga hem go', fɔ go na hɔnti. Ma a waka na her' busi lɔntu, a no bɛn kən fenɭ wɛn meti fɔ ṣuṭu. So a waka so te... a kom doro na Dɛdɛ kampu. Dɛdɛ sidg' a mofo doro. Anąnsi sycm. Anąnsi tak', 'Odi, mi Tata.' A tak', 'Hongri dc kiri mi. Mi waka na her' busi fɔ suku wɛn meti fɔ ṣuṭu, ma mi no fenɭ no wən.'


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1 Told by 12, Compare Togoland, Cardinall (I) 30-31, Spieth 390-392, No. 10; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 39-42, No. 21 and No. 32 a-c. Another Suriname version of this tale is available in Van Cappell 325-327, No. 18.

2 This is idiomatic for 'a few'.
Death did not stay in the city, he lived in the bush. But one day Anansi had no food. He took his hunting sack, and his gun, to go hunting. But he walked the entire bush, and he could not find a single animal to shoot. So he walked so till... he reached Death’s camp. Death sat on the doorstep. Anansi was ashamed. Anansi said, ‘How do, Father.’ He said, ‘I am very hungry. I walked through the entire bush in search of an animal to shoot, but I did not find any.’

Death said, ‘Come inside. I will give you something to eat.’ Death took him into his kitchen where Death had all kinds of meat on the drying rack. When Anansi saw the meat, his mouth began to water. Death gave him a nice piece of meat. Anansi ate until he was full. He said, ‘Thank you very much.’ He said, ‘But who are you have so much meat on the drying rack?’ Death said to him, said, ‘Don’t you know that I am Death?’ Anansi said, ‘Yes, Father Death. And that is why you have so much meat, because I walked the entire bush and found nothing.’ He said, ‘But I want to beg one thing of you. I ate until I was full, but

3 Told by 6. Compare Bornu, Prietze 96-99, No. II, 6 (not a close correspondence, however); Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 322, Gagu No. 5, and 337, Gagu No. 29, (Agni), Tauxier (III) 240-241; Togo, Cardinall 30-32, Speiss 128-130, No. 9; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 34-36, 27a, No. 28.

4 Lit., ‘but I no is find none’.

5 ‘Meat’ means both animals and animal flesh.
my wife and the children have not yet eaten. So haven't you a piece of meat for me to take to them?’ Death said, ‘All right. Take a piece there.’ Anansi took a whole side.

When Anansi reached home, he said, ‘Sa Akuba, I found a provision ground. I won't have to worry about finding food, because when we have none, I can go and take, or better still, I can go and steal.’ So every day, when Anansi had no food, he went to the man Death's camp and he stole Death’s meat. Death came home, and he saw his meat missing. But he did not know who was doing that, until one day Death set out to watch for this thief. As Death hid in a corner, he saw Anansi come into the camp, and take a whole basket of meat. He said, ‘Hey! it is you who are the thief! Why have you so evil a heart?’

Anansi had no time to answer properly, and set out on a run. Death ran after him. Death ran, and Anansi himself ran, too. But when they came to the city, Anansi turned to look back, and he saw Death. He began to cry out in a loud voice, ‘Human Beings! Close your doors, because Death is coming!’

And so, you see, Death came to the city, and many people have died for the sake of the thief Anansi. Because, if Anansi had not stolen his meat, Death would have remained quietly in the deep bush (of his).

60. Dɛdɛ nąŋga Anąnsi.


So Anąnsi kom dɛdɛ.

60. Bargaining with Death.¹

Anansi was a great master of the violin. He gave many people lessons. He earned much money. But now, the time approached for Anansi to die. Death came to him, and Death said, ‘I come to take you.’ Anansi begged Death, said let Death wait yet a year, because he had several people whom he was teaching to play the violin, and so he could not go yet.

When the year was over, Death came back. Anansi begged him to let him wait two months yet. Death went away. The two months passed. Death came back. Anansi begged him to let him wait one month yet. Death went away. When the month was up, Death came back. Anansi begged Death to wait another week yet. At once Death said, ‘No, no, today your day has come. Whether you are ready now or not you must come.’ Then Death took Anansi away.

So Anansi came to die.

¹ Told by 1.

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61.

Nɔt' sə dɛ na dʊŋru di no sə kɔm na k rèŋ.

Konu Faro a bɛn habi baluba, bìgi so. Ma a no wani no wan suma sabi tak' 'a
baluba, èn nowan suma fen' sí dèm. Ma a no
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61. No Secrets.²

Nothing shall exist in the darkness that shall not come to light.

King Pharaoh had a beard, so big [pantomime showing length]. But he did not wish a single person to know that he had a beard,
and not a single person to see it. But he had not thought that a man was there, so he was angry, and he called people to kill him. He did not want people to know that he had a beard. So he dug a large hole for Anansi. Then Anansi went to the hole, and he put his mouth to it, and he said, 'King Pharaoh has a beard—o!' No one heard him.

And three years later, a tree grew right from the hole where he had put his mouth. And so, written across the trunk of the tree was, 'King Pharaoh has a beard.'

62.

Tyotyoforu-na nga Anansi ben de prani wan bigi gro', ma Anansi ben prei tumusi koni. So ala dej Anansi ben de siki. Tyotyoforu wawan de go na wroko. Anansi de taj na hosu no mò. A de nyam. Te mamentem Tyotyoforu de go 'a wroko, a tak', 'Mat' Anansi, yu n'e kom, no?' Anansi de piki hem taki, 'Mat Tyotyoforu, mi de siki, na korsu de nga na ajen.' Tyotyoforu tak', 'We, yu nanyam de na kukru. Yu so maŋ go teki hem, no?' A taki, 'Ya. Mi dęŋk' mi so pina, pina.'

Të Tyotyoforu gowe, Anansi de hopo, a teki hem nanyam, a i nyam te hem bere furu. Den a n'e firi fo didôn moro, dan a i bigin sịngi:

Syoro ma tyenanye,
Mi kusi Tyotyo moj;
Soro ma tyenanye,
Mi kusi hem moj.

Ma wan dej, wan suma de pasa, a ye Anansi de sịngi, a de dansi. A miti Tyotyoforu 'a pasi, a tak', 'Mat' Tyotyoforu, fa a de nga nga suki man?' Tyotyoforu piki hem taki, 'Mi lib' hem na hosu nga traŋja korsu.' A suma taki, 'Naŋga korsu? Kaba mi dęŋk na friari hosu yu habi na yu hosu.' Tyotyoforu taki, 'Tru tori?' A suma taki, 'Ya! na tru tori.' A taki, 'We, di mi de go na hosu, dan ala sani so kaba.'

'A yurte a dor o na hosu, a tak', 'Mat' Anansi, fa yu de firi no?' Anansi taki, 'Sens' yu gowe lemi mi nga korsu mi ben didiŋ.' Tyotyoforu piki hem taki, 'Kaba mi ye ḍen suma ben dansi a i sịngi dija.' A taki, 'We, tide yu n'e hor' mi moro a sipotu, ye ḍe?'

So a swari Anansi, en ṣe tide a i di na sref wroko. Ala presi pe a si wàn Anansi, a musu swari hem. 'A tori kom kaba.'


Tyotyoforu and Anansi planted a big field, but Anansi played very many tricks. So every day Anansi was sick. Tyotyoforu alone went to work. Anansi stayed home all the time. He ate. When in the morning Tyotyoforu went to work, he said, 'Friend Anansi, you are not coming, no?' Anansi answered him, said, 'Friend Tyotyoforu, I am sick. I am feverish again.' Tyotyoforu said, 'Well, your food is in the kitchen. You will be able to take it, no?' He said, 'Yes, I think I will struggle along.'

When Tyotyoforu went away, Anansi got up, he took the food, and he ate until he was full. Then he did not feel like lying down again. Then he began to sing

1 Told by 6. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 44, No. 31; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 61-62, No. 57 b-c; Bahamas, Parsons, (III) 90-91, No. 44, II.
2 Lit., 'fever is with me again'.
Syoro ma tyɛntye,\(^3\)
I tricked Tyotyo nicely;
Syoro ma tyɛntye,
I tricked him nicely.\(^4\)

But one day someone passed, and heard [that] Anansi was singing, and he was dancing. He met Tyotyoforu on the way, and he said, ‘Friend Tyotyoforu, how is it with your sick man?’ Tyotyoforu answered him, said, ‘I left him at home in a high fever.’ The person said, ‘In a fever? Yet I thought there was a party at your house.’ Tyotyoforu said, ‘Is it a true story?’ The person said, ‘Yes! A true story.’ He said, ‘Well, when I get home, then everything will be finished.’

When he reached home, he said, ‘Friend Anansi, how do you feel now?’ Anansi said, ‘Since you went away, and left me feverish, I have been lying down.’ Tyotyoforu answered him, said, ‘Yet I heard people were dancing and singing here.’ He said, ‘Well, today you will hold me up to no more ridicule, hear?’

So he swallowed Anansi, and until today he does the same thing. Everywhere he sees a spider [Anansi], he must swallow him. The story is finished.

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\(^3\) The informant said this is a ‘strong name’ for Anansi.
\(^4\) Song No. 126.
Anąnsi bɛn wani tro n̩gɔ ga Konim pikin. Konim taki, ɛfi a wani tyari dri bɔ' biɣi rɛŋere gi hɛm. Anąnsi taki, 'Tru, mi Konim.' 'Dɔn yu so tro n̩gɔ mi umɔ-pikin, dɔn mi ɗ gi yu leti mɔndri fɔ mi kondre.'

Konim gi hɛm wɔn blaka yas. Dɔn a gowei. Dɔn di a dɔ gowei, a ɔksи Konim dri aji karu, dɔn Konim gi hɛm. Dɔ' a go na wɔn presi pe furu foru dɔ. Dɔn a trowei na karu, dɔn wɔn Kakaforu n̩yam wɔn fɔ dɔ' karu. Anąnsi go na da uma, a tajgi hɛm taki, na Konim gotu-ŋŋa 'a folu n̩yam. 'Gi mi na folu, meki mi go sɔri Konim, taki na dɔsi n̩yam hɛm.' Dɔn di a teki na kaka, dɔn a dɔ lɔ' gowei. A taki, 'Mi Anąnsi, mi koni ba.' hɛm koti de bari 'Grɛŋya!' Anąnsi taki,

'Dri aji karu kisi wɔn kaka.'

Di a waka so tɛ... a miti wɔn hosoe. Dɔn a bɛgi fɔ kɛbra na folu na wɔn agu-pɛn. Dɔn dem agu beti na kaka. Di a si taki na agu beti hɛm, a taki, 'Gi me na agu fɔ sɔri Konim, na agu dɔsi n̩yam na kaka di swari Konim ɿŋga.' A taki, 'Teki hɛm.' Dɔn a lɔ' gowei. A taki,

'Dri aji karu kisi wɔn kaka,
Wɔn kaka kisi wɔn agu.'

Dɔn a doron na wɔn hosoe baka, a ɔksи fɔ sribi. 'Ya.' Dɔ' a tyari na agu go na asi stal. Dɔ' na hasi skopu na na agu, kiri 'ɛm. Dɔ' a tajgi, 'Gi na 'asi meki sɔri Konim dɔsi kiri na agu di n̩yam Konim kaka-folu, di swari na gotu ɿŋga.' Dɔ' a leni na hasi, a gowei.

'A koti taki, 'Grɛŋya!'

'Mi, Anąnsi, mi koni ba,
Dri aji karu kisi wɔn kaka,
Wɔn kaka kisi wɔn agu,
Wɔn agu kisi wɔn hasi.'

Dɔn a lɔ' gowei baka. A miti den a tyari wɔn pikin go bɛri. Anąnsi taki, 'Gi mi na dɛɗɛ p'kin, meki mi go bɛri, dɔn ho' na hasi.' Dɔn suma taki, 'No, no, na wi habi na dɛɗɛ, na wi mus' bɛri hɛm sɛnfi.' Anąnsi taki, 'ɛfu ʊŋ go bɛri na dɛɗɛ, mi dɛ tajgi
Konim.’ Den suma ɠɛm. A go bɛri. Ma a no bɛri ɦɛm. A teki ɦɛm, a gowe. A taki,

‘Mi, Anąnsi, mi koni ba,
Dri aʃ karu kisi wən kaka,
Wən kaka kisi wən agu,
Wən agu kisi wən hasi,
Wən hasi kisi wən dɛdɛ.’

Dən a gowe. A si wən bigi wunti prej. Dem suma dɛ danzsi. Dri bʊ’ bigi ɳɛŋɛre danzsi,
suma no ben sabi taki na wən dɛdɛ pikin. A taki, ‘Mi danzsi moro moj.’ Dən suma
taki, ‘aj.’ Anąnsi go danzsi. A ʂŋi:

‘Mi, Anąnsi, mi koni ba,
Dri aʃ karu kisi wən kaka,
Wən kaka kus’ wən agu,
Wən agu kus’ wən hasi,
Wən hasi kus’ wən dɛdɛ,
Wən dɛdɛ kus’ dri big’ ɳɛŋɛre.’

Di a kaba danzsi, a go luku n’ɛ’ p’kin. A taki, dɛm ɳɛŋɛre kiri na p’kin.’ Anąnsi taki,
‘Mi sa bɛri na p’kin, ma mek’ den ɳɛŋɛre go mek’ na Konim si dɛm, taki na den kiri
na p’kin.’ Dən suma tak’, ‘aj.’ A tyari den dri ɳɛŋɛre gi’ Konim. Konim tak’, ‘aj, Anąnsi,
yu koni, so yu kən tro mi pikin naŋga leti mundri mi kondre.’
63. Profitable Amends: Three Slaves for Three Grains of Corn.

Anansi wanted to marry the King's daughter. The King said if he wanted to bring three big slaves for him. Anansi said, [interrupting], 'True, my King.' ...Then you will marry my daughter, and then I will give you half of my kingdom.'

The King gave him a black coat. Then he went away. Then as he was going away, he asked the King for three grains of corn, then the King gave them to him. Then he went to a place where many chickens were. Then he threw away the corn, then a cock ate one of the grains of corn. Anansi went to the woman, and he said to her that the fowl ate the King's golden ring. 'Give me the fowl, and let me go and show the King that this one ate it.' Then when he took the cock, then he ran away. He said, 'I, Anansi, I am a cunning fellow.' His coat called 'Grenya!'

'Three grains of corn caught a cock.'

As he walked so till... he came to a house. Then he asked to shelter the fowl in a pig pen. Then the pigs bit the cock. When he saw that the pigs had bitten him, he said, 'Give me the pig to show the King that this pig ate the cock, that swallowed the King's ring.' She said, 'Take it.' Then he ran away. He said,

'Three grains of corn caught a cock,
One cock caught a pig.'

Then he came to a house again, he asked if he might sleep. 'Yes.' Then he took the pig to the horses' stable. Then the horse kicked the pig, and killed it. Then he said, 'Give [me] the horse, and let me show the King that this one killed the pig that ate the King's cock, that swallowed the golden ring.' Then he borrowed the horse, and he went away. His coat said, 'Grenya!'

'I, Anansi, I am a cunning fellow,
Three grains of corn caught a cock,
One cock caught a pig,
One pig caught a horse.'

Then he ran away again. He met those who were taking a child for burial. Anansi said, 'Give me the child, let me bury it, then hold the horse.' Then the people said, 'No, no, it is we who have the dead, and it is we who must bury it ourselves.' Anansi said,
‘If you go and bury the dead, I am going to tell the King.’ The people gave him [the child]. He went to bury it. But he did not bury it. He took it, and he went away. He said,

‘I, Anansi, I am a cunning fellow,
Three grains of corn caught a cock,
One cock caught a pig,
One pig caught a horse,
One horse caught a dead one.’

Then he went away. He saw a large wunti play.¹ The people were dancing. Three big slaves² were dancing, too. Anansi said, ‘Hold the child, I am going to dance, too. This child is the King's child.’ The people did not know that it was a dead child. He said, ‘I [can] dance better.’ Then the people said, ‘Yes.’ Anansi went to dance. He sang,

‘I, Anansi, I am a cunning fellow,
Three grains of corn caught a cock,
One cock caught a pig,
One pig caught a horse,
One horse caught a dead one,
One dead one caught three big slaves.’

When he was through dancing, he went to look after his child. He said the slaves killed the child. Anansi said, ‘I will bury the child, but make the slaves go to let the King see them, that it is they who killed the child.’ The people said, ‘Yes.’ He brought the three slaves to the King. The King said, ‘Yes, Anansi, you are cunning, so you can marry my child, and [have] half of my kingdom.’

64.

1 I.e., dance.
2 Lit., ‘Negroes’.

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Anąnsi go nąŋga ɛn bòto mamàntɛm fruku-fruku. A poti den tu foru na mofosej fò na tya’-tya’u. A bìgùn pali, ɛn a bìgùn fò’ sùŋgi,

Paru na fesi,
O ɡriŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O ɡriŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni,
O ɡriŋya!

Wan sani fò tôwe yuru a dè p’sa wìgi kɔndre, ɛn a bìgùn sùŋgi,

Puru pari na fesi,
O ɡriŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O ɡriŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni,
O ɡriŋya!


Anąnsi taig’ gi na Gramą, ‘Gramą, mi ‘a bi tu p’kin foru fò tya-go gi wàŋ mati fò na Gramą fò mi kɔndre, bikasi ɛŋ p’kin siki. Ma den no dë sribi nàŋga foru, ma nàŋga gãnsi.’

Anąnsi kśni dem tu qanṣi, a poti dem baka na fesi na boto, en a bigin fő șîngi baka,

Puru pari na fesi,
O griŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O griŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi koni,
O griŋya!


A gowe, en a bigun șîngi baka,

Puru pari na fesi,
O griŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O griŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi koni,
O griŋya!

No, a p’sa baka wān tra kondre. Den kali hèm nàŋga tumusi furu noiti fô go na shoro. A yurutem na shoro, ala suma fô na kondre bèn de na watra-sej, uma p’kin, màn p’kin, oru suma, màn, umà, bikasi dem no bèn si Gramą Anąnsi, en ala suma bèn wani fô si hèm. Na yurutem dovì Anąnsi de komopo na čŋ bòto kom na shoro, ala de’ umà b’gin șîngi gi hèm, en den de pre yoro-yoro. Anąnsi taj’ gi dem
sumadibɛnkɔmtekihɛmtaki,dɛmtuhagu,’ɛmmusotyarigonanakɔndrena
tap'-sei̯,ɛndɑtdenhagunodɛsribinąŋgatra'agu,manąŋgakau̯.'Aherinei̯tibɩgi
prisiribɛndɛnaɩninakɔndredɑti.Bɩginąŋgap'kin,orunąŋgayųŋgu,mɛndɛmeki
prisiri.Mɩndrinei̯ti,wąnsanifōtwarfuyuru,Kɔ̨ŋgodifagonadɔro-sei̯,takiɛ̨ŋdɛgo
pɩsi.Ma a go kiri den hagu baka. Di a kom, a go sribi.

Wąn sani fő di kaka bari, a wiki, en a oksi den tu hagu. Mar a no kän kisi dem, bikasi
dem bɛn dɛdc. Anąnsi bigun krej, djompo na tapu, bikasi a no bɛn wani fǒ kom na
shoro, en den dwęngi hɛm fǒ kom. A aksi wąn kəy, en dɔti a kisi. A poł' ɛŋ na mndri
na bọto, en bgin pari baka, en a bgin sęŋgį,

Puru pari na fesi,
O griŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O griŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi koni,
O griŋya!

Wan sani fő fejfi yuru bakadina, a de p'sa wąn tra kondre, en a si dɔt' den dɛ go beri
wąn p'kın. A kibiri na sej busi, en di dem suma gowe kaba, a trowe na kąy na uni liba.
A go na shoro, a krabu na grebi, en a puru na dɛdc p'kın. A poti hɛm na uni na bọto.
A pari hesi-hesi, te a pasa na kondre, en a go na na kondre na sej.

A bɛn so dɛ, wąn sani fő sukṣi yuru, sabatɛm. Dem suma kari hɛm baka fǒ kọ' na
shoro, ma Anąnsi no bɛn wani. A taki, 'Mi no ką' kom diaso, bikasi mi muso go na
dati bigi datra na tapu-sej. Na moro yung p'kin fǒ da Gramą fǒ mi kondre dia siki
tumusi tràŋg, en a muso fǒ habi wąn datra.' 'Kom na shoro, Gramą, datra dɛ diaso
tu!' Anąnsi piki, 'No, no, no, mi no ką' kom, bikasi ɛf' wąn sani p'sa, mi libi mi go lași
hɛm. Den so kiri, den so hąŋga mi, oʃ den de go бро' mi.' 'No, no, Gramą Anąnsi,
kọ' na shoro, kọ' na shoro. Wi so ycp' yu.' Anąnsi piki, 'Ya, ma nọ, ala datra 'ɛ go
luk' a p'kin dsi.'

Nąŋga poku den tyari Anąnsi go na hosọ fǒ na Gramą fǒ na kondre dati. Den sutu
gọ' nąŋga kanọ' gi Anąnsi. En baka dati Anąnsi bɛn go na uni na hosọ fǒ da Gramą
fǒ na kondre. A taki, 'Mi no wani wąn babari so ląŋga na p'kin 'ɛ sliɓi.' Den gi Anąnsi
wą' kamera, en ɛŋ nąŋga na pikin wąwąn bɛn dɛ na uni na kamera.

A baka doti, Anąnsi bigin barì krej, 'O Gadu! O, mi de go dde! Luku sâŋ p'sa mi! Mi no bcn wani kɔ' na shoro. Den dũŋgi mi te mi kɔ' na shoro.' Anąnsi de barì te... da Gramą fô da kondre, na grañfiskari, al' dcm bigi suma fô na kondre bcn kom dape, fô luku sâŋ bcn p'sa. Den oksi Gramą Anąnsi, 'San e'de yu de barì?' Anąnsi dyoomo, tinopo naŋga watra na ɛŋ haji, 'Sɔ mi 'ɛ barì! Yu de aksi mi? Mi bcn tajig ɛnu bɔnbɔn doti mi habi wǝn stki pikin di muso go na datra. Yu wejfi gi' hɛm krasia-tajia brafu fô nyam, en a kiri na piking. Yu so sabi sâŋ so p'sa, bikasi de de go kiri mi! Ma mi de tya yu go, tu.' Anąnsi koti wǝn odo, 'Ba suku, Ba fenê, Ba tyari.'

'Gramą Anąnsi, mi wejfi no gi' na p'kin krasia-tajia, ma na scrifu tajia di a gi mi fô nyam.' Anąnsi taki, 'Yu leĩ, bikasi na nyányam dcm faia, mi teki na kRAIN sipu' fô bro ɛŋ koru, en pikinso fô na tajia-brafu kisi mi mofo. Luku fa a kuru ɛŋ? Yu si taki, a no bo' tajia.'

Na Gramą fô' doti kondre, naŋga ala dem tra biği-biği suma fô da presi, biği fô beći Anąnsi fô si wǝn fasi fô trobi no miti dcm, bikasi de' sabi sâŋ wǝn taki dati Anąnsi oksi dem. 'Sâŋ ʊŋ' de taki dapç dc? Mi no dç puru mi futu djaso, awɔnsi sâŋ so pasa. Ụnu mu' sabi scrifu sâŋ de kɔ' na ʊŋ tapu.' Na Gramą fô na kondre biği beći Anąnsi fô den kâñ si wɔ' fasi fô trobi no miti dcm. Anąnsi tajig dem taki, na pikin dem mu' beri watem watem naŋga poku, Anąnsi tajig dem taki, na pikin dem mu' beri watem watem naŋga poku, na Gramą pikin. Na baka di dcm beri, Anąnsi 'ɛ krej, en a de sari, 'Ya, mi no sabi sâŋ so p'sa na mi.' 'A Gramą mus' kom naŋga hɛm na foto fô ɛŋ scrifu, go tina pu na taki leti. Gramą skreki, en ala suma en na kondre tu. Den beći Anąnsi fô a prakseri wǝn manieri dati fọt' kâñ p'sa dem.

Anąnsi soktu, 'Hmmm..! Wǝn ɛŋkri sani kâñ yepti yu naŋga dcm suma na uni yu kondre. Luku, Gramą, yu hede, naŋga mi hede, de go na tapu broki. Gi wǝn afu sej fô yu kondre, dǝn ala sani kaba.'

'Naŋga ala lẹspčkì wi so gi wâ' afu fô wi kondre.'
Anånsi djompo, tinapô. A naki na hanu 'a tap' tafra, a bari gi na Grama, ‘Papira, papira, papira!’


Puru pari na fesi,
O griñya!
Puru pari na baka,
O griñya!
Mi, Anånsi, mi koni,
O griñya!

ân musu-dej, a doro na na kondre pe a bën komopo. A go na na Grama, a taki, ên doro. ‘Yu lej, män,’ Gramá taiki Anånsi, ‘o-pê na hafu sei kondre yu de go gi' mi?’ Anånsi shutu ên hanu na uni na djakti, ên nak’ a papira na tapu tafra. ‘A diaso.’

Gramá opo na papira, en a si tru-tru taki Anånsi wni waŋ haf'-kondre gi’ hêm. Anånsi aksi Gramá. ‘We, mi Gramá, sa yu de gi’ mi fô paimañ?’ Gramá piki Anånsi, ‘Mi boj, so lanûga yu de, yu kän tän libi na uni mi ’oso. Go na uni na post’oro.’

Na so fasi meki Anånsi de te na uni Grama hoso.

64. Profitable Amends: Half a Village for Two Chickens.³

One day, before there were human beings, Anansi went to the Graman.⁴ He asked the Graman if he wanted to see that he [Anansi] could give Graman half a village. The Graman laughed, and he said to Anansi, said, ‘You are going to give me half of a village?’ Anansi laughed, and he answered Graman, ‘Yes, yes. But you must give me a small boat, and two chickens.’ ‘All right,’ the Graman said, ‘we will see what there is in this.’ ‘All right,’ Anansi said, ‘I will show Graman that Graman will get half a village. I must also have a cocked hat, a coat with gold braid, a pair of trousers, and a pair of soldier’s shoes, and a sword.’ And the Graman gave him all the things that he asked.

³ Told by 10. Comparative references as given for the preceding tale. This tale, written by the narrator of this version, appears in Van Cappelle 282-293, No. 1.
⁴ Chief.
Anansi went away in his boat early in the morning. He put the two chickens in the forward part of the little boat. He began to paddle, and he began to sing,

Stroke in front,
Oh run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh run away!

About two o'clock he passed a large village, and he began to sing,

Stroke the paddle in front,
Oh run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh run away!

The people of the village called to Anansi, ‘Graman Anansi, Graman Anansi, Graman Anansi! come ashore.’ But Anansi answered, ‘No, no, no, I cannot come ashore. I will lose time on shore, because I must do a very urgent errand for the Graman of my village. His friend's son is very sick, and he sent me to take him the two chickens, so that they may cook soup for the sick man.’ They urged Anansi until he came ashore. He wore the clothes which he got from the Graman, so that he himself resembled a Graman. With drums and flags they came to take Anansi from the bank. They shot guns and cannons for Anansi. The Graman of that village gave a very big Banya and Susa² in honor of Anansi.

Anansi said to the Graman, ‘Graman, I have two chicks to take to a friend of the Graman of my village, because his son is sick. But, they do not sleep with the chickens, but with the geese.’

At midnight Anansi went outside, and he killed the two chicks. The next morning, at six o'clock, he said he must go away, because [if he delayed] he would miss high water. He asked for the two chicks. The Graman of that village sent to take the two chicks, but the servant came back with the two dead fowl. Anansi shouted and cried, ‘I didn't want to come ashore! My heart³ told me that something would happen to me! What am I going to do? The two chickens are dead, and I cannot give other chickens.' The Graman of the village said to Anansi, ‘Graman Anansi, don't cry. It is nothing. I will give you two other chickens.’ Anansi shouted at him, ‘You are a fool to offer me other chickens. I want the same chickens that I brought here alive again.’ ‘That I cannot [do].’ ‘Well, you must give me two geese.’

1 Song No. 119.
2 These are dances.
3 Lit., 'my body'.
Anansi got the two geese. He put them again in the forward part of the boat, and he began to sing again,

Stroke the paddle in front,
Oh run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh run away!

About three, or four o'clock, he passed another village. They cried out, and called to him, 'Graman Anansi, come ashore.' 'No, no, no, I can't do such a thing, because tomorrow a friend of my Graman is going to marry, and he sent me to take the two geese there for tomorrow's food. I cannot leave them.' They stopped the boat, and they stopped him, and they brought him ashore. Again they began to shoot guns. The whole village was greatly pleased with Graman Anansi. The Graman's servant took Anansi to the house of the Graman. Anansi begged, 'Please, please be careful of the two geese. Nothing must be denied them, and they must not sleep with the geese, but with the pigs.'

At midnight, when the play was going strong, Anansi stole away without being seen by anyone. He went to kill the geese. In the morning, just as day showed its teeth, Anansi asked for the geese, because at daybreak he had to be at the village to which the Graman had sent him, so that they might kill the geese, and eat them that day. The Graman's slaves went and brought the geese, but they were dead. Anansi said to the Graman, 'You can do what you like, but I must have the very same geese back, because they are for the feast.' The Graman said, 'I cannot do that.' 'Well, then, you must give me two pigs, instead.' The Graman gave Anansi two pigs.

He went away, and he began to sing again,

Stroke the paddle in front,
Oh run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh run away!

Now, he passed another village. They called to him and urged him very much to come ashore. When he came ashore, everybody from the village was on the bank, girls, boys, old people, men, women, because they had not seen Graman Anansi, and everybody wanted to see him. When Anansi stepped out of his boat and came ashore, all the women began to sing for him, and they played the Yoro-

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1 Lit., 'was hot'.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
Anansi said to the people who came to take him that he had to take the two pigs to a village on the upper river, and that these pigs did not sleep with other pigs, but with the cows. All night there was great rejoicing in that village. Big and little, old and young were happy. At midnight, at about twelve o'clock, Kongodifa went outside, saying he was going to urinate. But he went to kill the pigs. When he came back, he went to sleep.

At cock-crow he awoke, and he asked for the two pigs. But he could not get them, because they were dead. Anansi began to cry, and to stamp about, because he had not wanted to come ashore, and they had forced him to come. He asked for a cow, and he received that. He put it in the middle of the boat, and began to paddle again, and he began to sing,

Stroke the paddle in front,
Oh, run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh, run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh, run away!

About five o'clock in the afternoon, he was passing another village, and he saw that they were going to bury a child. He hid in the nearby bush, and when the people had gone, he threw the cow into the river. He went ashore. He opened the grave, and he took out the dead child. He put it in the boat, and he paddled away quickly until he passed the village. And he went to the neighboring village.

It will be about six o'clock in the evening. The people called him again to come ashore, but Anansi did not want [to come]. He said, 'I cannot come here, because I must go to that big doctor on the upper river. The youngest child of the Graman of my village is very sick here, and must have a doctor.' Anansi answered, 'No, no, no, I cannot come, because if something happens, I will lose my life. They will either kill me, or they will hang me, or they will burn me.' 'No, no, Graman Anansi, come ashore, come ashore. We will help you.' Anansi answered, 'Yes, but now all the doctors are to go and look at this child.'

They brought Anansi to the house of the Graman of the village, with drums. They shot guns and cannons for Anansi. And after that Anansi went to the house of the village Graman. He said, 'I don't want any noise as long as the child sleeps.' They gave Anansi a room, and he and the child were the only ones in that room.

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1 An instrument which twenty or twenty-five years ago was used for accompanying women's dances.
2 One of Anansi's strong names.
3 Informant said by doctor he meant a native medicine man.
Anansi began to cry like a new born child. The wife of the Graman of that village asked Graman Anansi why the child was crying. Anansi answered, ‘I believe that he is hungry.’ The Graman's wife asked if the child would be able to drink taia’s soup. Anansi said, ‘Yes, yes.’ In the afternoon the food was ready, and the Graman's wife brought a calabash of soup for Anansi to give to the child. Anansi took the taia broth, and when the woman went away, he sat down and ate all of it himself.

A little later Anansi began to shout, and cry, ‘Oh, God! Oh, I am going to die! Look what has happened to me! I didn't want to come ashore. They forced me to come ashore.’ Anansi cried till... the Graman of the village, the counsellors, and all the important people of the village came there to see what had happened. They asked Graman Anansi, ‘Why are you shouting?’ With tears in his eyes, Anansi jumped up, ‘Why am I crying! You ask me? I told you again and again that I had a sick child who must go to a doctor. Your wife gave him poisonous taia soup to eat, and she killed the child. You will know what will happen, because they are going to kill me! But I am going to take you, too.’ Anansi interrupted with the proverb - ‘Brother seeks, Brother finds, Brother carries.’

‘Graman Anansi, my wife did not give the child poisonous taia, but the same taia she gave me to eat.’ Anansi said, ‘You lie, because the food was hot, and I took from the calabash a spoonful to blow it cool, and a little of the taia soup touched my mouth. See how it has scorched it? You see that it wasn't good taia.’

The Graman of the village, and all the most important people of the place began to beg Anansi to find a way to avoid trouble, because they knew the meaning of what Anansi asked. ‘What are you saying there? I will not move my feet from here, no matter what happens. You yourselves must know what is to come upon you.’

The Graman of the village began to beg Anansi to find a way to avoid trouble. Anansi said to them, said, they must bury the child immediately with drums, because it was the Graman's child. After the child had been buried, Anansi cried, and he grieved, ‘Yes, I don't know what will happen to me.’ The Graman must come with him to the city, so that he himself should go and explain things properly. The Graman was frightened, and all the people in the village, too. They begged Anansi to study a way so that nothing should happen to them.

Anansi sighed, ‘Hm! One thing only can help you and the people of your village. Look, Graman, your head and my head are going on the gallows (?). Give half of your village, and all will be finished.’

‘We will give half of our village with all honors.’

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1 A spinach-like plant.
Anansi jumped up. He struck his hand on the table, and he shouted to the chief, ‘Paper, paper, paper!’

The Graman of the village made out a paper for Anansi, in which he gave him half of the village. All the elders of the village signed the paper, too. After that Anansi already had half of the village on paper. He said, ‘Good-bye’, and he went to his boat. He took off his hat, and his coat, and he paddled the whole night, and sang,

Stroke the paddle in front,
Oh, run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh, run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh, run away!

And when it was day, he reached the village from where he had started. He went to the Graman, and he said he arrived [he was back]. ‘You lied, man,’ the Graman said to Anansi, ‘where is the half of a village you were going to give me?’ Anansi shot his hand into the coat, and threw down the paper on the table. ‘It is here,’

Graman opened the paper, and he saw Anansi had indeed won half a village for him. Anansi asked Graman, ‘Well, my Graman, what are you going to give me as a reward?’ Graman answered Anansi, ‘My boy, as long as you live, you can live in my house. Go in the post hole.’

That is the reason why Anansi is found even in the Graman's house.

65.

Anąnsi sabi-taki ɛŋ na na moro konimän fō gröntapu. Nowa, a no wani wän koni mu' tän na trawa'. Ɛŋ mu' habi ala. A waka dc suku pe a so fenî wän suma di habi wän koni fō' a baj na ɛŋ. So a waka, a piki ala koni dc dc. Ɛn di a kaba, a taki. 'Nowan suma de fenî wän moro.' A poti ala den koni na wän godo. A taki, 'Mi dc kręţ tyari na godo go kibri na wan kànjkàntri hede, drap dja, suma no kànj kom fufuru den koni.

Nowa, Anąnsi teki wąn tcjtaj, a taj na godo, hàŋga na ɛŋ nsci, na ɛŋ hati tapu. Nowa, a wani kręţ, ma na godo dc frifí na na bom. Anąnsi no män fō go na tapu. A go pikinso, a tə', a saka baka. A proberi baka, ma a no män. Nowa, wän pikin fō Anąnsi tcnapu dc, luku fa hêm dada dc pina. Nö mò a taki, 'Mi da, puru na godo na yu fesi, poti na yu baka, dàŋ yu so subi.' Anąnsi piki, a taki,
‘Mi ðɛɛɛ! Na boj habi wän koni di mi no habi. Mi dɛŋki mi habi ala koni, wän na boj habi di mi no habi. We, dan moro suma sa habi moro koni di mi no habi.’


65. How Wisdom was Spread.¹

Anansi knew that he was the wisest man on earth. Now he did not want a single cunning to remain with another one. He had to have all. He traveled in search of where he should find a man who had a cunning that he might buy it from him. So he traveled, and he picked up all the cunning there was. And when he finished, he said, ‘No person will find one more.’ He put all the cunning in a gourd. He said, ‘I will climb up and take the gourd to hide on top of a silk-cotton tree, where no person can come to steal the cunning.’

Now, Anansi took a string, and he hung the gourd about his neck, above his heart. Now, he wanted to climb, but the gourd rubbed against the tree. Anansi could not go to the top. He went a little, he stopped, he slid back. He tried again, but he could not. Now, a son of Anansi’s stood looking on how his father was struggling. All at once he said, ‘Father, take the gourd from the

¹ Told by 2. Compare Liberia, Bundy, 425, No. 37; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 279, Guro No. 14; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 33-34, No. 2; (Ashanti), Rattray 5-6, No. 3; Togo, Cardinall 180-181; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS. No. 28; Northern Nigeria (Jukun), Meek 489.
front, and put it in back. Then you will climb up.' Anansi answered, he said, 'I am a
dead one! The boy has a cunning that I don't have. I thought I had all the cunning,
[but] the boy has one that I don't have. Well, then, more (other) people will have
more (other) cunning that I don't have.'

Anansi was angry. He smashed the gourd. All the cunning was again scattered.

66.

Wan kond’e bën dë, en wàŋ Foru bën dë bari. Ef’ a bar’ so, na her’ kondre ’ć trubu.
Konu pot’ taki suma kir’ na Foru, a so tro nàŋga wàŋ umà pìkin fò ej.

Anànsi yere. A go taj’ Konu taki, ej so kiri na Foru. Mek’ Konu gi hëm moni en bai
sani, dàn ej so gò kiri ej. Di Anànsi go a taj tu wiki. A kir’ wàŋ Pòpò, a tyar’ kom.
Konum no bëbi ej taki na na Foru dati de bar’ so. Konum taj’ hëm, taki, efu na Foru
no bari baka wà’ mú’, dàn a so tro nàŋga na pìkin. Ma bifos’ wà’ mún, dan na Foru
bari. Dàn Konum sëni tek’ Anànsi, mek’ srot’ ej.

Ma na unì na kondre wàŋ mama bën mu kus’ wàŋ pìkin. ’A dej di a kus’ na pìkin, a kus’
wà’ màn pìkin. A wèri wà’ mamiyo yapòŋ nàŋga wàŋ gò’ saka na ej sej. Na unì na
gò’ saka wàŋ broko sëmefi bën dé. Di na pìkin gebò, a taki wàŋtrq’. A tajì ej
mama taki, ’Mi mama, gi mi pìkin watra. Mek’ mi go lère ondrofeni.’ Èn na boi gowe.
Ma na Gadu bën sëni ej kom fò kiri’ na Foru, bi’ ka Foru bën dé wàŋ Foru dusi bën
sabi sosoi obia. A bën dé bari wisì. Wè, nowàŋ suma bën dé ferstand sà’ na Foru dé
sùŋji. Ma te ’a Foru ’ć sùŋji, na na kondre sheki. Ma na boi ferstand wantrq’ sà’ na
Foru dé sùŋji. Na Foru dé sùŋji:

Màŋ Kwakwa, Màŋ Kwakwa,
Ba Toto, mi na Kwëmàndo.
Màŋ Kwakwa,
Màŋ Kwakwa.

1 Lit., ’struck the gourd broke’.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
There was once a kingdom, and there was a Bird which screeched. If it screeched so, the whole kingdom was disturbed. The King announced that the person who killed the Bird would marry a daughter of his.

Anansi heard of this. He went to tell the King that he would kill the Bird. Let the King give him money to buy things, then he would go and kill it. When Anansi went he remained away two weeks. He killed a Pompom, and brought it. The King did not believe him that this was the Bird which screeched so. The King said to him, said, if the Bird did not screech again within a month, then he could marry the girl. But before the month was up, the Bird screeched. Then the King sent for Anansi and had him imprisoned.

But in this kingdom there was a mother who was about to be delivered of a child. The day she gave birth to the child, she bore a male child. He wore a striped dress and had a shooting sack at his side. Inside the sack was a broken razor. When the child was born he talked at once. He said to his mother, said, ‘Mother, give me a little water. Let me go in search of experience.’ And the boy went away. But God

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2 Told by 1. Compare Nigeria (Edo), Thomas (II) 19-21, No. 4; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 113-116, Nos. 89-90; Bahamas (predatory bird motif), Parsons (III) 125, No. 74. It is to be noted that this story partakes of the widely distributed type of tale of a child born with a knife and a hunting-sack, who talks and performs feats of magic and valor and who is endowed with great cunning. As an example, see Equilbecq, ii, 63ff. We found this type of tale very popular in Dahomey, and collected a number of versions of it.

3 Icteridae, Encyc., p. 372.
had sent him to come and kill the Bird, because the Bird was a bird who knew pure obia.\textsuperscript{4} It was screeching black magic.\textsuperscript{5} Well, not a person understood what the Bird was singing. But when the Bird sang, the kingdom shook. But the boy understood immediately what the bird was singing. The Bird was singing:

\begin{quote}
Man Kwakwa, Man Kwakwa,\textsuperscript{6}
Ba Toto, I am the Kwemando.
Man Kwakwa,
Man Kwakwa.\textsuperscript{7}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{4} The great healing and protecting principle among the Suriname Negroes.
\textsuperscript{5} Wisi.
\textsuperscript{6} This 'is a very high Komfo song'.
\textsuperscript{7} Song No. 123.
Then the boy answered at once, he said:

It is I, it is I, the Fiantoni,\(^1\)
Ba Toto, I am the Kwemando,
Man Kwakwa.

Then the Bird became angry, because in all its existence no human being had known what it was singing. Then the boy went away in search of it. Six long years the boy travelled before he came where the Bird was. When he arrived, then he saw a big valley. There the Bird was living. It had a large kettle where it cooked its obia. When the boy came closer, then the Bird went into the obia kettle and took the obia. Then it stretched out its neck to dig out the boy’s eyes. Then the boy took the razor and cut its neck.

Then he turned back with the Bird’s neck, and he brought it to show the King. It was twelve years since the boy had started for the place where the Bird was. When he showed the King, the King did not believe him. The King said, it is already so many years since the Bird had not screeched, and it is now you come to tell you killed the Bird. Then he said to the King, said, let the King look in his book, if in such a year a mother had not been delivered of a child born with a striped dress. ‘It is I whom God sent to kill the Bird, because it was a Bird which no one knew how to kill. It was a very powerful Obia Bird. Look at its neck.’ And when the King heard this, he came to believe the boy that he did not lie. And so he had him marry his daughter.

I am not an ordinary Indian,\(^2\)
Who wears a Kamisa;
I am a Papa woman,
I wear clothes.\(^3\)

67.

Kɔniforubɛndɛdiaibɛriobia. Dąn ala yari te na foru bari, dąn hosó den broko fade' na труд na kandre. Ala den bom den komopo na ɡɛŋ', fa na foru ʊnqo bɛn træŋga. Dąn ’a Konu fɔ na kandre a bɛci, taki, suma sɔ kiri na foru ɛŋ sɔ kis’ let’ mʊndri fɔ ɛɛn kandre ɲɛŋga na ʃis’ ɛ̀ŋ ɲumà pikin fɔ ɡɛŋ tro.


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1 Na as an emphatic particle occurs in Ashanti, Rattray (V) p. 181: ‘na... emphatic, translated by “it is”.’
2 Name for a Snake deity worshipped especially by women.
3 Song No. 192; an Earth spirit song, said by informant to be an ḳŋgi Komfo. The latter word is Ashantí for native priest.
A taki, ‘Mi mama, gi mi pikin watra meki mi drŋgi. Mi mama, mi de go lere ondrofeni. Mi kom fɔ na Obia-foru di de bar. Mi de wàŋ Obia-mà,’.
Daŋ’ na pikin goəc. A waka l...aŋga yari, te a i gro, a i bigi. Daŋ, di a waka fa na foru bèn de bar, a de ye re fa na foru de bar. Ma doti bèn de wàŋ sŋgi, di na foru sŋgi:

Màŋ Kwakwa,
Màŋ Kwakwa,
Ba Toto, mi na Kwɛmàndo;
Màŋ Kwakwa.

Daŋ’ na bö sŋgi piki na foru baka:

Na mi, na mi, na Fiàntoni,
Ba Toto, mi na Kwɛmàndo;
Màŋ Kwakwa.


So dàti böj pànya obìa hcri kondre. Pikin fɔ na böj tɔ’ Obia-mà.

67. Enfant Terrible: Killing Magic Bird: How Obia Spread.4

There was a wise bird that cooked obia. Then every year when the bird screeched, then houses in the kingdom were shattered. All the trees were uprooted by the force [of the sound] of the bird's tongue. Then the King of the kingdom begged, and said, he who would kill the bird would get half of his kingdom and the eldest of his daughters to marry.

Then there was a mother who was with child. She bore a son one morning. The child was born with a powder sack, and he wore a striped5 dress. Immediately after he was born, then the boy

4 Told by 3. Compare Gold Coast (Ashanti), Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS. No. A 13; Togo, Cardinall 27; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 216, No. 12, (Edo), Thomas (II) 19-21, No. 4.
5 In the Suriname bush, strips measuring from 2 to 2 1/2 inches in width are cut from trade cloth, and are sewed together into African strip-weaving patterns. Only men wear these, and usually on ceremonial occasions.

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began to talk. He said, ‘Mother, give me a little water and let me drink. Mother, I am going to learn experience. I come for the Obia-bird which screeches. I am an Obia-man.’

Then the child went away. He traveled many years till he grew up, and was a man. Then, since he traveled while the bird was screeching, he heard what the bird was calling. But that was a song which the bird was singing:

Man Kwakwa,
Man Kwakwa,
Ba Toto, I am the Kwemando;
Man Kwakwa.

Then the boy sang in answer to the bird:

It is I, it is I, the Fiantoni,
Ba Toto, I am the Kwemando;
Man Kwakwa.¹

Then the bird became angry, then all the more did it stretch its neck. Then he screeched and he sang with anger. Then all the more did the kingdom shake. Then what was inside the boy's sack was a razor. Then he pulled the razor from the sack, and then he cut the bird's neck. Then he rolled up the neck, and the neck was long...

Then he traveled to reach the kingdom where the bird lived. Then he saw three large obia pots. They had no fire,² but they were cooking. One had red, one had black, one had green (inside). That was the obia which the bird was cooking. Then the boy took all. He looked to see what the bird had written, then he took all. So that caused the boy to change into the Obia-man of that kingdom. Then he brought the bird's neck to the King. Then the King gave him half of his kingdom, and his daughter.

So that boy spread obia throughout the whole kingdom. The children of the boy's children were Obia-men.³

68.

Anansi pasa ala dej Aboma. ‘Mati,’ Anansi oksi Aboma, ‘otem yu de nyam?’
‘Te Gadó wani.’
Na tra dej, di Anansi de pasa, Aboma gráp’ ç’.

68. Aboma Kills Anansi.⁴

Anansi passed the Aboma every day. ‘Friend,’ Anansi asked the Aboma, ‘when do you eat?’
‘When God wishes.’
The next day when Anansi was passing, the Aboma grabbed him.

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¹ Song No. 123.
² This seems to be a special indication of magic in the mind of natives. When the city informants spoke of the sacred city of Dahomey in the interior of the Suriname bush they said that at Dahomey they know how to cook without fire.
³ I.e., the knowledge was passed on in the family.
⁴ Told by 7.
69.

69. Cat as King of Rats.¹

The rats had their kingdom. Anansi asked the rats, he said, if they did not want to have a granman. The rats answered Anansi, they said, ‘Yes.’ Then he brought a granman. The granman was the cat. The granman killed all the rats. No one was left. Anansi killed the granman, and no one [at all] was left.

70. Anansi nänge Dagu.


70. Why Cat and Dog are Enemies.²

Anansi did not know how Dog’s mouth worked. Then he called Dog ‘Friend-little-mouth.’ But now, when they went to eat together, if Dog made but two swallows he finished all the food. Anansi studied, and said, ‘Well, how is it that Dog’s mouth works so? It does not look big from the outside, but it devours so.’ Now they gave a feast. Then Cat came to the table. But now when Cat came, she and Dog did not eat together. Just as Cat came to Dog’s side, Dog bared his teeth at her. Instantly he saw how Dog’s mouth worked. Now he said to Dog, said, ‘Yes, friend, I have been calling you “Friend-little-mouth” for nothing, but I did not know that your mouth worked this way. Otherwise, I would never have eaten together with you at the table. But now I have to thank Cat. She made me see today that that is how your mouth works.’

And that is why when Cat and Dog come before a plate of food, Dog bares his teeth at Cat. They do not eat together. It is finished.

71.


¹ Told by 7. Compare this version with that of Van Cappelle 315-317, No. 11.
² Told by 1.

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bën.’ Ma di na faiya bën de brɔ' na na brabakɔ tu, don kaŋ bën de rɔŋ fatu. Dagu smeri na fatu, a bën de leki hɛm tŋgo, bʊkasi a bën lostu wəŋ pisi fɔ' na kaŋ. Ma a bën frede fɔ nyəm. Ma a wakti, wakti so tɛ... a no bën maŋ pori moro. A luku lontu, a no si nowan suma, so a teki wəŋ pisi fɔ' na meti, a i nyəm. Dəŋ a figi hɛm məfo, so nowan suma no si hɛm.

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71. **Dog Asks for a New Name.**

Dog could not walk the streets. People insulted him. They called him thief. So he went to God and he said, ‘Please, Master God, can you change the name of Dog for me?’ So God, the Master, said to him, he said, ‘All right. I will see.’ So the Master took Dog and he took him away with him. He killed a fat cow and he said to Dog, he said, ‘Make a barbecue and let us barbecue the cow. Then I will leave you to watch the cow while it is being barbecued, but not a single piece must be missing.’ Dog said to God, he said, ‘Yes, Master, I will look after it well.’ But when the fire began to barbecue the cow, then the cow ran fat. Dog smelt the fat, and he licked his tongue because he longed for a piece of the cow. But he was afraid to eat it. But he waited and he waited so till... he could keep back no longer. He looked about him and he saw no one, so he took a piece of the meat and he ate it. Then he wiped his mouth, so that no one should see him.

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3 Told by 6. Compare Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 231-235, No. 59.

4 Wilkie (I) p. 30 in his discussion of verbs that have prepositional value, states that the verb _ke_, ‘to take’, is used for ‘with’. This sentence, then, should read, ‘So the Master took Dog with him’.
The next day when God came Dog asked him, said, ‘Master, did I not look after the meat well?’ God answered him, said, ‘Yes, you looked after it very well.’ Dog said, ‘Well, then you must change my name.’ The Master answered him, said, ‘Since you looked after the meat so well, I will change your name for you.’ Dog was happy so till... He said, ‘Master, you are just and good to change my name. But tell me, what sort of name do I have now?’ So God said to him, said, ‘You are not called Dog any more, but your name is Just-the-same-as-ever, Just-the-same-as-ever.’

So Dog went about the streets, and the small boys in the street called after him, ‘Look, the theiving Dog.’ The Dog answered them, said, ‘I can take you to court, because I am no longer called Dog. My name is Just-the-same-as-ever, Just-the-same-as-ever.’ At once the boys called. ‘Yes, Just-the-same-as-ever, Just-the-same-as-ever, dog lives by theiving!’

72.


DatimekitetidɛDagudɛwaka’asososɩkin.

72. Why Dog Goes About Naked.1

A dance was going to be held. Dog had no clothes in which to go dancing. Then he borrowed a pair of breeches from Anansi. But when they went to dance, the breeches were too small for Dog. When Dog danced he spread his feet. The first time Anansi called him aside, and he said, ‘Friend, look out, you are tearing my breeches.’ He left him. When they danced again, Dog spread his feet again. Anansi called him again, and he said, ‘Friend, look out, you are tearing my breeches.’ But, when for the third time Dog spread his feet again, Anansi suddenly caught the breeches and pulled2 them from Dog’s body.

That is why this day Dog goes about naked.

73.

Dagu taki,ɛņ no de meki aleisi,a i p’saɛņ. Nō, Anąnsi no férstān i.A taki, ‘Mi mat’Dagu, sa wą’ tak’ doti? Dagu tajg’ɛņ taki, ‘Dot’ wą’ taki, te wą’ suma gi yu wan preti nanyam, yu n’e nyą’ ala, da’ na n’nyam dc ty a doro a no dc na yu. Yu no si mi, te wą’ suma gi mi n’nyam, mi ’ć nyą’ alamala?’

1 Told by 1. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 104-105, No. 102.
2 Lit., ‘Anansi caught the breeches, hauled, pulled the dog skin’; a good example of the use of a series of verbs to express a single action.
73. Dog's Riddle.\(^3\)

Dog said he did not let rice get by him. Now Anansi did not understand him. He said, ‘Friend Dog, what does that mean?’ Dog said to him, said, ‘That means when someone gives you a plate of food, and you do not eat all, then when the food is carried outside, it isn't yours. Haven't you noticed, when someone gives me food I eat all of it?’

74.

Anansi taig' Konu taki, Konum no mu' meki Dagu kɔ' un' 'a 'oso, bika' Dagu 'ɛ f'furu. Ɛn Konu taig' Anansi taki, 'A no tru.

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3 Told by 1.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
4 Anansi Sets a Trap for Dog.4

Anansi said to the King that the King must not let Dog come to his house, because Dog steals. And the King said to Anansi,

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4 Told by 1.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
he said, 'It is not true. Dog does not steal. Dog has been here many times.' Anansi said, 'So... Well, my King, he hasn't seen anything in your house to steal, that is why he has not stolen in your house.' He said to the King, he said, 'If you want to see, put a can of milk at the head of the stairs, then you will see if he does not steal.'

The King put the milk there. The next day Dog came. When Dog saw the milk, he drank it. At once the King called him, and he said, 'I never knew that you steal. Anansi told me about you, but I did not believe him. But today I see that you are a thief.'

So the King no longer trusted Dog with milk; he knew that if Dog were to see milk, he could not pass it by. He would have to drink it.

75. Anansi nanga Tigri.


So Tigri no ‘ab’ ōndrofeni, bika’ fur’ tro’ Anansi a pre’ ɛŋ trki. A kaba.

75. Anansi Injures Apprentice Tiger: Kills Father Tiger.

Anansi went to do carpentry. But as he was doing carpentry, then Tiger came to ask him if he could not have one of his children come and learn the work. Anansi said, ‘All right.’ He answered, ‘Tiger can come learn the work.’ Anansi now sent him to climb high on the roof of the house. Then as he climbed, Anansi pushed and tripped him. When he fell down, he broke his hand. But when he went home, he said to his father, said, it was Anansi who had pushed him. His father said, ‘Wait, I am going to teach Anansi.’ Anansi went and hid.

One day Tiger came and met Anansi. He said, ‘You Anansi, isn’t it you who threw down my child, and broke his hand?’ Anansi said, ‘No, no, I am another Anansi. He who threw him down is the carpenter Anansi, and I am the smith Anansi.’ Tiger said, ‘How does one forge? I want to come and watch how you forge.’ When they went,
Anansi made a fire, then he said to Tiger, said, ‘I am going to make this red. Then when it is red, then I am going to show you how one forges.’

But before the iron was red, then the rain came down, and Tiger became wet. Then when Tiger was wet, he said he was cold. Then Anansi asked him, said, ‘Don't you want me to make you warm with the iron?’ Tiger said, ‘All right.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, you see, turn yourself about on this side, and then I am going to shoot the iron into you, and then your whole body will grow warm.’ Tiger was stupid. He turned his backside to Anansi. Anansi shot the iron into his backside. Tiger fell down and died.

So Tiger does not learn by experience;³ because many times Anansi had played him tricks. It is finished

³ Lit., ‘does not have experience’.
76. *Todo nąŋga Sneki.*

Mati Sneki nąŋga mati p'kin Todo bënc de bìgi mati. Dë' a prei makandra. Ma nö, wàŋ dej dan p'kin Sneki go na 'oso, a taigi εŋ m'ma taki. ‘Aŋgi kir' mi.’ Na m'ma taig' εŋ taki, ‘Mi n'abi nyəm fô gi yu. Bika' na dom fyu sçrefi, yi 'ɛ tek' yu s'ëti mofo εŋ mek' pre sani.' No mo p'kin Sneki nö aksi εŋ mama taki, ‘San na mi s'ti mofo?’ 'A m'ma taki, ‘Yu dom yul Yu no si taki Todo na wi s'ti mofo? So te a kom pre 'ąŋga yu, yu m'ɛ swari εŋ. No so, mi n'ë go g' i nyə' moro, bika' ala maŋ mu' suku f' i sçrefi. Gadô fô ala, ala suma fô den sçrefi.'
76. **Enemy Playmates: Snake and Toad.**

Friend Snake and friend little Toad were great friends. They played together. Now one day, when little Snake went home, he said to his mother, said, ‘Hunger is killing me.’ His mother said to him, said, ‘I have no food to give you. Because of your own stupidity, you take your favorite morsel, and make of him a plaything.’ At once little Snake asked his mother, he said, ‘What is my favorite morsel?’ The mother said, ‘You stupid, you! Don’t you see that Toad is our favorite food? So when he comes to play with you, you must swallow him. Otherwise, I am not going to give you anything more to eat, because all men must look out for themselves. God for all, all people for themselves.’

77. **Pikį Puspusi nąnga Pikį Alata.**


Na tamara, di dem kq’ na strati, no mő pikin Puspusi kari mat’ Alata taki, ‘Yu n’e kom pre nąnga mi moro?’ No mő pikin Alata piki ‘em taki, ‘ai, baiya, bugi suma dc na yu kondre, çñ bigi suma dc na mi kondre tu.’

77. **Enemy Playmates: Kitten and Rat.**

Kitten and little Rat were great friends. Every day they went to play together. But Rat did not know that he was Cat's favorite food, and Kitten himself did not know that Rat was his favorite food.

But one day, when little Rat came home, his mother asked him, said, ‘With whom do you play?’ He said, ‘With friend Kitten.’ And at the same time, when Kitten went home, his mother asked him, said, ‘With whom do you play?’ He said, ‘With little Rat.’ Now Rat's mother said to him, said, ‘You must not play with Kitten any more, because you are his favorite food.’ And the same hour, also, mother Cat was saying to Kitten, saying, ‘You stupid fellow, don't you know that he is your delicacy? When you play with him, you must strike him.’

The next day, no sooner did they come on the street than Kitten called friend Rat, said, ‘Aren't you coming to play with me any more?’ At once little Rat answered him, said, ‘Yes, brother, there are wise people’ in your village, and there are wise people in my village, too.’

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1 Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone, Koelle 154-156, No. 1 (Fables); Nigeria (Eko), Talbot (Ill) 386; Cameroons (Bulu), Krug 118-119, No. 16, Schwab (II) 431-432, No. 4; Angola, Chatelaine 191-195, No. 24. For tales explaining enmity between animals, see Dahnhardt, iii, 324ff.
2 Told by 1. Comparative references as for the preceding tale.
3 Lit., ‘big people’. 
Babu' bën leri Dagu fo křiŋ na bom. Ma nò, pikin Dagu 'c tajg' Babu' tak', 'Ef' yu leri mi papa nāŋga mi mama křiŋ bom, awasi hay hej yu go, mi papa a i kom kis' yu.' Babu' taki, 'Dat' no dc notj', ef' mi leri hcm.' So pikj' Dagu tajg' Babu' taki, 'Yu sabi san'? Ef' yu wani si wāŋ sani, bāŋ tu batra sopi. Dan yu tek' wāŋ bat'a watra, dan yu kari mi papa nāŋga mi mama kom, mek' den kom drŋgi sopi.' Ma Babu' bën leri Dagu fo křiŋ na brabakotu kaba.
78. Baboon Teaches Dog to Climb.4

Baboon was teaching Dog to climb trees. But now little Dog said to Baboon, said, 'If you teach my father and my mother to climb trees, no matter how high you go, my father will come after you.' Baboon said, 'That is nothing, if I myself teach him.' So little Dog said to Baboon, said, 'You know what? If you want to see something, buy two bottles of liquor. Then you take one bottle of water, and you invite my father and mother to drink some liquor with you.' But Baboon had already taught Dog to climb to the barbecue rack.

But when they came to drink, little Dog said to Baboon, said, ‘When you start drinking, you must drink the water, and you must give them the liquor. Then you will see.’

When they were drinking, Dog did not know that Baboon was drinking plain water. Then Dog got drunk. At once Dog said, ‘Friend Baboon, you see, since you are teaching me to climb trees, when we meet in the bush, no matter if you go to the very treetops, I will come and catch you.’

No sooner did Baboon hear [this] than he said to Dog, said, ‘So? Well, all right. You will climb only to [as high as] the barbecue rack. Let people beat you with sticks.’

_Proverb:_ Dog wanted to take Baboon’s own fat to bake Baboon.

79. _Dagu ng nga Babu’._

_Dagu ng nga Babu’_ bɛn dɛ bɛgɛ mati. Ma nɔ, Babuŋ dɛ leri Dagu fɔ kŋŋ na brabakɔto. Ma, dɛ a leri ɛn, dɛn wɔ' mati fɔŋ tiŋ taki, a no mu' leri Dagu fɔ kŋŋ na hej. Bika' a bɛn wani fɔ leri Dagu fɔ kŋŋ na bom.

So na mati tiŋ' gi' ɛn taki, meki den ɖɛŋgi sopi wɔn déj, dɛn a sɔ sì. Di dɛm ɖɛŋgi kaba, no mɔ Dagu bŋŋ taki, ‘Mat’ Babu’, ler' mi kŋŋ bom, mi' e go sori yu!' No mɔ Babu' yeri dati, a taki, ‘Soooo? A bɔ'. Te na brabakɔto no mɔ i sɔ kŋŋ.'

_Odo:_ Te opo wɔn suma luku dǎnsi, a opo yu luku feti.

79. _Baboon Teaches Dog to Climb._

Dog and Baboon were great friends. But now Baboon was teaching Dog to climb to the barbecue rack. But, while he was teaching him, then a friend of his said to him, said, he must not teach Dog to climb high. Because he had wanted to teach Dog to climb a tree.

So the friend said to him, said, have them drink rum some day, and then he would see. When they had finished drinking, at once the Dog began to speak, ‘Friend Baboon, teach me to climb a tree, and I will show you!’ No sooner did the Baboon hear this than he said, ‘So? All right. You will climb only to [as high as] the barbecue rack.’

_Proverb:_ When you pick up someone to watch a dance, he picks you up to watch a fight.

80. _Krabita ng nga Anansi._

_Anansi_ pot' faiya gi kerki. Konu pot' taki suma kis' na suma de pot' na faiya a sa kis' bɔn moni.

_Anansi_ go təgi Konu taki ɛn so kis' na suma de pot' na faiya, ma Konu mu gi wɔn friari hoso, dan ala pokumɔŋ kən tyari poku kom.

We nɔ, _Krabita_ bɔn sab' pre jfol. Dan _Anansi_ go, a təgi _Krabita_ taki, ‘Mek' wi kari suma moro, dan wi go na friari woso ng nga wi poku.' Dan fis' den go, dan a leri _Krabita_ wɔn ʂəŋə, taki ɛn go ʂəŋə, taki:

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1 Told by 1.
Suma brɔn Konu įerk?

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Dan Krabita mu de piki nanda fiol taki:

Na mi, na mi, 
Bron Konu kerki. 
Na mi bron Konu kerki.

En di den go bigin fo pre na Konum mofo dor, no mo Krabita bigin pre:

Den no lei; 
Na mi 
Bron Konu kerki.

Dan wantron' Konum ben ye re. A benn kis' Krabita go srotu.
A no Krabita ben bron na kirki, ma Anansi. Ma Anansi pur' en srefi, en so Krabita tek 'a strafu.

80. Incriminating Song.²

Anansi put fire to the church. The King announced that whoever caught the person who started the fire would get good money.

Anansi went to say to the King that he would catch the person who started the fire, but the King must give a birthday party and then all the drummers can bring their drums.

Well now, Goat knew how to play the violin. Then Anansi went and said to Goat, said, 'Let us call other people, and then we will come to the birthday party with our drums.' Then before they went, he taught Goat a song he was to sing, which went:

Who burnt the King's church?

² Told by 1. Compare Hausa, Tremearne (I) 352-353, No. 11; Lamba, Doke 71-75, No. 31; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 145-146, No. 170 I-III; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 6-7, No. 4.
Goat was to answer with the violin, saying:

It is I, it is I,
Who burnt the King's church.¹
It is I burnt the King's church.

No sooner did they begin to play before the King's doorway than Goat began to play:

They do not lie;
It is I
Who burnt the King's church.

Then at once the King heard. He caught Goat and imprisoned him.

It was not Goat who had burnt the King's church, but Anansi. But Anansi cleared himself, and so Goat took the punishment.

81. Anansi nänga Bobo. -

Well now, Anansi go fufuru Konu 'orloisi. Dän Konu no sabi suma fufur’ ém. Anansi go täği Konu taki, cfu Konu wani pāj ŋ̥, 'ém so kisi na fufurōmə'. Ma Konu mu gi wā
daŋsi, dän na suma mofo serefi sō taki na ŋ̥ fufurō na hɔlloisi.

Anansi go kari Bobo taki. 'Kom, meki wi go dānsi na Konu 'oso. Ma mi dë go gi yu wāŋ 'orloisi fō yu poti na yu saka. Dän te wì dë dansi, dän ni dë go ṣụngi, taki,

Konu 'orloisi lasi,
Sōntc na Bobo teki ŋ̥.'

Dā' yu mu' de piki, “Yēs, yēs, Ba Anansi”.

En so, di dem bgin fō dansi, di Anansi ụnghiri na ụnghiri, nō mō Bobo piki ěm lejiki fa a bcn täği 'ém. Ēn wā' ọrọ' Konu meki dem kisi Bobo, go serotō ŋ̥, taki na ŋ̥ na fufurōmə'. En so Anansi kisi na mọni, a gowc.

81. Incriminating Song.²

Well now, Anansi went to steal the King's watch. Then the King did not know who stole it. Anansi went to tell the King to say, if the King wanted to pay him, he would catch the thief. But the King must give a dance, then the person's mouth will itself tell that he stole the watch.

Anansi went to call Bobo,³ and he said, ‘Come, let us go and dance at the King's house. But I am going to give you a watch to put into your pocket. Then when we dance, then I am going to sing, and say,

"The King's watch is lost,
Perhaps Bobo took it."

Then you must say, “Yes, yes, Ba Anansi”.'

¹ Song No. 122. The same words are found to the tale collected by Parsons in the Sea Islands (II, 145).
² Told by 1.
³ Bobo, 'the fool'. Compare Agbogbo, Dahomean toucan who plays role of fool.
And so, when they began to dance, and when Anansi sang the song, at once Bobo answered him as he had told him. And at once the King had them catch Bobo and lock him up, saying it was he who was the thief. And so Anansi got the money, and he went away.

82.

Anānsi bɛn dc waka go, a nyą' naŋga dę' tra meti. Ma no, a i tąq' den tra met' taki, te wą' dej įŋ scefe a go mek' den kɔ' nyą' naŋga įŋ. Ma te den p'asə, įf' den yɛri įŋ tak' taki, dan dę' no mu' kɔm, bika' na wroko įŋ wroko. Ma įf' den yɛri įŋ tə' tiri, den ką' kɔm.
So wâ\' dej den meti 'ɛp'sa, dâŋ den yêrî Anânsi tak' taki. Dê' n'e go na unî, ma ala dati te Anânsi de nyam, dâ' i tak' taki, dâŋ den meti de' dêŋk'taki, na wroko a i wroko. Dan dê' n'e go na unî.

Ma wâ' dej dê' meti 'ɛ p'sa, dan dê' yêrî a i tak' taki. Ma den taki, 'Tîdê', wi mu' go luku sa' Anânsi 'ɛ du.' Dî den go na unî, dê' go mit' Anânsi de, a nyâm. Dën dê' taki, 'Mat' Anânsi, kaba yu bên tajg' ün' taki, te yu 'ɛ tak' taki, dan yi 'ɛ wroko, ma te yu tâ, tiri, dâ' yi 'ɛ nyam. So ala dej, te wi 'ɛ p'sa, da' wi 'ɛ yerî y'ɛ taki.' Nô mô Anânsi tajg' den taki, 'Wê, mati, na te mi mofo a meki 'tya-kom, tyâ-kom', na na wroko mi 'ɛ wroko? Wê, te yu de nyâm, yu mofo e wroko, en te y'ɛ wroko, yu mofo na tak' taki.'

82. Grudging Hospitality. 4

Anansi went about and ate with the other animals. But now he said to the other animals, said, one day he himself was going to have them come and eat with him. But when they passed, if they heard him talk to himself, then they must not come in, because he would be working at his work. But if they heard him remain silent, then they could come.

4 Told by 1. Compare Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 11, No. 6 and 61, No. 57a.
So one day the animals were passing, and they heard Anansi talking to himself.
They did not go in, but all the same when Anansi ate, then he talked to himself so that the animals thought that he was working at his work. Then they did not go in.

But one day the animals were passing, and they heard him talking to himself. Now they said, 'Today we must go and see what Anansi is doing.' When they went in they found Anansi eating. They said, 'Friend Anansi, didn't you say to us that when you talk to yourself you are at work, but when you are silent, then you are eating? So every day when we passed, we heard you talking.' At once Anansi said to them, said, 'Well friends, when my mouth says “tya-kom, tya-kom”,' is it not work at which I am working? Well, when you eat your mouth is working, and when you are working your mouth talks-talks.'

83. Anąnsi nąŋga Sekrepatu.


Sekrepatu gowc. A taki, 'Anąnsi kisi mi, ma mi dę go kisi hém baka.'

Sekrepatu nō friyari. A sći kari ala meti fō kom na friyar' hoso, kom nyąm nąŋga hém. A sabi taki Anąnsi de go kom tu. Dati meki a gi na fejst na ondroy warat, bika' a sabi' taki Anąnsi lękti, a no ką' kom na ondroy warat. Dati mek' a du so fō a kąn kis' Anąnsi. Nó, di ala den meti būgū fō gō, Anąnsi no maŋ go na ondroy warat. A go, a leni wą' bruku nąŋga yas, dān a wéri. A piki furu stō', poti na uní hém saka fō a kąn kom hēbi. Ma nó, di a hēbi kaba, a saka go na ondroy warat. Dì tafra klari, ala suma mu' kom nyąm. Nó mō Sekrepatu luku, a sì taki Anąnsi bęn poti stō' na uní hém saka. Nó mō Sekrepatu tąjgì den alamal' taki, ala den mety, taki, bifō den kom na tafra, ala suma mu' pur' den yas. So Anąnsi kom skrejkí tç a yèrc so. A prakser' taki, 'Éf' mi pur' mi yas, dān mi go opo na tapu baka, bika' na na stō' di dę na uní mi saka, na doti dę hōr' mi.' Nowa, Anąnsi no maŋ fō puru çñ yas. Dì Anąnsi kom na sej tafra, nó mō Sekrepatu tąjg' hém taki, 'Mi

1 ‘Bring, bring’, also sound imitating the working of the jaws.
Anansi had a birthday. He was giving a feast. He invited all the animals to come and eat with him. Now, since all the animals came, Tortoise came, too. But Anansi did not want Tortoise to come and eat at the table. Before they went to eat, Anansi suddenly said, all the animals who were going to eat, must wash their hands before they came to the table. Now Tortoise went to wash his hands, but as he walked back, his hands were dirty again. He washed his hands many, many times, but he could not walk any other way. So he did not eat at the table.

Tortoise went away. He said, ‘Anansi caught me, but I am going to get even with him.’

Tortoise now had a birthday. He sent to call all the animals to come to his birthday party to eat with him. He knew that Anansi was going to come, too. That is why he was giving the feast under the water, because he knew that Anansi was light, and could not come under the water. That is why he did this, so that he might catch Anansi. Now when all the animals began to arrive, Anansi could not go under the water. He went and borrowed a pair of breeches and a coat, and he dressed himself in that. He picked up many stones, and put them in his pockets, so that he might become heavy. But now when he was heavy enough, he went down into the water. When the table was set, all were to come and eat. All at once Tortoise looked, and saw that Anansi had put stones in his pockets. Immediately Tortoise said to them all, said, before they came to the table, all the people should take off their coats. So Anansi was troubled when he heard this. He studied, and said,
'If I take off my coat, then I am going to come up on top again, because the stones which are in my pockets hold me.' Now Anansi could not take off his coat. When Anansi came to the table, Tortoise at once said, ‘Didn’t I tell you that all must take off their coats? You have to take off your coat. When you gave a feast you did what you liked. When I give mine I can do what I like, too.’

So Anansi took off his coat. No sooner did he take it off, than he rose to the surface of the water. He did not get any food to eat. Greed caused this to happen to him. So when you eat, you must eat with others. It is finished.

84.

Anansi bèn gi wàŋ bìgu tafra. Ma no bèn wan’ mek’ Sèkrepat’ kom nyàm. Ma di a bèn wan’ kari ala meti, a bèn mus’ kari Sèkrekatu, tu. Ma a tak’, ‘Mi sò sòrgu taki na bòj Sèkrepatu no nyàm wàŋ pisi fò mi nyàm.’

So Anansi sèn’ piki ala den meti, taki so wan’ déj hêm go habi wan’ bìgu tafra, na na tapu bérgi. So na déj bèn doro. Alà meti bèn kom na makandra fò kom nyàm nàŋga Anansi. Di na tafra bèn stèti kaba, Anansi taki, ‘Wi dé go nyàm, ma ‘fòsi wi nyàm, alà suma hanu mu’ krín.’ So Anansi oksi mat’ Konkoni, a tak’, ‘Mat’ Konkoni, yu na wàŋ konímañ, so waka luku gi mi ef’ na wàŋ suma no habi santi.’

Konkoni waka lontu na ala meti. Fa a doro na Sèkrepatu, a tak’, ‘Mat’ Sèkrepatu, yu mu’ go wasi yu hanu, bikasi yu hanu a santi.’ Sèkrepatu saka, a go wasi hêm hanu. A kom baka na tafra. Ma na heri tècm, te a bèn gowe, bikasi a no de waka hesi, den bèn nyàm lèt mündi fò na nàŋya. Di a sidò’ baka na tafra, Anansi tak’, ‘Mat’ Sèkrepatu, mek’ mi shi ef’ yu hanu krín.’ Sèkrepat’ sòri hêm êŋ hanu, ma a bèn furu nàŋga santi. Anansi taki, ‘Mat’ Sèkrepatu, na kôndisi dè, alà suma hanu mu’ krín, so yu mu’ go wasi yu hanu baka. Yu no kà nyàm.’

Sèkrepatu hatibrò’. A gowe na hosò.


1 Lit., ‘The greed that he had been greedy (of), etc.’
84. Grudging Hospitality: the Feast on the Mountain and the Feast under the Water.²

Anansi was giving a big feast. But he did not want to let Tortoise come and eat. But, since he wanted to call all the animals, he had to call Tortoise, too. But he said, ‘I will see to it [that] that boy Tortoise does not eat a morsel of my food.’

So Anansi went to tell all the animals that on such and such a day, he would have a big feast on top of the mountain. So the day arrived. All the animals came together to eat with Anansi. When the table was set, Anansi said, ‘We are going to eat, but before we eat, everybody's hands must be clean.’ So Anansi asked friend Rabbit, he said, ‘Friend Rabbit, you are a clever fellow, so look around for me if someone hasn't sand.’

Rabbit walked among all the animals. As he came to Tortoise, he said, ‘Friend Tortoise, you must go wash your hands, because your hands are sandy.’ Tortoise climbed down to go wash his hands. He came back to the table. But during the whole time he was away, because he did not walk fast, they had eaten half the food. When he sat down again at the table, Anansi said, ‘Friend Tortoise, let me see’ if your hands are clean.’ Tortoise showed him his hands, but they were full of sand. Anansi said, ‘Friend Tortoise, the condition is that everybody's hands must be clean. So you must go wash your hands again. You cannot eat.’

Tortoise was angry. He went home.

So Tortoise now sent a message to all the animals that he was having a big feast, but under the water. When the day came for the feast, Anansi received a message to come, too. But Anansi said, ‘Under the water I cannot go, because I am light.’ So Anansi put on a large coat and loaded his coat pockets with lead. But when the time came for them to come to the table, Tortoise said, ‘We are going to eat together, but everybody must take off his coat.’ So Anansi had to take off his coat, too. Just as Anansi removed his coat, he came back to the surface.⁴

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² Told by 6. Comparative references as for preceding tale.
³ Note use of shi for ‘see’ in text.
⁴ Lit., ‘the top-side’.

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So Tortoise taught Anansi that what you do not want in your pockets you must not put into your friend's.

85.

Wą' mąn a bcn dč g’a wąn trawą’ oso. Ma nō, ala dej tće a go, a i taki, dja meti na ɛŋ bigi trefu, ɛn no ką ɲyam s’rɛfį s’rɛfį. Wą’ dej, a gō na mąn ’oso baka, dǝn na mąn umą bori. Ɗan di a tyari ɲyam kom, ’a mąn no wąn fό mek’ ’a trawą’ ɲyam na ɛŋ. Nō m’a tąq’ ’a trawan taki, ’Matì, mi bcn so meki yu ɲyam nąŋga mi, ma na dja met’ mi bori.’ Bika’ a bcn dč yeri taki na trawą’ i taki dja meti na ɛŋ trefu. Nō mō na man si na n’yam, a kon kis’ łośtu f’ ĵ. No m’a taki, ’Matì, mi ’ɛ bęq’ yu, bąja, na mi trefu, ma gi’ m’afu.’ Na tra wą’ tąq’ ɛŋ taki, ’Kabą i ɛ tak’ ala dej taki, dja met’ ɛ i trefu? Mi no kąn mąn fō gi yu. Ef’ yu ɲyam ĵ’, yu ’ɛ go por.’ So na man ɲyam, a no gi’ ɛŋ notiŋ.

85. Grudging Hospitality: Food-Taboo Pretext.¹

There was a man who used to go to another's house. But now, every day when he went he said deer meat was his great trefu; he could never, never eat it. One day he went to this man's house again, and the man's wife was cooking. Then when she brought the food, the man did not wish to have the other eat with him. At once he said to the other, said, ‘Friend, I would have you eat with me, but I cooked deer's meat.’ Because he had heard that the other one said deer's meat was his trefu. No sooner did the other see the food, than he had a great desire for it. At once he said, ’Friend, I beg you, brother, it is my trefu, but give me half.’ The other man said to him, said, ’Haven't you been saying every day that deer's meat was your trefu? I cannot give you. If you eat it you are going to be sick.’³ So the man ate, and it did not give him anything.

86.


¹ Told by 1.
² Food-taboo.
³ Lit., 'spoil'; for punishment for violating food taboos, see above, pp. 36-37.
Friend Vulture and friend Hawk and friend Tortoise were comrades. And every day friend Hawk came to eat with friend Tortoise. Now friend Vulture, that one asked friend Tortoise, ‘When are you going to die so that I can eat you?’ Then friend Anansi taught friend Tortoise, he said, ‘When friend Vulture talks to you, you must draw your head inside your shell, otherwise he will dig out your eyes.’ Then, when friend Vulture came, then friend Tortoise drew in his head. Then friend Vulture and friend Tortoise broke⁵ their friendship. They had no more regard for each other.

But friend Hawk, that one came to friend Tortoise, and he ate every day. Then friend Tortoise's wife asked friend Hawk, she said, well, when was he going to ask his friend Tortoise to eat with him? Then friend Hawk said, ‘When friend Tortoise wishes he can come.’ But friend Hawk said, ‘Friend Tortoise is not going to be able to come where I am. I live on high.’ In the morning Tortoise's wife heard, then she said, ‘Tomorrow I am going to trick friend Hawk.’ Then she said to friend Tortoise, she said, ‘Tomorrow I am going to tie you inside a plantain skin, then I am going to wrap you up in paper.’ Then friend Tortoise's wife did this. Friend Tortoise's wife wrapped friend Tortoise in paper.

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⁴ Told by 3. Compare Cameroons (Ekoï), Mansfeld 223-224, No. 2; Brazil, Bassett (I) 433-434, No. 69, Eells 23-29, No. 3.
⁵ Lit., 'spoiled their friendship'.
Then, when friend Hawk came, then friend Tortoise's wife gave friend Hawk the package,¹ saying for him to take it to the tree-top. 'The food is cooked for friend Tortoise and you to eat.' Then friend Hawk took the thing and he carried it to the tree-top. No sooner did he come to the tree-top than he said, 'I will open it, and then I will eat all, because friend Tortoise is not going to be able to come where I am in the tree-top.' Then he unwrapped the paper, and when he opened it he saw the plantain skin. He threw away the plantain skin, and he saw friend Tortoise inside. Then he was frightened. Then he flung² friend Tortoise to the ground. Then friend Tortoise's back broke. Instantly they broke their friendship.³

**Proverb:** I do you good, and you repay me with evil.

### 87. **Konkoni naŋga Anąnsi.**

Anąnsi oksi Konkoni efu' a sabi mundri-pas' trobi. ŋŋ go lere hɛm. Anąnsi taig Honti màn taki Konkoni' taki ŋŋ no frede Honti màn. Dann a taig' Konkoni taki, tamara mamentm siksi yuru, Dann a mu go na mundri-pasi. ŋŋ so sɛfɛ a taig Honti màn taki mamentm siksi yuru Honti màn mu go na de' sɛfɛ pasi, da' a sa si Konkoni. Fa i si Honti màn 'ɛ go, 'a so a si Konkoni, fa a wani sūtu, Konkoni lɔ'.


Di Tigri gowɛ, dann Anąnsi go na Konkoni nǝ, a taig' hɛm taki, 'Mi ɛ go gi yu ᵔpɛre, da' yu de kaŋ ŋŋ na ni mofo. Dann, ɛn Tigri kom, da' mi ɛ go meki a sütʉ ŋŋ aj luku na ni na horo. Da' yu bro na ᵔpɛre na ni ŋŋ aj.' Di Tigri kom, Anąnsi taki, 'Mi Tata, sütʉ yu aj luku na mofo na horo, efu yu no so si Konkoni.' Fa Tigri süt' ŋŋ aj, 'a so Konkoni bro na ᵔpɛre na ni ŋŋ aj. Dann Tigri lɔn.

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¹ Note this case of noun formation by duplication, i.e., *domru* - to wrap; *domru-domru* - package.
² Lit., 'Then he fling Friend Tortoise throw away (on) the ground'.
³ Lit., 'Then they spoil friendship, one time'.
87. Seeing Trouble: Watcher Tricked. 4

Anansi asked Rabbit if he knew middle-of-the-road-trouble. He would teach him. Anansi told Hunter that Rabbit said he was not afraid of Hunter. Then he said to Rabbit, he said, tomorrow morning at six o'clock he must come to the middle of the road. And Hunter he told the same, that tomorrow morning at six o'clock, Hunter must go on the same road, and he would see Rabbit. Just as Hunter was going, he saw Rabbit, and as he wanted to shoot, Rabbit ran.

He went to Anansi. Anansi asked him, he said, if he knew side-of-the-road-trouble? Let him come and see. He brought him where a tiger kept his young. And Anansi took the little tigers and he broke the hand of the one which he gave to Rabbit. Then the little tigers began to cry. So, when Tiger came, the little tigers were crying. Anansi said, 'Father, take care, Rabbit did something to that child.' (But he himself had broken the hand of the child.) Tiger looked at the child, and he saw his hand was broken. At once Rabbit ran into a hole. Tiger ran after him to catch him. Then Anansi came, and he said to Tiger, he said, let him go and look for a long stick, and let them shoot Rabbit inside the hole (with the stick).

When Tiger went away, Anansi went to Rabbit now, and he said, 'I am going to give you pepper, then you must chew it in your mouth. Then, when Tiger comes I am going to make him put his eye into the hole to look. Then you [are to] blow the pepper in his eyes.' When Tiger came, Anansi said, 'Father, shoot your eye into the opening of this hole to see if you won't see Rabbit.' As Tiger shot his eye, so Rabbit blew the pepper into his eye. Then Tiger ran.

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4 Told by 1. Compare Senegel (Kassonké), Zeltner 107-108; Sierra Leone (Temne), Schlenker 73-77, No. 6; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 321, Gagu No. 3; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 163, No. 42; Hausa, Rattray (IV) 180-182; No. 8; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 29-30, No. 15 I and II, 59-60, No. 48 I and II; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 15-16, No. 13a and b; Brazil, Eells, 136-138, No. 13. For another Suriname version see Van Cappelle 340-343, No. 24.
Rabbit came out of the hole. At once Anansi shouted after Tiger. Rabbit shouted. And so they held Tiger up to ridicule.

### 88. Anansi ben de Dom’ri.

Anansi ben oksi Konu fø a trɔ’ dom’ri. Konu taki, mek’ a go prek wą’ Sondje fosi na tyerki. Ma di Anansi g’ a fos’ dej, Konum no ben manj fø go ‘arki a prck. Dan Konum gi Anansi wą’ blaka pak, tak’ t’a i kɔ’ tra wìki, na dat’ a mu’ weri.

Ma nö Anansi naŋga Kakalaka bɛ’ libi sej na sej. Ma na skotu na gyari wą’ kronto-bom ben dace, ma a ben de na Kakalaka sej. A no ben de wą’ bigi bom, ma a ben ‘abi wą’ tɔs’ krokonoto. A hαŋga let’ a tapa skotu, wą’ sej kɔ’ na Anansi, wą’ sej kɔ’ na Kakalaka. Anansi tek’ ɛŋ oru, a kotti tɔs’ let’ a tu. Di Kakalaka si a kotti ɛŋ, a taŋ’ ɛŋ taki, ‘We, fa i kα’ kot’ na kronto. Na mi dyari na bom de, yu no manj kotti ɛŋ so.’ Anansi taki, ‘We, yu no si f’a a ’ɑŋgɔ don, wą’ sej kɔ’ na yu, wą’ sej kɔ’ na mi?’ Kakalaka taki, ‘Bɔ’, mi c go kɔsi yu baka.

Na Sàtra fos’ Anansi go prek na tyerki, a tägi ɛŋ fro taki, mek’ a ’ɑŋgɔ blaka pak’ gi’ ɛŋ, bika’ a kom kori. Na fro teki na yas, a ’ɑŋgɔ let’ na skoru. Kakalaka nö tek’ ɛŋ nefi, a kot’ ‘a pis’ f’nà yas, di kɔ’ na ɛŋ sej.

No, sondje m’mɑtɛŋ, Konu g’a tyerki fø go arki f’a Anansi a prek. Anansi no manj kom, bika’ a no bɛ ‘abi na blaka yas. Èn so Konu mek’ dɛm tek’ Anansi, go serɔt’ ɛŋ.

Dan Anansi taiji Kakalaka taki, ‘Yu! So lɑŋga mi d’a libi, mi n’e fergi’t yu fɔ’ na sɑn’ yu du mi. Yu mek’ mi las’ mi wroko. Dɛdɛ so mek’ mi fergi’t yu.’

### 88. Tables Turned: Cockroach Revenged on Anansi.¹

Anansi asked the King if he might become a preacher. The King said let him first go one Sunday and preach a sermon in church. But when Anansi went the first day the King could not go to hear him preach. Then the King gave Anansi a black suit, and said to him, said, he must wear this the following week.

But now Anansi and Cockroach, lived side by side. Beside the garden fence was a coconut tree, but it was on Cockroach’s side. It was not a large tree, but it did have a coconut. This hung right on top of the fence, so that one part came on Anansi’s side and one part came on Cockroach’s side. Anansi took his hoe and cut it right in two. When Cockroach saw he had cut it, he said to him, said, ‘Well, how could you cut the coconut? The tree is in my yard, [and] you should not have cut it.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, didn’t you see how it hung down so that one part was on your side, and the other part on mine?’ Cockroach said, ‘All right. I will get even with you.’

The Saturday before Anansi was going to preach in church, he said to his wife, said, let her hang up his black suit (for him) to air. His wife took the coat and hung it right on the fence. Now Cockroach took his knife, and he cut off that part of the coat which was on his side.

Now, Sunday morning the King went to church to hear how Anansi would preach. But Anansi could not come, because he did not have the black coat. And so the King had them take Anansi to prison.

¹ Told by 1. Compare Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 483-485, fable No. 84.
Anansi said to Cockroach, said, ‘You! as long as I live, I won’t forget you for what you did to me. You made me lose my job. Death will make me forget you.’

89.

Puspusi taki, botro na çn trefu. So doti a go wroko na wä' presi, ma di a g'a wroko, a taig' a frô taki, ‘Çf’ mi ‘ç nyäm botro, mi ‘ç kis’ krasi.’ So dat’ a frô, ‘ç fertrô çn. A i libi botro. Ma doro botro ‘ç mankere. So wä’ dej na frô sc’t trapu fô si suma a ffur’ botro. Di a gô, a go kis’ Puspusi. A taki, ‘Puspusi, kaba i taki mi yu n’e nyäm botro, çf’ i nyäm botro, yu go pori?’ A taki, ‘Ya, wä’ suma bcn ler’ mi, taki, te y’n’e nyä’ wä’ sani, te yi nyami çn, da’ yu kâ’ lcki na patu ondro di bor’ ’a sani.’

89. Lying about Food Taboo.²

Cat said butter was her trefu. So that she went to work at a certain place, but when she went to work, she said to the woman, said, ‘If I eat butter I will get a rash.’ So that the woman trusted her. She left the butter out. But butter was missing. So one day the woman set a trap to see who was stealing the butter. When she went to see she caught Cat. She said to Cat, ‘Why did you tell me you did not eat butter, that if you ate butter you would become sick?’ She said, ‘Yes, someone taught me that when you eat a thing you should not eat, then you can lick the bottom of the pot in which the thing was cooked (and come to no harm).’

² Told by 1.

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90. Puspusi naŋga Kɔki.

Puspusi naŋga wàŋ umà bɛn dc. Den bɛn wроkо makandra. Ma nò di Puspusi kom suku wроkо, a tаki botro na ɛŋ trefu, ma a bɛn ɬeŋ. Ma alа dej botro 'ɛ lаsi na kukru. Na mɩsi a tаki alа dej, a tаki, a no Puspusi di a fufuru na botro, bika' botro na Puspusi bɪgi trefu. So na sani 'ɛ pаса doro. Na mɩsi de kɔs' na tra kɔki, tаki na ɛŋ fufur' botro. Wą' dej na mɩsi sɛtị trapu fò kts' na fufurumą'. Ma Puspusi no go.

Wą' suma kɔm tаgi na mɩsi tаki, ɛf' a wаni kts' na fufur'mа', mek' a bаj lаkseri puiri, dаn mek' a pɔti na unị na botro, dаn a sɔ sі suma na na fufur'mа. Nò, Puspusi no sabi, dаn a go tek' a botro nyаm. Ma di a nyаm na botro, tamara, di a kom wроkо, na hеr' dej a dɛ lаkseri. Dаn wаntrọ' na mɩsi kom sabi tаki na Puspusi de fufuru na botro.

So mek' dɛn dc tаki, 'Te kamera-wɛŋke naŋga botirimаunts kts' trobi, yu dɛ yere pɛ na botro go.'
90. **Lying About Food Taboo: Purge to Catch Thief.**

There were once a cat and a woman. They worked together. But now when Cat came to look for work, she said that butter was her *trefu*, but she was lying. But every day there was butter missing in the kitchen. The mistress said daily, she said, it could not be Cat who was stealing the butter, because butter was Cat’s great *trefu*. So this went on. The mistress scolded the other cook, saying it was she who was stealing the butter. One day the mistress set a trap to catch the thief. But Cat did not go.

Someone came to tell the mistress that if she wanted to catch the thief, let her buy laxative powder and let her put it in the butter, then she would see who the thief was. Now, Cat did not know, then she went to take butter, to eat. But having eaten the butter, then the next day, when she came to work, she was physicked the whole day. Then at once the mistress knew that Cat was stealing the butter.

So that is why they say, ‘When the chambermaid and the butler quarrel, you hear where the butter goes.’

91. **Tigri naŋga Kakaforu.**


Mi wani nyəŋyəm,
Mi wani nyəŋyəm,
Mi ‘abi wəŋ gotu mən.
Suma wani fō k’ ðŋk ðŋ,
Fō wən pisı lefrə?

Nō, di K’kaforu yeri so, a oksi Tigri taki, ‘We, fa y’ a go kis ‘a lefrə?’ Tigri taj’ ðŋ taki, ‘Op’ ‘a doro, ᵇn yu kom bōs’ mi.’

En na Kakaforu bèn dc so dəm, a opo ‘a doro. Fa a lamgə ð’ mofo fō bōs’ Tigri, nō mō Tigri bèti ðŋ ’ede. En so K’kaforu feni ðŋ dede.

91. **Tiger Decoys Cock.**

Hunger was killing Tiger. Now Tiger came to a chicken coop. He saw a cock in the coop. But now the coop was locked. Tiger could not get into the coop. Just then Cock cried out, ‘Ko-ko-dia-ko!’ Tiger heard the cry and asked him, he said, ‘Friend Cock, what are you saying?’ Cock did not answer him anything. Tiger began to sing,

I want food,
I want food,
I have a gold piece.
Who wants to change it,
For one piece of liver?’

1 Told by 1.
2 Told by 1.
3 Song No. 149.
Now when Cock heard this, he asked Tiger, he said, ‘Well, how are you going to get the liver?’ Tiger said to him, said, ‘Open the door, then you come and kiss me.’ And Cock was so stupid (that) he opened the door. No sooner did he put out his bill to kiss Tiger, than Tiger bit off his head. And so Cock met his death.

92.

Wą’ mama habi wąŋ ejnkri umą p’kin. So mɛni masra ’ɛ kɔm oksi hɛm, a no ɔbi. ’A mejtshi habi wą’ brada. Wą’ dɛj Aboma
yɛre taki wą' mejtshi na wą' kondre, no wą' mən suma a no fți hɛm. Aboma go na hɛm birman, a lɛni wą' yas. A go na tra birman, a lɛni wɑn bruku nangga wɑn hati. A go na trawaŋ, a lɛni wą' susu. So na heri bojiti a lɛni waŋwaŋ sani.

So 'a mejtshi sidq' na hɛm dyari, na Aboma dc kom. A taki, 'Ya, mi mama, 'a mɑn disi mi wani.' Ɛŋ mama tak', 'Mi p'kin, yu sabi na mɑn di yu si hɛm, wɑntɛm yu lobi hɛm?' So Aboma kɔm oksi hɛm fò fрейдж nangga hɛm. Aboma taki, Ɛŋ tro dridewroko. Ɛŋ no mɑn libi hɛm kondre so lɑŋga fɔ tą'. Den kari ala suma kom na tro hoso, ala suma nyoŋ dʒıŋi.


Tɛ Aboma doro ɛŋ kondre, a tajŋ' hɛm ɑmɑ taki, 'Yu si, dia yu dc go tą'. Mi no dc tɑn dia. Mi dc tą' na watra. Ma te' yu wani si mi, da' yu mu shŋi

Alensɛ kaka alensɛ
Alensɛ kaka alensɛ
Alensɛ ɛmɛc kaka a wani si.'

Da' Aboma go. Tɛ Aboma kɔm na hoso, daŋ na heri pasi mu nati fɔ a kə' waka kom na un na palejis.

Wɑn dej, 'a p'kin brada kom luku hɛm sisa. A tak', 'Mi sisa, pe mi suwagi dc? Ԧɛs' mamente mi kɔm, mi no mɑŋ si mi suwagri.' Ɛŋ sisa taki, 'Yu no kɑŋ shi hɛm.' A taki, 'So lɑŋga mi no shi hɛm, mi n'ɛ gowɛ.' Na umɑ go na watra sej, a i go fɔ kari hɛm mɑŋ,

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‘Adůndůkaka Adůndů
Adůndůkaka Adůndů.

Mi brada kom. A wani shi yu.’ A piki na umá taki, ‘ências no kǎn shi mi. Ma ala san’ a wani, yu kǎn gi hem.’ Dà’ sisa tajgi hem brada, taki, a no kǎn shi hem manu. A taki, ‘Mi musu si hem, so láŋga mi no si hem, mi n’e gowe.’ Na umá, go baka, a go ningu kari Aboma. So Aboma hati kom bɾɔŋ. A taki, mek’ a tajgi hem brada, ‘Ef’ a wani si mi, a so si mi. Tamara mamɛntɛm mi so kom. Ala prejşi mu nati.’


92. Chosen Suitor.4

A mother had an only daughter. So many men came to woo her, but she did not love any. The girl had a brother. One day Aboma

4 Told by 13. Compare Senegambia, Berenger-Feraud 227-234; Peul, Equilbecq iii, 63-64; Sudan (Bambara), Travélè 153-154, No. 56; Senegal (Malinké), Zeltner 85-89; Sierra Leone (Mende), Migeod (I) 206-208, No. 4, (Temne), Cronise and Ward 178-188, Thomas (V) 82-84; Liberia (Gola), Westermann (II) 101-103, No. 20 and No. 21, Westermann (III) 486-493, No. 20 and No. 21, and 494-5, No. 24, (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 385-387, No. 12; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 310-311, Guru No. 65, (Agni), Tauxier (III) 236-239; Gold Coast (Asanti), Rattray (I) 171-173, No. 44 and 205, No. 53, Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS No. A5 and No. A16; Togo (Dagbamba), Fisch 156, No. 3, (Grunshi), Cardinall (I) 203-204; Dahomey, Ellis (II) 271-273, No. 2, Herskovits, M. and F.,(IV) MS No. 100, (Fon),Trautmann 40-41, Nago, Trautmann 21-22; Hausa, Tremearne (I) 346-348, No. 45; Nigeria (Yoruba) Ellis(I) 267-269, Tortoise No. 4, Frobenius 234-235, No. 17, (Ikom), Dayrell (II) 88-93, (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 38-41, No. 8; Gabun, Nassau (I) 68-70, Mpongwe No. 15; Lamba, Doke 85-87, No. 39, 107-111, No. 57, 247-249, No. 4; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 9-11, No. 2, 69-71, No. 19, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 45-47, No. 32 and No. 33; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 103-104, No. 85a and b, 106-107, No. 86b; Bahamas, Parsons 45-50, No. 25, I-II, IV-VI (with bibliography), 50-54, No. 26, I-IV; Santo Domingo, Andrade 101-102, No. 70, also not to so great a degree, Nos. 71-75. For another Suriname version, see Van Cappelle 376-379, No. 39.

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heard that in a certain kingdom, there was a girl whom no man suited. Aboma went to his neighbor and he borrowed a coat. He went to another neighbor and he borrowed a pair of breeches and a hat. He went to another, and he borrowed shoes. So from the entire settlement he borrowed something.

So the girl was sitting in her yard and the Aboma came. She said, ‘Yes, mother, this man I want.’ Her mother said, ‘My child, do you know the man that you fall in love with him at first sight?’ So Aboma came to ask to pay court to her. Aboma said he would marry on Tuesday. He could not stay away from his country any longer. They called all the people to come to the wedding, and all the people ate [and] drank.

The following day they went away to his kingdom. When they went away, the girl had a vagabond young brother. So Aboma went away with his wife. The boy hid and watched all the things Aboma did with his sister. Aboma came to the road and he gave the neighbor his hat. He went down the other side and gave his coat (back). He went on again to the other side and he gave (back) his breeches. So the whole way he gave all the things back. At once the girl was frightened, but there was no help. She had to go on. Her young brother who was following was in hiding, she did not know he was there.

When Aboma reached his kingdom, he said to his wife, said, ‘You see, here you are going to live. I am not going to live here. I will live in the water. But when you want to see me, then you must sing

\begin{align*}
\text{Alense kaka alense} \\
\text{Alense kaka alense} \\
\text{Alense imere kaka a wani si.}\end{align*}^1

Then Aboma went away. When Aboma came home, then the whole path had to be flooded, so that he might walk into his palace.

One day the young brother came to see his sister. He said, ‘Sister, where is my brother-in-law? I have been here since morning, and I have not been able to see my brother-in-law.’ His sister said, ‘You cannot see him.’ He said, ‘As long as I do not see him, I won't go away.’ The girl went to the water to call her husband,

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1 Song No. 151.
My brother came, he wants to see you.' He answered the woman, he said, 'He cannot see me. But everything he wants, you can give him.' Then the sister told her brother that he could not see her husband. He said, 'I must see him. As long as I do not see him, I won't go away.' The woman went back and sang calling Aboma. So Aboma became angry. He said, let her tell her brother, 'If he wants to see me, he shall see me. Tomorrow morning I will come. The whole place must be flooded.'

The next morning, at eight o'clock, Aboma came. The young brother sat down and waited for Aboma. He was carrying a long knife. So Aboma came, and he sat down. His sister said, 'Brother, you are going to lose your life, better go away.' He said, 'Sister, you married him, you must know your husband.' She said, '(When) my husband comes, he is going to kill you.' Then he said,¹ 'Let him kill me, I am not afraid.'

So Aboma came. Aboma began to swallow. So Aboma swallowed the brother with his knife inside his belly. Then he slit Aboma open with his knife. So the boy came out again. Aboma died. He said, 'Sister, I did you a good turn. You have all the Aboma's riches. I saved you from punishment. You can walk (at will).' The sister said, 'Yes, brother. Take the money, and go bring my mother to live here with me. Then the three of us shall live (here).'</p>

93. Aboma Kɔnde.

Wą' gaq' masra a bç' a wān kɔnde. A bɛn lɔbì myɛ ðɛ.... Ma te dɛ̩ myɛ go a taki dɛ̩ no hansọ. Da' wan kɔndɛ de ìtì abræṣẹ. Ala myɛ fọ dapa go na ẹŋ. Na homi a no kẹ nowàn.

Ma wan takru myɛ bɛn de. 'A doti taki, 'Wẹ, mi 'ɛ go tu. Dɛ̩ hansọ wàŋ go a no kẹ den. Efù mi takru wàŋ go, da' a no kẹ mi a no syɛm.' 'A myɛ sreka manda ðɛ... Di a i go. A mu abra wan krikì. Da' a si wàŋ Aboma. Aboma ọkùì hɛm pe a i go? Da' taìg na Aboma taki ẹŋ go na da homi di no wani kẹ nowan myɛ. Da' Aboma hakisi ẹŋ taki efu' a wani mek'a hansọ? A taki, 'Ya.' Da' Aboma taki, 'Wẹ, mi hopo mofo, da' yu poti hẹdẹ mekì mi guli yu. No, te mi puru yu baka da' yu hansọ.' Da' Aboma swari hɛm, da' a puru hɛm baka, da' a homi hansọ mọro a lẹ myɛ.

¹ Note text mi taki-e for said; a vowel addition rarely heard in town, but in frequent use in the bush, as in Mitaki, mi taki-e... 'I say, I am saying...'
Dą’ a go na homi. Dą’ homi kći hcm wantę! Ma Aboma bèn taji gìm a no mu taki wàn suma, no so tɛ a i pasa baka a i kiri hem. Dą’ na homi lobi na muyɛ tɛ ... a gi hcm furu gudu. Ma ala neti na homi akisi ’a muyɛ, ’Fa yu hansò so?’ A taki, ’Gadu mek’ mi hansò so.’ Na homi hari hcm traŋgə tɛ ... a no mag ḥori moro. A taki, ’Na na Aboma fò kriki ɛŋ guli mi, dą’ puru mi baka, dą’ mi hansò so. Ma a taki mi no mu taji.’


Dą’ Aboma opo buka. Dą’ a gi hém her’ batra dram mek’ a-i bèbɛ ɛŋ tu. Dàn da Aboma druŋgu. Dą’ a teki na faka, a kɔti hém labu teki. Dàn da Aboma oyo limbo, dą’ haksi na muyɛ, ’Muyɛ, fa mi labu dɛ kɔtì?’ ’A muyɛ taki gi ’ɛm taki, ’Tata, ’a dram di yu bèbɛ, hcm druŋgu a mek’ mi fɛnì pasi kɔti yu labu. We, so na homi bèn sùti gi mi mek’ mi konda daji hɛm tu fa na tɔri waka.’

Dą’ so na Aboma no swari hɛm moro. A mek’ hɛm go baka na ɛŋ konde.
’A tɔri kaba.

93. Snake Gives Beauty.²

A rich man lived in a village.³ He loved women till... But when the women went he said they were not beautiful. There was a village directly opposite. All the women there went to him. The man did not care for any of them.

But there was an ugly woman. That one said, ’Well, I am going, too. The handsome ones went and he did not care for them. If I, an ugly one go and he does not care for me, it will be no disgrace.’ The woman adorned herself till... Then she went. She had to cross a creek. Then she saw an Aboma. The Aboma asked her where she was going. Then she said to the Aboma, she said, she was going to the man who did not wish to care for any woman. The Aboma asked her, he said, if she wanted him to make her handsome? She said, ’Yes.’ The Aboma said, ’Well, I will open my mouth, then you must put your head inside to let me swallow you. When I pull you out again, then you will be handsome.’ The Aboma swallowed her, then he pulled her out again, and she became handsomer than all other women.

² Told by 3. Compare Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 203, No. 52; Hausa, Tremearne (III) 304, No. 55.
³ Note the words gàn, muyɛ, hansò, etc. which are Saramaka for ‘big’, ‘woman’, and ‘beautiful’, really ‘handsome’. This tale is essentially in the speech of this Bush-Negro tribe.
Then she went to the man. Then the man loved her at once! But the Aboma had told her that she must not tell anyone, or else when she returned he [the Aboma] would kill her. The man loved the woman till... he gave her much wealth. But every night the man asked his wife, ‘How is it you are so beautiful?’ She said, ‘God made me so beautiful.’ But the man treated her so well that she could resist no more. She said, ‘The Aboma of the creek swallowed me, and pulled me out again, and made me handsome. But he said I must not talk.’

Then the woman had to go back to her village. The man sharpened a knife for her, and he gave her a whole bottle of rum. Then the man told her what she must do with the Aboma. The man said, ‘When the Aboma asks you why you told me, then you say, “Father, wait a minute, do not get angry. Open your mouth for me and I will tell you a story”.’

Then the Aboma opened his mouth. Then she gave him a full bottle of rum, and made him drink it all. Then the Aboma was drunk. Then she took the knife and cut his tail off with it. Then the Aboma’s eyes became clear, and he asked the woman, ‘Woman, how was my tail cut off?’ The woman answered him, she said, ‘Father, the effect of the rum which you drank, made me find a way to cut your tail. Well, so, too, my husband’s kindness toward me made me tell him all that happened.’

And so the Aboma did not swallow her any more. He allowed her to go back to her village.

The story is finished.

94. Fa du kɔ̃n da Krabita 'ɛ tą' na Hoso.

Krabita go mek wan kampó. Di a koti wàŋ postu a pọt'. Tɛ fa a kɔ baka nąŋga wàŋ trawą', a miti somni post' mòro. A go baka tɛ fa a kɔ nąŋga wiwiri, a kɔ mìti' na hoso meki. Dan a kom mìti' makandra nąŋga Tigri, den tak' dati den so libi ińi na hoso makandra.

Nō, den mek wàŋ regel. Wàŋ deji Krabita 'ɛ go suku meti 'a busi, ç' wàŋ deji Tigri go. 'A fos' deji Tigri go, a kiri, a tya kɔ', den nyåm. Krabita go, a no kiri nọt. Wan deji baka Tigri go baka. A kiri, tya kom. 'A tra deji Krabita go, Krabita no kiri.

1 Notice the use of ‘take’ for preposition ‘with’, i.e., lit., ‘Then she took the knife, she cut he tail take.’
2 Idiom for becoming sober.
No, Tigri go, a kiri dia, a tya ko. Krabita no wani fo nyam. Bika dia na Krabita omu. Dan Tigri ati bọ. A taki, ‘Ala de mi ’e kiri yu de nyam, ma tide yu no wani nyam. Ma yu ‘e go, yu no de kiri, tya no tọ kom.’

Ma te dcm pikin tigri prej naŋga den pikin krabita, nọ mọ den pikin tigri a taki, ‘Mi papa a ’e go sori un!’

Ma Krabita taiji, ‘Fa Tigri taki, so den pikin taki.’ Den mu luku bọ naŋga Tigri, bika Tigri kiri’ na omu kaba. ‘A papa Krabita taki na pikin nchẹgre makandra na pre dę’ a prei.

Ma nọ, Krabita go na honti, a mit’ wà’ man. A taiji na man taki, ala dei ẹọ go na honti, ọọ no kiri noọ. Da’ a man gi ẹọ wà’ sani, taiji, ibri wan mcti di a si a kom, mek a sori ẹọ ṣiṣẹ tẹk tẹki, ‘Luku bọn!’ ‘A wànte’ a mcti faafo dde.


Da’ den pikin krabita nọ, ẹọ tak’ den pikin tigri tak’, ‘Mi papa ’e soru un!’ Mama Tigri taiji Papa Tigri taiji, ‘Luku bọn, Krabita a’ wà’ sani. A tu ṣọ’ a go na honti, a tyari ẹọ famiiri kom.’ Dan di Krabita ’e go na honti baka, dan Tigri waka safri na ẹọ baka. Fa-i-si a go, a si Tigri omu a i kọm. Fa-i-si Krabita sori ẹọ, ‘Luku bọn!’ no mo a faafo dde.

Papa Tigri kom na hoso, a taiji den mama Tigri na pikin tigri, meki den froisi wàntenọ. Krabita habi wan sani, cfi a sori den ẹọṣẹ, den ala ‘e dde. Wàntenọ’ dę’ tigri froisi gowę, lib’ a preći gi Krabita.

So, kaba.

94. Tiger and Goat in Partnership: Pointing Kills.³

Goat went to make a shelter. When he cut one post, he put it down. When he returned with the second, he found many more posts. He went back and when he came with thatch, he found the house built. Then he met Tiger, and they said they would live together in the house.

Now they made one condition. Goat was to go to the bush in search of food one day, and Tiger the next day. The first day Tiger went, he killed, and he brought, and they ate. Goat went, and he killed nothing. The following day Tiger went again. He killed, and brought (home). The day after Goat went, and Goat did not kill.

³ Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone (Mende), Westermann (III) 455-456, No. 15; Liberia (Gola), Westermann 493, No. 22, (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 524-525, No. 22; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 338-339, Gagu No. 33, 341, Gagu No.37, (Agni), Tauxier (III) 242-243; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 141-143, No. 27, (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 41, No. 11, 231, No. 58; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 447, fable No. 43, 502, legend No. 10; Togo (Krachi), Cardinal (I) 97-98, (Dagbamba), Fisch 157, No. 5, (Ewe), Bassett 210-212, No. 87 (from Ellis, II, 269-271); Hausa, Rattray (IV) ii, 34-38, No. 25, 142-146, No. 30, Schön 191-192, No. 79, Tremearne (I) 495, No. 24; Nigeria (Jukun), Meek 489-492; Southern Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 248-250, No. 23, (Ibo), Thomas (IV) 90-91; Lamba, Doke 197-181, No. 99; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 63, No. 58; Brazil, Eells 61-63, No. 6.
Now, (one day), Tiger went and killed a deer, and brought (him home). Goat would not eat. Because Deer was Goat's uncle. Then Tiger was angry. He said, 'Every day I killed and you ate, but today you refuse to eat. But you go, and you do not kill, and bring nothing (home).'

But when the little tigers played with the little goats, all at once the little tigers said, 'My father will show you!'

Mother Goat said, 'As Tiger talks, so the children talk.' They must watch out for Tiger, because Tiger had killed their uncle already. Father Goat (however) said, all little Negro children must play together.¹

But now, Goat went to hunt, and he met a man. He said to the man, every day he went hunting, but he never killed anything. Then the man gave him something, and said, at every kind of animal that he sees coming, let him point at it, and say 'Take care!' At once the animal will fall down dead.

Just as Goat took the thing (Man gave him), he will¹ come upon Tiger's grandfather. He pointed it, 'Take care!' He died at once. He (Goat) brought him home. Now, when he came, Tiger would not eat, because it was his grandfather. The following day Goat went again. He killed Tiger's brother now, and he brought him (home). Tiger would not eat.

Then the little goats now said to the little tigers, 'Father will show you!' Mother Tiger said to Father Tiger, said, 'Take care, Goat has a thing (so that) of the two times he had gone to the bush to hunt, he brought back with him members of their family.' Then when Goat again went hunting, Tiger followed him softly. Just as he went, he saw Tiger's uncle coming. And no sooner did Goat point at him, 'Take care!' than he (Tiger's uncle) fell down dead.

Father Tiger came home, and he said to Mother Tiger and the little tigers, let them escape at once. Goat had something which if he pointed at them, they would all die. At once the tigers escaped, and left the place to Goat.

So, finished.

95. Alata, Sneke nangga Libisuma.

Nō, Alata nangga Sneke nangga Libisuma fadō', dc' bc'n de na ini wan peti. Da Hontimān i kom, da' ala dri bēg' hcm fō a pur' den. Ma nō, Sneke bēg' 'cm taki, 'Pur' mi! Mi sō du yu wān bōn. Alata bēg' 'm, mek' a pur' ēn, ēn sō du 'cm wān bōn. Libisuma bēg' 'm, mek' a pur' ēn, a sō du 'em wān bōn. A puru ala dri.

¹ Lit., 'play they is play'.
² Note change in tense to make the transition to a new scene.
95. Animal Gratitude and Human Duplicity.

Now, Rat and Snake and Human Being had fallen into a pit. Hunter came by, and all three begged him to save them. But now Snake begged him, he said, 'Save me! I will do you a good deed.' Rat begged him to save him, he would do him a good deed. Human Being begged him to save him, he would do him a good deed. He saved all three.
Now when they went away, he (Rat) went into a bank and stole many paper bills to give Hunter. Now, Human Being saw how Hunter lived richly, and he asked him what he had done to come into money. Then he said to him, he said, ‘When I saved you from the pit, Rat brought me the money.’

When the King learned of the money he lost at the bank, he announced in the papers that whoever found the thief should marry his daughter. At once Human Being went to tell the King that Hunter’s rat stole the money for him. Then they sent immediately to take Hunter. They imprisoned him to kill him.

Snake now dug a hole underneath the ground, then he went to Hunter, and he said to him, he said, ‘You see the good which Human Being did for you? I will do a good deed for you. To-morrow morning the King’s daughter will come into the garden. Then I will bite her. Then they will come to you to look for medicine.’ But you must say you must have a piece of a betrayer’s liver, and a few leaves. Then the child will become better.’ Then in the morning Snake went and bit the King’s daughter. Then they came to Hunter to ask him if he did not know of a medicine.

As soon as he knew that a piece of a betrayer’s liver was needed, the man who betrayed immediately began to run. The King called out that they must catch him at once. Then they killed him, and took his liver, and they brought the liver to Hunter. Then he made the medicine, and the child became well.

And so of the three things (beings) Hunter had helped, Snake and Rat did him good. Human Being did him evil.

96. ḃndrofeni.

Wą män go na busi, go honti. Di a waka so tɛ ... a yɛrɛ suma dɛ, oksi yɛpi na ńi wɔŋ bgi hɔro. A luku na ńi na hɔro, a si wɔŋ libisuma, wɔŋ sineki nąŋga wɔŋ alata. So a taki, ‘Sineki na wɔŋ takru metli, Alata so srɛfi. Mi so lɛpi Libisuma.’ Ma bakatɛm a kom prakseri. ‘Mek mi lɛpi ala dri, Sineki, Alata, nąŋga Libisuma leŋki mi srɛfi.’ So Sineki teki ɛŋ pasi, Alata ɛŋ pasi, en Libisuma go nąŋgə hɛm makandra na hɛm hoso. No daŋki srɛfi a bɛŋ kusí fɔ̃ dem dri dsi a bɛŋ lɛpi na dɛdɛ.

Ma Alata kom prakseri taki, a musu lɛpi da suma dsi bɛŋ du hɛm bɔŋ. So a go na baŋk-hoso, a broko wɔŋ praŋga, en a fufuru furu moni en a tyari hɛm gi Libisuma fɔ̃ pəjimŋ, fɔ̃ dsi a bɛŋ helpi hɛm fɔ̃ dɛdɛ.

So libisuma bɛŋ de makandra, ɛn a si ala sani. So a go na skotu ɛn tori hɛm mati. So dem ɛŋ skotu kom na hɛm mati hoso, ɛn tyari hɛm go na dʊŋgru-hoso. Di da nusu bɛŋ pəŋja na foto,
A man went to the bush to hunt. As he walked so till... he heard people asking for help from a deep hole. He looked in the hole, and he saw a human being, a snake, and a rat. So he said, 'Snake is a bad animal, and so also is Rat. I will help Human Being.' But after a while he came to study. 'Let me help all three, Snake, Rat, and Human Being who is like myself.' So Snake went his way, Rat his way, and Human Being went home with him (the hunter). He did not even receive thanks from the three he had saved from death.

But Rat came to study that he must help the person who had done him a good (deed). So he went to the bank and he broke a board, and he stole much money, and he brought it to Human Being as a reward for having saved him from death.

So the human beings were together, and he (the rescued man) saw everything. So he went to the police, and told on his friend. So they sent policemen to his friend's house and took him away.

2 Told by 11. Comparative references as for preceding tale, except those of Helser and the Penards.
to prison. When the news spread through the city, Snake came to hear that. So he wanted to find a way to help Human Being who saved him from death.

So the King of that country had a beautiful Princess. Snake said, 'If I bite this Princess, and show Human Being a medicine to keep the Princess from dying, they will free him from prison.' So Snake went to the King's palace, and bit the Princess. After that he went quickly to the bush, and picked herbs that should be a medicine for saving the Princess from the hands of death, and he carried them quickly to Human Being in prison, and showed him how he must make the medicine, so that the Princess should remain alive.

The King called all the doctors of the city to cure his daughter, the Princess. But not one of the doctors was clever enough to know a medicine. So the King sent the news everywhere that he who could cure his daughter would receive half of his kingdom, and he would marry the Princess. So Human Being (who was) in prison asked the King to come to the palace to cure the Princess. The King said, 'All the clever doctors have tried their utmost but they could not cure my daughter. So you think you can cure her?' Human Being said, 'Yes, King, I am the man who will cure her.' All the people of the kingdom came together in the palace to see the wise man who would cure the King's daughter. Human Being took the herbs, and made his medicine. So he rubbed that on the place where Snake had bitten the Princess. An hour later the Princess was well, and healthy as she had been before. So the King was very happy. He caught the slanderer and he put him in prison. And the medicine-man married the Princess, and he became King of the country.

The story comes to an end.

I myself was there, and I shook hands with the King and the Princess.

97. Fa Kom Sineki de Nyam Suma.

Sineki waka wañ deñ na wañ busi pasi. Leti miti hcm. Fa a de lɔn, nɔ mɔ a fado' na wañ dipi peti. Na peti bɛn draj, ma Sineki no maŋ komopo na unì. A proberi so, a proberi so, ma a dɛ grati baka. Dunguru bguŋ fado'. 'A Sineki bguŋ bari. Ḥontimàn dɛ na pasi, a yɛcere Sineki dɛ bari. A go luku saŋ dɛ fɔ du. A si Sineki. Sineki krek, 'Luku fa mi dɛ go dɛcɛc. Ḥangi a di go kiri mi. Tyɛ, Ḥontimàn, lepi mi.' 'A bɔn,' Ḥontimàn taki. A go, a koti wañ laŋa tiki, a poti na unì na horo. Sineki krek na na tiki, a komopo. Fa a komopo, a sùtu ɛŋ tu kini na doti, gi Ḥontimàn, taki, 'Tyɛ, Ḥontimàn, saŋ mi so fenì fɔ paŋ na paŋɛŋ?' 'A no noŋi,' Ḥontimàn piki taki, 'meki a tə' so. Di yu sabi dati mi du yu waŋ bɔn,
Animal Gratitude and Human Duplicity.¹

One day Snake walked along a bush path. Lateness overtook him. As he ran, all at once he fell into a deep pit. The pit was dry, but Snake could not come out. He tried, and he tried, but he slid back. Darkness began to fall. Snake began to shout. Hunter was on the path, and he heard Snake call. He went to look what there was to do. He saw Snake. Snake cried, ‘Look, how I am about to die. Hunger is going to kill me. Tye, Hunter, help me.’ ‘All right,’ Hunter said. He went and cut a long stick, and put it in the hole. Snake climbed up on the stick, and came out. As he came out he shot his two knees to the ground for Hunter,² and he said ‘Tye, Hunter, what shall I find to pay my debt?’ ‘It is

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¹ Told by 6.
² Idiom for, ‘he knelt down’.

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nothing,’ Hunter answered, said, ‘let it rest so. Since yon know that I did you a good (deed), then (it is) enough.’ Hunter went away. But Snake could not stop talking (about this). Day and night he studied what to do to show Hunter that he knew good.

One morning as he came out of his house, all at once he saw a person coming. ‘Tye, Master, how you resemble Hunter! Do you know Hunter? How does it happen’ you two resemble each other so?’ Human Being laughed. He answered Snake, he said, ‘I am a human being, and the Hunter is a human being too. So it comes about (that) we resemble each other.’ ‘Ah, thank God,’ said Snake, ‘today I will rid myself of my difficulty. Tye, Human Being, you are a human being, the Hunter is a human being. I am going to tell you my trouble. Hunter did me a great service.’ Snake told Human Being, he told the story of how Hunter had saved him from death. Human Being sat down, and he listened well. ‘Well, Snake, what do you want me to do for you, then?’ ‘Tye, I beg you, what must I do for Hunter to let him see that I know what good is?’

Human Being sighed, and he said, ‘If you want to show Hunter that you know what good is, then you must find out the path he follows to the bush, then you must go and hide at the edge of the path, and as Hunter comes where you are, then all at once you are to jump up, and then you (are to) eat him. That is the greatest good you can do for Hunter.’

Snake thanked Human Being. He went away. At daybreak, he did as Human Being showed him.

98. Tąŋgi fō bön, na Kodya.

Odo: Tąŋgi fō bön, na kodya.


Wc, nō Krab-dagu a smeri Hontimān. Krab-dagu kбри na un wän horo. Sneki kбри na un wän horo. Ma nō, a di Hontimān a i pasa, Krab-dagu begi hcm, a taki, ‘Mat’ Hontimān, mi wani taki yu wän sani, ma mi frede taki yu go sūtu mi.’ Hontimān taki, ‘Ka, (a bön) mi boi, dąŋgi fō yu.’ A taki Hontimān, ‘Na boi Sneki a sciti fō beti yu.’ Hontimān taki, ‘Pc a dc?’ A taki, ‘Mi papa Hontimān, a te yu de waka, let’ na fosi horo a pc na bom dc, a kбри dapc fō beti yu.’

1 Lit., ‘how does it walk’.
Na so, Hɔntimàn bɛn sütu Suneki. Suneki dɛde.

Da' Hɔntimàn pramisi Krab-dagu, a taki, 'Krab-dagu, na bɔn di yu du mi, mi no habi nɔti fɔ gi yu. Ma tɔŋgi fɔ bɔn na kɔdiya.' Ma Hɔntimàn taki, 'Mi habi doksi, foru, e n mi go libi na kɔj opo. Da' te yu kom na neti, yu kən nyəm sort' foru nəŋga doksi di yu wani.' A i te Krab-dagu yɛre doti, a i presiri, taki, ɛŋ go nyəm foru, doksi. So, sejbi yuru na neti, na hɔntimàn libi 'a kɔj opo gi Krab-dagu fɔ a kən kəm nyəm foru nəŋga doksi.

Ma nɔ, Hɔntimàn a taŋgi hɛm wefi, tak' Krab-dagu du hɛm tumusi bɔn. A mus' mek' hɛm nyəm sən a wani. Hɔntimàn wejfi go suku wən tra hɔntimàn, poți sa-afrı dəpe mek'a kibri fɔ te Krab-dagu kom fɔ a sütu hɛm. Nejgi yuru na neti, Krab-dagu kom. Ɛŋ leki hɛm mọfo taki, hɛm go nyəm bɔn. Fa Krab-dagu a dyəmpo fɔ tek' wən foru, na so Hɔntimàn süt' hɛm, bum!

A so, tɔŋgi fɔ bɔn, na kɔdiya.

98. The Reward for Good is the Cudgel.

Proverb: The reward for good is the cudgel.

You had once a wild-dog and a snake. But now, Hunter was walking about in the deep bush. So Snake said to Wild-Dog, ‘You know what? Human meat is sweet.’ At once Wild-Dog asked him, said, ‘How do you know that human meat is sweet?’ Snake said, ‘Well, I will show you just as soon as Hunter passes.’

Well, now Wild-Dog scented Hunter. Wild-Dog hid in a hole. Snake hid in a hole. But now, as Hunter was passing, Wild-Dog begged him and he said, ‘Friend Hunter, I want to tell you something, but I am afraid that you are going to shoot me.’ Hunter said, ‘All right, my boy, thank you.’ He said to Hunter, ‘The boy Snake is lying in wait to bite you.’ Hunter said, ‘Where is he?’ He said, ‘Father Hunter, as you walk, right at the first hole where the tree is, [you will find] he is hiding there to bite you.’

2 Told by 4. Compare Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 207-211, No. 54; Togo (Dagomba), Cardinall (I) 197-198; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 463-464, fable No. 51. Van Cappelle gives this tale for Suriname 371-372, No. 36, and the Penards, 249, No. 4, cite another tale employing the same proverb as is given here.
So Hunter shot Snake. Snake died.

Then Hunter promised Wild-Dog, he said, 'Wild-Dog, I have nothing to give you for the service you did me. But the reward for good is the cudgel.' But Hunter said, 'I have ducks and fowl and I am going to leave the coop open. Then when you come at night, you can eat what fowl and ducks you want.' When Wild-Dog heard that, he was happy that he was going to eat fowl and ducks. So, seven o'clock at night Hunter left the coop open for Wild-Dog, so he could come and eat fowl and ducks.

But now, Hunter told his wife, that Wild-Dog did him a great service. She must let him eat whatever he wanted. Hunter's wife went to look for another hunter, and quietly stationed him there, and had him hide, so that when Wild-Dog came, he should shoot him. Nine o'clock at night, Wild-Dog came. He licked his chops saying [to himself] he was going to eat well. As Wild-Dog jumped to take a fowl, so the hunter shot him, boom!

And so, the reward for good is the cudgel.

99.

Wą' m'ma benn dc di 'ab' dri umā-p'kin. Dann a benn 'ab' wą' tra wąn fō ẹŋ sisa, a i kweki hecm. Ma den benn fon 'em, mesandel 'em. Wą' dej a komopo, a gowe na busi. A waka so te ... neti kom kusi 'em 'a pasi. D'a go na óndro wąn bom, a go dido'. Ma d'a dido', dann na ede-maŋ fō ala den wisi-maŋ kəŋ let' na óndr'a bom, kom or' wąn komparsi. Dann den bigun fō taki, cn na cδem-aŋ ok's wąn tra wąn, 'Fa sortu wroko yu du fō na heri yari?' A taki, 'Mi benn ijenier furu suma.' So ala gi frantwōrtu sə' den benn du na heri yari. Na mejdje dc na óndro na bom, a i arki na ala sani.

Ma wāŋ fō den, nō, di na ede-maŋ ok's em sāŋ a benn du fō na 'eri yari, a taki, 'Wel, mi benn mek' wą' pruns suki, ma nowan suma so dres' ẹŋ na pruns dati. Na suma di so dres' ẹŋ, na mu' bor' wąn tŋgigograf supe gi' hecm.'

Na mejdjy yere. Tamara mamant'ęm, a gowe, a go na s'ręf' foto pe na pruns dc. A go, a taki ęŋ so dres' na pruns. So a kom bor' na tŋg'foru sup' gi' na pruns. Na pruns drńgi, ęŋ so 'a pruns kom betre. Ęŋ a mu tro nāŋga 'a mejdjy.

Ma di den tro kaba, dan na pruns kar' na mejdjy, a taki, 'Yu si, dija mi 'abi wāŋ gotu brakri, nāŋga wāŋ kopra brakri, nāŋga wāŋ sorfu wāŋ. Wę, i si, mi dc go trò' wāŋ p'kin foru. Dą i ę tek' dęm braki. Na un' na sorfu yu pot' sorwatra. Ėn na un' na kopra wāŋ.
yu pot' koppa-watra. Èn un' na gotu wą', yu pot' gotuwatra. Bika', te mi frej kom na un, mi mu' was' mi fesi fò mi trò' na prüns baka.'

Èn so na mejdje bën du. Alæ nèjiti na foru bën frej kom, a i wasi hèm fesi na un' na wartra, èn a i trò' wàŋ libisuma. Mamantèm, a gowe baka.

Nò den dri sìsa bën tajiği dem m'mà taki, 'Mek' wi go luku òpè na tra wàŋ go.' Dem tek' pasì, den gowe, go suk' hèm. Nò, di den doro, na sìsa tajig' dem taki, mek' dem go sìbì' na un' na 'oso na prasi. Ma den no bën wàni, bikà' dem bën kom fò sì sà' na sìsa de du. Nèjiti den kìbì luku, dem si wàŋ foru frej kom, èn a trò' wàŋ prüns. Dem bën fruwondert tumusi. Tamara dem gowe, èn dem taki den m'mà taki, 'Na tra wàŋ feni bo.' Dem si wàŋ pikin foru frej kom yesterdej, èn a trò' wàŋ prüns. Dàn na m'mà taki, 'A bo', mi sà go suku wàŋ wisì, dàn wi sa tyàri hèm go poti meki na foru no trò' na prüns moro.'


Nèjiti, fa na p'kin foru frej kom, a drungi den wartra, èn so dèm pìna, a bèn sàwar dem. Èn wàŋ-trò' a no bèn trò' na prüns moro, ma a bèn flej go wè, èn a kò' sìki. So na mejdje, nò, bèn sari tumusi, a tek' a pasì, a i gowe baka fò go suku na prüns. Ma di a doro, a mit èn na prüns, di a trò' prüns baka te a frej gowe, tajig' èm taki, 'Yu si, na fò umà mek' mi 'èc dèdè. Dejì, a mi no sa wàni umà moro.' Na mejdje taig' hèm taki, 'Wè, mi sà go suku drci fò yù kòm bëtre.'

'A mejdje waka gowe, a go mi't wàŋ òru gràns-mùsì. A bèn bègni èn èfu a no kàŋ lejì èn, nàngà wàŋ drci.' A gràns-mùsi taig' èm taki, 'Mi sà gi yù wàŋ drci, ma yù mu' prej fò datra.' Èn so a gi na mejdje wàŋ bòatra, taigi èm taki, 'Yu de gi hèm dri dropu te yù gò. Ma yù mu' taigi èm taki, na dejì di a sò òpo èn hànì nàngà wàŋ rëwòlfì fò shut' wàŋ suma, a mu' mëmbbre sàŋ èn datra bèn taigi.'

Na mejdje a gowe. A baji wàŋ bòrò, baji wàŋ blàka pak. A wèri, a kom p'sa. Di a i p'sa, wàŋ suma taig' prüns taki, 'Wàŋ datra dè p'sa.' Prüns taki, mek' den kàri hèm kom. Di a kom, a luku prüns, a taki, 'Mi sà gi' yù wàŋ drcì. Ma na dejì di yù sò òpo yù 'ànì nàngà wàŋ rëwòlfì fò shutu wàŋ suma, wà' trò' yù mu mëmbbre sàŋ yù datra bèn taigi yù.' Èn so na datra kòn gi' èm na drci.
There was a mother who had three daughters. Then she had another whom she was bringing up who was her sister's (child). But they beat her and abused her. One day she left, and went to the bush. She walked so till... night came, and caught her on the road. Then she went under a tree, and she lay down. But when she lay down, then the headmen of all the sorcerers came right under the tree to hold a meeting. Then they began to talk and the headman asked one of them, 'What sort of work did you do all year?' He said, 'I bewitched many people.' So all of them gave accounts of what they had done the whole year. The girl was there under the tree, she heard everything.

But one of them, now, when the headman asked him what he had done the whole year, he said, 'Well, I made a prince sick, but no one will cure that prince. The person who would cure him would have to cook vulture soup for him.'

The girl heard. The next morning, she went away. She went to the same city where the prince was. She went, and she said she would cure the prince. So she cooked the vulture soup for the prince. The prince drank it and so the prince got better. And he must marry the girl.

But when they were already married, then the prince called the girl, and he said, 'You see here I have a gold tray, and a copper tray, and a silver one. Well, you see, I am going to change into a small bird. Then you will take the trays. In the silver one, you

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1 Told by 4. Compare Hausa, Tremearne (III) 280-283, No. 44 (variant); Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 156-158, No. 123; Santo Domingo, Andrade 109-110, No. 78; Brazil, Eells 165-174, No. 16.
must put silver water. And in the copper one, you must put copper water. And in the
gold one, you must put gold water. Because when I come flying inside, I must wash
my face in order to change back into a prince.'

And so the girl had done. Every night the bird came flying, and he washed his
face in the water, and he changed into a human being. In the morning he went away
again.

Now the three sisters said to their mother, said, ‘Let us go and see where the
other went.’ They went on their way to look for her. Now, when they arrived, the
sister said to them, she said, let them go sleep in the house in the back yard. But
they did not want (to go), because they came to see what the sister was doing. At
night they hid to watch and they saw a bird come flying, and it changed into a prince.
They were very much astonished. The next day they went away, and they said to
their mother, said, ‘The other one has found good (fortune).’ They saw a small bird
come flying yesterday, and it changed into a prince. Then the mother said, ‘All right,
I will go and find a wisi¹, then we shall take it and fix it so that the bird will not change
into a prince any more.’

Now she went to a sorcerer. The sorcerer gave her three pins. He said, ‘You will
go and you will put the copper one in the copper tray, the silver one in the silver
tray, and the gold one in the gold tray.’ And so the mother gave the sisters the pins
to take away. When they went, they did just as the sorcerer had said.

At night, as the little bird came flying, it drank the water and so it swallowed the
pins. And at once he could not change into a prince any more, but he flew away,
and he got sick. So the girl, now, was very sad, she went on her way again to try
and find the prince. But when she came upon the prince, who had turned back to a
prince when he flew away, he said to her, said, ‘You see, for the sake of a woman
I am dying. Thus I will have nothing more to do with women.’ The girl said to him,
she said, ‘Well, I am going to look for medicine to cure you.’

The girl walked away, she met an old woman. She begged her if she couldn't help
her with her medicine. The old woman said to her, she said, ‘I will give you a
medicine, but you must pretend to be a doctor.’ And so she gave the girl a bottle,
and said to her, said, ‘Give him three drops when you go. But you must say to him,
say, the day he will raise his hand, (armed) with a revolver² to shoot someone, he
must remember what his doctor had said.’

The girl went away. She bought a high hat, and bought a black coat. She dressed
herself in these, and came by. When she passed, someone said to the prince, he
said, ‘A doctor is passing.’ The prince said have them call him. When he came, he
looked at the prince, and he said, ‘I will give you a medicine. But the day you raise
your hand, (armed) with a revolver to shoot someone, you must

¹ Black magic.
² Note the three pronunciations given to word ‘revolver’.

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at once remember what your doctor had said to you.' And so the doctor gave him the medicine. And just as he drank the medicine, he vomited the pins. The doctor went away.

Now the girl went to the same place where the bird used to come flying. One night the bird came flying, and when the bird came flying, it changed into a prince. But just as he changed into a prince, he saw the girl. He raised his revolver to shoot her at once. And the girl said to him, said, 'Remember what your doctor had said to you!' He dropped his hand. He raised his hand again to shoot her. The girl said to him again, said, 'Remember what your doctor had said to you!' So he did not shoot the girl any more. His heart grew cool.  

Now, the girl called him, and said to him, said, 'Well, you see, this is what happened. I was the doctor who cured you.' The prince said to her, he said, 'But if those sisters of yours come here, their heads will go on the gallows.'

And so, the sisters came. And so the young man had them hang the sisters for the evil they had done to their sister.

And so they gave a feast. But in the midst of the feast, a cannon was shot. And the cannon-shot threw me till... here. That is why I don't know any more of the story.

100.


Wаŋ dej den gi ɛŋ kаŋ-bɛrɛ f‘а go wasi na liба. Nо, d‘а go was’ ‘a kаŋ-bɛri, fиси halа kаŋ-bɛrɛ tya’ gowе. А bigиn fо kреj so te ... bika’ a bɛn sab’ taki, cf’ а go na hoso sondro kаŋ-bɛrɛ, dё ‘е go fоm ɛŋ.

1 Idiom in town and bush for 'his anger subsided'.

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Nō, di a no sab' san fō du, a bigin fu lọ'-we g'a busi. Ma, di a g'a pasi, a mti wą' grin-misi. 'A grin-misi ok's ɛŋ, pe a i go. A ferteri na grin-misi san ben de fō du. Na grin-misi tajg' ɛŋ taki, mek' a krasi ɛŋ baka gi' em. Ma di a bigin fō krasi, na grin-misi baka furu nàŋga broko batra. Ma, tox a no tak' notiŋ, a kras' 'a grin-misi baka. Di a kaba, 'a grin-misi gi ɛŋ wàŋ dosu, a taki, 'Wc, 'i si, mi p'kin, yu kras' mi baka gi' mi, ɛŋ mi n'a notiŋ fō gi' yu. Tek' 'a dosu dusi, da' i go na i oso, dān. Te yu wan' wàŋ' sāni, dān yu taki, "Mi dosu, mi dosu, san yu misi ben taig' yu?" Dān yu so si.'

'A medj ec no g'a busi moro, m'a kq' na 'oso. Di a kq' na 'oso, dem fem ɛŋ so tə ... fō na kau'-bɛri di go na watra. Nō, a no piki dcem notiŋ, tak' na so wą' sani 'a grin-misi ben gi' ɛŋ.

Wān Sonde m'māntcm, wą' fejist ben go de na kerkī. Alə den tra p'kin fō na fraq a nai moj krosi gi dcem, ma na di a i kweki, doti a taki a no mu' go s'ref' s'ref na kerkī. Ma na Sonde m'māntcm doti, na p'kin du ala ɛŋ wroko fō kən k'ba fruku-fruku. Di den tra wą' gi'we na kerkī, ala sani k'ba. Dān ɛŋ go na ɛŋ dosu nō, a taki, 'Mi dosu, mi dosu, saq' i ms' ben taig' yu?" Wātrq', a ben kerkī kq na uni wāŋ moj yapoŋ, nānçga wāŋ go' shusu na i futu. Tu sāŋ asi ben tenapu wātrq' kliari f'g'a kerkī. Ėn so, di a reji na un' na sheji go na kerkī, ala suma ben luk' ɛŋ. Dem ben fruwundru tumusi. Dem no ben sabi suma doti.

Kono s'ref' ben go na kerkī, ēn 'a medj ec ben moj tumusi na ɛŋ ai, doti a ben wani fō sabi pe a de libi, ēn suma na ḳem. Kono go na wāŋ f' den māŋ fō kerkī, taig' em taki, de' mu' luku sodra lejik a medjic go na un' na shesi, de' mu' puru wāŋ fō den shusu na ɛŋ futu. Ėn dem ben du so. Di kerkī komopo, fa na mejsh'e go na un' na shesi, den har' wāŋ futu-susu puru ɛŋ. Den kyar' 'a susu gi' Kono.

Nō, na medj ec kq' na 'oso, a go na ɛŋ dosu, a tak'. 'Mi dosu, mi dosu, tapu.' Ėn so a ben tro' na s'ref' medjic baka. Di den tra wāŋ kq' na 'oso, dem bigin ferter' ɛŋ fa wāŋ moj medjic kọn na kerkī tide m'māntcm, ma Kono no sab' suma, a mek' dcem pur' wān-sej susu f'ɛŋ futu.

Dri deji na baka, Konum meki soldati waka na ala gyari fō na kondre, mek' ala suma so fiti na susu. Ėn suma a fiti den, so tyər ɛŋ kq' na Kono. Na deji di de' kq' dapə, dc pe na medjic təq', na frə meki den p'kin f'ɛŋ was' den s'kin moj, ma na wāŋ doti, a s'ro' em na un' wāŋ ɣyfu. Nō, na frə no ben sab'-taki a ben 'ab' wāŋ popokaj dapə, ēn na popokaj a ben dc taki, cn so a luku ala san' dot' p'sa. Di dem soldat' kom nō nàŋga na susu, a meki dem p'kin

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A. A. Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore.
There was a mother, who had three daughters. She had another child (whom) she was bringing up who was not hers. But she was mistreating that one. What the others left after eating, that she gave to the child. She did not even give her clothes, she gave her torn clothes to wear. The child was unhappy, so till... but she could not do better.

One day they gave her a cow’s belly to wash in the river. Now, when she went to wash the cow’s belly, a fish snatched at the cow’s belly, and carried it away. She began to cry so till... because she knew that if she went home without the cow’s belly, they would beat her.

No. 130; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 94-96, No. 81; Santo Domingo, Andrade 202, No. 150, 214-218, Nos. 163-165. Comparative, (for Good Child and Bad) Bolte u. Polivka, i, 207-227, No. 24, (for Cinderella), ibid., i., 165-188, No. 21. For another Suriname version see Van Cappelle 365-370, which is even closer to our Dahomean tale No. 42 than is the story we give here. It is to be remarked that the majority of the above correspondences refer to the ‘Good Child and Bad’ (‘Frau Holle’) portion of our tale; in the Sudan for ‘Good and Bad Child’ one often finds ‘Good and Bad Wife’. For Magic Whip correspondences see comparative note to Tale 41.
Now as she did not know what to do, she started to run away to the bush. But, as
she went on her way, she met an old woman. The old woman asked her where she
was going. She told the old woman what had happened. The old woman said to
her, said, let her scratch her back for her. But when she began to scratch, (she found
that) the old woman's back was full of bits of broken glass. But yet she said nothing,
and she scratched the old woman's back. When she finished, the old woman gave
her a box, and she said, 'Well, my child, since you scratched my back for me, and
I have nothing to give you. Take this box and go home. Then when you want
something, then you say, “My little box, my little box, what did your mistress tell
you?” Then you will see.’

The girl went no farther into the bush, but she came home. When she came home,
they beat her so till... because of the cow's belly which fell in the water. Now, she
did not tell them anything, saying that the old woman had given her such a thing.

One Sunday morning, there was to be a celebration in the church. For all of the
woman's other daughters she sewed fine clothes, but to the one she was bringing
up, to that one she said that she could not even go to church. But now, that Sunday
morning, the child did all her work that she might finish very early. When the others
went away to church, everything was finished. Then she went to her small box, now,
and she said, ‘My box, my box, what did your mistress tell you?’ At once she was
changed into (a girl in) a fine dress, with golden shoes on her feet. Two span of
horses were standing ready to go to church. And so, when she rode to church in
the carriage all the people looked at her. They were very much astonished. They
did not know who she was.

The King himself went to church, and the girl was so beautiful in his eyes, that he
wanted to know where she lived, and who she was. The King went to one of the
chuchmen, and he said to him, said, they must watch when the girl went back in
her carriage, and they must take off a shoe from her foot. And they did so. When
church was over, as the girl went to her carriage they took off one of her shoes.
They brought the shoe to the King.

Now the girl came home, and she went to her box, and she said, ‘My box, my
box, shut.’ And so, she changed back to the same girl. When the others came home,
they began to tell her how a beautiful girl had come to church that morning, but the
King did not know who she was, and he had them take off a shoe from her foot.

Three days later, the King made the soldiers go to all the yards in the Kingdom
to have everybody try on the shoe. And the person it fitted they should bring to the
King. The day when they came there where the girl lived, the woman had her
donkers bathe their bodies nicely, but that one, she locked up in an oven. Now,
the woman did not know that there was a parrot there, and that the parrot talked,
and so he saw everything that happened. When the

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soldiers came now with the shoe, she had her daughters try on the shoe, but it did not fit any of them. But, as the soldiers were going away, at once the parrot cried out, 'Come back, there is still someone in the oven. That isn't right. You must come and let the one who is inside try it on, too.' The soldiers turned back, and asked the woman if there was still someone. The woman said, 'No, no.' The parrot cried, and said, 'You lie! Someone is still there in the oven.' And so the soldiers said they would go and look. When they went, they saw the girl in the oven. They brought her out, and as they put the shoe on her foot, the shoe fitted her.

At once they went to the King, and they told the King everything that happened. And the King sent a message that on such a day the girl must be right there in his house. But before the girl went, she went to her box, and she said, 'My box, my box, what did your mistress tell you?' At once she found herself in a more beautiful dress than the first time. She rode to the King's house. And when the King saw that she came, at once the King fainted. He said, 'This girl I will marry.' And so the King prepared a paper at once that on such a day he would marry the girl. And so the King married her.

Now the thing came to irritate the daughters and the mother that the girl had found such luck. One day, the mother gave one of her girls a cow's belly, and said she must go and wash it. But she must go to the same place where the other one had gone. She thought that when she went, the same thing would happen as happened to the other girl. When she went, a fish took the cow's belly. She left and she went home. She met an old woman. The old woman said, 'Scratch my back for me.' But when she looked at the old woman's back, the old woman's back was full of thorns. She said to the old woman, 'I am to go and scratch your back with all these thorns?' The old woman, now, answered her nothing. She said, 'My child, well, take this box, then say, "My box, my box, what did your mistress tell you"? The girl studied and said, 'The same is going to happen to me. I am going to come into fine clothes like the other.' But she did not know any better. When she went home and told her mother what had happened, the mother said, 'Well, wait until Sunday, then you will go to the box.'

Sunday all the girls went to see what would happen. When the girl went to her box, she said, 'My box, my box, what did your mistress tell you?' But she did not come into fine clothes. A whip came out of the box. It began to whip them, so that they all had to run. They did not know what to do [to stop it], because she had not scratched the old woman's back for her.

Is it not true [that] in order to find good, you must be respectful first before you can find the good? And so, it was the payment they got for mistreating the other one.

Finished.
101.

Wą, mama bɛn habi for pikin. Wąn bɛn nɛm Minimini, wąn bɛn nɛm Fremänboni, trawąn Fremąntaria, na trawąn Koprokanu. Ma nō, a no bɛn lob' Koprokanu. Dān den pikin dc tān 'a wąn presi. Dān, te brektɛm, te a tyari nɛnyam kom gi dem, a n'e gi Koprokanu. A no lob' Koprokanu. Dą' i sùŋ' wą sùŋgi gi dem:

Minimini kɔ' nyəm,
Fremänboni kɔ' nyəm,
Fremantaya kɔ' nyəm,
Koprokanu tą' dc,
Koprokanu tą' dc.

Te den trawą, nyəm, san den no wani, 'a dati a i tyar' gi Koprokanu.

Nō, Didibri sabi taki na so na mama i du. Dą' a wan' go kir' den dri pikin di na mama lobi. A go 'a smeti, a meki smeti fari i tŋgo gi hɛm. Ma Dibri tajg' hɛm taki, tɔ a dc go, a no mu nyəm bakba. Ma, de a i go 'a pasi a nyəm bakba. Dān dc a go, dą' a sùŋgi na srɛf' sùŋgi di na mama de sùŋ, ma ɛŋ stɛm bɛn hɛbi. Dą' den pikin taki, 'A no mi mama stɛm, 'a stɛm di sùŋgi dc.' Den no opo 'a doro. Didibri gowe.


Di na mama kom, a sùŋgi na srɛf' sùŋgi, nō mō Koprokanu pik' ɛŋ taki:

Minimini no dc,
Fremänboni no dc,
Fremantaya no dc,
Koprokanu wan dc.

So dc na mama opona doro, a kom si ala den tra pikin dcdc. Koprokanu wawą' tān. A kom lob' Koprokanu so tɛ ...

Dɔti dc sɔri taki, tɛ yu habi furu pikin yu mu lobi ala na srɛfi. Yu no mu lob' trawą moro leik' trawąn.

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101. Abused Child: Devil Files his Tongue.

A mother had four children. One was named Minimini, one was named Fremanboni, another one was named Fremantaria, and another Koprokanu. But now she did not love Koprokanu. Then the children lived in a certain place. Then, at breakfast time, when she brought food for them, she did not give Koprokanu. She did not love Koprokanu. Then she sang a song for them:

Minimini come eat,
Fremanboni come eat,
Fremantaria come eat,
Koprokanu stay there,
Koprokanu stay there.¹

When the others had eaten, whatever they did not want, that they brought Koprokanu.

Now the Devil² knew that so the mother did. Then he wanted to kill the three girls whom the mother loved. He went to the smith and had the smith file his tongue for him³. But the Devil said to him, he said, when he went, he must not eat bananas. But, when he went on the road he ate a banana. Then he went to sing the same song which the mother sang, but his voice was heavy. Then the children said, ‘The voice which is singing is not our mother’s voice.’ They did not open the door. The Devil went away.

The smith filed his tongue again. He did not eat any more bananas. The next day he came and he sang the same song which the mother sang. Then the children opened the door. He killed Fremanboni, and Fremantaria, and Minimini. He left Koprokanu.

When the mother came, she sang the same song, and at once Koprokanu answered her:

Minimini is not here,
Fremanboni is not here,
Fremantaria is not here,
Koprokanu alone is here.

So when the mother opened the door she saw that all the other children were dead. Koprokanu alone remained. She grew to love Koprokanu so till...

That shows that when you have many children you must love all alike. You must not love one more than another.

² Song No. 118.
³ Note the Devil in the role of champion of the abused child as an example of acculturation akin to that of the Dahomean-Nigerian use of Legba for Devil, where the European name is given, but not the European attributes.
⁴ Informant said the Devil’s tongue is heavy. When the Devil wants to impersonate a human being he files his tongue. This smith was the master Devil.
102. Santa Fai̊ya Mama Kiri ̊ŋ Pikin.

Wan mama ben 'abi wani pikin. 'A boj ben hogri so te ... ef' a pot' eni fo go ler' wroko na wan basi, a i fom na basi. Tumusi a ben ogri. Nowan suma ben man na nga eni. A go pre mormo nga Konu pikin, a wn' dem. Dan den wani fcti nga nga eni. A nak' wa' fô den, a tro' wan ros-bom. A naki tra wan, a tro' wan dyari. A naka tra wan, a tro' wan broko skoto.

Nô, suma ko' taiji eni mama taiji na so a ben du. Dan eni taiji na mama, taki, meki a pôti na boj na wan basi dem kari Abrikê. Dap dem sa maxti eni.

Abrikê ben de wani didibri. Di na mama oksi fô a tyari na boj kom leri wroko dapê, Abrikê taki, 'A bojn.' A scni wan boto kô teki na boj. Na boj taki, 'Nangga doti boto, mi no de go.' Bikasi na boj ben de wan sabi-man; a sabi taki ef' a go nga nga na boto dati, a go de de. Di a go nga nga wan tra boto, da' Abrikê teki eni tya go na uni na wroko-'oso, Dan a sori eni taki, meki a go wroko nga nga maschin. Na boj taki, 'No, no, na yu na basi. Yu fosi mu sori mi fa na maschin de wroko.' Bika' ef' na boj ben go na na maschin, a ben go de de. Abrikê du ala mojti fô kiri eni, ma a no bê man. Na boj koni mor' eni.

Di a no man' fô kir' eni, a se' eni gowe baka. Di na boj gowe, a go wroko na wan timrebası. Dan Abrikê prakseri taki, 'Mi mu' go suku na boj baka, di ben kon dia.' Dan Abrikê ke'ki tro' wan umân, den a go pe na boj de wroko. Waj' moj umân a ben de. Di den tra wrokomân si na umân, de' alamala stre fô teki na umân. Ma no, speciai fô na boj a ben kom. Dan a ben 'abi wan baksita na eni 'cde tapu. A taki, 'Un' alamala lobi mi, na sumka naki na baksita puru na tapu mi 'cde, nga nga doti mi sa libi.' Dan' ala teki sani pus' na baksita, ma a no man' fadô. Na boj no pusu. Den trawâ' taki, 'Wi ala de proberi, wc, mek' a proberi tu.' Fa a teki wa' pikî' taki, a meri na baksita, wa'tro' a fadon. En so a ben libi nga nga na umân. Ma di den libi wan-tu dej, dan na 'umâ' taki hèm wani meki dem go suku ãwara.

Ma na boj ben habi dri dagu, na eni mama 'oso. Dan bifo' a gowe nga nga na umân, a go na eni' mama, a taj' eni taki, 'Mi mama, a dia

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mi de kɛt' ɛŋ dem dagu. Dɛn mi de poti wɛn patu nɑŋga watra na faja. Ma te yu si na watra bɛ' redi, lusu den dagu, meki dem kɔm na mi.


Daŋ na boj saka kem na grɔ'. A taki, ‘Abrike, fa tide mɑŋ miti mɑŋ, te tu mɑŋ miti den sɛrfi, dɛm kari dɛm sɛrfi omu.’ ‘Səŋ yu dɛŋki yu bɛn so du nɑŋga mi?’ Daŋ a tajigí hɛm, taki, ‘Mi no so kiri yu, ma mi so diki wɑŋ horo, poti yu na un.’ Daŋ a du so.

Ma di a go na hoso, daŋ a tajigí hɛm mama, taki, ‘Mi Mama, yu si bickwar, dem dagu no mu’ nycm.’ Ma wɑŋ dej, na boj bɛn sribi. Daŋ na mama bɛn bori salɛm. Daŋ a libi na brɛk. Daŋ dem dagu smɛri na blek, en so den go, den kiri na boj.

Dati meki na tori nem, ‘Santa Fajã Mama kiri hɛm pikin.’ Bika' na na mama bɛn meki hɛm pikin de'de.
102. Enfant Terrible: Flight up the Tree.¹

A mother had a child. The boy was bad so till... if she placed him somewhere with a boss to go and learn a trade, he beat his boss. He was very troublesome. Nobody could manage him. He went to play marbles with the King's children, and he won from them. Then they wanted to fight with him. He struck one of them, and he turned into a rosebush. He struck another and he turned into a yard. He struck another and he turned into a broken fence.

Now somebody came to tell his mother that this was what he had done. Then he said to the mother, said, let her apprentice the boy to a boss they called Abrike. There they will tame him.

Abrike was a devil. When the mother asked to bring the boy to learn a trade there, Abrike said, 'All right.' He sent a boat to bring the boy. The boy said, 'With that boat I am not going.' Because the boy was a wise man; he knew that if he went with that boat he would die. When he went with another boat, then Abrike took him into the workshop. Then he showed him, he said, let him come and work at the machine. The boy said, 'No, no, you are the boss. You must first show me how the machine works.' Because if the boy had gone to the machine, he would have died. Abrike made all kinds of attempts to kill him, but he could not. The boy's cunning surpassed his.

When (he found) he could not kill him, he sent him back. When the boy went away, he went to work with a master carpenter. Then Abrike studied, he said, 'I must go and look again for the boy who came here.' Then Abrike changed into a woman, then she went where the boy was working. She was a beautiful woman. When the other workers saw the woman, they all entered into a rivalry to take the woman. But she had come especially for the boy. Then she had a basket on top of her head. She said, 'All of you love me, but I will live with the one who knocks the basket from my head.' Then all took things with which to push the basket, but it could not fall down. The boy did not push. Then the others said, 'We all are trying, well, let him try too.' As he took a little stick and touched the basket, it fell down at once. And so he lived with the woman. But when they had lived (together) a few days, then the woman said to him, let them go look for awara.²

But the boy had three dogs at his mother's house. Then before he went away with the woman, he went to his mother, and said to

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¹ Told by 1. Compare Sudan (Bambara), Travélé 129-135, No. 49; Sierra Leone (Temne), Thomas (V) 58-60; Liberia (Gola), Westermann (II) 101-2, No. 20, and (III) 486-492, No. 20; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 299-300, Guro No. 44, 307, Guro No. 57, 338, Gagu No. 31; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 123-128, No. 22, (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 165-169, No. 43; Togo, Cardinall 102-103; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 474, fable No. 75; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 17, No. 19, No. 29, No. 30, No. 45; Hausa, Bassett (I) 53-54, No. 18, (II) cols. 225-226, Tremearne (III) 298-299, No. 51, 432-441, No. 95, Schön 90-91, No. 12; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 235-236, No. 17, (Ikorn), Dayrell (II) 11-13, No. 6; Congo (Benino), De Clercq 85-86, No. 7; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 11-13, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 81-83, No. 73 I-III, 85-87, No. 74; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 96-98, No. 82a; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 66-70, No. 32 I-IV; Santo Domingo, Andrade 110, No. 78, 112-113, No. 81, 139-144, Nos. 105-109; general (comparative), Parsons (IV).

² A yellow fruit growing on a thorny palm tree. (Astrocaryum Segregatum, Fam. Palmae, Encyc. p. 60).
her, said, ‘Mother, here I am chaining the dogs. Then I am putting a pot of water on the fire. But when you see the water become red, turn loose the dogs and let them come to me.’

When they went to the bush to pick awara, the woman said, ‘Look, go to the top of this tree. That is what I want.’ When the boy went up the tree, then instantly the woman (Abrike) changed into a tall man. He said, ‘You boy, today we meet.’ At this time the water which stood on the fire in the house was red. But the mother did not look at the water, so when the woman changed to Abrike, then he sang, said, ‘Abrike, ni-ni-ni-ni-ni.’ Then so many people came. The boy dropped a bottle of obia which he had. He said, ‘Santa-Fire-Mother kills her child.’ Then the tree grew so large, so large that they could not cut it. This time the pot cooked till... it turned to blood. The mother was gossiping with her neighbor about the big okra pudding they had eaten yesterday. She forgot what her child had told her. The dogs chewed the chain till... their mouths were bloody. One of them came loose. When the tree looked as if it would fall, the boy dropped his bottle again. He said, ‘Santa-Fire-Mother kills her child.’ Abrike sang again, he sang, said, ‘Abrike, ni-ni-ni-ni-ni.’ Many more devils came with their axes to cut the tree. But now all the three dogs came loose and they arrived, and they killed all the devils. They wanted to kill Abrike. Then the boy said, ‘My dogs, stop.’ So the dogs did not kill Abrike.

Then the boy climbed down to the ground. He said, ‘Abrike, as today man met man, (so) when two men meet their equal they call each other uncle.’ ‘What do you think you are going to do with me?’ Then he said to him, said, ‘I will not kill you, but I will dig a hole and put you inside.’ Then he did so.

But when he went home, he said to his mother, said, ‘Mother, you see, the dogs must not eat canned things.’ But one day the boy was sleeping. Then the mother cooked salmon. Then she left the can. Then the dogs smelt the can, and so they went and killed the boy.1

That is why the name of the story is ‘Santa-Fire-Mother kills her child.’ Because the mother caused her child’s death.

103. Konum Dompetro.


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1 Presumably the dogs were poisoned by the can, and they in turn poisoned him.
Ma di den prej, da' a wuni na boj, tc ... a wuni na boj papa kron. Da' na boj gowę.


Di na boj doro, a du so lejki fa a ben ye. Di a doro na Dompetro kondre, fa Dompetro si çi, Dompetro taki, meki den meki klari, bika’ çi kəsi wəŋ nəŋyam. A oksi na boj taki, ‘Boj, pe yu dc go?’ Na boj taki, ‘Mi kə teki mi papa kər’ di yu ben wuni.’

‘Bifo yu teki na kər’, yu mu du dri wroko gi mi, no so, mi dc go kiri yu.’ A taği gi həm, ‘Mi habi wəŋ isrə bom, yu mus’ kot’ çi gi mi bifo’ tamara.’


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Dompetro. A taki, ‘So, you mek’ na boj fon mi? Na boj de go wini yu.’ Dompetro taki, ‘Na boj no ką?’


So dojì na pikin fò Dompetro nàŋga na boj di bèn wuni hëm.

To mi, tya’ g’we, Elisa
Yu na wà’ toboto.
To mi, tya’ g’we.

Na Goliati baka dàn
Drapc moni de lolo.
Na t’ Kte-kte baka dàn,
Drapc pina de lolo.

103. The King’s Daughter: Magic Flight.

King Dompetro was a great King. He was a very devil. He played cards. One day he met a small boy. The boy was a prince. Then he called the boy to come and play cards. But when they played,
then he won from the boy till... he won the boy's father's crown. Then the boy went away.

But one day he said, 'I am going to Dompetro to seek my father's crown.' As he went on his way, then at night he met an old woman. He asked her for a place to sleep. The old woman said, 'I have seven sons, but if they come they will kill you.' Because they were seven robbers. But she hid the boy. When the children came home, they said, 'I smell someone. I smell someone.' The mother said, 'It is me you smell.' Then she asked them, said, 'Have you come across Dompetro's kingdom yet?' They said, 'No, no.'

In the morning the boy went away. At night he again met an old woman. The old woman said, 'Where are you going?' He said, 'I am going to Dompetro.' She said to the boy, 'Look, Dompetro's kingdom has seven gates, but when you come you are going to see Dompetro's daughters. They are going to go to wash in a pool there. But when they come, and the youngest one removes her clothes, then you must take her cloak because it is she who has all the wisdom of her father.'

When the boy went, the girl came to bathe. He took the cloak. Then the girl cried, she said, 'He who took my cloak and my father's key, let him bring them to me. I will reward him. He will be my husband.' When she spoke so, then the boy went to her. Then she said to the boy, said, 'You see, my father's kingdom has seven gates, and whoever comes there dies. But here I am giving you seven drums and when you come to the first gate, then you play it and the gate will open. So at every gate you come to you must play the drum.'

When the boy arrived, he did as he heard. When he arrived in Dompetro's kingdom, and Dompetro saw him, Dompetro said, let them make preparations, because he had caught food. He asked the boy, he said, 'Boy, where are you going?' The boy said, 'I am coming to take my father's crown which you have won.'

'Before you take the crown you must do three tasks for me, or else I am going to kill you.' He said to him, 'I have an iron tree which you must cut for me before tomorrow.'

The girl came. She said to the boy, said, 'You see, I am going to help you. Here I give you a bottle. Drop it on the tree and say "Dompetro says I must cut you". At once the tree will cut (itself).' When Dompetro came and looked, he saw the tree cut. He was frightened. Dompetro said, 'Here, I am going to give you yet another task. I have three horses. You must tame them for me.' The girl came. She said to the young man, said, 'You see, one of these horses is my father himself, and one is my mother, and one is my sister. And I will give you an obia with which to tame them.' The girl gave him a bottle of water, and she said, 'When they bring out the horses, then you must drop three drops on top of their
heads.' The young man did so. He beat the horses, so that when they came home the wife was angry with Dompetro. She said, ‘So, you let a boy beat me? The boy is going to win you.’ Dompetro said, ‘The boy cannot.’

Dompetro said to the boy again, said, ‘I have three daughters. I am going to have them stand up. You must show me the youngest.’ The girl came, she said to the young man, said, ‘When my father arranges us, you are going to see a butterfly on top of my head. Then you must say that I am the youngest.’ When Dompetro arranged them, then at once a butterfly came on top of the girl's head. And immediately the young man said, ‘This is the youngest one and this is the oldest one.’ And so he came to win from Dompetro.

But now Dompetro sent him to lie down on top of a bed. He put a kettle of oil under the bed for the young man to fall into. At night the girl came and took him, and they went away. When Dompetro came and did not see them, he struck his wife on her backside, and she changed into a horse. He rode on her to go catch them. Then he saw before him a darkness as of rain. The girl dropped two drops on the ground, and the whole place was filled with thorns so that Dompetro could not ride on to catch them. He went back. He took his obia with which to catch them. The girl saw him coming, and again she dropped two drops on the ground. The girl changed into a head of cabbage, and the youth into a farmer. When Dompetro arrived, he asked, he said, ‘Did you not see a girl and a young man pass?’ Then the farmer asked him, said, ‘Do you want to buy cabbage?’ Dompetro turned back, and he said to his wife, he saw a farmer with cabbage. His wife said, ‘If you had bought the cabbage, then you would have got them. Turn back and go take the cabbage.’ When he went back he saw nothing but two doves. As he went to catch them, they flew away.

So the doves were Dompetro's daughter and the boy who defeated him.

Tow me, carry me away, Elisa  
You are a tow-boat.  
Tow me, carry me away.²

In back of the Goliati dam  
There money is rolling.  
In back of his Kete-kete dam,  
There poverty is rolling.³

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¹ Lit., ‘Dompetro no was able for ride go catch them.’  
² Song No. 240. This song and the one that follows it are Kawina (Kauna) songs.  
³ Song No. 241.
Er-tin-tin!
Tin-tin-tin!

Wàŋ konum bèn dc, dùsì bèn habi wàŋ màŋ pikin. Di a bèn kóm bugì kaba èn hèm papà kom grani, a taki gi na pikin, ‘Mì pikin, luku mi dè kom hùrì kaba, so yù a fò teki da kòndre abra. Ma fòsi yù mu go na na kòndre fò Konu Leimàn èn tro Helena tyari kom gi mi.’ So na pikin pìkì hèm papà, a taki, ‘Mì papà, na wàŋ tumusi hëbi wroko yù gi mi, bukasi Konu Leimàn na wàŋ tumusi hogri Konum.’ Na papà taki, gi hèm pikin, a taki, ‘Èfì yù no tro nàŋga prÌncès Hèlèna, yù no so kìsi mi kòndre.’ So na pikin tàjìi hèm papà, a taki, ‘Mì so du sàŋ yu wàni, èn go tro nàŋga prÌncès Hèlèna.’


So a bèn wàka, a bèn wàka wàŋ-tu déjì. A bèn mitì wàŋ ọru màma, bèn sidò’ na pasì furù nàŋga kràskràsì. A taki, ‘Mì màma,'
fa yu sidq' so? Dàn na mama piki hɛm, taki, 'Mi sükìn dc krasì mi. Mi wani wàŋ suma fó wasì hɛm gi mi.' ...  

_Bato! Mi ben dapɛ._

Baγɛ, baγɛ Lejɪmɑn,
Yu kom fó lej, lej doro,
Baγɛ, baγɛ Lejɪmɑn,
Yu ko' fó lej doro, Lejɪmɑn.

... A taki, 'A bɔn, mi mama, mi so wasi hɛm gi yu.' So a go na uni liba, a kusi watra, a wasi na mama sükìn. Di a kaba, dàn na mama taki hɛm tǎŋgi, a tajgi hɛm taki, 'Mi prɛns, yu du mi wàŋ bɔn, so mi wani lepi yu baka. Tu yuru moro yu so waka, dan yu dc kom na da pali fó na Konum Lejɪmɑn kɔndre. Dati na wàŋ tumusi hɔgri Konum.' Na prɛns piki hɛm taki, 'Na dapɛ mi musu go fó tro nàŋga prɛnsɛs Helena.' Na mama piki hɛm taki, 'Fó tro nàŋga prɛnsɛs Helena! Yu sabi homɛni mɑn na Konum bɛn kiri fó da prɛnsɛs hɛde? Na twenti na aŋt! Na prɛns bɛn skrejki dc a yere dati. A taki, 'Mi no sabi efu mi dc go dc da twenti na nejgi, ma mi habi fó du mi papa wani.' Na mama tajgi hɛm taki, 'Te yu dc go, yu so si da prɛnsɛs dc go kom na libasej kom swɛŋ. Te a puru ɛŋ krosi ɛŋ a saka go na uni watra, dàn yu dc teki hɛm krosi kibri. ɛŋ a dc go bari dɾi tɾɔ', 'Suma teki mi krosi, mek' a tyari ɛŋ gi mi, dàn mi so tro nàŋga hɛm', ma yu no mu tyar' hɛm go. Efù yu du dati hɛm papa dc go kiri yu. Ma tɛ yu no tyari hɛm go, dàn a dc go bari baka, taki, 'Na suma dɔsi so tyari mi krosi gi mi baka, a sa tɔ' mi mati te na dcde.' Dàn yu kɔn tyari hɛm go.' A taki, 'A bɔ.'

A taki na mama tǎŋgi. A teki hɛm pasi, a dc go. Di a waka so tɛ... a kisi na tu yuru, a miti Konum Lejɪmɑn kɔndre. So a tenapu na baka wàŋ bom na da libasej fó wakti te na prɛnsɛs so kom fó go wasi. Di a bɛn puru ɛŋ krosi, na prɛns bɛn go sa-afri ɛŋ a teki ɛŋ kibri.

Di na prɛnsɛs kaba wasi, a kom suku hɛm krosi, a no bɛn fenị hɛm. So a bari dɾi tɾɔ' so lejki fa da mama bɛn tajgi da prɛns, taki, 'Suma tyari mi krosi gi mi, mi sa tro nàŋga hɛm.' Dàn prɛns bɛn yere dati, ɛŋ bɛn hɔŋkiri tumusi fó tro nàŋga prɛnsɛs, so a bɛn wani ɠ' tyari na krosi go. Ma a bɛn ye re waŋ foru bari na loktu taki, 'Fa yu dc go las' yu libi!' So a hɔp' hɛm aj na loktu. A si na wàŋ raf na tapu na bom. Wànte a kisi hɛm srefi, a prakseri sà' na mama bɛn tajgi hɛm. D'a prakseri, a dc prakseri fa lɔbì fó dc

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, _Surinam folk-lore_
princes hédec meki a ben frigti wan tumusi fanodu sani. So a yere na princes bari baka dri tro', 'Suma tyari mi krosi gi mi, hém sa ta' mi mati te na dede.' So a lq' hesi hesi, a tyari da krosi gi da princes. Di na princes weeri na krosi, a taki, 'Yonkumân, sâng tyari yu kq' dia na mi papa kon dre? Yu sabi-taki mi papa na wan tumusi hogri Konum. Ma ala sani sâng a dé go du, mi dé si na fesi.' Na princes piki hém taki, 'Mi kom na Konum Lejman kon dre bikasi mi horu papa dé wan Konum tu; a sâni mi fô kom tro nangga na princes Helena.' Na princes ben taijì hém taki, a taki, 'Bifos' yu tro nangga mi, kan dé yu papa dede. Efù no so, yu dede, bikasi mi papa dé go gi yu someni wroko, en efù yu no kâng du den wroko, dâng yu dé go dede.' A taki, 'Ma mi promisi yu taki, yu sa ta' mi mati te na dede. So meki mi sa ëpè yu fô yu kâng wni mi papa hati.'

So den teki pasi fô go na paleis fô Konum Lejman. Konum Lejman de na tapu hém barkôn nangga adyudanti. A si da princes den kom nangga wan tra suma. A taijì adyudanti wante, a taki, 'Wan yunjkumâng dé kom baka fô losi libi.' A taki, 'Bikasi nowan fô den wroko fô mi a so mañ du.' Di na yunjgmâng doro na uni na paleis fô da Konum, a ben taki odi moj. Konum pòti hém sidô', a hoksi hém sâng' a wani. A taki, 'Mi Konum, mi papa sâni mi fô kom na yu kon dre. Mi musu tro nangga princes Helena, en mi mu tyari hém go baka na mi papa kon dre.' Konum piki hém taki, 'Mi yunjkumâng, trobi no dé, ef' yu kâng du den wroko di mi so gi yu.' Taki, 'Tamara mamchîng yu mu fara na pisi busi dsi gi mi. Yu mu prani karu, na karu musu gro, en tamara mamchîng mi mus' habi karu bêdec fô hém na mi tafra.'

'A yunjkumâng ben skrejki doti na hém futu ben kom koru. Na hêri neti a dé prakseri. Na princes kom na hém, a taki, 'Sañ yu prakseri so?' A taki, 'Yu papa gi mi wân wroko doti mi no sabi fa mi so du ëñ.' Na Princes piki hém taki, 'Na laf sani na wroko di mi papa gi yu. Ef' yu habi wan sumi di kân fara na busi, mi dé prani na karu gi yu, mi de losu na karu bêde gi yu.' So na yunjkumâng kom prakseri hém srebinefi. A taki, 'A bô.' A taki hém srebinefi, taki, 'Mi srebinefi Kotifân', mek' mi taiji de.' Na srebinefi kòti ala bom na uni na busi, a trowe na grô. So na princes taiji hém taki, na fô wroko moro. A kâng go lidô' en sribi. 'Ala tra sani mi so du.'

'A yuruît' na Konum wejìi na mamchîng, a ben si da karu bêdec na tapu hém tafra, a ben skrejki. A taki, 'Na yunjkumâng disi sori lejki a wani prej nangga mi.' So a sâni kari hém. A taki, 'Yu du da wroko bô', ma dati na fosi wroko.' A taki hém, 'Tamara mamchîng-

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tɛ̨mmidɛgodianamɔfodɔro,dąnmihabitup'kin,disigeɛrsimakandralei̯kiwąn
dropuwatra.Dą'yumutai̯gimisort'wąnnafɔsiwąn.'Ataki,'Konum,waŋ hɛbi
wroko yu gi mi, ma mi so si ef' mi ƙaŋ du ƙɛm.'

Na neti na yụŋkumạnan bɛn ẹdọ', a bɛn prakseri ageiịn fa ẹn go du dsi wroko, bikasi
a no bɛn si den tu sisa src'-srcfi yɛtc. So a ẹdọ' a prakseri, a prakseri. Na prńnces
kom na ƙɛm baka. A taki, 'Yu ɗe so sari, ɗan ɗe fọ du naŋga yu?' Na yụŋkumạna piki
ɛm taki,'M'i ƙribi tamara yu papa a i go kiri mi, bikasi mi no si den sisa src'-srcfi
yɛtc, fa mi de go sabi sortu waŋ na fosi waŋ? Dę' geomisi makandra lejki tu drapu
waṭra.' Prńnces taki, 'Na laŋ sani na wroko di mi papa gi yu.' A taki, 'Tamara
mamentɛm, te den tu sisa tɛnụpụ 'a sej makandra, ɗan yu luku bọn, ɗan yu so si
wan fẹ́rẹ́-fẹ́rẹ́. Ẹn go ẹrẹ́ dri ọtọ́ ọntu. Da' i go sakọ sidọ' na tapu ẹn letẹ́lẹ́ yesi. A i go
sek' ẹn hɛdɔ fa 'a ẹrẹ́-ẹrẹ́ gowẹ́. Ma a n'e gọ gowẹ́. Dati na fosi pigik.' So na
yụŋkumạna bɛn tak' na prńnces tǎngi, a go sribi.

Tamara mamẹñtɛm frku na Konum naŋga den tu pikin bɛn tɛnụpụ na mofo doro
naŋga ala soldaị ọntu, naŋga gọ'. Ef' na yụŋkumạna no sab' du na wroko, wẹntọ́g
den sa kiri ɛm. Ma ef' a du ẹn, ɗan a so tro naŋga Konum p'kin. So na yụŋkumạna
kom, a luku, a si den tu sisa ala tu ọgẹ́rẹ́ makandra. A taki, 'Konum, na wroko dsi,
ɛfu mi no bɛn ɗe waŋ koni mɛn, mi no ọdọ́kọ́ mi so puru ɛm.' So a luku, a si na
fẹ́rẹ́ fẹ́rẹ́ ọntu, si a sidọ' na letẹ́lẹ́ yesi. Na prńnces a seki ẹn hɛdɔ fọ na fẹ́rẹ́ fẹ́rẹ́
gowẹ́, ma a no bɛn go, a bɛn ẹdọ'. So na yụŋkumạna waka go na fesi. A fas' na
prńnces na tapu ɛm skoru, a taki, 'Konum, na dsi na di fosi waŋ.' Nọ, Konum skẹ́jiki.
A taki, 'Fa yu du sabi, yu mu gi mi waŋ marki taki na so a dɛ́. A taki Konum, 'Luku
na tapu na letẹ́lẹ́ yesi. Yu si na fẹ́rẹ́-fẹ́rẹ́ sidọ́ dape? En dọ́ti na marki.' Na Konum
taki, 'Yu wii ageiịn, ɛn tamara yu so tro naŋga prńnces Hɛlẹ́n.'

Ma neti, fosi na prńnc go dide', prńnces kom na ɛm, a taki, 'Luku! Ef' mi no bɛn si
sani na fesi, ɗan tidd net' srci yu so dcdc. Ma kọ' na ụnị yu kamera, mi sa sori yu waŋ
sani.' A yụrtem den go na ụnị na kamera, na prńnces teki waŋ pisị bron-wudu, a taki,
'Da' yu luku, da' yu so si fa yu bɛn de go dcdc.' A tek' na bron-wudu, a trowe na tapu
na bcdc. So, blam! na heri matrasa dẹ́rẹ́, en na wudu fadọ' na ụnị waŋ bigi kapu naŋga
bori waṭra. Na prńnces taki, 'Na baka ala den sani dsi wi no kan tẹ́ mọrọ. Yu musu
ọ' wẹ́ gowẹ́.'

'A yuru te na prńnc naŋga prńnces komopo na ọnọdọ́ gowẹ́, na Konum bɛn habi
waŋ kakaforu, dsi bɛn de lụkumạna en wakimẹ́n

So den kom doro na na prëns papa kondrë. Dän den hori bigi trohosos. È’ mi srcfi tu bënj de, ç’ mi dânsi bandamba.
There was once a king who had a son. When he was already grown and his father grew old, he said to the son, ‘My child, see I am old already, so you must take over the kingdom. But first you must go to the kingdom of King Leiman and marry Helena and bring her here.’ So the son answered his father, he said, ‘You have given me too difficult a task, because King Leiman is a very evil King.’ The father said to his son, he said, ‘If you do not marry princess Helena you will not inherit the kingdom.’ So the boy said to his father, he said, ‘I shall do your bidding and go marry the princess Helena.’

The next morning the prince took his bag and packed it with *dokun.* He said good-by to his father and he went on his way. As he walked so till... he came upon two small boys who were fighting. He said, ‘Boys, why do you fight?’ They said, ‘We are fighting for this razor, because this is the one thing our dead father left. He wants it, and I want it, too.’ The prince said, ‘Do not fight any more. Sell it to me and I will give you money.’ They said, ‘All right. Then both of us can get something’. When the prince paid them the money, he took the razor and walked away a short distance. But he studied that the razor must have some value, otherwise the boys would not have fought for it. So he called the boys, and he said, ‘Boys, I bought the razor, but you did not tell me what it does.’ The boys said, ‘When you are in distress, if you say “My razor Kotifan”, then you yourself shall see.’

He took to the road again and went away. As he walked so till... he met two boys again. They were fighting for a hunting sack. He said, ‘Boys, why are you fighting?’ The boys answered him, said, ‘We are fighting on account of this sack, because it is the one thing our father left us when he died. We both want it.’ So we are fighting. Whoever kills the other will take it, because it is valuable.’ So he said, ‘Boys, do not fight any more, but sell the sack to me. I will pay you well.’ The boys were glad to get the money, so they sold the sack to the prince. The prince said, ‘Boys, what value has this sack?’ The boys answered him, said, ‘If a man shoots a gun at you and you say “Sack catch!” then all the bullets will go into the sack.’ The prince was happy because he said, ‘I shall need this in King Leiman's kingdom.’

So he walked and he walked several days. He came upon an old woman who was covered with sores sitting in the road. He said,
'Mother, why do you sit so?' Then the old woman answered him, said, 'My body itches. I want someone to wash it for me.' ...

_Bato! I was there._

_Bage, Bage Leiman,_
_You come to guess, guess elsewhere,_
_Bage, Bage Leiman,_
_You come to guess elsewhere, Leiman._

... He said, 'All right, mother, I will wash it for you.' So he went to the river and fetched water with which to wash the old woman's body. When he finished, the old woman thanked him, and said to him, said, 'Prince, you did me a good service, so I will help you in return. You will walk two hours longer, and then you will come to the border of the kingdom of King Leiman. That is a very evil King.' The prince answered her, said, 'There I must go to marry princess Helena.' The old woman answered him, said, 'To marry princess Helena! Do you know how many men have been killed for the sake of the princess? Twenty-eight!' The prince was frightened when he heard this. He said, 'I do not know if I am going to be the twenty-ninth, but I must do my father's bidding.' The old woman said to him, said, 'When you go you will see the princess coming to the river to swim. When she removes her clothes and goes in the water, then you take the clothes and hide them. And she will call out three times, "Let the person who took my clothes bring them to me, and I will marry him", but you must not take them. If you do that, her father will kill you. But when you do not take them, then she will call again, say, "The person who will return my clothes will be my friend until death", and then you can take them to her.' He said, 'All right.'

He thanked the old woman. He took to the road, and went away. When he walked until the two hours were up, he came to the kingdom of King Leiman. So he stood behind a tree near the river bank to wait until the princess should come to bathe. When she removed her clothes, the prince went stealthily and took them and hid them.

When the princess finished bathing, she came to look for her clothes, and did not find them. So she called out three times, just as the old woman had told the prince, she said, 'The person who brings my clothes, I will marry him.' The prince heard this, and he longed very much to marry the princess, so he wanted to run and take the clothes. But he heard a bird in the air say, 'How you are going to lose your life!' So he lifted his eyes, and he saw a macaw in the tree-top. Immediately he controlled himself. He
studied what the old woman had told him. Then he studied and he studied, how for
the sake of his love for the princess he forgot so important a thing. So he heard the
princess call again three times, ‘The person who will return my clothes will be my
friend until death.’ So he ran quickly and brought the clothes to the princess. When
the princess was dressed, she said, ‘Young man, what brought you here to my
father’s kingdom? You know that my father is a very evil King. But all the things that
he is going to do, I foresee.’ The prince said to her, said, ‘I come to King Leiman’s
kingdom because my old father is a King, too; and he sent me to marry the princess
Helena.’ The princess said to him, she said, ‘Before you marry me perhaps your
father will be dead. Or else you will die, because my father is going to give you many
tasks, and if you cannot do the tasks, then you are going to die.’ She said, ‘But I
promised you that you will remain my friend until death. So let me help you so that
you may win my father’s heart.’

So they took the road which led to the palace of King Leiman. King Leiman was
on the balcony with his adjutants. He saw the princess coming with another person.
At once he said to his adjutants, he said, ‘Another young man comes to lose his
life.’ He said, ‘Because not a single of my tasks will he be able to do.’ When the
young man arrived at the palace of the King, he spoke his greeting politely. The
King had him sit down, and he asked him what he wished. He said, ‘King, my father
sent me to your kingdom. I must marry the princess Helena, and I must take her
back to my father’s kingdom.’ The King answered him, said, ‘Young man, there is
no difficulty, if you can do the tasks which I will set for you.’ Said, ‘Tomorrow morning
you must cut this piece of bush for me. You must plant corn, the corn must grow,
and tomorrow morning you must have corn bread from it on my table.’

The young man was so frightened that his feet became cold. All night he studied.
The princess came to him, and she said, ‘What are you studying about?’ He said,
‘Your father gave me a task, and I do not know how I shall do it.’ The princess
answered him, said, ‘The task which my father gave you is a silly thing. If you have
someone who can cut the bush, I will plant the corn for you, and bake the corn
bread.’ So the young man came to study (about) his razor. He said, ‘All right.’ He
said to his razor, said, ‘My razor Kotifan’, let what I say happen.’ The razor cut all
the trees in the bush, and threw them to the ground. So the princess said to him,
said, he had no more work to do. He could go lie down and sleep. ‘All other things
I will do.’

When the King awoke in the morning¹, he saw the corn bread on the table. He
was frightened. He said, ‘This young man is acting as though he wants to play with
me.’ So he sent to call him. He said. ‘You did that task well, but that is the first task.’
He said

¹ Lit., ‘At the hour time...’
to him, ‘Tomorrow morning I am going to be here in the doorway, then I have two children who resemble each other like a drop of water. Then you must tell me which is the first one.’ He said, ‘King, you set me a heavy task, but I will see if I can do it.’

At night the young man sat down, and he studied again how he was going to do this work, because as yet he had not even seen the two sisters. So he sat down, and he studied, and studied. The princess came to him again. She said, ‘You are so sad, what is troubling you?’ The young man answered her, said, ‘I believe tomorrow your father is going to kill me, because I haven't even seen the sisters yet, and how am I going to know which is the first one? They resemble each other like two drops of water.’ The princess said, ‘The task my father gave you is a silly thing.’ She said, ‘Tomorrow morning when the two sisters stand together side by side, then you look carefully and you will see a fly.\(^1\) It is going to fly around three times. Then it will sit down on the right ear. She will shake her head for the fly to go away. But it will not go away. That one is the first child.’ So the young man thanked the princess and he went to sleep.

Early the next morning the King and his two children stood in the doorway with all the soldiers armed with guns. If the young man does not know how to do the task, they will kill him at once. But if he does it, then he will marry the King's daughter. So the young man came, he looked and he saw the two sisters who resembled each other. He said, ‘King, if I were not so wise a man, I do not believe I could guess it.’ So he looked and he saw a fly fly around, and settle on the right ear. The princess shook her head for the fly to go away, but it did not go, it stayed there. So the young man came forward.\(^2\) He touched the princess on the shoulder and he said, ‘King, this is the first one.’ Now the King was frightened. He said, ‘How do you know? You must give me a sign that this is so.’ He said to the King, ‘Look on top of the right ear. You see that fly sitting there? That is the sign.’ The King said, ‘You win again, and tomorrow you will marry the princess Helena.’

But at night, before the prince went to lie down, the princess came to him, and she said, ‘Look! If I did not foresee things, then this very night you would die. But come to your room and I will show you something.’ When they went into the room, the princess took a piece of firewood, and she said, ‘Then look and you will see how you would have died.’ She took the firewood and threw it on the bed. So, blam! the entire mattress turned over, and the wood fell into a large kettle of boiling water. The princess said, ‘After all these things we cannot remain any longer. You must run away.’

When the prince and princess were leaving the kingdom, the King had a cock who was the diviner and guardian of the kingdom. The

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1 Example of noun formed by duplication, i.e., frej-frej, fly; frej, to fly.
2 Lit., ‘So the young man walk come the face.’
cock called three times ‘Ko-ko-dia-ko. Someone’s children are escaping.’ The King jumped up from his sleeping place. He knew what happened. He said, ‘Helena is gone.’ He called for soldiers to run and catch them. When they ran after the prince, the King and his wife were there, too. They told the soldiers to shoot the prince and kill him. As they aimed, he called out to his sack, he said, ‘My sack, catch!’ All the bullets that they shot went into the sack. The soldiers ran after them. When they came to a small creek they could not cross. The prince said, ‘What are we going to do? They are going to catch us!’ The princess said, ‘That is a silly thing. Wait, let us jump into the water.’ When they jumped in the water, they at once changed into two ducklings. When the King came to the creek he saw the two ducklings swimming about. He said to the soldiers, said, ‘Catch these ducklings for me. They are good to raise in the yard.’ As the soldiers stretched out their hands to catch the ducklings, they immediately turned into two white macaws. They flew away.

So they reached the kingdom of the prince’s father. Then they held a big wedding. And I myself was there, too, and I danced bandamba.¹

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¹ This is danced principally at weddings and ceremonies at the birth of twins and the breaking of mourning. The dance is a rhythmic manipulation of the muscles of the buttocks, hips and abdomen.

...

Mi tɔri so go nəŋga pɛsirir mokɔi-molyon, nəŋga shuba-shuba. Krip-krap, tibri wəŋ mən na mbiri hɛm krapa.

Er tin, tin!

We, mi mən, mi ɣere na tɔri...

Dəŋ di deŋ p'kin dc kɔm, dəŋ 'a mən kɔm skreiki, dəŋ a taki 'a ʊmə taki, 'Mi mama, mi 'tɛ gowɛ mit' deŋ p'kin fɔ yu 'af pəsi.' Dəŋ a mit' deŋ p'kin 'af pəsi. Den gi hɛm wəŋ asaŋ fɔ ɛŋ tyari, ma a no məŋ. So deŋ p'kin teki na asaŋ, den kom doro na hoso. Dəŋ deŋ oksi hɛm mama, 'Mi mama, suma na boî disi? Dəŋ a i taki, 'Wəŋ p'kin dc paso, a i kɔm bɛg' mi fɔ a sři bi ɗja. Tamara a i gowɛ.'

Ma di deŋ kris na asaŋ kaba, dəŋ deŋ bori. Dəŋ deŋ gi Sambakala wəŋ preti nanyəm. Dəŋ Sambakala a nyan nəŋga so-ɬŋga sri forku. Ma di Sambakala nyan nəŋga na sri forku, na forku a musi, a tek' na mən, a suṭu hɛm na ʌni hɛm mofo. A bigun fɔ kaŋ hɛm. Dəŋ ɛŋ mama lɔŋ' fɔ hari hɛm puru.

Dəŋ, di gə' go dĩdəq, dəŋ na mama ʨiŋi hɛm, taki, 'Twalfu yuru 'a neti yu mu' opo gowɛ. Twalfu yuru na neti, den srefi so opo fɔ go hɔnti. Dəŋ, ef' den kisi yu, den go nyan yu.' Dəŋ na mama gi hɛm dri ɛgəsi. Dəŋ na mama ʨiŋi hɛm, taki, 'Tok deŋ go waka na yu baka, dəŋ te yu si den a i kɔm a yu baka, dəŋ yu nak' wəŋ ɛksi a ɡɾəq', dəŋ yu taki, "Egəsi, səŋ yu mama bɛn ʨiŋi yu?"

A du so. Nɔ mə, wəŋ bəŋi sej komopo. Dəŋ na məŋ gowɛ te na hoso, go teki wəŋ kɾoître ɲəŋga skopu, a i tyar' dɔti go tapu na sej. Dəŋ di deŋ məŋ tapu na sej, dəŋ a i lɔ' na hɛm baka baka. Dəŋ na məŋ naki na ɛgəsi 'a gɾəŋ, a taki hɛm, ʨiŋi, 'Egəsi, səŋ mə mama bɛn ʨiŋi yu?' Wantrəq, wəŋ bəŋi fajya, bəŋi moʁi lejki wəŋ heri konder, komopo. Dəŋ i məŋ go tɛ na hoso, go teki wəŋ bran-spoiti fɔ kiri na fajya, en tɛ a kiri na fajya a lɔ' na hɛm baka.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
In early times a man and his wife lived on a plantation. Then he went about troubling men and women. He was the strongest man on the plantation. Then he took the name of 'Brother None-Surpasses'. Then one day he said to his wife, said, let her cook seven dokun for him. Then he went to another place, and he troubled the people. Then, as he went so till... then he met a woman. Then as he went, he said to the woman, 'Howdo.' Then the woman asked him, 'What is your name?' Then he said his name was Brother None-Surpasses. Then the woman said to him, she said, 'You are joking. There are men who do surpass you.'

Well, now the woman said, 'Look, I have two sons. One is called Sambakala. One is called Brangbo.' And the two sons of this woman were hunters. They hunted elephants. Then this woman’s sons, if they went to hunt, they went from here till Nickerie, then when they came they wore iron shoes. Then when they (the shoes) cried, 'Bing, bang, Sambakala', then they were far away, but

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2 Told by 5. Compare Senegal (Mandingo), Zeltner 4-5, (Malinké), Zeltner 89-90; Sudan (Gourmantie), Equilbecq ii, 53-58, (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 477-478, fable No. 77; Sierra Leone (Mende), Migeod (I) 206-208, No. 4, Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 123-128, No. 22, (Ashanti), Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS No. A2; Togo, Cardinalli 129, (Dagomba), Cardinalli 249; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 71; Hausa, Tremeanne (III) 344, No. 66; Gabun, Nassau (I) 74-76, Mpongwe No. 15; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 71-73, No. 18, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 45-6, No. 32, No. 33, 48-49, No. 34 I and II, 51-52, No. 36 I; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 53-55, No. 26 III-IV, 55, No. 27 i, 59, No. 27 II; Santo Domingo, Andrade 82-83, No. 54; Brazil, Eells 159-161, No. 15. Comparative, Bolte u. Polivka, ii, 140-146, No. 79. Another Suriname version, identical with our own Ashanti tale (No. A2), is found in Van Cappelle 353-358, No. 29.

3 Paramaribo.

4 A town on the border of British Guiana.
you heard it here. Of these men, the elder brother, Brangibo, was forty feet tall, the younger one was thirty feet tall. That one was Sambakala. When they went hunting, they went away in the morning at five o'clock, then they were back at home at seven o'clock at night. They went to Nickerie, and they arrived home the same day. And every day this is what they did, they got perhaps seven or eight elephants, and they ate all of them at once. Buffalo they did not want. Buffalo were too small. Tigers they did not want. Elephants only.

... My story will go on pleasantly with moksi-molyon, with huba-shuba.¹
  Krip-krap, everyone in his place.
  Er tin, tin!
  Well, my man, I am listening to the story...

Then when the sons were coming, then the man became afraid. And he said to the woman, he said, ‘Mother, I am going to meet your sons half way.’ Then he met the sons half way. They gave him an elephant to carry, but he could not (do it). So the sons took the elephant, and they arrived home. Then they asked their mother, ‘Mother, who is this boy?’ Then she said, ‘He is a child who was passing by, he came to ask me if he could sleep here. Tomorrow he is going away.’

But when they finished cleaning the elephants, then they cooked them. Then they gave Sambakala a plate of food. Then Sambakala ate with an iron fork so long (showing about three feet). But while Sambakala was eating with the iron fork, the fork slipped and he took up the man, and shot him into his mouth. He began to chew him. Then his mother ran to pull him (the stranger) out.²

Then, when they went to lie down, then the mother said to him, said, ‘Twelve o'clock at night you must get up, and go away. Twelve o'clock at night, they themselves will get up to go hunting, Then, if they catch you, they will eat you.’ Then the mother gave him three eggs. Then the mother said to him, said, ‘Even though they should come after you, then when you see them coming after you, then you throw an egg on the ground, and then you say, “Egg, what did your mother tell you”?’

He did this. At once a big sea appeared. Then the men went back home to take a wheelbarrow and a shovel, and they took earth with which to fill in the sea. Then, when the men had filled in the sea, then they ran after him again. Then the man threw the egg on the ground, and he said to it, said, ‘Egg, what did my mother tell you?’ At once a great fire, greater than an entire kingdom, appeared. Then the men went home to take a fire-hose with which to put out the

¹ These expressions are untranslatable. They are all said to mean great pleasure.
² Lit., ‘Then he mother run for haul he pull.’
fire,' and when they had put out the fire, they ran after him. Then the other one threw another egg on the ground. He said, ‘My egg, my egg, what did my mother tell you?’ Then a kind of bush sprang up in front of the men, nothing but thorns. Then the men went back to take machetes and hoes. Then the men struck down all the thorns, and found the path, and ran after him again.

So, as they ran after him, the man reached a large city. Then they could not run after him any more. Then they said, ‘All right, boy, go. We missed you.’ When he went home now, then he said to his wife, said, ‘Yes, wife, you are right. There are indeed’ men who are more than I am.’ Then never again did he trouble other people.

106. Man fasi.

Wą' ma' bcn dc 'a bcn dęŋki a dc moro bɛtɛ lejki ala tra mąn. A 'abi wąn tutu. Na ala dej a dc bro na tutu, na tutu dc piki, 'Mi na mą' moro ala mąn. 'Da' ġə frô dc tajg' gi em, taki, ‘Yu no mu’ brô na tutu so.'

Wą' dej di a pre 'a tutu, a yɛr wą' tra tutu brô tajki, ‘Mąn dc moro mąn.’ Dąn a komopo fô go luku pe na tutu brô. A waka so te ... a go mit' wąn grąn-misi. Dàn na grąn-misi tajg' ć taki, ‘Yu mu' gowc. Ėfu yu tą' dia tc den piki' fô mi kɔ', dàn dę' go kiri yu.' Ma a bęgi na grą'-misi tajgi, mek' a kibri ġə. Dą' na grą'-misi kibri ġə.

Di na fọs' piki' kɔ' na bakadina, a tyari tịn bofru kom. Na tra wą' kom, a tyari tịn sak' alejsi. Na tra wąn tyari fo' saka saụtọ. Ma di den bori, den nỳan, da' na mama tajg' dcm, taki, ‘Yu no sabi taki ụn bcn habi wàn brada, ma a no bcn tą' dia.’ Dàn cm tajki, ‘Kaba yu no bcn tajki wi noiți?’ A taki, ‘Mi bcn sari fō tajg' ụn.’ Dàn a taki, ‘We, Ėfu mi meki ụn si ġə, sa' u' so du nàŋgà ġə?’ Den tajgi, ‘Wi só prsiri nàŋgà ġə.’ Dị na mama meki ģ' kɔ', na fosi wàn teki ġ', a fàŋgi ģ' go na loktu. Dị a 'c fàdọ', na tra wà' fàŋgà ġə, a fàŋgi ģ' baka. Dị a i fàdọ' baka, na tra wàn fàŋgà ġə, dàn a fàŋgi ġə go baka. Dàn a fàdọ' na grọ'. No mo a taki, 'aj, a no mi wàwan na màn. Màn dc moro màn.'

Dàn a go na 'oso, a tajg' ġə frô sa' pasa. Dà' na umà tajg' ġə taki, ‘Tc sapakara tere kɔti, wàntron a dc feni olō.'

106. Giants Cure Boastfulness.3

There was a man who thought he was better than all other men. He had a trumpet. Every day he blew his trumpet, and the trumpet said, ‘I am the man who surpasses all men.’ Then his wife said to him, said, ‘You must not blow the trumpet so.’

One day, as he was blowing his trumpet, he heard another trumpet blow, saying, ‘Man surpasses man.’ Then he came out to go and see where the trumpet was being blown. He walked so till... he met an old woman. Then the old woman said to him, ‘You must go away. If you remain here, when my children come they are going to kill you.’ But he begged the old woman, he said, let her hide him. Then the old woman hid him.

1 Lit., ‘to kill the fire’.
2 Lit., ‘true-true’.
3 Told by 1. Compare Sudan (Bambara), Travélè 118-123, No. 45, (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 492-493, fable No. 93, (Hausa), Rattray (IV) 210-230, No. 12.
When the first child came in the afternoon he brought ten buffaloes. The other came, he brought ten sacks of rice. The other brought four sacks of salt. But when they had cooked they ate. Then the mother said to them, said, ‘You do not know that you have a brother, but he has not been living here.’ Then they said, ‘Why have you never told us?’ She said, ‘I was too sad to tell you.’ Then she said, ‘Well, if I let you see him, what will you do with him?’ They said, ‘We shall rejoice with him.’ When the mother had him come, the first one took him and tossed him up in the air. When he fell down the other caught him and tossed him again. When he fell down again the other one caught him, then he tossed him again. Then he fell to the ground. At once he said, ‘Yes, I am not the only one who is a man. Man surpasses man.’

Then he went home, and he told his wife what had happened. Then the wife said to him, said, ‘When Salamander's tail is cut off, he immediately finds a hole (in which to hide).’

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
107.

Te wą' mą' no sabi naki na poku, a taki 'a poku n'e bön.

Wą' mən go luku wən dənsi, ma di də i dənsi, dan nə mo a i təjəg dəm trawən taki, na poku no dəm nak' bə'. Ma na poku bən de naki bə'. Ma na suma di bən naki 'a poku yəre sən a taki, dan a kari həm a taki, 'Mı də go luku wą' sani, kom naki pikinso gi mi.' Ma di a go, dan den suma no mən fə dənsi, bika' a no də naki na poku bə'. Di na suma di bən de naki na poku kom, a taki, 'Wə, baya, fa a de nə mo na mən taki na poku no bə', ma a no bən sabi fə naki həm?' Dən na trawən bən wani fə firi həm; na doti meki a bən kəl həm kom naki na poku.
107. The Boastful Drummer.¹

*When a man does not know how to play the drum, he says the drum is not good.*

A man went to watch a dance, but when they were dancing, then he at once said to the others, said, the drum was not being played well. But the drum was being played well. But the man who was playing the drum heard what he said, and he called to him and he said, 'I am going to look for something, come and play a little for me.' But when he went, then the people could not dance, because he did not play the drum well. When the man who had been playing the drum came, he said, 'Well brother, how is it that the man said the drumming was not good, but he does not know (how) to play it?' [For] the other had wanted to test him; that was why he had called him to come and play the drum.

108.

Wą maŋ bɛng dɛ. A go wroko na wɛn presi. Dən di a go 'a wroko, na maŋ tajg' hɛm takì, 'Mi 'e go tajg' yu tu sani; kʊbri ju hatibrɔŋ fɔ tamara, ala səŋ' yu aji si, yu no mu takì.'

Bfɔsi na maŋ bɛng gowɛ a bɛŋ lìbi ɛŋ wefì. A no bɛŋ habi pikìn. Dən na maŋ təŋ laŋga. Ma di a kom na hoso, dən a mìtì wɛn maŋ na tapu ɛŋ bɛdi. A puru ɛŋ refolfer fɔ sùtù na maŋ, ma bifo a sùtù hɛm, a məmbre sə' na maŋ a taki hɛm: 'Kʊbri ju hatibrɔŋ fɔ tamara.' Dən a no sùtù hɛm. A no bɛŋ sabi taki na ɛŋ pikìn bɛŋ kom bìgi so. Bifo' a gowɛ' na umɑ bɛŋ təŋ nàŋga bɛre, çn na ɛŋ pikìn bɛŋ kom bìgi so. ɛf' a bɛŋ sùtù, na ɛŋ sɛfì pikìn a i go sùtù.

Dətì məkì a bɔ' fɔ yɛrɛ suma di taki, 'Kʊbri hatibrɔŋ fɔ tamara,' məkì a no sùtù na pikìn kiri.

108. 'Hide Anger 'til Tomorrow'.²

There was a man. He was going to a certain place to work. Then when he was going to work, the man said to him, said, 'I am going to tell you two things; hide your anger until tomorrow, and all that your eyes see you must not tell.'

Before the man went away he left his wife. He had no child. Then the man remained away for a long time. But when he came home, then he found a man on his bed. He drew his revolver to shoot the man, but before he shot at him, he recalled what the man had said to him: 'Hide your anger until tomorrow.' Then he did not shoot him. He did not know that his child had grown so big. Before he went his wife had been with child, and his child had since grown so. If he had shot, he would have shot his own child.

That is why it is well to listen to a person who says, 'Hide your anger until tomorrow,' for that is why he did not shoot and kill his child.

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¹ Told by 1.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
Wän boi bëm dé. A bën dë'. Ëŋ papa krut’ näŋ’ ëŋ ala déj fò na dë' fëŋ. Ma sò wà' suma kòn taj’ gi ëŋ p’pa, taki, mek' a sëni cëm göwe, go waka, somtë a sa frandra.

Na papa gi' ëŋ moni, mek' a gowë. Di a gò 'a pasi, a mit' wà' mà', nàŋga wà' futu. Aks' a màn taki, 'Sà' yu du djà?' Na màn

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
109. One-foot, Big-ears, Broad-back, Wide-mouth.³

There was a boy. He was stupid. His father admonished him every day about his stupidity. But a certain person came to tell his father, he said, let him send him away to travel, and perhaps he will change. The father gave him money and had him go away. When he went on his way, he met a one-footed man. Asked the man, he said,

³ Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone (Temne), Thomas (V) 10-14; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 399-400, No. 23; Sudan (Hausa), Equilbecq ii, 171-179; Lamba, Doke 151, No. 77; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 130-131, No. 146; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 32-33, No. 20 I and II; Santo Domingo, Andrade 93-96, No. 63 and No. 64. Comparative, Bolte u. Polivka, ii, 79-96, No. 71, iii, 84-85, No. 134.
‘What are you doing here?’ The man said, ‘I travel like an arrow which comes from a bow.’ He said, ‘I will hire you. Come work for me.’ They went away together.

He met another man farther along the path. His ears were as big as a parasol. He said, ‘What do you do?’ The man said, ‘If I put one of my ears to the ground, I hear everything that is said on the earth.’ He said, ‘Don’t you want me to hire you?’ The man said, ‘All right.’ They went away together.

He traveled so till... he met another man. The man’s back was as broad as a table. He said, ‘What are you doing here? Don’t you want me to hire you?’ The man said, ‘All right.’ He took him and went away.

He traveled so till... he came upon another man. The man’s mouth was wide as a kettle. He said, ‘Who are you?’ The man said, ‘I am Blow-hard.’ So he said, ‘Come, I will hire you.’

As they traveled so till... they came upon a country. They went to a hotel. They read a paper which said the King had a daughter; she did not want to marry. But she was a girl who could walk fast, so she said to her father if he found a man who could surpass her in walking then first would she marry. The first man whom the young man had hired, said, ‘I will race with her for you.’ The young man went to tell the King, to say he wanted to race with the girl. The King said, ‘All right, let them race.’

When they had finished racing, the man won from the girl, so she had to marry. But she begged her father, she said, if he could not ask the man to accept money not to marry her. When the King asked the man, he said, if he wanted money, he (the boy) said, ‘Yes, but as much as my workman can carry.’ The King said, ‘All right, let him come and take.’

When he went, they put a barrel of money on the man’s back. The man said, ‘Only this? Put on money!’ They put till they had put on all of the King’s money, but it did not trouble the man. Then the man bent his back to take the King’s whole house. When the King saw this he begged him, he said, ‘Leave that for me, I beg you.’ So then he left that for the King and he took away the money.

When they went away the King studied, he said, ‘This thing is not a good thing.’ But the man who had the big ears had already heard what the King said. So the King sent many soldiers to come and catch them. As they saw the soldiers coming, they were afraid. But Blow-hard said, ‘Do not be afraid, it is I who must work now.’ And so he began to blow a wind with his mouth. Trees fell down and killed the soldiers. So they came away.

When he reached his father’s house, he (the father) was astonished to see how so stupid a boy became so very wealthy. So, when you have a stupid child you must send him far away to have him learn experience. It is finished.

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1 Lit., ‘What you do is?’
110. Tu səm kək.


Na boi luku nọ pɛ dcɛm de wasi. Dan a go na smɛti, a mek' wən brant-marki isri. Dan di a mek' çị, a meki wə' moi bąŋgi. Dan a pɔtι çị drape, pɛ dcɛm dc wasi. Di den kom wasi, na fosi wə' 'go sidq' na tap' 'a bąŋgi, daŋ 'a sani bɔŋn çị. So den ala go sidq', en dcɛm ala kisi na marki fɔ na boi nem.


Na boi gɔ, a teki ala den sani di den bɛn 'abi na un' den bergi. So, fɔ sekṣtị sɛnt' bɛn meki na boi kom gudu.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
110. The Password: Branding-iron.¹

A boy was going to school, and his teacher was going to celebrate his birthday. But now, every year when his teacher celebrated his birthday, then he brought him a present. But now the teacher was going to have a birthday, and he asked his mother what she had to give him. The mother gave him sixteen cents. He bought a cock. Then, as he went along the road, he met robbers. Then the robbers tore the cock out of his hands. Then they went away. But now the boy followed them to see where they were going. The boy hid in a tree-top and he saw they were going to the top of a hillock. Then they said, ‘Hill, hill, open. Hill, hill, shut.’

The boy looked now where they were bathing. Then he went to a smith and he made a branding iron. Then when he made it, he (also) made a fine bench. Then he put it there where they washed. When they came to wash, the first one went to sit down on the bench, and the thing burnt him. So they all went and sat down, and they all got the mark of the boy's name.

Now then, the boy went to enter a charge at the courthouse, that his father had seven slaves who had run away. Then they had police go about to search for the slaves. When they caught them, they asked the boy, they said, what kind of proof had he to show that these men were his slaves. The boy said, ‘They all have my father's name on their backside.’ And the robbers said, ‘He lies. When have we ever been your father's slaves? Look, you are such a small boy, and you say we are your slaves!’ But, when they went to the courthouse, they removed their clothes, and they examined them, and all of them had the brand on their bodies. So they locked them up.

The boy went, and he took all the things they had inside the hill. So, sixteen cents caused the boy to grow rich.

111.

Koleria bɛn go na buťi-pasi, go baj awari. Wąn wiwiri fasi hɛm na ć ndro-koto. Nō mō a buku đũn fō puru hɛm, nō mō wān suma taki hɛm taki, 'No puru hɛm, bikasi na safri-wiri a dɛ, drɛsi hati-sɔro.'

111. The Leaf that Talked.²

Koleria³ was on her way to buy awari. A leaf caught under her skirt. As she bent down to remove it, all at once someone said to her, ‘Don’t remove it, because the delicate leaf is a cure for heartache.’

1 Told by 1. Compare Senegal, Zeltner 70-72, ‘Histoire de Koli’; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 395-397, No. 21, (Gola), ibid., 498-499, No. 29; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 277-278, Guru No. 12; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS. No. A 8; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS. No. 46, No. 109; Hausa, Tremeaune (III) 211-212, No. 14; Nigeria (Yoruba), Bassett 217-220, No. 90 (from Ellis I, 271-274, Tortoise No. 6), Bouche 223-224, Parkinson 180-181, No. 9; Gabun (Batanga) Nassau (III) 358-367, No. 5; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 36, No. 22; I; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 21, No. 17d, 129, No. 100; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 5-6, No. 4 and II; Santo Domingo, Andrade 193-197, Nos. 144-147. Comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, iii, 137-145, No. 142A, Parsons (V), for ‘password’ theme.

2 Told by 8.

3 Informant said this was a true story relating to a market woman, and that the voice speaking was the voice of a friendly male yɔrka, i.e., ghost.
112.

Wan umą bèn dè, a bèn habì çη masra. Ma a bèn dè wan pranasi umą. Wè, dàn çη masra bèn dè na busì, dàn habì wan tra masra.
Ma di na masra kom na foto, dan ‘a tra masra tajig’ hɛm taki, ‘Ef’ yu lobi mi, yu mu mek’ mi kom sribi na yu hoso.’ Dan a tajigi na man taki, ‘A bo’. Mi masra dc na foto, na mi go mek’ yu kom. Mi dc go weri wan koto nanja yaki fɔ mi gi yu, dan mi dc go tajig mi masra taki yu na mi sisa fɔ pranasi.’ Dan di a weri na koto gi ɛŋ, neti dan a kom drape. Da’ na umą tajigi ɛŋ masra taki na wan sisa fɔ ɛŋ.

Dan neti dcen go sribi. Ma mamantɛm na umą go na wowoyo bika’ a bɛn de seri sani. Dan na man lid’ na sodro. Ma di na mas’a fɔ na umą si a no dc saka kom na gron, dan a go luku, dan a si na wan man suma. Dan na man hatibrɔn. Dan a tek’ wan tki łon kom na wowoyo na na umą tapu. Ma di na umą si a dc kom, dan na umą tek’ wan pis’ papira, dan a lesi, dan a di kreqi. Dan, di na man kom, a taki, ‘San du yu?’ Da’ a tajigi na wan taki, ‘Hm! dyonsro mi kts’ wan brejfi, ala mi sisa na pranasi tro’ man suma.’ Dan na man taki, ‘Den no lej, bikasi na wan di kom sribi nanja yeserdej neti, dati srcfis tro’ wan man suma.’ Ma na man n’e sabi fɔ lejisi. Dati meki na umą kis’ ɛŋ nanja so wən trki.

_Odo:_ Suma pikin a no yu pikin.
Sribi na dcdc.
Umą kir’ man.

112. Unfaithful Wife: the Letter Trick.⁴

There was a woman who had a husband. But she was a plantation woman. Well, then her husband was in the bush, and she had

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⁴ Told by 1. This story corresponds in point, though not in the incidents that go to make the plot, to numerous tales found in New World Negro collections, an example of which is Parsons (III) 77–82, Nos. 36–38.

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another man. But when her husband went to the city, then the other man said to her, said, ‘If you love me, you must let me come sleep in your house.’ Then she said to the man, said, ‘All right. My husband is in the city, I will let you come. I am going to dress you in one of my skirts and blouses, and I am going to tell my husband that you are my sister from the plantation.’ Then when she dressed him in the dress, then that night he came there. And the woman told her husband this was her sister.

Then at night they went to sleep. But in the morning the woman went to the market because she sold things. Then the man lay down upstairs. But when the woman’s husband saw she did not come down, then he went to look, and he saw a man. Then the man was angry. He took a stick and came running to the market toward the woman. But when the woman saw him coming, then the woman took a piece of paper, then she read and cried. Then, when the man came he said, ‘What are you doing?’ Then she spoke [made up] a speech. ‘Hm! I just received a letter that all my sisters on the plantation have changed into men.’ Then the man said, ‘They do not lie, because the one who came to sleep with you last night, that one, too, changed into a man.’ But the man did not know how to read. That is why the woman deceived him with such a trick.

Proverb: Another's child is not your child.
Sleep is death.
Woman kills man.

113.

Wa’ man bɛn g’a waŋ presi. Daŋ den gi’ ɛŋ stofu kokrontu, daŋ a nyam ɛŋ. Ma di a kɔ’ na oso, daŋ ɛm taŋ’ ɛŋ umą taki, ɛŋ nyam stofu kokronto na wa’ presi. A suji. Mek’ na umą stofu p’kinso gi’ ɛŋ. Ma na umą bɛn de so dom, a no bɛn sabi-taki naŋga sukrum dem de stofu kokronto.

A go waŋ dej, a baj speki, oli, braki-pɛpɛrɛ, a tya-kɔm. A tek’ a kokronto, a grit’ ɛŋ, a baka na meti, a pot’ a kokronto na faja, mek’ a i bori. Di a bori, a puru, a pot’ a tafra. Di na man kom na oso, a taŋ na man taki, ‘Mi stofu na kokrontu gi’ yu.’ Na man no sabi, a dɛŋki taki naŋga sukrum a bɛn stof’ ɛŋ. Ma di na man opo na preti, a si a bori naŋga meti, naŋga braka pɛpɛrɛ, gi ɛŋ. ‘A man ati bɔŋ, a kɔsi na umą, ‘Yu dom umą yu! A no so den stofu kokrontu! Naŋga sukrum de stɔfɔ. Yu dom nɛŋgre umą yu!’

113. The Stupid Wife

There was a man who went somewhere. Then they gave him stewed coconut, and he ate it. But when he came home, then he told his wife, that he ate stewed coconut at a certain place. It was sweet. Let his wife stew some for him. But the wife was so stupid, that she did not know that they cook coconut with sugar.

One day she went and bought bacon, oil, black pepper, and brought them home. She took the coconut, and she grated it, she baked the meat, and she put the coconut on the fire to let it cook. When it was cooked she removed it (from the fire), and she put it on the table. When the husband came home, she said to the husband, said,

1 Lit., ‘man-person’.
2 Told by 1.
3 Idiomatic for ‘excellent’.

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‘I stewed the coconut for you.’ The husband did not know, and he thought she had cooked it with sugar. But when the man picked up the plate, he saw she had cooked it with meat and black pepper. The man became angry, and he cursed the woman, ‘You stupid woman, you! This isn't the way they stew cocoanut! They stew it with sugar. You stupid Negro’ woman, you!’

4 A rare instance of this term used as an aspersion. Its use here is the same as the United States ‘nigger’.
Ba Yał na fos' tcm a bcn dc dritoro fô wân prêndasi. A bê' 'abi tu umâ na fôtô. Ma fa a bê' fêni den sån' na prênsasi, dâ' cha' kô' gi den umâ fêgô. Ma tc a'â' cha' kô', da' a taïg' den taki, 'Te un dc nyâm, un mu' pânyâ fîngâ.' Ma d' a taïg', na fos wâ' a no ferständ bcn sâ' dot' wâ' taki. A taïg' na twêdi umâ na seref sani, doti ferstand. Sâ' wân' tak' dati, dat' bcn wân' taki te ên chari sani kô' gi' dem, dê' no mu' dc nyâm ên dem wâwan, dê' m'e gi' suma afu.

Nô, na wâ' di no ferstân' san' dat' wâ' taki, dâ' tc bakadina, tc a bori, a nyâm. Dâ' ê' g'a doro sej, dâ' i pânyâ i fîngâ, a i taki, 'Ba Yał taki, te mi 'èc nyâm, mi mu pânyâ fîngâ.' Bika' Ba Yał bê' tyâri furu speki nângâ bacha' kô' gi' ên. A den nyâmëi ên wâwan. Ma na trawâ', tc Ba Yał tyâri den san' gi' ên, a dc prati afu gi' suma, sânt' a bcn ferstand sâ na odo bcn taki.

No lângâ na baka Ba Yał kô' ddede. Ma di Ba Yał ddede, na wâ' fô' den umâ di bê' pânyâ ên' fîngâ gi' lóktu, no wân suma nèc tyâri wâwan sani gi' ên. A sidô' ên wâwan. Ma na trawâ' di bê' gi suma fc den sani, somêni suma 'è kô' dc tyâ' san' gi' ên. Trawâ' dc tyâri kau, trawâ' 'è tyâri suktu, trawâ' 'è tyâri kofi, kô' gi' ên. So a i kisi furu sani na tra suma bê' gi' ên. Nô, wâ' dêgî, na wâ' umâ go na tra wâ', a taki, 'aj, bâyâ, sènse Ba Yał ddede, mi dc pina. No wâ' suma 'è tyâ' san' kô' gi mi. Ma luuku yu dâtî fa somêni suma tyâ' san' kô' gi' yu?' Dân da tra wâ' âksi ên taki, 'Wè, di Ba Yał bê' char' san' gi' yu, sa' yu bê' du 'ângâ 'ên?' A taki, 'Mi wâwan bê' nyâmëi.' A den tra wâ' tak' baka, 'Di Ba Yał bcn taïg' gi yu taki, "Yu mi pânyâ fîngâ," fa 'è yu bê' du?' A taki, 'Tè mi nyâm, dâ' mi pânyâ fîngâ gi lóktu.' 'A tra wâ' tak', 'Soo. Wè', den na lóktu mu' tyâ' gi' yu, bika' na lóktu bê' pânyâ fîngâ. Mi, dati te 'è bê' dc gi' mi, na den serefi suma di mi a bê' gi', dê' tyâ' kô' gi' mi baka.'

Na odo fô te yu 'è nyâm, mu mu' pânyâ fîngâ, dati wâ' taki, tc i nyâm, yu mu' nyâm na suma, yu no mu' or' ala fi 'u serefi. No so, tc yu no 'abi, no wâ' tra' suma dc go gi' yu, bika' yu no më' gi' suma di f'yu.'
114. Spreading the Fingers.¹

In the early times Ba Yau² was a plantation overseer. He had two wives in the city. But as he found things [provisions] on the plantation, he brought them to his wives. But when he brought [things], then he said to them, said, ‘When you eat, you must spread your fingers.’ But when he said this, the first one did not understand very well what that meant to say. He told the second wife the same thing, and that one understood. What that meant was that it was meant to say [that] when he brought them things, they were not to eat them alone, they were to give others half.

Now the one who did not understand what that said, then, in the afternoon when she cooked, she ate. Then she went outside, and spread her fingers, and said, ‘Ba Yau said when I eat I must spread my fingers.’ Because Ba Yau brought her much bacon and salt fish. She alone ate it. But when Ba Yau brought the things for the other one, she shared half with other people, because she had understood what the proverb had said.

Not long afterwards Ba Yau died. But when Ba Yau was dead, nobody brought anything to the wife who had spread her fingers for the air. She sat alone. But to the other one who had shared things with other people, many people brought things. One brought her a cow, one brought her sugar, one brought her coffee. So she received many things from others. Now one day, the one wife went to the other, and she said, ‘Yes, sister, ever since Ba Yau died, I have suffered hunger. No one brought me anything. But look, how is it that so many people have brought things to you?’ Then the other one asked her said, ‘Well, when Ba Yau had brought you things, what did you do with them?’ She said, ‘I alone ate them.’ Then the other one said again, ‘When Ba Yau said to you, said, “You must spread your fingers,” what did you do?’ She said, ‘When I ate, I spread my fingers in the air.’ The other one said, ‘So... Well then, the air must bring you things, because you spread your fingers for the air. As for myself, the same people to whom I gave things, bring me things in return.’

The proverb, when you eat you must spread fingers, means, when you eat, you must eat with people, you must not keep all for yourself. Otherwise, when you have nothing, nobody else is going to give you, because you had not given people what was yours.

115. ‘A so du wi ala.

Wàñ mân a komopo na pranasi, beina ‘a boto sunçu. Dàñ di a gô na pranasi baka, a tâgi çi bîrmân taki, ‘Watra dë seki na liba. Beina mi sunçu.’ Na bîrmân taki, ‘Sà’ mi mu du?’

¹ Told by 1. Compare Cameroons (Ekoi), Mansfeld 233, No. 27.
² Lit., ‘Brother Thursday’.

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No lănga na baka, na bîrman 'ɛ go na foto, dăn a şügu na pasi. Ala çŋ laj gowe. Di a kɔ' na pranasi, a go tají na bîrman fa a sûgu. Dăn 'a bîrman tají çŋ taki, "A so du wi ala. Tra dej, tɛ mi bɛn tají yu taki, "Beina mi sûgu," yu bɛn taki, "Så mi mu du"?

115. No Sympathy.³

A man left the plantation, and his boat very nearly sank. Then when he returned to the plantation, he said to his neighbor, he said, ‘The river was rough. I almost sank.’ The neighbor said, ‘What can I do (about it)?’

³ Told by 1.

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Not long after, the neighbor went to the city, and he sank on the way. All his load was lost. When he came to the plantation, he went to tell his neighbor about how he had sunk. Then the neighbor said to him, said, ‘It will happen to all of us. The other day when I said to you, said, “I almost sank,” you answered, “What can I do (about it)”?’

116. Tigri nåŋga Kɔnkɔni.


Tiger and Rabbit were great friends. They lived together. But now Rabbit and Tiger quarreled. Tiger had had a coat. Rabbit took the coat and sold it, so that Tiger was angry with him. Tiger wanted to have them lock him up. He begged Tiger, he said, not to have them lock him up; it would be better to throw him into the river. Tiger said, ‘All right.’ Tiger took Rabbit and put him in a sack, and carried him away in a wheelbarrow. Now, as they were traveling, Tiger went to a certain place. He left the wagon in the doorway.

Well now, Water-Dog was a shepherd. He looked after a great many sheep. Rabbit began to talk (from) within the sack, he said, ‘Yes, brother, because I do not wish to marry his daughter, he wants to kill me.’ Water-Dog heard (this). Water-Dog said, ‘Well, all right. Let me free you, then I will go into the sack, and then I will marry the daughter.’ Water-Dog freed Rabbit and pulled him out of the sack, and he (himself) went into the sack.

Now, when Tiger came, he took the wheelbarrow, (and) he pushed it toward the river. He threw the sack away. He thought he threw away Rabbit. But now, when Rabbit came out of the sack, and Tiger had taken Water-Dog away, then Rabbit took all the sheep. He went away. Then one day Rabbit was passing by with the sheep, and at once Tiger said, ‘What! Isn’t that Rabbit whom I have thrown into the water?’ Rabbit answered him, he said, ‘Father, I wish you had thrown me more toward midstream. Do you not see what I have brought from under the water? If you had thrown me a little more toward midstream, I should have brought nothing but golden horned sheep.’

Tiger went to tell his wife, to say, ‘I know Rabbit is not dead. He brought many, many sheep from under the water.’ The woman said, ‘True, true? Well, husband, take your children and tie them up in a sack. Then go throw them into the river, but a little farther than you threw Rabbit.’ Then Tiger did so, because he loved to eat sheep’s meat. He studied that when the children brought the sheep
on shore, then they would have a great deal of food. But he did not know that Rabbit had lied to him. And so he threw all the children in the river. They did not come (back) any more.

That is why Tiger eats Rabbit wherever he meets him.

117.

Na Konu bɛn dc, di habi wan kondre. Dån nö wâŋ mɑŋ suma mɑŋ libi nɑŋga umɑŋ,
ala den umɑŋ mu' dc fɔ ɛŋ wàwɑŋ. Mɑ wâŋ mɑŋ bɛn libi na ŋi na kondre, ma a bɛn
libi farawɛ. Mɑ 'a Konu no bɛn sɑ' pɛ a li bi. 'A mɑn dɔtì habi wɑŋ wejif. Dån ala
dej a i wɛri moj kro si, a i kom pasa na Konu dɔro. Dån wâŋ dej Konu kri hɛm, dån
oksi hɛm fa ɛŋ nɛm. Dą' a taki Konu taigi ɛŋ nɛm Krestum. Dån Konu oksi hɛm taki,
'Yu habi umɑŋ?' A taki, 'Ya, Konu.' Na Konu taki, 'Wɛ, yu sab' sɑŋ? Tamara bakadina
mi 'e kom kiri yu.'

Dån di a i go na hoso, a i tajig hɛm wejif. Dån, di a tajig hɛm wejif, dån den tek' wɑŋ
patu, di den bori nanyɑm. Dån den poti hɛm na ŋɔndro na hoso, mek' fajya. A dc bori
alejisi. Ɛŋ taki na umɑŋ, 'Mi e luku tɛ Konu dc kom.' Dån di Konu dc kros-bɛj, dån den
puru na patu na ŋɔndro na hoso, dån den pot' na tapu tafra.

Dån Konu kom. Dån a i tak', 'Wɛ, Kristum, mi kom kiri yu.' Dån a i taki, 'Mi bɛg' Konu,
mi bori p'kin alejisi fɔ mi nyɑm.' Dån habi tu tiki, so 'i naki na pat' tapu. Dɑ' yurutɛm
a opo 'a patu, na Konu taki, 'Tať! Na so yu dc bori nanyɑm!' A tak', 'Ya, Konu.' Dån
a tak', 'Yu sab' sɑŋ? Ef na so yu bori alejisi, mi nɛ dc kiri yu moro, ma yu mu' gi mi
den tiki.' Dån a taki, 'Ya, Konu, yu kɑŋ tek' den.' Dån Konu tak', 'Wɛ, Ef mi tek' den,
fa mi mu' du 'ɑŋga den tiki?' Dą' a tak, 'Wɛ, Konu, yu dc was' ala yu nanyɑm, poti
na ŋi yu patu. Dɑŋ tc yu poti nanyɑm na ŋi na patu kaba, dɑŋ yu prej nɑŋgɑ na pat'
tapu 'ɑŋga na tiki.'

Dån Konu tek' den tiki, a i gowe. Dån di Konu gowe kaba, dɑŋ a kari ala bугi suma,
taki den mu' kom 'a palejis, ɛŋ go bori alejisi ɔŋndro fajya. Dån a kiri someni foru
nɑŋgɑ doksi, nɑŋgɑ krakʊŋŋ. Konu prej' a tapu 'a patu so tc ... dej komopo. Na patu
no mɑŋ bori.

Dɑŋ tamara, na mɑŋ kom koiri na Konu dɔro mofo, fɔ si sɑŋ a pasa. Na Konu taigi
hɛm taki, 'Yu kis' mi moj, yeɛrɛ? Ma tida

Dān di Konu gowé na hoso, dān a taki ēn, go kiri ēn wejfí. Ala suma mu' kom 'a paleis. Ef' so kiri hcm wejfí, ēn na un feji' minut a so wejiki hcm baka. Dān, di ala suma kom na pareis, Grānman, na grān fiskari, ala kom, dān Konu tek' wāng nefi, dān a sūtū hcm wejfí, dān a fado' na grō'. Dān Konu tek' na hāngisa na mān bcn gi hcm, dān a waj hcm wejfí fesi. Hcm wejfí no wejiki moro, te na ondro grō'.


Dān Konu tek' wāng saka, dan a laj isi na unī. Dāq' i gi drī sordati na saka, tak' te den go, den mu' tek poti na mān na unī na saka,

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117. Mock Killing: Take My Place.

There was once a King who had a kingdom. Then no man could live with a woman, all the women had to be for him alone. But there was a man living in the kingdom, but he lived far away. But the King did not know where he lived. That man had a wife. Then every day he dressed in fine clothes, and came by the King's door. Then one day the King called him, and then he asked him his name. Then he said to the King, he said, his name was Krestum. Then the King asked him, said, 'Have you a wife?' He said, 'Yes, King.' The King said, 'Well, you know what? Tomorrow afternoon I will come to kill you.'

Then when he went home, he told his wife. Then, when he had told his wife, then they took a pot, in which they cooked food. Then they put it (the pot) under the house and made a fire. She cooked rice. He said to his wife, 'I will watch for the King.' Then as the King was approaching then they took away the pot from under the house, and they put it on the table.

Then the King came. Then he said, 'Well, Kristum, I came to kill you.' Then he said, 'Please, King, I am cooking a little rice to eat.' Then he had two sticks, so he struck the top of the pot. Then when he uncovered the pot, the King said, 'What! Is that how you cook food!' He said, 'Yes, King.' Then he (the King) said, 'You know what? If that is how you cook rice, I am not going to kill you any more, but you must give me the sticks.' Then he said, 'Yes, King, you may take them.' Then the King said, 'Well, if I take them, what must I do with the sticks?' He said, 'Well, King, you

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1 Told by 5. See comparative references to Bundy, Nassau (II), Parsons (II) and (III), and Beckwith (II) in preceding tale, and in addition Senegal, Zeltner 65-66, ‘Histoire de Koli’; Sudan (Khassonke), Monteil (I) 65-73; Sierra Leone (Tenne), Thomas (V) 23-24, Cronise and Ward 254-256; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 409-411, No. 27; Togo, Cardinall 133-134; Hausa, Schön 75-76, No. 3; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 89, No. 26, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 69-71, No. 60; Santo Domingo, Andrade 40-42, No. 15, 45-47, Nos. 20-21: comparative, Bolte u. Polivka, ii, 1-18, No. 61, (variant) iii, 192-193, No. 143B.

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wash all your food, and put it into your pot. Then when you finish putting the food into the pot, then you play with these sticks on top of the pot.\footnote{The figure is that of beating a rhythm on a drum.}

Then the King took the sticks, and he went away. Then when the King had gone, he called all the important people, saying that they must come to the palace, he was going to cook rice without fire. Then he killed many, many fowls, ducks, and turkeys. The King played on top of the pot until... day came up. The pot could (did) not boil.

Then the next morning, the man strolled by the King’s door to see what had happened. The King said to him, said, ‘You tricked me
nicely, hear? But this afternoon I will come and kill you.' When he went home, he
told his wife again. Then he had his wife buy a cow's bladder. Then he bought a
bottle of red wine, then he poured the wine into the cow's bladder. Then he tied it
on his wife's heart. Then the woman dressed nicely. No one could see that she had
put on the cow's bladder. Then, in the afternoon, the King came to kill him. Then
when the King came, he said to the King, said, let them kill the wife before the King
killed him. If he died, and left the wife, then the wife would starve. Then he and his
wife had already talked all this over. Then there was such a knife. Then the man
took the knife, and shot it into his wife. Then as he shot the woman, then the cow's
bladder burst open and the woman fell to the ground. But the knife did not reach
the woman. Then he begged the King, and he said he wanted to waken his wife,
that she might come to life again. He was sorry now she was dead. Then the King
said, 'You will be able to resuscitate her?' He said, 'Yes.' Then he went and he took
a red handkerchief, and he waved it so over the woman's face. At once the woman
sighed. The King said, 'Well, you know what, boy? Better give me the handkerchief
and I will not kill you any more.'

Then when the King went home, then he said he was going to kill his wife.
Everybody must come to the palace. He would kill his wife, and in five minutes he
would waken her again. Then, when all the people came to the palace, the Granman,
the counsellors, all came, then the King took a knife, and then he shot his wife (with
it), then she fell to the ground. Then the King took the handkerchief the man had
given him, and then he waved it over his wife's face. His wife did not waken again
until she was under the sod.

Then the next day the man came by the King's door again. But now when the
man came by the King's door, then the next morning he came by with two thousand
cows. The King said, 'Where are you going with the cows?' He said he was going
to another neighboring country to kill the cows and sell them at five guldens a gram.
However, the man was lying. Then the King did nothing more than buy four thousand
cows now. Then he took forty soldiers and told them to go and kill the cows and sell
them. Cow's meat was money (currency) there. However, cow's meat was a cent a
pound. Now when the soldiers killed the cows, no one wanted to buy. Then the
soldiers were afraid to come home. They said the King would kill them. Then the
King sent a man to bring the soldiers home. Then the King asked the soldiers, 'What
did you do, that you did not want to come home?' Then the soldiers said, the man
had lied, no one wanted cow's meat. Cow's meat was a cent a pound there. Then
the King said, 'This man is a great liar.'

Then the King took a sack, and he loaded it with iron. Then he gave the sack to
three soldiers, and said when they went, they had

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1 Informant's gesture of indicating a size reaching from the finger tips to the elbow.

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to put the man in the sack, and then they had to go and throw him in the river. As the soldiers were taking him to the river to throw him away, then they came to a rum shop. Then they left the sack in the middle of the street, and they went to drink rum.

Then, when they were inside the rum shop, then a woman passed by with ten thousand cows, and donkeys, and horses. Then the man was inside the sack, then he said, 'My wealth is so great already, and the King tells me I am to come and take money. But I don't want any more money.' Then the woman said, 'Master, better give me the money.' Then the man said, 'Well, then, untie the sack for me. Then you go inside.' Then, when the woman untied the sack, the woman went inside, then the man tied the sack. Then the man went away.

Then as he went, he took all the cows, the donkeys, and the horses. When the soldiers had finished drinking rum, they sent to pull the sack and throw it in the river. Then the next morning, the man came by the King’s door with all the cows, all the horses, the mules, everything. Then the King said, 'Man, where do you come from with these things?' He said, 'King, there are so many of these things on the river bottom, till... I could not carry (away) all myself.' So the King went into a sack, then he had the soldiers put iron in the sack, then he said to them let them throw him into the river. He said he was going to take cows, and horses, and donkeys, too. Then the King went to the river bottom. He could not come on top again. He died.

Well, so that is why the sea has a King.

118. Den twarfu Raf.

Wǎn Konu bcn dc, habi twalfu mǎn pikin. A no bcn kis' nowǎn umǎ pikin. Ma nō, di den pikin kom bigi, dà' a kar' 'a mama, a tak', 'Mussi, mi 'e go mek' wan sweri nǎŋga yu. 'A dej' yu sa kς' wan pikin, çf' na wan umǎ wan, dà' wi 'e kir' ala den mǎn wǎn.' 'A mama bcn sari so tː ... Ma no lǎŋga baka a bcn kom kis' berc. 'A papa mu go na fcti nō. Dǎn nō, a libi ordc' gi na minister tagi, 'a dej' di na umǎ sa meki 'a pikin, çf' na wǎn umǎ wǎn, a mu' kir' ala den mǎn wǎn.

Ma nō, di na tcm kom kɔsbej di na mama fō mek' 'em, a kar' den mǎn pikin, a tag' ɛm taki, 'Ũn papa bcn mek' wǎn promis' nǎŋga mi, çf mi kς wǎn umǎ pikin, dǎn ǔn ala i dcdc.'...
Bato! Mi bcn dape!
San a tagi?
Mi addlo Selina,
Moj boto a feɛ, 
Mek’ a feɛ.
Waka ‘anga yu tori!


Ma di na umə pikin kom bigi, dęna i si den twalfu kasi. Dą’ oksi ‘a mama taki, ‘Suma habi krosu na uni den kasi?’ Da mama tak’ na tc suma kom tə dia na dat’ mek’ den dape. Nó, wəŋ dej, ‘a umə pikin tek’ wəŋ refolver, a taki ef’ ɛŋ mama no tajg’ hɛm suma hab’ den kasi, wan skot fɔ ɛŋ, wan fɔ ɛŋ mama. ‘A mama no maŋ hori moro, dą’ kom tajg’ hɛm taki, ‘We, yu bcn habi twalfu brada. Ma di fos mi mek’ yu, yu papa bcn mek’ wəŋ sweri nəŋga mi taki ef’ mi kus’ wan umə pikin ɛŋ kiri ala den twalfu məŋ wəŋ. Dat’ mek’ mi de mek’ hɛm gowɛ.’

Dą’ na umə pikin teki na tro-saka-həŋgisa nəŋga na Ʉŋga fɔ ɛŋ papa, a taki ɛŋ gowɛ ɛŋ suki ɛŋ brada...

Bato!
Alejɛntɛm krabu
Kɔti kwɛnda moj, moj.
Frudu watra pot’ mi na shoro.
Neti tapu mi na dam.

... A waka so tc ... dąn a mit wan presi wan neti, a si wan faja far awc. Dąn mamantɛm a waka doro; a go mili pe den brara bcn de.

Ma den brada bcn meki wəŋ sweri taki, ef’ wəŋ umə suma kɔ dape, den so kiri ɛŋ, bika na fɔ umə suma ede de’ kɔŋ tə’ na mundri busi. Den brada bcn habi wan gowent; erfu fɔ den de go a wroko, dą wan i tə’ na ’oso borı...

Bato! mi bcn dape.
San a tagi?
Oranyɛ Nasaŋ, 
A bɛtre yu no bcn kɔŋ dia, 
Te yu si ’a boto doro nɔ mɔ
Foto de na waj ya ya.
Waka nəŋga yu tori!

Dąn dę' habi wąn ros bɔm, a bën abi twarfu kropo. Dę' no bën opo ycte. Ma de dei dati den opo, dąn di na meteɔ bori, a pot tafrə, dą’ a broko den twaruw ros, dą’ a poti ebriwan fɔ den prei wąn ros’. Ma fa de den brara kɔn na ’oso, no mo den trɔ twalraf. Dąn ‘a sisa taki, so langa ɛŋ no si den brada baka, ɛŋ no so taki moro. Dą' a bigin wak’ ’a busi, tc ... ala ɛŋ krosi kom broko.

Dąn wąn yungu, a bën dc wąn prnɔs, dą’ a kom na un’ na busi, dą’ a teki ɛŋ. Dą’ a weri manta gi ɛŋ, dą’ a tyari ɛŋ go na ɛŋ ’oso, ma’a medye a no dc taki. Dąn dcsm sisa fɔ na yungu bɛn lobi na meteɔ. Ma tc a no piki, dąn den ati kom bɔŋ, dąn den bigin kosi ɛŋ, taki, na wan busi xeĵst. Dą' a kom kisi wą pikin. Ma no, a mu kisi wą tra wą. Dąn na papa taki, ef’ a no taki, dąn ɛŋ go kiri ɛŋ. Ma na prnɔs sari so tc ... A du ala hasi fɔ a tagi, ma a no bën mąŋ taki. Dąn dę' tek’ ɛŋ a dc, tyari fɔ go kiri. Di den poti ɛŋ fɔ kiri, dąn na yungu prnɔs go na ɛŋ, a bęgi ɛŋ tagi, ‘Mi gadu! Kɛ, tak’ wan wortu, meki no dcdc.’ Feiŋ minut fos den kiri ɛŋ, den twaruw ru frej kom. Fa-i-si den bari ‘Raf, raf,’ na wątro’ na meteɔ taki. Dąn den trɔ twaruw prnɔs. Dąn wantrɔ den oksi na Konu frontwortu san edc a wan’ kiri ɛŋ sisa.

Dąn dę' komop’ wantrɔ’ tak’ na Konu mu’ dcdc. Ma di dę’ no sab’ fa fo kiri ɛŋ, dę’ go ‘a lukumän. ‘A lukumän taki, dę’ mu gi wan fejst.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
118. The Unknown Sister.¹

There was a King who had twelve sons. He had not a single daughter. But now when his children grew up, he called the mother, and he said, ‘Wife, I am going to swear you to a bargain. The day you give birth to a child, if it is a girl, then we will kill all the males.’ The mother was grieved so till.... But not long after she became pregnant. The father had to go to war now. Then now, he left orders with his minister that the day his wife gave birth² to a child, if it be a girl, he must kill all the boys.

But now when the time approached for the mother to give birth, she called her sons, and she said to them, she said, ‘Your father has made an oath with me, if I give birth to a daughter, then you are all to die.’...

¹ Told by 1. Comparative, Bolte u. Polivka, i, 70-75, No. 5.
² Taki-taki, ‘to make a child’.
...Then she said, let them take food, and go into the bush, and then let them look every morning, if they should see a red flag flying, then she had been delivered of a girl. Then they must go farther. But, if a white flag, then a son had been born. Now every morning they looked. One morning they saw a red flag. Then at once they went away, they went farther. Then they cleared a place, planted food, built a house, and they lived there.

But when the girl grew up, then she saw the twelve chests. Then she asked her mother, she said, ‘Who owns the clothes inside these chests?’ The mother said they were there for people who came to visit. Now one day the girl took a revolver, and she said, if her mother did not tell her to whom the chests belonged, (then) one shot for her, one for her mother. The mother could not hold out any longer, and she said to her, she said, ‘Well, you had twelve brothers. But, before I gave birth to you, your father and I took an oath that if I gave birth to a daughter he would kill all the twelve sons. That is why I made them go away.’

Then the girl took her marriage kerchiefs and her father’s ring, and she said she was going away to look for her brothers...

_Bato!_
Rainy season crabs
Wriggle nicely, nicely.
High tide brings me ashore.
Night arrests me at the falls.³

She walked so till... then she came one night to a place and she saw a fire far away. Then in the morning she went out; she went toward the place where her brothers were.

But her brothers had taken an oath that if a woman came there they would kill her, because for the sake of a woman they came to live in the deep bush. The brothers had a custom; eleven of them went to work, and one of them remained at home to cook...

_Bato! I was there.
What was said?
Orange Nassau,
Better you had not come here,
When you see the boat arrive no more
The city will be happy ya ya²
Go on with your story!

³ Song No. 238. This and the following are Kauna songs.
⁴ Song No. 239.
...But when he saw the woman come, then he asked her, he said, ‘Why do you come here?’ She said, ‘I come to look for my brothers.’ Asked her, he said, ‘What kind of brothers?’ She showed the young man her handkerchief and her father’s wedding ring. Then immediately he saw that it was his father’s. Then at once he believed that she was his sister. He said to her, he said, let her hide because if the brothers came, they would kill her. They took an oath saying if any woman should come here they would kill her. Then, now, when he had cooked the food, he put down thirteen plates. When the brothers came, they asked him, they said, what was the meaning of that? They were twelve people, but he (had) put down thirteen plates. Then the brother asked them, he said, ‘If you saw your sister, what would you do with her?’ They said, ‘We would kill her. What kind of sister?’ Then they began to beat the brother. They were angry. But now when they said, ‘Let her come, let us see her,’ then he went to call her. Then when she came, she showed them the wedding ring, then they believed her. Then they were pleased with her; they drank together. But now they all went to work, and they left the sister to cook.

Then they had a rose bush, and it had twelve buds. They (the roses) had not yet opened. But, on the day they opened, after the girl had cooked and set the table, then she plucked the twelve roses, and she put a rose on each plate. But no sooner did the brothers come home, than they changed into twelve macaws. Then the sister said, as long as she did not see her brothers again she would not speak. Then she began to wander in the bush till... all her clothes were torn.

Then a young man, who was a prince, came into the bush, and he took her. He gave her a cloak and he carried her to his house, but the girl did not speak. Then the young man’s sisters loved the girl. But when she did not speak, then they grew vexed with her and began to scold her, saying she was a spirit from the bush. Then she was delivered of a child. But now, the time had come for her to give birth to another. Then the father said, if she did not speak he would kill her. But the prince was sorry so till... He did all he could to make her talk, but she was unable to talk. Then they took her, and carried her off to kill her. When they were about to kill her, the young prince went to her and begged her saying, ‘My God! Please’ say one word, so that you do not die.’ Five minutes before they were going to kill her, twelve macaws came flying. Just as they were crying, ‘Macaws, macaws,’ then at once the girl spoke. Then they changed into twelve princes. Then at once they asked the King to explain the reason why he wanted to kill their sister.

Then they at once said the King must die. But as they did not know how to kill him they went to a diviner. The diviner said they

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1 ‘Kɛf which informant translated as ‘please’.
2 The word is ‘Raf-raf!’ and is employed onomatopoetically.

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must give a feast, and everybody must wear special shoes for the feast. Then the
diviner put something inside the King's shoes, and so as he put on the shoes, he
died instantly. The girl and the twelve brothers went back to their father.

It is finished.

119.

Wąn Konu bèn ðe, 'a Konu nɛm Notneatɛŋ. We nɔ, wàŋ dej na Konu nàŋga ɛŋ weñfi
 bèn go na wàŋ koiri. Èn na Konu bèn 'abi wàŋ umà-ṣ'kin. A bèn moj te moj liab abra,
èn a bèn lo ɛŋ mor' lejìk ɛŋ 'aj-glas fò ɛŋ haj.
Èn 'a torì mus' kàq' go!
A sa go!
Èn na torì abi maxmoriṣn, nàŋga shuba-shuba.
Kri-kra, ala män na ɛŋ kraka!
Da torì a wàŋ ñjàŋi, nò -
Kò go na brojìkì, yu sa si,
Kò go na brojìkì, yu sa si,
Malata umà ðe, yà-yò.
'A torì sa go?
A sa go!

We, di Konu de koiri, so i bèn 'abi somení p'kin boj, ðe pre mòrima. Èn so, wàŋ fò
den boj mòrimo naki Konu Notniatɛŋ. A wèrì wà' weñf' bruку, èn na boj mòrs' ɛŋ.

Bato! Mi bèn dape!
Sàn 'è taki?

Di a mòrimo nak 'a Konu, nò mò wà' fò den boj ñjàŋi,

Alimàn, xefman bète so
Alimàn, tìn, tìn, tìn, alimàn.
Waka na i torì, basi!
A mus' kàq' go!
Wè, mi màn, opo yu yesì yɛri torì, fò te yu go taki baka fò yu no lej.

Èn di na p'kin boj mòrs' na bruку fò Konu, Konu akṣ' ɛŋ tak', suma n' ɛŋ? 'Mi na
Notnihatmi, mi Konu.'

So na Konu waka gowè dorò. Di a dorò n'ëŋ 'oso, dej-broko m'mantṣm, a ñeñi wà'
brìfì ñeñi kar' na boj. A tajìkì, 'Mi wânì si tru-tru ef' sàŋ n'è 'at 'a boj.' Èn 'a boj taki, 'Mi
wani si tru-tru ef' sàŋ n'at' Konu.'

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Sen's na boj bén de wá' p'kin boj, a bén froi'l' nàŋga ɛŋ mofò wàŋ fesiwínti. Wè, mi mə'!, Konu so kal' na boj, a tak', 'Notnehatmi, en ef yu du sani di so hat' mi, mi kondre na fó yu, eŋ mi neki yu kə' pot' na un' wàŋ rèŋkì. 'A boj lafu fó prisi're. Wèl, mi mə!', a taigi na boj, a tak', 'Tamara mamàntɛ̃ sebi yuru, mi wani yu diaso na mi 'oso-mofò doro.'

_Bato! A tak' wàŋ sùngi:_

_Sani mɔr' Abana!
A no məŋ go,
A no məŋ kom.
Te sunkí bèjì mi,
Mi si wòrŋ,
Mi fredè._

_Wè, na sebi yuru mamàntɛ̃, a tè na boj doro, a tak', 'Mi Konu Natnehatmi, mi doro.' Konu tek''a boj, a gi' èm agu-pèŋ fó a libi na unì. Èn na nanyàm di den agu nyàm, na dot''a boj mu' nyàm. Di dè' opo mamàntɛ̃, a oksi na boj, a tak', 'Natneatmi, fa yu srib' na nejìti?' A taki, 'Mi Konu, mi slibi mòro sùjì lejì ki yu, èn mi nyàm mòro bètre lejì ki yu.' Wè, a tak' a no nòtìŋ._

_Dà' Konu tek' ɛŋ ñò, pòt ɛŋ unì na wàŋ p'kin 'oso. Sa' dagu de nyà' nàŋga pus-pusi, èn dot' a mu' nyàm. Tama', Kon' oksi ɛŋ tak' fa a sribì. A taki ɛŋ sribì tu trò sùjì lejìk' yesredej. Konu a seki ɛŋ 'ècè._


_Na torì sa go!
Na torì 'abi maxmòriŋ, na na shuba, shuba!
_Bato, sa' ɛŋ taki?_  
_Ura, sani nyà' mànŋya?
_Ura, sani nyà' mànŋya?
_Ura, Pompon nyàm mànŋya._

_Wè, na torì di mi de gi' yu, na torì mus' kàŋ go._

_Arki, màn, arki!
_Yɛre, màn, yɛre!
_Kri-i, kra-a!_  

_Konu tak' na boj, 'Tek' dem hondro nàŋga fèjì-țèntì skapù, tyà' dem go na sabana, mek' dém nyàm baka.' No, na boj go na_
sabana, mi man, nanga den skapu. Tra' wâ a gi suma, en somen a seri baka. Nô, mi man, na boj bcn dree kô' na 'oso baka. Konu luk' em. A lafu. A tak', 'Natnehatmi, fa fô den skapu, de' bcn nymâm bôm?' 'A boj tak', 'Konu, mi seri' tra wàn, tra wàn mi gi suma.' Konu tek' 'a boj, a pot' hem baka in' na agu-pèn baka pè a tâ'. A pè Konu de wàs' en futu na wara, da't' na boj mi' därégi.

We, mi mu opo yesi yeri tori.
We, mi man, mi go taig'yu tori nô!

Wàn bìgi optok bcn dc, so dem bcn sèni kali Konu fô wàn drí dej. En so Konu a bcn muso fô go. En di a dc gowè, a bcn sari so te ... fô libi en jèl'fà na en jè pikin fô gowè na na fejî. Ma di Konu gowè k'ba, na boj Natnehatmi 'è komopo nowa na agu-pèn en a begin frojî wà' súngì. A frojî taki,

Skapu na wàn sègì-meti.
Sà' a go du na sabana?

We, mi man, a i tê' na boj begin frojî, Konu p'kin a yurutem a yeri na frojî fô na boj, a bcn begin fô dànse. Na mama s'ref' begin fô dànse. A tèm dòti Konu de fejî fô kaba na begi fejî. Èn na umà-p'kin fô Konu, a so kar' na boj Natneatmi, a tak', 'Natneatmi, yu no mu srib' na un' n' agu-pèn moro.' A sèn' wàn pre't n'nyâm gi na boj, san di en serefi no dc nymâ, en a tajg' na boj, a tak', 'Tide-nejî, ef' yu wani, yu kân pre' wàn frojî wàn p'kin-so dànse gi'mi.' A i tê' na boj begin na frojî, na yur'tem a begin frojî baka, Konu p'kin dànse. Èn na nanga en m'â. Èn di na boj tênapu na tapu frojî, Konu p'kin taki, 'Komopo na tapu na trapu. Kô' tek' stara sidô', frojî, meki mi yeri.' A i tê' na boj begin fô frojî, agejî, mi man, na medjè a bcn lobi na boj te ... a lobi libi-abra. Ala sani a nymâm, a gi na boj fa'nyâm tu.

Na boj begin fô frojî baka, a taki na medjè, 'Mi' 'abi wà' p'kin afkôdrâj wunti mi' s'refî.' A di na boj begin frojî baka, mi man, a taijî na boj taki, 'Natnehatmi, kô' sidô' na tap' mi futu, want' na frojî fyû a dc gi mi tumuso prisiri.'

Moksmorio, na na shuba, shubal
Presesì a lo'tu,
Doj, doj, msi,
Ef' mi mu' tro nanga mi papa,
A moro botre mi dedc.
A moro botre mi was' mi futu,
Mi go na mi bcdc,
Mi go didô'.
There was a King, the King’s name was ‘Nothing-Hurts-Him’. Well now, one day the King and his wife went for a walk. And the King had a daughter. She was beautiful until there was beauty to spare, and he loved her more than the eye-glass of his eye.

And the story must go on!
It will go on!
And the story has maxmorion, with shuba-shuba.
Kri-kra, all men in their places!
The story has a song, now -
Come to the bridge, and you will see,
Come to the bridge, and you will see,
The mulatto women are there, ya-yo.  
The story will go on?
It will go on!

Well, as the King was walking, so there were many small boys who were playing marbles. And so, one of the boy’s marbles struck the King Nothing-Hurts-Him. He was wearing white trousers, and the boy soiled them.

Bato! I was there!
What was said?

When the marble struck the King, at once one of the boys sang,

   Aliman, xefman betye so
   Aliman tin, tin, tin, aliman.  
Go on with your story, boss!
It must go on!

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1 Abbreviation of ‘so lejik’, - ‘just as’.
2 Song No. 120.
3 Song No. 133.
Well, my man, open your ears and hear the story, so that when you go to repeat it you don’t lie.

And when the little boy soiled the King’s trousers, the King asked him, he said, who he was? ‘I am Nothing-Hurts-Me, my King.’

So the King went away. When he came home, in the morning at daybreak he sent a letter to call the boy. He said, ‘I want to see if indeed something won’t hurt the boy.’ And the boy said, ‘I want to see if indeed something won’t hurt the King.’
Since the boy had been a small boy he had whistled with his mouth a face-wunti.
Well, my man, the King will call the boy, and he will say, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, and if
you do something which will hurt me, my kingdom is yours, and you can put my
neck in stocks.’ The boy laughed from happiness. Well, my man, he said to the boy,
he said, ‘Tomorrow morning, at seven o'clock, I want you here at my door.’

*Bato! He spoke a song:*
‘Things trouble Abana!
He cannot go,
He cannot come.
A snake bit me,
I see a worm,
I am afraid.’

Well, at seven o'clock in the morning when the boy arrived, he said, ‘King
Nothing-Hurts-Me, I have arrived.’ The King took the boy and gave him a pig-pen
to live in. The boy had to eat the food the pigs ate. When they got up in the morning,
he asked the boy, he said, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, how did you spend the night?’ He
said, ‘My King, I slept better than you, and I ate better than you.’ Well, he said it was
nothing.

Then the King took him now, and put him in a small house. He had to eat what
the dogs and the cats ate. The next day the King asked him, said, how he had slept.
He said he had slept twice as well as yesterday. The King shook his head.

The King had one hundred and fifty sheep. He had two hundred cows. He had a
thousand chickens. In the morning, when he got up, he said to Nothing-Hurts-Me,
said, ‘Here I have two hundred cows. Tomorrow I want you to take them to the
pasture to graze.’ And the boy took the two hundred cows to the pasture. He sold
all of them. Then he came back to the King. The King said, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, where
are the cows?’ The boy said, ‘Ah! I sold them, King.’

*The story will go on!
The story has maxmorion, with shuba, shuba!
Bato, what does it say?
Hurrah! What ate the mangoes?
Hurrah! What ate the mangoes?
Hurrah! Pompon ate the mangoes. *
Well, the story I am giving you, this story must go on.
Harken, man, harken!
Listen, man, listen!
Kri-i, kra-a!

The King said to the boy, ‘Take the hundred and fifty sheep to the pasture and have
them graze again.’ Now the boy went to the

1  Song No. 125.
2  Song No. 129. Pompon is a bird.
pasture, my man, with the sheep. Some he gave away to people, and many he sold again. Now, my man, the boy returned home again. The King looked at him. He (the boy) laughed. He (the King) said, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, how about the sheep, have they eaten well?’ The boy said, ‘King, I sold some, and the others I gave (away) to people.’ The King took the boy and he put him back in the pig-pen, where he had been. The boy had to drink water which came from the place where the King washed his feet.

Well, I must open my ears and hear the story.
Well, my man, I am going to tell you a story now!

There was a big war, so they sent to call the King to come for about three days. And so the King had to go. And when he went away, he was sorry so till... to leave his wife, and his children, and to go away to war. But, when the King was gone, the boy Nothing-Hurts-Me came out now from his pig-pen, and he began to whistle a song. He whistled (said),

A sheep is a sacred animal.
What is it going to do in the pasture?

Well, my man, as soon as the boy began to whistle, the King's daughter heard the boy's whistling, and she began to dance. The mother herself began to dance. At that time the King was fighting to end the big war. And the King's daughter will call the boy Nothing-Hurts-Me, and say, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, you must not sleep any more in the pig-pen.’ She sent a plate of food to the boy, that she herself had not eaten, and she said to the boy, she said, ‘Tonight, if you want, you can whistle a little for me so that I may dance.’ As soon as the boy began to whistle again, - the very moment he began to whistle again, the King's daughter danced. She and her mother. And as the boy was standing up whistling, the King's daughter said, ‘Come upstairs. Come take a stool, sit down, and let me hear you whistle.’ As soon as the boy began to whistle again, my man, the girl loved the man till... there was love to spare. Everything she ate she gave the boy to eat, too.

The boy began to whistle again, and he said to the girl, ‘I have a small heathen wunti myself.’ As the boy began to whistle again, my man, she said to the boy, she said, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, come and sit on my lap, because your whistling gives me great pleasure.’

Moxmorio, and shuba, shuba!
Presesi a lo'tu,
Doi, doi, Missi,
If I must marry my father,
It is better I die.
It is better I wash my feet,
I go to my bed,
I go lie down.  

1 Song No. 141. ‘Savannah’, in one sense, also means ‘cemetery’.
2 The word afródrai is from the Dutch word for ‘idolatrous’.
3 Song No. 128.
Well, my man, about twelve o'clock midnight, Nothing-Hurts-Me and the girl were asleep in a room. About one o'clock at night the King, having won the war, came back happy, and he hurried into the house. When he arrived, he went where his daughter was. As he pushed open the door to go in, at once he saw the boy Nothing-Hurts-Me, and he was lying stretched out beside his daughter. He was frightened to death, and it hurt him so till... death. And so he took a gun to shoot the boy. The boy will say to him, say, 'King Nothing-Hurts-Me, hide your anger till tomorrow.'

The next day, he said, 'King, here I have your neck.' And so they killed the King, and hanged him by putting a strap about his neck. And the boy will say to the daughter of King Nothing-Hurts-Me, he will say, 'Your father's skin will be for me to wipe my feet on, and his bones will be my stepladder.'

And so the boy took the kingdom, and he married the King's daughter. And so he won from the King. And so the story has come to an end.

Just as I said, so it happened.

120.

Wan papa bɛn dɛ, habi dri pikin. Ma te i go a rajs, dãŋ a i oksi den pikin san a muso cha' kọ' gi' dɛn te a i kom na 'oso. Di a dɛ gowɛ wan dej na rajs, a oksi na moro pikij' wa' saŋ' a wan' na chari ɛŋ. A taki a wani wan rōs. A dks' 'a tra waŋ' saŋ' a wani. A taki a wani wan dakfanfelia. 'A trawŋ taki ɛŋ wani waŋ sonblum. Ma di ɛ gowɛ, a fen' na dakfanfelia, a fen' na sonblum, ma na rōs a no maŋ' fen. Dãŋ a bɛn de sari tumusi....

Bato! Mi bɛn dape!
San taki?
Na mi Tanta fu neti,
Mi gō fu luku,
Grą'-msi yagi' mi.
Woi, woi, grą'-msi,
Woi, woi, yagi mi.
Waka nang ka yu bɔri!

... di a no fen' da rōs. A bɛn lobi na pikin diti moro furu. A waka so te ... a kom miti wan dyari nang ka wan broko skotu, nang ga wan rōs-bom, a 'abi waŋ rōs. A kom breti tumusi di a kom fen' 'a rōs, ma fa-i-si a broko na rōs, wantrŋ' wan stɛŋ taki, 'Na suma di 'abi na rōs, bufosi aŋt' dej, a mu' kom dia, ɛŋ a so si wan
batra nangga watra. A so dropu ala pis' tki di a so si, en a so wejki na pr'ns. Dan a so tro nangga ep.'

Di na papa go oso, a ben tumusi sari fu di a ben broko na ros. A no ben de nyâ' serefi. Den pikin aksi ep tak, san du ep? A no wan' taki. Ma di a no man or moro, dan a kon taig d'en, san ben pasa.

Mi 't go got na liba-o!
Mi wâ'wân.
Mi na wan Iñgi,
Mi n'e tan nangga d' Negro.
Mi go got na liba-o!

Ma di a taki d'en, dan 'a pikin taki, ep so go. A no a fu sari. 'Mi so go.' A teki ep asi nangga ep krosi, a go na presi pe na papa ben broko na ros. A tek' na batra, a du so lek' na stèp ben taig. A dropu ala den pisi tiki, ala sani, en a ben wejki na pr'ns. Wa kondre ben komopo, en a tro nangga na pr'ns.

Ma, di den tro kaba, wan-tu wiki na baka, a oksi na pr'ns fô a go luku ep papa, nangga ep mama, ep famiri. A tek' a span hasi fô got, ma bufosi a got na pr'ns kari ep, a taki, 'Te i go, aluwas dem de go kiri yu, fu no mu tak' fa mi nem. Mi nem Süt' Wilyam, ma yu no mu taki fa mi nem. No so, mi de go fergit yu.' 'A meyis goot. Di a doro ep papa nangga mama 'oso, dem meki bigi feist. Dem prisiri fo si ep, ma di a taj' eri dej kaba bakadina a i kom fu got na 'oso, dan den tu sisa tak, 'Wi de got pot' yu af-pasi.' Na wan fô den teki wan aksi, en na tra wan teki wan oru. Da ep go.

Fa na sisa go na un ep shejisi, den aksi ep, 'Taig mi, fa yu masra nce?' A kori. A taki ferkert nem. Den taki, 'Yu leji. A no so yu masra nem.' Ma di a no wani fu taki fa na man nem, da' den taki, 'Ef' yu no taig' wi, wi de go kiri yu!' Dan a frede, dan a kari na nem, taki, 'Masra nem Süt' Wilyam.' En wantrq' den asi kom got, a kom lasi na un ni busi.

Kcese dijampo na tapu,
Go fredi wan gran-misi.
Kcese dijampo na tapu,
Go fredi wan gran-misi.
Sà mi so gi' ep fô dënggi?
Punda nangga karu watra,
Ha! ha!
Punda nangga karu watra,
Ha! ha!

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
There was a father who had three children. But when he went on a journey, then he asked his children what he must bring them when he came home. One day as he was going away on a journey he asked the youngest what she wanted him to bring her. She said she wanted a rose. He asked the other what she wanted. She said she wanted a dakfanfasia. The other one said she wanted a sunflower. But when he went away he found the dakfanfasia, he found the sunflower, but the rose he could not find. Then he was very sorry...

_Bato! I was there!_

*What was said?*

I am Tanta of the night,
I go to look,
An old woman⁴ drives me away.
Woi, wo, an old woman,
Woi, woi, drives me away.  
Go on with your story!

... when he did not find the rose. (For) he loved that child most. He traveled until... he happened upon a yard and a broken fence, and a rose bush that had one rose. He was very happy when he found the rose, but no sooner did he pluck the rose, than a voice said, ‘The person who has the rose must come here before eight days are up,

5  Song No. 148.
and she will see a bottle of water. She will sprinkle all the sticks which she will see, and she will wake the prince. Then she will marry him.’

When the father went home, he was very sorry that he had broken off the rose. He did not even eat. The children asked him, they said, what was troubling him? He did not want to tell. But as he could not hold out any more, then he told them what had happened.

I am going away to the river-o!
I, alone.
I am an Indian,
I will not stay with the Negroes.
I am going away to the river-o!

But when he had told them, then the child said she would go. He must not be sad. ‘I will go.’ She took her horse and her clothes and she went to the place where her father had broken off the rose. She took the bottle and she did as the voice had said. She sprinkled all the sticks, (she did) everything, and she awakened the prince. A village sprang up, and she married the prince.

But one or two weeks after they were married, she asked the prince to go and see her father, and mother, and her family. She took a span of horses to go away, but before she went the prince called her, and said, ‘When you go, even if they are going to kill you, you must not tell what my name is. My name is Sweet William, but you must not tell what my name is, or I am going to forget you.’ The girl went away. When she reached her father’s and mother’s house they made a big feast. They were happy to see her. But when she had been there a full day, and in the afternoon she came to go home, then her two sisters said, ‘We will take you half way.’ One of them took an axe and the other took a cutlass. Then they went.

Just as the sister was going into her carriage, they asked her, ‘Tell us, what is your husband's name?’ She lied. She told a false name. They said, ‘You lie. That is not your husband's name.’ But when she did not want to tell what her husband's name was, then they said, ‘If you do not tell us, we are going to kill you!’ Then she was afraid. Then she called the name and she said, ‘My husband's name is Sweet William.’ And at once the horses ran away, she was lost in the bush.

The monkeys jump up,
They are afraid of an old woman.

The monkeys jump up,
They are afraid of an old woman.
What shall I give them to drink?
Peanut and corn water,
Ha! Ha!
Peanut and corn water,
Ha! Ha!

1 Song No. 195. This is an ɩ̨ŋgi (Indian) Komfo song.
2 See footnote 4, p. 375
3 Song No. 137.
Then she traveled so till... in the bush, till she was almost naked. Then she walked till... She came upon a small village, and she saw a house on the street. Then she went there but she saw no one. Then she went, and she remained there until night, when the old woman who lived there came. She was a witch. She knew everything already. Then, when she came, she said, ‘If a person came here she must not hide. She must come and let me see her.’ But since she was naked, she was ashamed to come. The old woman put down food. She went, and she ate it. The next day she did many tasks after the old woman went away. Then at night when the old woman came back, she said, ‘If someone came here she must not be ashamed, she must come and let me see her.’ Then she came forward, and the old woman saw her. Then she related everything that had happened between her and her sisters. The old woman said to her, she said, ‘Look, here I have oranges that I am going to pick for you. Then you are to go to the city, and rent a house right across from where the prince lives. Then in the afternoon you are to take the oranges on a tray, and you are to sell them in the doorway. Then the prince is going to send to buy them. But you must say, if they want you to sell [them], then you must go and sleep in the prince’s room.’

Then they said, ‘All right, let her do this.’ At night the woman [whom] the prince had later married, put opium in his tea. At night when she [the girl] went, she kept saying all night, ‘Sweet William, Sweet William, how could you forget me so? Sweet William, Sweet William, how could you forget me so?’ But the prince slept, he did not hear. In the morning she went away. In the afternoon she came to the door again. They sent again to ask to buy oranges and she said the same thing again. She must sleep in the prince’s room. They said, ‘All right.’ But in the afternoon, just as the woman was bringing tea for the prince, then someone came to sell her fish, so the servant took the tea to the prince. So that she did not put in opium. At night when the woman went to the room, she said again, ‘Sweet William, Sweet William, how could you forget me so?’ Then at once Sweet William listened. She said again, ‘Sweet William, Sweet William, how could you forget me so?’ At once Sweet William awoke. He saw that it was his wife whom he had forgotten. He said to her, he said, ‘ Didn’t I tell you that you must not call my name or I would forget you?’ The first thing the next morning he had them bring clothes for the woman. And so he came to marry her again. So the sisters had wanted to kill their sister.

1 The later wife.
121.

'Mi braka poptki, ta̱jg mi ɛf' na leti dati, no so, me 'ɛ koti yu nɛki.'

Wan papa bɛn habi wan umɑ piki̱n, ma no̱tj 'a piki̱n bɛn lobi lejki ɛŋ papa bɛn piani wan fe̱fer naŋga paragari. Dɔti nɔ mɔ a bɛn lobi. Alɛ mamɛ̱ntɛm hɛm nɛnɛ tyari hɛm go luku na grasi. Wan mamɛ̱ntɛm di den go, den 'asi bɛn go nyɛm na grasi. Dɑn de i fɛti, da brudu ɛbɛtɛn' na tapu na grasi. Na umɑ piki̱n taki, 'Mi nɛnɛ, luku fa hasi nyɛm mi grasi, te den fɛti. Ma luku fa na rɛdi moj na tapu na grɔŋ.' Ɛn waŋtɾo' wan stɛn piki hɛm taki, 'Luku fa na rɛdi moj na tapu na grɔŋ.' We, ɛfu yu si Pɾɛn Sribiman! Ma na suma di taki na sani, bifosi ați di a musu kom agen, a so si Pɾɛn Sribiman. Ɛn a so si wan wawaj, ɛn a so waj pɾɛn te pɾɛn sa wejki. Dɑn a sa bosi pɾɛn. Ɛn a so si wan bata naŋga watra, a so dropu gi ala pisi tiki di a si.'

Ma di a bɛn go a teki ɛŋ kroso, dɑn a bɛn habi wan braka poptye naŋga wan broko sreb ni̱f. Dɑn a teki den a tya'i go tu dąpe. Dɑn a si pɾɛn, ɛŋ a teki na wai̱waj, a bègin fô waj pɾɛn. Dí a waj so te ... wan gran-misi bɛn sîdô' sej. A bèn dɛ wan tofer gran-misi. Dɑn a aksi hɛm taki ɛfu a no seri fai waj. Ma a bèn taki, 'No, no.' No lâŋga na baka, na gran-misi kɔmbaka, a aksi ɛŋ taki, 'Yu no wani go klejne?' Ɛn so waŋtɾo' a bèn o-po fô go pisi. Na gran-misi teki na wai̱waj, a bègin fô waj. Ɛn so, bifosi na umɑ piki̱n kɔm baka, pɾɛn bèn wejki. Ɛn na gran-misi bɛn bosi pɾɛn, ɛn so na gran-misi bèn mu' tro naŋga pɾɛn, bikasi na wɛt' bèn dɛ suma bosi pɾɛn, na doti so tro naŋga hɛm.

Ma di den tro kaba, dɑn da umɑ no den poti hɛm fô a luku foru. A bèn dɛ tu̱mu̱si sori, bɪkɔ na ɛŋ papa konδre a bèn dɛ wan pɾɛnsɛs, ɛn dià a mu kɔm luku foru. Den bèn meki wan moj piki̱n hoso gi ɛŋ pɛ a di li̱bi. Dɑn te neti te a komop na wroko go na hoso, a dɛ weri ɛŋ moj kroso, dɑn a dɛ prej wan sṳngi-dosu. Ma te a kaba prej, da' i teki na braka poptki naŋga na sreb-ni̱f, a dɛ aksi hɛm taki, 'Mi braka poptki, mi braka poptki, taŋgi mi ɛfu na leti dati, no so, mi dɛ koti yu neki.' Dɑn a de poti hɛm baka, a go sribi.

Ma wan sroδati bèn pasa wan neti. Dɑn a yɛcre fa na singi-dosu de prej so switi. A go kɔbri na sej na hoso, dan a yɛcre ala sani fɔ na
umą đe aksi na braka poptke. Èn so a go tajgi Konum taki na umą di đe luku foru na so a đe du. Konum bɛn gô na srețî neti go 'ajiki. Fa-i-si na umą oksi na braka poptye efu na leti dati, Konum bɛn naki na doro wantrọ' fô opo na doro. Fa na doro opo, Konum si na umą, a kom flàw wantrọ', bika' a no bɛn sabi taki na umą na wan prënses. Èn a bɛn weri ëŋ moj kroși. Èn di Konum kis' hêm sreți, a kari na umą taki ëŋ sa kari wan bìgi ogënsi, ëŋ a mu frantwortu sànj meki a đe oksi na braka poptke so.

Di den kom na na ogënsi na fejisi fu ala den hei suma a taki, ‘Ya, na mi papa kɔndre mi bɛn đe wan prënces, èn dja mi mu’ kom luku foru.’ Èn a fɔrtɔri ala san’ bɛn pasa, nàŋga na gran-misì fa a bɛn du nàŋga ëŋ meki a tro nàŋga prëns. Èn so den kom gi hêm reti, èn den kiri na gran-misì.

No bɔnyo fò ëŋ den meki wan drejtrapu fô a kɔŋ go na tapu ëŋ bèdi. Èn na buba fô na gran-misì a bɛn meki wan tapet fô bradì na grɔ'. Èn na hède a bɛn meki wan lampet kan fô wasi ëŋ fejisi.

Èn so a kɔŋ tro nàŋga prëns baka. A bɛn đe hêm xeluk.
121. The Sleeping Prince.¹

'My black doll, tell me if that is justice, or I will cut off your neck.'

A father had a daughter, but the child loved nothing so much as the field of grass which her father had planted. Only that she loved. Every morning her nurse took her to look at the grass. One morning when they went, the horses were feeding on the grass. Then they fought, and fought, and blood fell on the grass. The girl said, 'My nurse, look how the horses are eating my grass till they fight. But look how nice the red is on the earth.' At once a voice answered her, it said, 'Look how nice the red is on top of the earth. Well, if you were to see the Sleeping Prince! But the one who said the thing must come before eight days are up, and she will see the Sleeping Prince. And she will see a fan, and she should fan the prince until the prince shall awaken. Then she should kiss the prince. And she will see a bottle of water, and she shall sprinkle all the sticks which she sees.'

But, when she went she took her clothes, and she had a black doll and a broken razor. Then she took them and carried them there, too. Then she saw the prince, and she took the fan² and began to fan the prince. She fanned so till... an old woman sat by at the side. She was a witch. Then she asked her, she said, if she was not tired of fanning? But she said, 'No, no.' Not long after, the old woman came back, and she asked her, she said, 'Don't you want to go urinate?' And so at once she got up to go urinate. The old woman took up the fan and began to fan. And so, before the girl came back, the prince awakened, and the old woman kissed the prince. And so the old woman had to marry the prince, because the law was that the one who kissed the prince should be the one to marry him.

But when they were already married, then the woman made her look after the fowls. She was very sad, because in her father's country she was a princess, and here she had to look after the fowls. They built a nice little house for her to live in. Then at night when she returned from her work, she put on her fine clothes, and she played a singing box. But when she finished playing, then she took up the black doll and the razor, and she asked it, she said, 'My black doll, my black doll,'³ tell me if that is justice, or I will cut off your neck.' Then she put them back and she went to sleep.

But a soldier passed one night. Then he heard how sweetly the singing box played. He hid at the side of the house, and he heard

¹ Told by 1. Note the general resemblance of this story, in point if not in incident, to the type of tale where a servant takes the place of the real princess by taking her clothing and ornaments, to be later discovered through the real princess' singing an identifying song, as, e.g. in Equilbecq, ii, 227-232, where a Malinké tale of this kind is given.
² Another example of forming a noun by duplication, as wai̯wai̯, 'fan', from wai̯, 'to fan'.
³ The black doll apparently had magic powers, and in this invocation the spirit within it is called upon to bring to light the deception.
everything the girl asked the black doll. And so he went and told the King that the
girl who looked after the chickens, did thus. The selfsame night the King went to
listen. Just as the woman asked the black doll if that was justice, the King knocked
on the door that she open the door at once. As the door opened the King saw the
woman and at once he fainted, because he did not know that this woman was a
princess. She was wearing her fine clothes. And when the King came to himself, he
called the woman and said he would call a big audience, and she must explain what
made her ask that of the black doll.

When they came to the audience, she said before all the important people, ‘Yes,
in my father's country I was a princess, and here I must look after the fowls.’ And
she related everything that had happened between her and the old woman, and she
had acted toward her, to cause her (the witch) to marry the prince. And so they
found her in the right, and they killed the old woman.

From her bones they made a stepladder to climb to the top of her bed. And from
the skin of the old woman she made a carpet to spread on the ground. And from
the head she made a wash-basin in which to wash her face.

And so she came to marry the prince later. It was her destiny.

122. Wàń lei กระบวน Papa.

Wàń papa bèn dë. A bèn ‘abi wàń umà píkin. Dàn a bèn lobi ɛk so te ... a gò tajgi
Kònu taki, ‘Na píkin dësi dë mèki strò trò' gotu.’ Kònu taki, ‘Yu musë sënì hèm kò'
dia.’ Ma dì na mèjè gò, a no mà' sabì, bi'ka' na papa bèn lej, a no bèn sabì so wàń
sâni.

Na pik't krej na her' neti so te ... na mundë neti a yeri wàń suma na na doro. Di a ope
na doro, a si wà' Bakru kò' dâpë. A taki, ‘Efû mì lëpi yu, sà' yu dë gi' mi?’ A taki, ‘Mi
dë gi yu wàń moi krara.’ Dàn na Bakru bìgin fò sëngi, taki:

Traplënt wiltyç
Snorè, snorè.
Traplënt wiltyè
Hore, horè.
Dralje rek, i làŋgsam haut.

Wë, èn so na mèjè kò' sribi, te fa a wejki, 'a her' kamera furu nàŋga gotu. Di Kònu
kò' luku manàntûn, a prisiri, a taki, efû a mèki mòro di neti, tamara te ɛn kom ɛn sa
tro nàŋga hèm.

Nejî na metjè bìgin fò krej baka. Na Bakru kom baka, a taki, ‘Efû mì wroko gi yu,
sà' yu dë gi' mi?’ Na metjè sori èm somènì
Rumpelstiltskin.¹

There was a father. He had a daughter. Then he loved her so till... he went to tell the King [to] say, ‘This child makes straw turn into gold.’ Then King said, ‘You must send her here.’ But when the girl went, she did not know [how to do this], because the father had lied, for she did not know such a thing.

The girl cried the whole night so till... at midnight she heard someone at the door. When she opened the door, she saw a Bakru² come there. He said, ‘If I help you, what will you give me?’ She said, ‘I will give you a beautiful bead.’ Then the Bakru began to sing, say:

Traplent wiltje  
Snore, snore.
Traplent wiltje  
Hore, hore.
Dratje rek, i langsam haut.³

Well, and so the girl went to sleep, and when she awoke, the entire room was filled with gold. In the morning when the King came to look, he was pleased, and he said, if she made some more that night, he would marry her the next day when he came.

At night the girl began to cry again. The Bakru came back, and he said, ‘If I work for you, what will you give me?’ The girl

¹ Told by 1. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 23-24, No. 11, and, for general comparative data, Boite u. Polívka, i, 490-498, No. 55.
² See above, pp. 105-107.
³ Song No. 147.
showed him many things, but he did not want them. Then he said to her, said, ‘You must give me the thing you love best in the world. But I shall come back to take it two years later.’

After the King had married the girl, they had a child. When the child was one year old, then one day the Bakru came there, he came to take the thing the girl loved more than anything in the world. He asked her what she loved best. It was the child the girl loved. He said, ‘Then you must give me it.’ And the girl was very sad about having to give the child. Then the girl begged the Bakru, said, if he could not take something in place of that. He said, ‘One thing I will do for you. I will come to let you guess my name. If you know my name, then I will not take your child.’

When the Bakru came, she called many names, but she did not know the name of the Bakru. Then she sent soldiers to go in search of all boys’ names for her. But while one of the soldiers was walking along a bush path, then he saw a house. Then he went to look, and he saw a pot on the fire with a spoon in it. Then he saw a little man who was dancing. He said, ‘Today I boil, today I fry, tomorrow I will take the King’s child. It is sweet, brother! No one knows that Akantiudu is my name.’ When the soldier heard the name, then he wrote it down, and he hastened to the house to tell the girl, to say that he had seen such a thing. Then the girl wrote the name for the Bakru when he came.

No sooner did she call the name of Bakru, Akantiudu, than he fell down dead, because no person was to know his name. And so it happened that the girl did not lose her child. She won from the Bakru.

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123.

‘A wän Konu ben ’abi dri  água përik. Ma di a dëdc, dem dc tạ’ nøŋga dem m’ma. Sëns dem dc, dę’ no sabi män suma. So mëni s’m a sëns’ aksi fô tro nøŋga den, ma dem m’ma no wani. Wä’ boj bën dc na wän kondre a yeri. A taki, ‘Mi so go probčri cf’ mi no sa kis’ dem pikin.’ A go na barbir, a meki fals wiwiri, a nai  água-suma krosi. Dän a teki sëpi a kɔ’ na na kondre.


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Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*


A kaba.

lngi bōto ēkwenda i kqm
Boj-ya-ya
Ala d’lngi no kq’ yète
Boj-ya-ya
lngi bōto ēkwenda i kqm
Boj-ya-ya
Ala d’lngi no kq’ yète
Boj ya ya.
123. Man Plays Maid-Servant.¹

A King had three daughters. But when he died, they lived with their mother. Since they were born they never knew a man. Many people sent to ask to marry them, but their mother did not wish it. A boy lived in a country who heard of this. He said, 'I will go and try if I cannot get the children.' He went to a barber and made a wig, and he sewed for himself women's clothes. Then he took a ship and came to the country.

When he came, he went to look for work where the girls were. Then the mother gave him work. She said, 'I am taking you on to work, but you must not bring a man here.' He said, 'Yes, I do not have visits from men.' He gave his name as Juliana.

Now, while he was living there the other children came to love him. They said, 'You can come and live where we live, in a room next to ours.' When he went, then one night they lay down and he heard them say, 'Take care, perhaps the other will go and repeat this to our mother.' One of them said, 'She is not going to talk,
wetrusther.' Then when he heard, he asked them, said, 'What are you doing?' Then they said let him come and look. When he went, they showed him, said, 'Look, here we have a candle, and so we play together. We put it into ourselves.' Then he said, 'Let me see what you do.' Then they showed him by putting it into themselves. But when they came to put it into him, he said, 'No, no.' Then they became afraid, and said, 'She is going to repeat this.' But he said to them, he said, 'I myself have a candle for you.' They said, 'Where is it? Show us.' He said, 'Lie down, and let me put it into you.' But when he put it into one, she said, 'Yes, my sister Julia! Yes, my sister! This is a candle, hear! Put the candle, sister. I did not know that all the while you were here with us you had so fine a candle.' So he put it into all the sisters. They even fought to have him give it to them, till he became weary.

Later the children became sick. The mother sent to call the doctor. The doctor came, and he looked at the children, and he said, 'They are pregnant.' The mother did not believe it, and she sent to call a midwife. The midwife said, 'I am sorry to disappoint you, but the children are pregnant.' The mother said, 'I will go to examine them.' The mother made them go in a room. She called Juliana, too, let her come, but before Juliana came she took sewing thread and she tied the candle in back. When the mother looked at them she said, 'Mother [alive]! You are too much for me!' Then she went to Juliana now. When she looked at Juliana, she said, 'My child, how do you work so? Do you urinate well?' Juliana said, 'Yes.' The mother said, 'I never yet saw a human being work so.' Then she went to take her spectacles to be able to see better. But by this time the candle became erect. No sooner did she put her eye [close enough to see], than the candle struck her in the face. Then Juliana went away. He said the woman shamed him.

After that the mother put in the papers that such a thing had happened to her, but let the person who had done that come to her. Then one night Juliana dressed like a man. Then he went to tell her that he was the man who had done that. And so the woman became frightened when she heard that, because she had thought Juliana was a woman. She did not know that he had a long thing.

It is finished.

1 Song No. 194.
124. Män Konu nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ Wei̯fi.


Dān a tajg' ęŋ taki, 'Čfi yu no tajgi mi, mi so plati nąŋga yu.' Dān 'a man kom sari, bika' a bcn lōbi na umā. So a wān fō tajgi na umā. Nō mō na kakafuru tajgi ęŋ taki, 'No puru yu beri gi' umā, bika' umā no bō'. Luku mi. Ŝomēni umā mi 'abi, moro moro mi dc fēni umā, ēn tox dc' nē prej mi basi. Na wān di yu 'abi, tox yu wan' meki ęŋ a bas' yu. Tc a oksī yu baka, dan yu suk' wān wipi, dān yu wipi ęŋ, dān yu tajgi ęŋ taki, "Na mi na mān, mi mu' dc basi. Yu no mā' fō basi mi. Na mi dc sōrgu yu. Na mi na mān".

Emclina Karolina,
Wā' kunu d'a y'oso.
Maycmbe, Maycmbe,
Wā' kunu d'a y'oso.

124. The Man Who Understood Animal Speech.²

There was once a King. He knew all the animal languages. He could understand them when they spoke. He had a donkey, and a horse, and a cow, and a great many fowl. One day he made the donkey go to work. Then the donkey worked till he

1 Song No. 143.

became weary. When he came, then he said to the cow and the horse, said, ‘Yes, friends, the man makes me work hard.’ Then the King understood what the donkey said. Then he laughed. When he laughed his wife asked him, said, ‘Why do you laugh?’ But he did not tell her because if he had told her he would have died. He could not repeat what he heard an animal say.

Now the next day the horse went to work. When he came home, he said, ‘Yes, my God, I’m tired. The man is going to kill me with work!’ Then the man heard. He laughed again. His wife asked him again, said, ‘Why do you laugh?’ But he did not tell her. The next day the cow went to work. When she had finished working she came home, and she sighed. Then the man heard again, and he laughed. His wife asked him again, said, ‘Tell me why you are laughing? Because the animals say things, and you understand them, but you don't want to tell me?'

Then she said to him, said, 'If you don't tell me, I will leave you.' Then the man became sad, because he loved the woman. So he wanted to tell the woman. Just then the cock said to him, said, 'Do not remove your belly for a woman, because women are not good. Look at me. I have so many wives, and I am finding more and more new wives, and yet they do not boss me. You have only one, and yet you want to let her boss you. When she asks you again, then you go find a whip, then you whip her, then you say to her, say, ‘I’am the man, I must be the master. You cannot boss me. I am the one who looks after you. I am the man’.'

Emelina Karolina,
A kunu is at your house.
Mayembe, Mayembe,
A kunu is at your house.\(^5\)

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3 This is a paraphrase of the proverb: ‘You must be kind toward people, but you must not remove your entrails for them.’
4 See Glossary.
5 Song No. 242.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
Wǎnpapabɛn’abiwǎnipikin. Bifo’ a dèdè, a kali na pikin en taki, ‘Mi pikin, dja mi dè poti sebi pontu ribriki meti fô mi, na un wǎn rede, wan wejì, nàŋga wǎn blàŋ saka. Dàn yu mu go na Konu fô a lai sàŋ dè na un.’

Dì a go na Konu, Konu bén lai so te ... a no bén maŋ fô sabi. Dàn na boi bén wìni Konu. Ma Konum sëni hëm umà-pikin meki a go fredì na yungu. Somte a so kusi hëm. Dì na pikin go, a bëgi na yungu tumusi fô na yungu puru na tori gi’ eŋ. Dàn ‘a yungu bén kɔ’ lobi eŋ, e’ so a kɔ’ taigi eŋ taki, ‘Na di mi papa bêŋ de go dèdè, a meki mi tekì hëm sebi pontu ribriki meti fô ‘em poti na unì dem saka.’

So na pikin kom bretì, a go taigi eŋ papa da lai torì. Èn so di na boi kom drapè, dàn a puru na torì. Èn so Konu wìni na boi. Ma na dati meki wàn odo di taki, ‘No puru yu berì gi’ umà, bika’ umà de kiri maŋ.’
125. ‘Woman Kills Man’: Divulging Answer to Riddle.¹

A father had a child. Before he died he called the child, and said, ‘My child, here I am putting seven pounds of my rib meat into a red, and a white, and a blue sack. Then you must go to the King to have him guess what is inside.’

When he went to the King, the King guessed so till... but he could not know (the answer). Then the boy won from the King. But the King sent his daughter to court the young man. Perhaps she could trick him. When the girl went, she begged the young man very much to have the young man solve the riddle for her. Then the young man came to love her, and so he came to tell her, say, ‘When my father was about to die, he made me take seven pounds of his rib meat to put into the sacks.’

So the girl was happy, and she went to tell her father the riddle. And so when the boy came there, then he guessed the riddle. And so the King won from the boy. But that makes a proverb that says, ‘Do not remove your belly for a woman, because woman kills man.’

126.


Ma di den tro, na wan dej dan, den go na uni na busi go waka, na yungu nga nga na mejše. Ma di den waka so te ... dem kom weri, en so dem ben sid’o. Ma so di den sid’, na yungu ben kom sribi. A ben pōti hem hec na na mejše futu-tapu.


Di den gowe fara baka, na yungu kom wejiki, en a si hem wawan na uni na busi. A no si na mejše. A tek’ pasi, a gowe baka na hem

¹ Told by 1. Compare Sudan (Bamara), Monteil (I) 148-150 (also given in Monteil (III) 366-369, Text No. IV); Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 123; Nigeria (Ora), Thomas (I) 222-224, No. XXIII; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 33-34, No. 26, 150, No. 116.

Umą den kiri män,
Suma p’kin a no ya p’kin.
Sribi na dccę.

‘A tori kom kaba.

**126. ‘Woman Kills Man’: The Faithless Wife.**

There was a King. He did not have a single son. But one day a man came to him, and the man asked him, he said, ‘King, my wife never gave birth to a son. She has had only girls. But, my King, here we will make a vow, if my wife should have a son, and your wife should have a daughter, the two shall marry.’ But the King was hoping his wife would give birth to a son.

And so a year later, the King's wife gave birth to a daughter, and the man's wife gave birth to a son. Now, the King was not pleased with that. When the children grew up, the King found that the other man's son was a poor person's son. And the King's daughter was troubling him about marrying. But since he had already made the promise, so they were married.

But when they were married, then one day they went for a walk in the bush, the young man and the girl. But as they walked so till... they grew tired, and so they sat down. But as they sat down, the young man grew sleepy. He put his head in the girl's lap.

And so (later) the girl saw a Coolie King. And so the Coolie King came to talk to her about taking her away. And so she lifted the young man's head gently from her lap. That is why they say 'sleep is death,' because the young man was sleeping, so that he was unaware (of what was taking place). And so the Coolie King took the girl away.

When they had already gone far, the young man awoke, and he saw he was alone in the bush. He did not see the girl. He took the

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2 Told by 4.
3 In Suriname, the British-Indian and Javanes workers are called coolies.
road back to his father's village. He said, 'Father, give me a ship with sailors, and let me go in search of the woman who has done this to me.' So the young man loaded the boat, and he arrived at that village. When he arrived, he began to shoot cannons. The Coolie King did not know that it was the young man. But the girl knew. And so she plotted with one of the sailors, she said, couldn't they steal for her the ring on the young man's finger. And so the sailor who had plotted with her, stole for her the ring on the young man's finger. When the young man arrived on shore, now, he said to the Coolie King, said, 'Today I came to take my wife.' The Coolie King said to him, he said, 'Well, to get the woman, you must come fight with daggers.' Because the Coolie King could fight well with daggers. The next morning they fought till... they fought in the clouds. But now the Coolie King saw that the young man was going to surpass him. He called the woman, and he said, 'You see, here is your husband who came to take you. You can go with your husband, because the same thing you did to him, so you will do to me, too.'

Woman kills man,
Someone's child is not your child.
Sleep is death.

The story has come to an end.

127.

Kri, kra! Opo yesi, yeri tori!
Ala man n’e kraka!

A ben de wən Konum, a ne m Konu Wilyam, a bɛ’ abi wə’ uma. A ben libi naŋga ɛŋ tin-na’ait’ yari, en noiti na umən ben ta’ naŋga beři. Ma di fô tî’-na-neig’ yari, a ben firi taki ɛŋ kisi beři. En Konu Wilyam taig’ ɛŋ taki, ‘Ef’ yu kus’ wə’ uma pîkin, dat’ so de mi wefï, mi so tro naŋga ɛŋ. En ef’ na wə’ man p’kin, mi so kir’ ɛŋ.’

Ma no’, di na tɛ’ kom wàn suksi-mən, na umə ni firi taki, ‘a tɛm de krosibëj. Dâŋ a tek’ wə’ taitaj, a suk’ wən tra kondre, a gô. En di a de’ na tra kondre, tu mu’ na baka, a kisi wən sənxo mü man p’kin. En na p’pa nε skiri na fesi hëm hëde Konu Wilyam. En na m’ma meki ɛŋ naŋga wən tofer dosu naŋga wən sroto.

En di na p’kin gebor’, a oksi hëm mama, a tak’, ‘Mi mama, suma na mi papa?’ A tak’, ‘Mi p’kin, yu no habi papa.’ A tak’, ‘Fa dat’ kan de, wən p’kin gebor’ zondro papa?’ Na p’kin a tak’, ‘We, mi mama, tîde mi wani sabi suma na mi papa.’ A tak’, ‘Tyɛ! mi p’kin! A so de hogri fô yu, en a so de hogri fô mi.’ En
a taki, ‘Na yu hcede mi libi yu papa kondre, mi kom tə’ djaso. A taki, ṣf mi meki wàŋ umq’p’kin, a so də ḍhəm wɛfif, ma ɕf na wàŋ məns-p’kin, a sə kiri ḍhəm. Dot’ me f rede. Mi kom kibiri djaso.’

*Kri, kra*! Harki tɔri!

Nò, a taki, ‘Mi mama, mi sə skrif fənən bən mi papa. Yu n’e fò frede.’ Èn so na bən skrifi wàŋ bən gi həm papa. Èn a bən dì na papa kusi na bən, a krosi moro lejki wàŋ leu, a kusi ɕŋ hede wiiwi, a hari. A taki, ‘Na bən musu dèdè.’ Èn so a tek’ wàŋ feti-boto nənqə na moro bəŋi tetaj dì a bən habi, fò taj də bən. Dàn a səngi wàŋ səngi:

Sribi na dcde,
Luku, umq’ kiri mə.

*Kri, kra*! Harki tɔri!

Èn na p’kin a də na ɕŋ hoso. A hɔri ɕŋ tofer dosu, èn a si dati həm papa de kom fò kiri ḍhəm. Èn a hopo həm aji, mi mən, èn a si da supi də kom nənqə həm papa, nənqə ala sortu օɾtə meti fò prətə həm. Èn ‘a yurutəm na papa doro krosibej fò həm, mi mən, nò mò a go na ni həm dosu, a tek’ wàŋ batra, a dropu dri dropu, èn a bari, a taki, ‘Kirimən, kir’ üŋ srefi. Mek’ mi papa nənqə kəpitən nənqə den soldati go baka!’

So na supi a’ fò drej go baka. Èn papa hɔgri so tə ... dì a no kusi na bən fò kiri ḍhəm.
Ma dì na papa bən gowe baka, mi mən, so a bən teki ɾəspeki fò skrif fənən bəŋ brifir fənən bəŋ, takí kən kom luku ḍhəm. Ma na bən na bəŋ wani. ‘A bən taki, ‘Efí yu habi mi fanodu, dàŋ yu kom luku mi.’ Dàŋ na bən bən səngi:

Anəsí koni, koni mən,
Koni de moro mi.

Èn nò, na papa sɛn’ təjí həm taki, ‘Meki ala sani klari, mi de kom luku yu fò bɔ’, no fò hɔgri.’ Èn so na papa bən doro, mi mən, èn a i təm tɛ a bən doro na mofo na kondo fò na bəj, ef’ yu yeri kanɔŋ sùtu fò na sipi, đoti fò presiri. Èn dì a doro go na soro, mi mən, a kus’ na bəj, a bɔsi, a kus’ na mama, a abrasa həm. Èn a taki na mama, a taki, ‘Umə, fa yu kəŋ mək’ wəŋ mən pikin dṣi koni moro lejki mi nənqə yu? Yu no sab’-taki ‘a bəj so kiri yu? So kiri mi?’

Afiŋə, mi mən, a so na bər də go. Èn den bən presiri, nỳam, dŋŋi, lafa, ala sani.
En nô, na un na presiri, bênd wâns Konu bên habi n' ŋñ kondre wâns bûgi fêtì. Ma nô, a yere taki wâns boj gëbor, 'a nêm Konu Ŋñyam.' A boj koni so të ... koni libi abra. So da Konu bên sen’ kari hêm kom, fô kom fêtì na fêtì gi hêm. Ma na fêtì bênd de wâns tumusi bûgi fêtì.

Harki tori!
Anansi koni, koni, koni mân,
Koni de moro mi.

We, mi mân, en so na papa nângâ mama bênd dâpe. En so na boj so kom abrâsa hêm papa, hêm mama. En so a rejîkî taki ŋñ papa no habi hêm moro na ŋñ hati. En so na boj taki adiosi, a powe fô wini na fêtì.

Kri kra! Suma sa tek’ mi tori tyar’ go baka, a sa tro’ wâns mormrstq’!

En so na papa nângâ hêm mama bênd tâ’ drâpe.

Fos’ na boj gowe na na fêtì, a kari hêm mama, a taki, ’Umâ, sribi na dđđc. Umâ kiri mân.’ En dis’ a suŋgi:

Wà mama, tye! Sân na wàn mama?
Wán papa, tye! Sân na wàn papa?
Tâŋgi, tâŋgi, gi mi pikîn watra,
Te yu dđđc, mi so mêmbrè yu.

We, mi mân, di na boj gowe kaba, so na papa kari na mama, a taki, ’We, mama, luku, mi nângâ yu, tin-nângâ-aŋkî yari di wi libi kaba, noiti yu bên kis’ bërê. En di fô tin-nângâ-nejî yari, yu kisi wàn moj mâñ p’kiñ. En yu srefi si da boj koni moro lejîki mi nângâ yu. En dot’ no mâñ ds. En yu srefi sabi fà mi lobi yu. Mi lobi yu moro lejîki šëngi lobi dram.’ En a kis’ na umâ, a bigîn abrâsa, bôsi, ferlaj ŋñ. A taki, ’Luku fà mi nângâ yu bên pina. Yu sa mak’ wàn p’kin kómm pòri wi libi?’ A bôs’ hêm baka, a taki, ’Umâ, sân na da kòni fô na boj mak’ na boj koni so?’

Wante, di na boj bênd gowe, a bênd habi wân tofer tiki tu. So habi bênd librì gi hêm mama, a taki, ’Mi mama, a wînsi yu dë dđđc srefi, a wînsi sàq’ mi papa so taki, yu no de prefururu sorì hêm na tiki. No so, yu dë go dđđc, mi dë go dđđc.’

Ma yu sref’ sabi umâ nângâ mâñ, mi mân, kaba. A i têm na mâñ bigîn fasfasi prej nângâ hêm, a hopo, mi mâñ. A bênd kibî na tofer tiki tu yürü fàra fô na prêisi. ’A so a bênd hopo, a go tek’ na tofer tiki fô na boj, gi na papa. En ’a yürü di na papa kisi na tiki, a luku na mama, a taki, ’N’a yürü fô mi nângâ yu kis’ kaba.’ ’A so na papa a skrifi fô hêm supî. ’A so den kom tyar’ teki hêm gowe.
En so, di a doro na hém kondre, mi män, a bigun meki ala sortu sani fö kiri na mama nanga na boi.

Krei! ‘A bõri sa go.
A mus’ kàh go.
Mi sércna mi sércna,
Trä, tra, trä,
Mi na mòni masra,
Trä, tra, trä.

We nò, na boj so beti da feti fö na tra Konu te a wni na feti kaba. ‘A boi de kom nanga presiri, poku, fraga. Ala sani na tafra. A i têm a doro, a kusi hém mama abrasa, a boși hém, en aksi hém taki, ‘Fa fö mi papa?’ En a taki hém tají, ‘Yu no ‘a’ fö frede, yu papa bèn gowe nanga presiri fö yu.’ En so na umà, mi boj, no piki na boj no ti san gebo’ nanga hém. So ‘a boi taki, ‘We, mi so skrif mi papa wàŋ brifi, taki mi wni da feti kaba.’ Da’ a taki,

‘Anànsi koni, koni, koni män
Koni ‘e moro mi.’

We, a i tê’ papa kusi na brifi, taki na boj doro baka, a wni ifeti kaba, ‘a papa hogri srefi dat’ a teki tigri, leu, pot’ na unisej wàŋ supi fö kom priti na boj. En ‘a yurutem, mi män, a i tê di papa dè doro, mi män, ‘a boj lòn gowe na un hém tofer dosu, a lòn, a bari, ‘Kirimàn, kir’ un srefi. Meki sturman, na’ den matros’ tyari na supi go baka.’ Ma dêti no bèn hèlpi hém. Na tofer tiki no bèn de. So a lòn ‘a hém mama, a taki, ‘Mi mama, pè mi tofer tiki dè?’ A mama bigin suku, a taki, ‘Mi Gado, a bèn djàso.’ A go baka, a tak’, ‘Mi Gado, mi no sab!’ Fa mi dè go do, mi masra.’ So fö skrejiki meki a morsù hém héri s’kin. Na boj a tají hém, a tak’, ‘Mi mama, tide a kaba fö mi nanga yu. Yu kiri mi, yu kiri yu srefi.’

En so, a i tê’ da papa doro, a kôm na syoro nanga dem matrası, sordati, a kis’ na boj, a taji hém, taji na boj so ... en ‘a mama den bèn taji lejki wàŋ buriki. Den poti den na un na supi leki wàŋ hagu. En na papa bèn teki na tofer-tiki fö na boj, a bèn trowe hém te ... na un grün Spanısi sej. En di a taji hém pot’ na un na supi kaba, ‘a supi dè gowe, ‘Mi só si, mi só si, mi só si, mi só si.’

Ala matrası plesiri. En nò, papakaji dè frej, alata dè diki. A i tê’ dèm so doro na grün Spanısi sej, na papa a só kîr’ den. So alata dè diki, papakar’ dè frej. So fa na papakar’ de frej, a só a tek’ na

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tofer tiki, a fring na da boŋ hanu so, ŋn na boŋ a kis wɑŋ krakti na ŋŋ sikin, a taki, 'Kirîmaŋ, kirîmaŋ, kiri ŋŋ srefi. Mek' mi mana nango mi papa wawɑŋ tɑŋ.' ŋn a taki, 'Mi mana, yu hɛdɛ so dɛ fɔ mi wɛtra komki, en mi papa, yu bɔŋyo so dɛ fɔ mi draŋtrapu.' 'A so na mana bɛn dɛdɛc. A bɛn tekî hɛmi hɛdɛ fɔ wɑŋ wɛtra komki. ŋn na papa, dem bɔŋyo a tekî fɔ wɑŋ draŋ-trapu. ŋn a taki, 'Papakâj, mi no ŋabi nɔti fɔ gi yu, ma wɑŋ bɔŋ hɑti suma so tekî yu, a so leri yu taki, ŋn a so gi yu nanyam. ŋn alata, mi no ŋabi nɔti fɔ gi yu. Ma te wɑŋ suma sa bai wɑŋ pisi krosi, yu so ŋeni hafu.'

D'a ʂʊŋi wɑŋtrɔŋ mo', taki:

Sribi na dɛdɛc,
Umɑ kiri mɑŋ;
Suma pikin
A no yu pikin.

'A so na tori bɛn kom kaba
Bato! mi bɛn dape!
Suma sa tek' 'a tori tyar go baka, a sa trɔŋ wɑ mɔmɔrstɔ'.

127. 'Woman Kills Man': The Jealous Father: Mother's Treachery.¹

Kri, kra! Open your ears, and hear the story!
All men on their kraka!

There was once a King whose name was King William, and he had a wife. She had lived with him for eighteen years, and never had the woman been with child. But when the nineteenth year came, she felt she was pregnant. And King William said to her, said, ‘If you give birth to a daughter, she will be my wife, I will marry her. And if to a son, I will kill him.’

But now, when the sixth month came, the woman felt that her time was approaching. Then she took a rope, and she went to look for another country. Two months after she came to the other country, she gave birth to a fine looking son. And his father's name, King William, was written on his forehead. And his mother bore him with a locked magic box.

And when the child was born, he asked his mother, he said, ‘Mother, who is my father?’ She said, ‘My child, you have no father.’ He said, ‘How can that be, a child born without a father?’ The child said, ‘Well, mother, today I want to know who my father is.’ She said, ‘Tye! my child! It will be bad for you, and it will be

¹ Told by 4. Compare Senegal (Mandingo), Zeltner 1-36, 47-62; Liberia (Gola), Westermann (III) 496-497, No. 27; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 294ff., (the cycle of l’enfant terrible); Northern Nigeria (Jukun), Meek 479-485; Southern Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 217, No. 12.
bad for me.’ And she said, ‘For your sake I left your father’s country, and came to live here. He said, if I gave birth to a daughter she would be his wife, but if to a son, he would kill him. That made me afraid. I came to hide here.’

*Kri, kra! Harken to the story!*

Now he said, ‘Mother, I will write a letter to my father. You needn’t be afraid.’ And so the boy wrote a letter to his father. And it happened [that] when the father received the letter, he was more enraged than a lion, and he caught his hair and pulled it. He said, ‘The boy must die.’ And so he took a fighting ship, and the stoutest rope he had with which to tie the boy. Then he sang a song:

> Sleep is death,  
> Look, woman kills man.¹

*Kri, kra! Harken to the story!*

And the child was at home. He held his magic box, and he saw that his father was coming to kill him. And he opened his eyes, my man, and he saw the ship coming with his father, and all kinds of wild animals to maul him. And when the father approached, my man, he went to his box at once, and took out a bottle, and he sprinkled drops, and he shouted, he said, ‘Murderers, murder yourselves. Let my father and the captains and the soldiers go back!’ So the ship had to turn back. His father was enraged so till... when he did not catch the boy in order to kill him. But when the father returned, my man, so he took the trouble to write a good letter to the boy that he could come and see him. But the boy did not want to (go). The boy said, ‘If you need me, then you can come and see me.’ Then the boy sang:

> Anansi is a cunning, cunning man,  
> Cunning is more than I am.²

And now, the father sent to tell him, say, ‘Have everything ready. I am coming to see you with good intentions and not evil.’ And so the father arrived, my man, and when he reached the entrance to the boy’s country, if you heard the ships’ cannons shooting, that was for pleasure. And when he reached the shore, my man, he caught the boy, and he kissed him, he caught the mother and he embraced her. He said to the mother, he said, ‘Wife, how could you give birth to a son who is more clever than you and I? Don't you know that the boy will kill you? Will kill me?’  

Ąfɛ̨ŋ,³ my man, so the story goes. And they rejoiced,⁴ ate, drank, laughed, everything.

¹ Song No. 130.  
² Song No. 131.  
³ Ąfɛ̨ŋ - probably informant’s version of enfin. This informant has been to the Marowyne River which separates Dutch from French Guiana.  
⁴ Lit., ‘pleasured’.  

*Melville J. Herskovits et Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore*
And now, in the midst of this rejoicing, there was a King who had a big war in his kingdom. But now he heard that there was a boy, whose name was King William. The boy was clever so till... he had cunning to spare. So the King sent for him to come, and fight this war for him. But the war was a very big war.

_Harken to the story!_

Anansi is a cunning, cunning, cunning man,
Cunning is more than I am.

Well, my man, and so the father and mother were there. And so the boy will come to embrace his father and his mother. And so he figured that his father was no longer angry' with him. And so the boy said goodbye, and he went away to win the war.

_Kri kra! He who will take my story and repeat it, shall turn to marble!_

And so the father and his mother remained there.

Before the boy went away to the war, he called his mother, and he said, 'Woman, sleep is death. Woman kills man.' And this he sang:

_a mother, tye! What is a mother?_
_a father, tye! What is a father?_
_Please, please, give me a little water,
_When you die I shall remember you._

Well, my man, when the boy went away, the father called the mother and he said, 'Well, mother, look, you and I lived for eighteen years and you were never with child. And the nineteenth year you gave birth to a fine son. And you yourself see that the boy is more clever than you and I. And that cannot be. And you yourself know how I love you. I love you more than an Indian loves rum.' And he caught her, and began to embrace her, to kiss her, to entice her. He said, 'Look how you and I have suffered. Will you let a child spoil our lives?' He kissed her again, and he said, 'Wife, what is this wisdom which makes the boy so wise?'

Because when the boy went away, he had a magic stick, too. So he had to leave it with his mother, he said, 'Mother, no matter even if you are dead, no matter what my father will say, you are not to show him the stick. Otherwise you are going to die, and I am going to die.'

But you yourself know already, [the way of] a woman with a man, my man. When the husband began playing with her, she got up, my man. She had hid the magic stick two hours distance from the place. And so she got up, and she went to take the boy's magic stick to give to the father. And when the father got the stick, he looked at the mother, and he said, 'My hour and yours have come.'

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1 Lit., '...no had he more on he heart'.
2 Song No. 150.
So the father wrote for his ship. So they came to take him away. And so when he reached his kingdom, my man, he began to make all kinds of things with which to kill the mother and the boy.

Kre! The story will go on.
It must go on.

Mi serena mi serena,
Trin, tran, trin,
I am a rich fellow,
Trin, tran, trin.

Well, now the boy will fight the war for the other King until he will win the war. The boy was coming (back) with rejoicing, drums, flags. Everything was on the table. When he arrived, he caught his mother and embraced her, and kissed her, and asked her, ‘How about my father?’ And she said to him, said, ‘You have nothing to fear. Your father went away pleased with you.’ And so the woman, my boy, told the boy nothing of what had happened to her. So the boy said, ‘Well, I will write my father a letter that I have won the war.’ Then he said,

‘Anansi is a cunning, cunning, cunning man,
Cunning is more than I am.’

Well, when the father received the letter that the boy was back, and had won the war, the father was so enraged that he took tigers and lions, and put them in a ship to go and maul the boy. And when, my man, the father arrived, my man, the boy ran to his magic box, he ran, and he cried, ‘Murderers, murder yourselves. Let the steersmen and the sailors take the ship back.’ But that did not help him. The magic stick was not there. So he ran to his mother, and he said, ‘Mother, where is my magic stick?’ The mother began to search, and she said, ‘My God! It was here.’ She went back, and she cried, ‘My God! I don’t know what I am going to do, my master.’

So from fright she dirtied her whole body. The boy said to her, he said, ‘Mother, today is the end for you and me. You are killing me, you are killing yourself.’

And so when the father arrived, he came on shore with the sailors and soldiers. He caught the boy, and he bound him, bound the boy so [pantomime of arms crossed], and he bound the mother like a donkey. They put them in the ship like hogs. And the father took the boy’s magic stick, and threw it till... the green Spanish Sea. And when he had finished tying them, and putting them in the ship, the ship sailed away [singing] - ‘I will see, I will see, I will see, I will see.’

All the sailors rejoiced. And now, the parrot was flying, and the rat was digging. When they will reach the green Spanish Sea, the father will kill them. So, the rat was digging, and the parrot was

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1 Song No. 139.
flying. So, as the parrot was flying, he took the magic stick, and flung it into the boy's hands so... and the boy caught strength in his body [from it], and he said, 'Murderers, murderers, murder yourselves. Let only my mother and father remain.' And he said, 'Mother, your head shall be my drinking cup, and father, your bones shall be my stepladder.' And so the mother died. He took her head for a drinking cup. And the father's bones he took for a stepladder. And he said, 'Parrot, I have nothing to give you, but a kind hearted man will take you and teach you to talk, and he will give you food. And Rat, I have nothing to give you. But [when] a man will buy a piece of cloth, you will find half.' Then he sang once more, and he said:

Sleep is death,  
Woman kills man;  
Someone's child  
Is not your child.

And so the story came to an end.  
Bato! I was there!  
He who will take this story and repeat it, will turn to marble.

128.

Kri, kra! Harki tɔiri!  
Opo yejisi drapɛ! Yɛre tɔiri!  
Mɔn de! Kri, kra!

Wɔn mama bɛn de, a bɛn habi wɔn poti p'kin boj. 'A boj no bɛn habi krosi na hɛm s'kin. Ën 'a mama bɛn habi dri hagu dɛ' kweki. Wɔn de dɛnsi apuku. Wɔn de dɛnsi susa. Wɔn de dɛnsi walsi. Wɛ, di na pina kɔm kisi, na mama a tajgi na boj, ën na boj bɛn nem Boni-boni...

Harki de!  
Na tɔiri sa go!  
Na tɔiri mus' kɔn go!  
Ma na tɔiri habi maximołyon naŋga syuba-syuba.

... Wɛ, di pina bɛn kus', na mama a tajgi na boj, a taki, 'Wɛ, mi boj, mi srefi si yu no habi rɔt fɔ nɔya. Da tek' na wɔn hagu dus' di dɛnsi apuku, tyari go seri hɛm, mek' wi kɔn fenı nanųam.'
Ma, sëns na hagu bëng p'kin, na bô bëng lëri hëm dânsi.

_Bato!_

Sûŋ', sûŋ', mi dëndyamaka,
Sûŋ', sûŋ', mi dëndyamaka,
Sani so dëng, mi dëndyamaka. 1

... Wë, mi mân, na so na bô bëng tek' na wâng hagu di dëng dânsi apuku, a bëng tyari hëm fö go seri.

Ma nô, krôsibej fô na kondre bëng habi wâng prunsês. 'A prunsês a moj. A bëng hënsi moro sôñ. Moro yû dë luku hëm, moro a dë hënsi. Ma di na bô so dôro na na kondre krôsibej, wân-tu sôrdat sô tap' hëm, taki, 'Boj, pê yû dë go? Dápë suma na mân pasa.'

Sô na prunsês a bëng waka na un dyari, a si na bô nangga na hagu. So a bëng kari na bô, a takî hëm lobi na hagu, oksi na bô sâñ 'a hagu dë du. A taki, 'Na hagu dësi, a dânsi apuku.' Daq' a tajgi na bô, taki, 'Wë, mek' a dânsi.'

 În no çë na hagu bigin fô dânsi wënti, ala suma dë lc'ë. A dë wâng presiri fö si. În na wûnti sënggi fô na hagu:

Yorka d'a sabana,
Pë a dë?
Yorka wëri wejî,
Pë a dë?
Yorka d'a sabana,
A dë 'a berî-pë.
Yorka wëri wejî,
A dë 'a berî-pë.

So 'a prunsês oksi na bôj, 'Hàyùmûni yu wani fô na hagu?' Na bôj taki, 'Ah, mi prunsês, mi no wani moni. Ma, çë yu wani du mi wâng presiri, dâng mek' mi si yu bobi, dâñ mi so gi yu na hagu.' Na prunsês luku hëm, a lafu. A taki, 'Tox, yû dë na lau bôt. Yû suku nanyâm, yû suku bobi?' Ma na prunsês a bëng lobi na hagu, so a bëng sori na bô hëm bobi. În sàñ na bobi bëng dë, mi mân? Tu gotu bobi. So na bô bëng habi wâng p'kin buku, a skrifî hëm na un ni buku.

În so, di na bôj go na hoso, hangri na bëng moro na mama tûmusi, ên 'a yërtëm na mama aksî hëm, 'Boni-boni, pëc na hagu dë? Yû sëri hëm kaba?' na bôj tak', 'No, mi mama, na 'agu lusu na mi 'anu. Mi suk so tê ... Mi no mân kûs' ëñ.' 'A mama ga tek' wâng tûk, ên tak', 'Çëf' yû no kës' na 'agu kôm, mi so brok' yu 'céd nangga wâng tûk.' So na bô bëng frede. A lc'ë gowë, go kûbri ëñ...

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1 Told by 4. Compare Santo Domingo, Andrade 47-48, No. 22. The resemblance may be noted of the motif of locking the three characters in the room to the West African theme of locking a suitor with the girl he wishes in a room for five, eight, or ten days, during which he must go without food, as, e.g., in Tremeame (III) 336-338.
Harkirori!
Ç’yere tori!
Suma sa tek’mi tori ty’a go baka, a sa tro’ wą’ marmustò!

So na m’ma bèn kali ᵇŋ baka, a tajgi, ‘Boni-boni, mi p’ kin.’ A bèn de wàŋ boj fò tı̀n-na-sejà yari. A taki, ‘Luku, mi de bègi yu, luku fa mi no ‘abí fò nyàm. Luku fa wi de pina, en tek’ na wàŋ ’agu disi, disi de daŋsi walsi, đàn yu de go ser’ ᵇŋ. Ma tάŋgi, tάŋgi, no mék’ a lusu moro gowe.’ En so na boj bèn teki pasi baka. A bèn doro na ᵇŋ na prènçès kondre baka...

Kri, kri! Ala mǎn n’ç’ kra, kra!
En so, na boj bèn sŋgi gi na ‘agu -
Selina fanejda
San t’èc yu de kêj?
Yu lób’ mi fò mi mòni,
Ma i no lób’ mi fò mi parson,
Na dati yu de kêj.
Bató! ‘A tori mus’ kàŋ go!
A habì maxmorìòn nàŋga shuba, shuba.


Nò, den prènçès a bèn kìs’ tu ’agu k’ba, wàŋ den dans’ wùnti apuku, ën wàŋ de dans’ walsi. Èn so na boj bèn skrífr’ na õn’ na buku baka...

Arkì torì, mi màn!
Arkì torì!
Anansi-tori màn djàso!

Èn so na boj gowe n’a m’mà baka, ën a tajgi ònj m’mà, a taki, ‘Mi m’mà, no fredè. Gudu yuru so kom.’ A tak’, ‘Ma mi m’mà,

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
skrifi. A tak', 'Boni-boni, saŋ moro?' A tak', 'Pater, mi no sab' moro, yɛri?'...

Wɛ, mi m'an, 'a tor' sa go!

... Wɛ, Mɔ̨nde, dem go pur' na frag na prɩncɛs kondre. Ala den bigi bakra mu' go pu' frag. Pater na fosi wɑŋ. Boni-boni weri ɛŋ p'kin blaŋ yas, ɛŋ p'kin blaŋ bruku, ɛŋ kroŋp, bɛn de wɑŋ poti boj. 'A tɛm ɗoti, pater 'abi bigi baruba. Ma di den doro na prɩncɛs kondre fɔ̥ pur' na frag, pater na fɔ̥s' wɑŋ di na go na un fɔ̥ pur' na frag. A yeri saŋ na boj taki, 'a ɗoti a go taki fɔ̥ puru. Wɛ, a di pater go fɔ̥ puru na frag, dem aksi ɛŋ, 'Saŋ' na da fosi sani di prɩncɛs 'abi?' Pater laf'. A tak', 'Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! Na fɔ̥s' sani? Ax, na tu diamanti bobi.' Pɛ Konu 'e tɛnapu, a skreki tc 'i skreki libi-abrą. Aksi pater, 'Saŋ na ɛ' twejde wɑŋ?' Pater prakseri, a tak' so noţi tc pater b'gɪn skreki. A ben skreki' so tc ... fɔ̥ dɛdɛ. A no ben maŋ sidɔ' moro.

En di dɛ' kar', den kar' na boj. Dɛ' taki, 'Yu boj, yu sa maŋ pur' frag? San yu kɔ du djaso!' A taki, 'Mi sa pur' frag tc ... frag libi-abrąŋ.' A taki, ɛŋ puru moro lej̄k' den dɛŋki. Konu tak', 'Saŋ na fɔ̥s' sani dat' na prɩncɛs 'abi?' A tak', 'Ah, Koni, na fɔ̥s san' di prɩncɛs habi? Tu diamanti bobi.' Koni naki ɛŋ futu gi' 'a boj, 'Tapu yu mofo. Dati yu yɛri pater taki dionsro.' 'A boj taki, 'Na mi s'ɛfɛ bɛ̃' taj ki pater a biktri.' Pater skreki so tc fɔ̥ dɛdɛ. Aks' na boj saŋ na da twejdi wɑŋ'. 'Na twejde wɑŋ na karbonkle komba.' Pɛ Konu tɛnapu, a skreki, a hari ɛŋ 'ɛde wiwiri, fɔ̥ wɑŋ pikiŋ mu' pur' so wɑŋ frag. 'En na dɛrd' wɑŋ?' Konu taki, 'Saŋ' na dɛrdɛ wɑŋ?' A taki, 'Na dɛrdɛ wɑŋ, mi Konu, wɑŋ gotu kɛti naŋga gotu scnari sprı' wiwiri.'

Al' dem bakra skreki. A opo na boj naŋga situru na tapu fɔ̥ prisiri. Ma tox den fen' taki na boj no fti fɔ̥ tro naŋga na prɩncɛs. Dɛ' wani meki pater fɔ̥ tro naŋga prɩncɛs. En so dɛ̃ gi'l na boj fejį ondro xoldu fɔ̥ a go nyam. En na Konu taki dem, a taki na boj naŋga pater, a tak', 'Tamara neği, tin' yuru, mi so s'rotu yu naŋga pater naŋga prɩncɛs na un' wɑŋ kamera. Prɩncɛs so dɛ na mundri, pater na leti 'anu, en Boni-boni na kruptu 'anu. En fejį yuru mamɑntɛn, suma di mi si prɩncɛs so 'brasa, dat' so tro naŋg' i, kusi na heri kɔndre.'...
So na boj doro na 'i 'oso nanga presiri. A yur' fó na boj doro na 'oso, a taki, 'Nõ, m'ma, nyäm en drëngi, presiri. Mi wni feti k'ba.' Ëŋ presiri fó di na m'ma si na fejfi hondo xoldu, a krej, a 'blasa na boj. Na boj tak', 'Mi m'ma, n'a' fred. Teki disi. Tamara mi go fet' wån moro bigi feti. 'So na boj du, mi mân. A de aksi ëŋ m'ma tin xoru. So na boj den go na bakri-'oso, en mek' dem meki wän paki sujti-kuku, ën a meki wän tra paki nanga shialap-kuku. Ën a baj wän batra lafëndra. Ën a tajig mama, a tajig' di a gô.

Ën so di a gô, mi mân, a mit' na neigi yuru na nejiti. Pater sidq' kaba, lejki wän grâ' masra. A wakti fos' na yur' kom. So na tin' yur' na nejt, prünčes nāŋga pater nāŋga Boni-boni, dën dën seroto dën na un wän kamera. Na kamera bëñ moj te ... moj libi-abra. Na bëñ bëñ kriñ, dat' a no fō tak. Wë, di den didq kaba, dâ' wän san' fō elfi yur' na neti, na boj prakseri na wän Lënsu boj, so pater nāŋga ëŋ bëñ goweni. Ën 'a boj bigin nyäm wän fō den paki sukru-kuku. Ën 'a kuku bëñ sujiti te ... a sujiti den libi-abra, te prünčes s'røfì na lostu na kuku fō na boj. Ma prünčes prëj lejig' a bëñ sribi. 'A boj taki, 'Sribi na dëdc, umà kiri mân.'

Wë, di pater si doti, a tak', 'Boni-boni, mi boj, luku wän sani 'ë go miti ūnu tide neti.' A boj tak', 'Pater, 'i a leti. Ëf' mi mân ëno gowe, mi so gowe.' Ma a taki, 'Pater, ëf' ëc froferi, mi wà-tu sukru-kuku dia, dën 'i tek' wàn-tu nyâm.' Pater tak', 'ajl!' Ën na boj gi na pater wän fō den sujiti kuku, a nyâm. A bën fen' na kuku so sujiti, a okz' na boj, a tak', 'Yu 'ab moro?' 'A boj tak', 'Yu wan' moro?' Dën na boj gi pater nö di kuku di a meki nāŋga shalap.

Ma, dë wän sani fō wän yuru na neti, pater fir' ëŋ bër' b'gin hati ëŋ. A tak', 'Boni-boni, mi boj, mi go dëdc dia. Fu wą' prünčes 'ëcde mi no wän' dëdc, ën yu mu' prakser' tak' na 'oso sroto, so làŋga Konu no kom op' ëŋ a no kâ' ëno. 'So di pater fir' ëŋ bëri 'atì ëŋ, ëŋ a tajig' na boj, a tak', 'Boni-boni, 'i sab' sq?' Mi 'ë go morso na un' na 'oso, ma mi no kâŋ lëpi.' Dê' nö, Boni-boni a go lej, a tak', 'Mi Gadô, pater! Mi brib' den go kir' ūnu dia. Wë, mi s'rëf' a do fu, tu.'

Kri, kra! Harken to the story!
Open your ears there! Hear the story!
There are men! Kri, kra!

There was a mother who had a poor son. The boy had no cloth to cover his body. And his mother had three pigs which she was raising. One danced apuku. 2 One danced susa. 3 One danced the waltz. Well, when hard times came, the mother said to the boy, whose name was Boni-boni...

Harken!
The story will go on!
The story must go on!
But the story has maximolyon and syuba-syuba.

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2 The name for the sacred ‘little people’ of the bush, as well as the dances for them.
3 This is recognised by natives of the bush and town as an African dance. It is danced by men only. The pantomime is that of combat with shield and spear.
... Well, when hard times came, the mother said to her boy, she said, 'Well, my boy, I myself see you have nothing to eat. Then take the pig that dances apuku, and go sell him, so that we may find some food.'
But, since the pig had been little, the boy had taught him to dance.

*Bato!*

Sing, sing, my dindyamaka,
Sing, sing, my dindyamaka,
Things will happen, my dindyamaka.¹

Well, my man, and so the boy took the pig that danced apuku, and took it away to sell.

But now near the village lived a princess. The princess was beautiful. She was handsomer than the sun. The more you looked at her, the more handsome she was. But as the boy will be approaching the neighboring kingdom, several soldiers will stop him, and say, 'Boy, where are you going? People cannot pass there.'

So the princess was walking in the yard, and she saw the boy with the pig. She called the boy, and she said she liked the pig, and asked the boy what the pig did. He said, 'This pig dances apuku.' Then she said to the boy, said, 'Well, let him dance.'

And now if the pig began to dance winti,² all the people ran. It was a pleasure to see. And the pig's winti song (was):

Ghosts are in the cemetery,
Where are they?
Ghosts wear white,
Where are they?
Ghosts are in the cemetery,
They are in the burial ground.
Ghosts wear white,
They are in the burial ground.³

So the princess asked the boy, 'How much do you want for the pig?' The boy said, 'Ah! my princess, I do not want money. But, if you want to give me pleasure, then let me see your breasts, and then I will give you the pig.' The princess looked at him, and she laughed. She said, 'You are a silly boy. Are you looking for food, or are you looking for breasts?' But the princess liked the pig, so she showed the boy her breasts. And what were the breasts, my man? Two golden breasts. So the boy had a small book, and he wrote it in his book.

And so, when the boy went home, the mother was suffering from hunger, and when his mother asked him, 'Boni-boni, where is the pig? Did you sell it already?' the boy said, 'No, mother, the pig, it got away from my hands. I looked for him so till... (but) I could not catch him.' The mother went to take a stick, and said, 'If you do not bring the pig, I will break your head with a stick.' So the boy was afraid. He ran away, and hid himself....

¹ Song No. 121. *Dindyamaka* is the porcupine.
² I.e., began to dance for a spirit.
³ Song No. 124.
Harken to the story!
And listen to the story!
He who takes this story, and repeats it, will turn to marble!

So the mother called him again. She said, ‘Boni-boni, my son.’ He was a seventeen year old boy. She said, ‘Look, I beg you, look how I have nothing to eat. Look how we are suffering, and take this pig, this one that dances waltz, and go sell him. But please, please, do not let him get loose again and run away.’ And so the boy took his path again, and he came once more to the kingdom of the princess...

Kri, kra! All men on their kra, kra!
And so, the boy sang to the pig -
Selina fanaida
Why do you cry?
You love me for my money,
But you do not love me for myself,
That is why you cry.¹
Bato! The story must go on!
It has maxmorion and shuba, shuba.²

Well, my man, when the princess saw the second pig, she said, ‘Boni-boni, my boy, sell me this, and I will pay you for him as much money as you want. But [for] never did I see a pig dance like a human being! If the pig danced a waltz here, you felt the pig's winti as far as the street. The boy said, ‘Ah, my princess, I cannot sell him to you.’ And the boy began to laugh. The boy said, ‘Ah! my princess, I beg of you one thing, but I do not know if you will agree. I want you to let me see your navel. Then I will give you the pig for nothing.’ And the princess looked at him, and she said, ‘You are still only a boy. You cannot do anything with me. Well, I will show you.’ But when the princess showed him, what she showed him was a black diamond navel. The boy laughed; and he gave the princess the pig.

Now the princess had got two pigs already, one that danced apuku winti, and one that danced waltz. And so the boy wrote in the book again....

Harken to the story, my man!
Harken to the story!
An Anansi-story teller is here!

And so the boy went to his mother again, and he said to his mother, he said, ‘Mother, don't be afraid. Good times will come.’

¹ Song No. 146.
² Same informant gave to these words this different pronunciation, and said that they meant ‘nice, nice’.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
He said, ‘But mother, you yourself see I have no clothes. But I beg you share with me. Buy me a blue coat, and a pair of breeches, and a pair of sandals.’ The mother said, ‘All right, my son.’

So the boy had another pig, which made three, and he danced susa. If the pig struck his foot on the ground, the earth burst open that a pig should come to dance so beautifully. But, while the mother was sleeping, the boy took the pig, and he went back to the kingdom of the same princess. And there he began to sing the susa song for the pig to dance:

\begin{verbatim}
   The rice is falling, 
   Come pick it, brother, 
   Things are there. 
   The rice is falling, 
   Come pick it, brother.\end{verbatim}

When the princess saw that, she was pleased beyond words. She said she must have the pig. And she loved the pig till... there was love to spare. And now, the princess called him, and said, ‘Boni-boni, my boy, I will even give you nine hundred guilders for him.’ He said, ‘No, no, my princess, I cannot sell him to you.’ The boy laughed, and the boy said, ‘Princess, I beg you to do one thing, princess.’ The princess said, ‘Well, what will that be, my boy?’ He said, ‘Princess, I want to see your thighs.’ But the princess' thighs had a gold chain and [golden] pubic hair. And so the boy went away, and he gave the princess the pig.

And the boy was there. The boy was baptized in the Roman Church, and the boy liked to confess. And now, when the boy went home now, he had his mother make him a pair of blue breeches, and a blue coat. And a half hour later, a man accompanied by their nearby neighbor will call on his mother, and say he read in the paper that a princess had three things on her body, but he who knows how to answer the questions what there is on the body of the princess will marry her, and get the kingdom.

And so the boy had heard that. So one Sunday the boy went to the priest for confession. And now the boy began to confess to the priest. The priest asked him, said, ‘My boy, see how you suffer. If you were able to guess the things on the princess' body you would guess! But now the boy said, ‘Pater, do you want me to tell you what the first one is?’ The priest said, ‘You know nothing, man.’ The boy said, ‘I want to tell what the first one is.’ He said, ‘Tell me, now.’ He said...

\textit{Harken to the story!}

...‘Pater, let me tell you a story. The first thing the princess has is two diamond breasts.' All he told the priest, he [the priest] took

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1 Song No. 138.
2 Lit., 'to pull'.
3 Lit., 'it is not to say'.
his book, and he wrote. He said, ‘Boni-boni, what else?’ He said, ‘Pater, I do not know more, hear?’...

Well, my man, the story will go on!

... Well, Monday, they went to the kingdom of the princess to answer the questions. All the important bakra must go to answer the questions. The priest was the first one. Boni-boni wore his little blue coat, and his little blue breeches, and his sandals, he was a poor boy. At this time the priest had a long beard. But when they arrived at the kingdom of the princess to answer the questions, the priest was the first one who went in to answer the questions. He heard what the boy had said, and that was what he was going to say to guess. Well, when the priest went to answer the questions, they asked him, ‘What is the first thing the princess has?’ The priest laughed. He said, ‘Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! The first thing? Ah, two diamond breasts.’ Where the King was standing, he was frightened till... there was fright to spare. He asked the priest, ‘What is the second one?’ The priest studied and he said such nonsense till the priest began to be afraid. He was afraid so till... death. He could not sit down any more.

And when they called, they called the boy. They said, ‘You boy, you will be able to answer the questions? What are you doing here?’ He said, ‘I will answer the questions till... there are questions to spare.’ He said he would answer more than they thought. The King said, ‘What is the first thing that the princess has?’ He said, ‘Ah, King, the first thing the princess has? Two diamond breasts.’ The King struck the boy with his foot. ‘Shut your mouth! You heard the priest say that just now.’ The boy said, ‘I, myself had told the priest at confession.’ The priest was frightened to death. Asked the boy what the second one was. ‘The second one is a black diamond navel.’ Where the King was standing, he was frightened, and he pulled his hair that such a youngster should answer such a question. ‘And the third one?’ the King said, ‘What is the third one?’ He said, ‘The third one, my King, is a golden chain, and golden pubic hair.’

All the bakra were frightened. They lifted the boy and the stool [upon which he sat] for joy. But yet they found that the boy was not fit to marry a princess. They wanted to have the priest marry the princess. And so, they gave the boy five hundred guilders to go and eat. And the King said to them, he said to the boy and the priest, he said, ‘Tomorrow night, at ten o'clock, I will lock you and the priest and the princess in a room. The princess will be in the middle, the priest on the right hand, and Boni-boni on the left hand. And at five o'clock in the morning, whomever I see the princess embracing, that one will marry her, and get the entire kingdom.’...
**Bato!**

**Kri, kra! Then he said at once,**

Anansi is a cunning, cunning, cunning man,

Cunning is more than I am.¹

So the boy went home happy. When the boy came home, he said, ‘Now mother, eat and drink, [and] be happy. I have already won the fight.’ When the mother saw the five hundred guilders, she was so happy that she wept, and she embraced the boy. The boy said, ‘Mother, don’t be afraid. Take this. Tomorrow I am going to fight a greater fight.’ So the boy did, my man. He asked his mother for ten guilders. So the boy went to the bake-shop, and had them make one package of sweet cakes, and make another package of laxative cakes. And he bought a bottle of lavender water. And he told his mother, he told her when he went.

And so when he went, my man, it was nine o’clock at night. The priest was already sitting there like a great man. He was waiting for the hour to come. So at ten o’clock at night, they locked the princess and the priest and Boni-boni in a room. The room was beautiful till... there was beauty to spare. The bed was so clean that it is beyond words. Well, as they were lying down, then about eleven o’clock at night, the boy studied he was a Roman Catholic boy, so that he and the priest were acquainted. And the boy began to eat one of the sugar cakes. And the cakes were sweet till... there was sweetness to spare, till the princess herself yearned for the boy's cakes. But the princess pretended to be asleep. The boy said, ‘Sleep is death, woman kills man.’

Well, when the priest saw that, he said, ‘Boni-boni, my boy, look, something is going to happen to you tonight.’ The boy said, ‘Pater, you are right. If I could get up, and go away, I would go away.’ But he said, ‘Pater, if you like a few of the cakes, then you can take a few, and eat.’ The priest said, ‘Yes!’ And the boy gave the priest one of the sweet cakes, and he ate it. He found the cake so sweet, that he asked the boy, he said, ‘Have you more?’ The boy said, ‘Do you want more?’ Then the boy gave the priest now the cakes which he had made with the laxative.

But, at about one o’clock at night, the priest felt his belly begin to hurt him. He said, ‘Boni-boni, my boy, I am going to die. I don’t want to die for the sake of a princess, and you must study that the house is locked, and as long as the King does not come to open it, it cannot open.’ So the priest felt his belly hurt him, and he said to the boy, he said, ‘Boni-boni, you know what? I am going to defecate in the house, but [for] I can’t help it.’ Then now Boni-boni is going to lie, and say, ‘My God, pater! I believe they are going to kill you here. Well, I myself, have to do it, too.’

¹ Song No. 131.
As I tell you, the priest went behind the door and he defecated behind the door. And now, when he defecated behind the door, he did not know what to do, he came and lay down again. So the whole room came to smell, until the princess herself could die.

And now, at three o'clock at night Boni-boni will tell the priest, will say, ‘I dreamed if the priest does not remove the excrement he defecated there, they will kill the priest.’ So the priest became afraid, he said, ‘My God! then I have to eat it.’ Then the boy is going to lie now, and the boy is going to say, he himself must eat his, too.

Well, my man, it was four o'clock at night. The princess was cold. Two men were lying [beside her], and so a wicked thought came into her head. She wanted to embrace the priest. And about half past four in the morning the priest went and he ate his excrement. And so after that he wiped up the ground. And so about two minutes to five o'clock, the Princess turned and she wanted to embrace the priest, but the smell was too much for her, and she turned, and went to Boni-boni’s side. She turned again to go to the priest. She could not. At that time, Boni-boni poured lavender water on his body, and when the girl turned for the third time to Boni-boni’s side, it was five o'clock in the morning.

When they opened the door, they saw how the princess and Boni-boni were embracing. So the boy had to marry the princess, and receive the kingdom. And so the priest was ashamed. He could not walk any more, for feebleness seized him. And the priest went and pulled out his beard. That is why priests do not grow beards any more...

Now, the story must go on.

And so the boy married, and received the kingdom. And the father, the King, was not pleased that the princess [should] marry the boy. Yet they were married...

And so I myself ate at the wedding feast, and they shot me with a cannon, till I sat down here. And so the story comes to an end. And so the boy was singing,

Emelina, todowais’,
Emelina, todowaisende.¹

129.

Wą’ mą’ bęn waka na busi. Dań a fèn’ wąn patu naŋga ’ɔni. Èn a taki, na patu, ëŋ go sɛrì hɛm. Da’i go bai kaų. Dań a merki na kaų, i go gi baka, ëŋ dɛ sɛrì. Çŋ bai foru, èn na ek∫i na foru so meki ëŋ dɛ go sɛrì. Bąi krabita, skapu. Na so, den p’kin fɔ hɛm, ëŋ

¹ Song No. 115.
A man was walking in the bush. Then he found a pot of honey. And he said he would go and sell the pot. Then he would buy a cow. Then the milk which the cow would give later, he would sell. And buy chickens, and the eggs the chickens would lay, he would
sell. Buy goats, sheep. And so he would educate his children well. He would go and hire ten people to work for his wife. And, when the children were well educated, then they would become teachers, doctors, and lawyers.

And so, while he talked happily, there was a stick in his hand. He was swinging the stick. And so the pot of honey was spilled.

*Proverb:* You study about something, yet you do not get it.

### 130. Agari.

Na fôs' ñem yu bèn 'abi so mënì suma di bèn ìq^-wè. Ma nô, wà'-tu bèn ìq^-wè. Ma di ìn ìq^-wè, dàñ dë' g'a busì, dàñ àngri kò' kir' dém, dàñ dë' mît' wàñ bòsu busi-bà'ana, dàñ dë' lòsi. Ma nô, wàñ fô dë' mân bèn dàpè ta' bà'ana lòsi, dà' i pòt' dèn na sëj fàja. Ma nô dèn tra wàñ, bufos' 'a bà'ana lòs' bò', dë' a nyam' ëñ. Nô mô dèn tra wàñ ok's' a man taki, 'Wë, bajà, yu n'ë a nyam?' Dàñ a i pìki dèn taki, 'Matì, mêk' a gari, a no gàr' 'ëtc.' Dàñ dèn tràwà' 'ë nyam tè dèm bëri 'ë furù, ma ëñ dàti no dè nyam.

Pikinsò baka, nô mô dèn yeri suma dè kòm ù' na busì fô kòn kis' dèm. Nô mô dë' alà bigùn ìnì. 'A mà' nô a n'âb' òc' fò luku dèm bà'ana di a 'abì pòt' a sëj fàja. Nô mô dèn tra wàñ dèn bari gi' ëñ taki, 'Mat' Agari-o! Fa agari?' Sô dàn tràwà' kò' spòt' ëñ, fô dì a bèn dè pot na bà'ana na sëj fàja f' agari. Na dat' mêk' dèn gi' a wàñ nem fô Agari.

### 130. The Fastidious go Hungry.

In early days you had many, many people who were running away. But now, (once) several had run away. But when they ran away, they went into the bush, and there they suffered hunger, then they came upon a bunch of bush plantains, which they roasted. But now there was one man there who, when the plantains were being roasted, put his at the side of the fire. But now the others, before the plantains were well roasted, they ate them. Soon the others asked the man, they said, 'Well brother, aren't you eating?' Then he answered them, he said, 'Friends, let them get done, they are not well done yet.' Then the others ate until they were full, but that one did not eat.

A little later, all at once they heard people coming to the bush to catch them. Instantly they all began to run. The man had no time to look after the plantains which he had put at the side of the fire. At once the others shouted to him, said, 'Friend-Well-Done - o! How is it getting done?' So the others came to ridicule him, because he had put the plantains at the side of the fire to have them well done. And that is why they gave him the name Agari.

### 131.

Wan le'ìr'man habi na wà' apresina bom. Ala dej suma 'ë go fufuru ëñ. Dàñ 'a lerìmàñ 'ë prek na kerki alà wiki fa den fufuru na apresina. Dàñ a mêk' a taki, a i go kusi 'a

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1. Told by 1.
2. Lit., 'hunger came to kill them'.
3. Lit., 'their bellies were full'.
4. Meaning 'well done'.

*Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore*
131. The Preacher Traps a Thief

A preacher had an orange tree. Every day someone went to rob it. Then every week the preacher preached in church how they stole the oranges. Then he let it be known that he was going to catch the thief. Then one Sunday he took one of the oranges, and carried it to church. When he went to preach, then his text said ‘Thou shalt not steal.’ Then he said that he knew the thief, [for] he had dreamt that night of the thief. ‘See how he is looking at me, the thief! If I did not remember God, I would hit him with the orange.’ The thief ducked his head, and then all the people knew immediately that this was the man who had been stealing the oranges.

So the preacher caught the thief.
132.

Wan boi bcn go leri fo lej. Di a go na ɛŋ basi, dǝn 'a basi tǝig ɛŋ taki, mek' a luku na tǝp' a torn, a sǝ si wǝn mira. Di na boi luku, dǝq 'a boi tǝig ɛŋ taki, ɛ' n'e si ɛŋ, ma ɛŋ yere ɛŋ step. Dǝq 'a bas' tǝig ɛŋ taki, ɛŋ kǝ' komopo na skoro, bikasi a kan lej moro ɛŋ.
132. Master Liar.¹

A boy went to learn to lie. When he went to his teacher, then his teacher said to him, he said, let him look at the top of the tower and he will see an ant. When the boy looked, then the boy said to him, he said, he did not see it, but he heard its step. Then the teacher said to him, he said, he could leave the school because he could lie more than he.

133.

Lesi boj a go ler' lesi 'a wən basi. Daŋ' den lidọ na ondro wən bom. Daŋ' wan mənya fadọ' tu meter fara fọ 'a basi. Daŋ' 'a basi kroji go teki ẹj. En waŋ' mənya fadọ' waŋ' af-meter fọ 'a boj. Daŋ' 'a boj begi ẹj basi fọ ko tek 'a mənya gi ẹj. Daŋ' 'a basi tak', 'Yu lesi moro mi, bikasi luku, so fara di fọ mi fadọ', ẹ' mi kroji go teki ẹj, ma di fọ yu, yu no wən ləŋŋa yu anu teki ẹj.'

So a i kisi wan papira fọ lesi.

133. Diploma for Laziness.²

A lazy boy went to learn laziness from a teacher. Then they lay down under a tree. Then a mango fell down two meters away from the teacher. Then the teacher went creeping to take it. And one mango fell down half a meter away from the boy. Then the boy begged his teacher to come and take the mango for him. Then the teacher said, 'You are more lazy than I, because look, this one fell down so far away from me and I crawled over to take it, but yours you would not stretch out your hand to take it.'

So he got a paper (diploma) for laziness.

134.

Wən mama bèn habi wən pikin. Ma nọ, di na pikin mu' go dopu, daŋ Dɛdę oksi fọ tą' na pikin pɛpɛ. Ma di Dɛdę tro ẹj pɛpɛ kaba, a tąj' 'em taki, 'Mi de go gi yu wən dęsi. Yu mu' waka ala presi dęsi suma. Ma tc yu si mi de na wən suma hɛdɛsej, yu no mu gi hɛm dęsi, bika' a no de go libi.' So na boj bèn waka, a wroko furu moni. Ma di a bèn kisi moni kaba, daŋ tc a go luku wən siki, efu ẹj pɛpɛ dc na hɛdɛsej, daŋ a de kənk' ẹj poti na futusej. Daŋ a de gi dęsi meki na suma kom boj'.

Daŋ wən dej na pɛpɛ kom na hɛm, taki, meki a kom go nọ nəŋa hɛm. Daŋ, di den go, daŋ den k rins wən ləŋŋa trapu, daŋ den si so meni lampu nəŋa oli dc lıt. Somwən fọ den no habi oli beina. Daŋ ẹj pɛpɛ tąj' hɛm taki, 'So, yu no sabi taki mi na Dɛdę, en yu bèn du mi hogri di yu bèn kəŋki mi na den suma hɛdɛsej, bukasi mi no dc teki yọŋgu wən libi oru wən; saŋ' mu kom a mu kom.' En a sori hɛm wən lampu, taki, 'Luku, disi na lampu fọ yu, ma mi sa puru na oli fọ yu poti gi dem tra lampu fọ dem suma dsi, dem lampu no bèn habi oli moro.'

¹ Told by 1. The resemblance is to be remarked of this tale to the West African ones where one character tells a lie, and the next speaker a greater one, as, e.g., in Travélé 61-62, No. 7.
² Told by 1. For comparative data, see Bolte u. Polivka, iii, 207-213, No. 151 and No. 151a.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
En so a puru ala na oli da lampu. Da boi kom de de, bika’ na oli ben de oli hem libi.

134. Cheating Death. 3

A mother had a child. But now when the child had to go to be baptized, Death asked to be the child's godfather. But when Death had already become its godfather, he said to him, said, 'I am going to give you a medicine. You must travel everywhere healing people. But when you see me at a person's head you must not give him medicine, because he is not going to live.' So the boy traveled and he earned much money. But when he had accumulated money, then when he went to see a sick person, if his godfather was at the head of the bed, then he changed him [the patient] about to the foot [of the bed]. Then he gave the medicine to make the man recover.

Then one day the godfather came to him, and said, let him come with him. Then, when they went, then they climbed a tall ladder, and they saw many oil lamps lit. Some of them had almost no oil. Then his godfather said to him, 'So, you did not know that I was Death, and you did me harm when you changed me about away from people's heads, because I did not take young ones and leave old ones; [and] what must come must come.' And he showed him a lamp, and said, 'Look, this is your lamp, but I will take out your oil and put it into the other lamps belonging to those people whose lamps had no more oil.'

And so he took out all the oil from the lamp. The boy died, because the oil was the oil of his life.

3 Told by 1. For comparative data, see Bolte u. Polivka, i, 375-388, No. 42 and No. 44.
135.

Wɛ, Didibri taiji wən suma taki, aluwasi sortu bọ' ɛŋ du suma, 'ɛm no 'abi bọ' nɛm. Didibri taki, 'A bọ', mi so meki yu si disi.'

Nō, Didibri go na Gadu, a tai g' Gadu meki Gadō poti wəŋ bigi stọ' na pasi, ɛn 'ɛm so pot' wən saka moni, dāŋ den so' si suma sa kisi bọ' nɛm. Wɛ, di dem du so, wəŋ dej wən suma de kọ p'sa, a naki ɛŋ futu na stọ'. No mo a taki, 'Na Didibri poti na stọ' 'a pasi, meki mi naki mi futul!' Nō, wən tra wəŋ kọ p'sa. a si na moni. A teki na moni, no mo a taki, 'Kyɛ Gadu! Mi tak' yu “Grən təŋgi,” mi feni na moni.'

Nō mō Didibri taki, 'Yu si, na mi pōti na moni, ma na numa taki Gadu təŋgi. ɛn na numa di poti na stọ', dati a kosi. So na mi a kosi, ɛn a taki Gadu təŋgi. So mi no tai g' yu taki, mi no 'abi bọ' 'ɛdɛnagrο'-tapu?''

*Odo:* Luku pɛ yu stotu yu futu, ma no luku pɛ yu fadọ'.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
135. The Devil Complains.  

Well, the Devil said to someone said, no matter what good he did people, he did not have a good name. The Devil said, ‘All right, I will let you see this.’

Now the Devil went to God, and he said to God let God put a big stone on the path, and he would put a sack of money, then they should see who would get the credit. Well, when they did this, then one day someone came by and he struck his foot on the stone. At once he said, ‘The Devil put the stone on the path and made me strike my foot!’ Now another came by and he saw the money. He took the money, and at once he said, ‘Praise God! I say to you “Many thanks,” (that) I found the money.’

At once the Devil said, ‘You see, it is I who put down the money, but the man gives God thanks. And the person who put down the stone, he curses. So me he cursed, and he thanked God. So did I not tell you that I get no justice on earth?’

Proverb: Look where you stub your foot, but do not look where you fall down.

136. Mat’ Luisɔn (Dibri tori).


Tamara Mat’ Luą-ŋg’ a’ e gо kɔ̀’ wæ̂n ba-an. A go safr fɔ̀ Luisɔn no yɛri. Ma fa-i-si a fasi na ba-an nɔ̀ mɔ̀, Luisɔn aksi wi’}

taki, 'Suma dapc?' A tak', 'Na mi Luq-ŋgō.' 'Sa yu 'e du?' A tak', 'Mi 'e kot' wan ba·ana.' Luisön taigi ɛŋ pikin taki, 'Kɔ', go lcp Mat' Luq-ŋgu kot' ba·ana.' Bifos' Luq-ŋg' kot' wan ba·ana, de' kot' na her' grô'.

Dǝŋ Mat' Luq-ŋgō hati bǝn bǝŋ. Di a gö na 'oso, da' wan fò den pikin du wan ǝgri. Nò mó a bigin fom na pikin, Luisön aksi taki, 'Sa yu 'e du?' A tak', 'Mi 'e fom mi pikin.' Luisön taki gi ɛŋ' pikin, 'Kɔ, go lcp Mat' Luq-ŋgō fom wan pikī.' Den go, de fà' na pikin, biti ɛŋ ǝc den kir' ɛŋ.

So Mati Luq-ŋgō kɔ' fredc. A taki gi ɛŋ ǝfif, 'Mek' wi froisi, bika' a no bɔ' suma djà na wi sej.' Èn so de' bǝn gowɛ, libi Mat' Luisön. Mat' Luisön tek' na her' grô' nyanyam di dem bǝn prani.

Kaba.


Mat' Luisön was a devil. He lived at a certain place. But (one day) a man took his children and his wife, to go and make a field right there beside it. No sooner had they struck with a hoe than Luisön asked, he said, 'Who is there?' The man said, 'It is I, Luangu.' He said, 'What have you come to do?' He answered him, said, 'I have come to make a field.' Luisön said to his children, said, 'Come, go help Mat' Luangu cut his field.' Before Mat' Luangu cut down one tree, Mat' Luisön and his children had cut the whole field. They went away.

The next day Mat' Luangu went back. Mat' Luisön asked, 'Who is there?' He said, 'It is I, Luangu.' 'What are you doing?' He said, 'I am going to plant the field.' Luisön said to his children, let them come and help plant the field.

But now when they had finished planting, the crop became ripe. No sooner did Mat' Luangu go to cut a stalk of corn than Luisön asked him, said, 'What are you doing?' He said, 'I am cutting a stalk of corn.' Luisön said to his children again, said, 'Come, go help Mat' Luangu cut the corn.' Before Mat' Luang' had cut a stalk of corn, Luisön and his children had cut the whole field of corn.

The next day Mat' Luang' went to cut a plantain. He went softly so Luisön would not hear. But no sooner did he take hold of

2 Told by 1. Compare Senegal (Torodo), Equilbecq, ii, 116-122; Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 152-159; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 381-385, Nos. 10 and 11; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 331-2, Gagu No. 19; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 181-184; No. 36; Southern Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 219, No. 49, (Lagos), Herskovits, M. and F. (II) No. 4, (Eko), Talbot (III) 371-373; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 70-71, No. 65; Santo Domingo, Andrade 284-285, No. 238.

3 Mati, 'friend' is often employed to designate a person of whom one is speaking.

4 Inf. 'This is a devil story.'
the plantain, than Luison asked him, said, ‘Who is there?’ He said, ‘It is I, Luangu.’ ‘What are you doing?’ He said, ‘I am cutting a plantain.’ Luison said to his children, said, ‘Come, go help Mat’ Luangu cut plantains.’ Before Luang’ had cut one plantain they had cut the whole field.

Then Mat’ Luangu was angry. When he went home, then one of his children misbehaved. No sooner did he begin to beat the child than Luison asked, said, ‘What are you doing?’ He said, ‘I am beating my child.’ Luison said to his children, ‘Come, go help Mati Luangu beat a child.’ They went and they beat the child till they killed it.

So Mati Luangu became afraid. He said to his wife, ‘Let us run away from here, because these are no good people here beside us.’ And so they went away and left Mat’ Luison. Mat’ Luison took all the crops of the field which they had planted.

The end.

137.

A man found several peanuts. Then he planted them. But when he planted them, he said, as long as there was no birthday he would not dig up the peanuts. But now before the birthday, the peanuts were ripe, and he went to dig them up. At once the peanuts said, ‘That is not what you had said.’ His walking stick said, ‘I had heard. It is not what you had said.’ All the things in his house began to talk, ‘The peanuts are right. This is not what you had said.’

The man began to run. As he ran he met a man who had a bundle of wood on his head. The man said, ‘Why do you run so?’ He said to the man, ‘I planted peanuts and this is what I said, ‘When my birthday comes, I will dig them up.’ But when I went to dig them up, then instantly all the things in my house began to say, ‘This is not what you had said. The peanuts are right’.’ The man said, ‘Ah! that is why you run. I would not run for so silly a thing.’ Instantly the bundle of wood on top of his head cried out, said, ‘You lie, if it were you, you would run faster.’ At once the man shook with fear, he threw the wood down on the ground. The man said to him, said,
‘Well brother, you should do as you said. From such a thing you cannot run. You already run faster than I.’ It is finished.

138.

Mi bɛn dɛ na pranasi. Dɔ' mi birmɛnt dɛ, leti na m' sej. Dɛn na neti, di mi didɔ, dæn a bar' kari mi. Dɛn, di mi go kaba, dæn mi oksi hɛm sɛn a wani. Dæn a tægi mi tæki, ‘Wαnumɑ bɛn dɛ dɛn
138. The Visit of the Vampire.\(^3\)

I was at a plantation. Then there was a neighbor of mine right near me. Then at night as I lay down, then he screamed and called me. Then, when I went I asked him what he wanted. Then he said

\(^3\) Told by 4. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons 63-64, No. 53.
to me, said, ‘There is a woman they call Malime. She came to drink my blood.’ I asked him, ‘How do you know?’ He said, ‘I have a dog. Then, when the dog began to bark, then he wakened me from my sleep. When he awakened me the Azeman had not yet been able to remove her skin. Then she ran. That is why I called you.’

When they know that an Azeman came, then they scatter rice. Then they spread out her cloth, then they put rice inside. That is how they catch her. When she takes up the clothes, then the rice falls out. Then she begins to pick it up again. She cannot pass (scattered) rice. They also catch her with pepper.

139. Agida.

Na wà' mâŋ bëg a go gi' wàŋ wënti dânsi. Dâŋ a no mâŋ bai agida, a go lëŋ wàŋ. Nô, d'a go lëŋ n' agida, a sçn' wàŋ s'ma f'go tek' èm. Ma agida na wàŋ poku, ef a no wan' g'a wàŋ presi òc suma kô tek' dem, tu mâŋ no kà' kyêrì èm. A i nak' den, tro 'a gro'. So di' a màŋ go f' tek' èn, 'a mâŋ i teki èn, ma èn no bëg mëŋ fò kyêrì èn. Na her' pasi a i nak' 'a mân, trô 'a gro'. D'a mân kis' wàŋ wënti. A g'a busi, a kô' tu tki (wipi). A fom agida òc ... fos' a bëŋ kân tyar' èn go gi' a suma.

Dat' meki 'a wàŋ sìŋgi f' agida.

Agida fado',
Mâŋ no dc,
Agida fado',
Mâŋ no dc,
PREFERENCE wàŋ na mân,
Agida wàŋ na mân.

139. Disciplining a Drum. 3

A man was going to give a wënti dance. He could not buy an agida drum, so he went to borrow one. Now when he was going to borrow the agida, he sent someone to take it. But the agida is the kind of a drum, if it does not wish to go to a certain place when someone comes to take it, then two men cannot carry it. It throws them to the ground. So when the man went to take it, he was able to take it, but he was not able to carry it. The whole way it kept throwing him to the ground. Then the man was seized by a wënti. He went into the bush, and he cut two sticks (whips). He beat the agida till... before he could bring it to the person.

That is the reason there is a song about the agida.

Agida falls down,
No man is there,
Agida falls down,
No man is there.
Prince alone is the man,
Agida alone is the man. 4

1 Lit., ‘she came to drink me’.
2 Vampire.
3 Told by 1.
4 Song No. 134. This song is for the snake wënti.

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140.

Wan man ben de, habi wan Nɛŋgere kondre wunti di de' kari Adaŋgra. Ma Adaŋgra ben wroko moni. A ben de wan wunti di set tra suma wunti. A de kar 'kra, a de pur' yorka, a i pur' wisi. En te a kis' na moni, da' a pot' a moni na uni wan dyogo. Te a wani, a i gi na man someni fô a nyam. Ma wan deji, 'a man go safri na dyogo, a fufuru hafu na moni. A dêŋk' taki Adaŋgra n'ce go sabi. Wan tra deji, a go fô tek' agen, a si soson anaŋsi-tetai de na uni na dyogo.

(Te wan suma paji Adaŋgra na moni, a 'i tek' hêm, a 'i tek' wan brazi korsi taj hêm te ... a lusu hêm baka, 'a moni no de' Ef' a wani, a 'i swari hêm. Mi srf' si hêm pe a swari na moni.)
There was a man who had an African *wunti* they called Adangra. But Adangra earned money. He was a *wunti* who treated other people's *wunti*. He called the soul, he exorcised ghosts, he exorcised black magic. And when he got the money, he put the money in a jug. When he liked, he gave the man some of it to spend. But one day the man went cautiously to the jug, and he stole half the money. He thought that Adangra would not know. Another day he went again to take, and he saw only a spider's web in the jug.

(When a person paid Adangra money, he took it, and he took a black cloth, and he tied it, and when he loosened it again, the money was not there. If he wanted, he swallowed it. I myself saw him swallow the money.)

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5 Told by 1.
6 The 'kra.
7 Lit., 'to eat', but this is used idiomatically to mean spend, enjoy, relish.
The man became sick. He almost died. He had to beg Adangra's pardon before he
grew better, because the money had not been his. That is why Adangra made him
sick. That is a true story.

141.

Adąŋgra bcn sab’ wān bōn tapu. Ma ’a tapu bcn dc mek’ so: A ’i mek’ wān koti, dą’
i tyari ’a suma go na mundi wara. Dān a i tek’ wān lala krabasi, dān i go na mundi
watra nāŋga na suma. Dān i kot’ na krabasi seji Koti, a i kot’ ’a mān seji Koti. Dān
a i taki na krabasi, ’Wɛ, yu si, mi no kot’ yu moro furu lejik’ mi kot’ ’a mān, so mi trwɛ
yu na ondro wara. Wɛ, yu si, suma so ks’ yu na ondro wara fō du yu wān sani, dat’
kan du na suma tu.’ Dān i tro na krabas’ na ondro wara. So na suma di a koti, no
wān suma kan kisi hɛm du hɔgri, bikasi na suma mus’ kis’ na krabasi na ondro wara
fō du hɛm wān sani, dān ’fosi a kan du na mān wān sani. Et’ suma scn hɛm wān
wisi, a no kan kisi hɛm, bikasi Adąŋgra a meki wān sweri nāŋga krabasi di a trwɛ.

141. Wānti Adangra’s Magic.²

Adangra knew a good tapu.³ But the tapu was made this way: He made koti,⁴ then
he took the man to the middle of the river. Then he took a green calabash, and then
he went to the middle of the river with the man. Then he cut the calabash seven
cuts, and he cut the man seven cuts. Then he said to the calabash, ’Well, you see,
I did not cut you any more than I cut the man, so I throw you away under the water.
Well, you see, the person who gets you under the water to harm you, that one can
harm the man, too.’ Then he threw the calabash in the water. So no one can get
the man whom he had cut to do him evil, because to harm him, the person must get
the calabash from under the water, then only could he harm the man. If someone
were to send him wisi⁵ it could not get him, because Adangra had made a compact⁶
with the calabash when he threw it away.

142.

Wā’ suma bcn lob i tapu nanyām na unî ƞfu. Wā’ dej a bori aleisi nāŋga spit-pesi.
Na wā’ taki, ’Di wi a gowc, pɛ ƞn dc gò?’ ’A wā’ fō den taki. ’Mi ’ε go na Mis’ Anna
’oso, kq’ was’ mi futu.’ ’A tra wā’ taki, ’Mi ε go na Alexi ’oso, go ƞŋ ƞwatr’a.’ ’A tra wā’
taki, ’Mısı Maria libi wān pat’ nāŋga aleisi na unî ƞfu, m’ε a go ƞyq’ pikin so.’ So na
suma prakser’, a taki, ’Tą! A no bọ’ suma i taki.’

M’mānt’ d’a opo, a go na un’ ’a ƞfu, a si na n’yaq. Ma no wān suma bcn go na unî.
Spesial fō a kan si ε’ na tru taki wā’ yorka bcn nyām na unî, a kar’ wān tra suma
p’kin, a gi’ na n’nyām. έn sō, di na p’kin ƞyq’ na n’yaq, a siki. Den go na lük’mañ,
go luku sə’ du ƞ. LukumNRa taki, ’Na wān yorka dc siki ƞ.’ Dān i kar’ na yorka kom

² Told by 1.
³ A spiritual preventive.
⁴ A preparation rubbed into cuts which are used either as magic inoculants, as in cases of
prevention of snake bite, etc., or in instances of sealing a compact, as explained here.
⁵ Black magic.
⁶ Lit., ’made an oath’.

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Very nasally, for this is the way the yorka talks when he is speaking through the lukumān.

Very nasally, for this is the way the yorka talks when he is speaking through the lukumān.
So dem kôm pur' na yorka na p'kin tapu, ɛn dem pot tapu gî' ɛŋ f'a n'e kisi ɛŋ moro. So dat' mek' a no bôn fô tê yu libi n'nyâm, sribî, f'yu go nyâmi ɛŋ baka. Yorka ɗe nyâm nâŋga suma.

142. Yorka Come for Left-overs.⁷

There was once a person who liked to leave food in the oven. One day she cooked rice and split peas. Then [after she had eaten] she put it back in the oven. At night, when they lay down, she heard the ghosts talking on the stoop. One said, ‘When we go away, where will you go?’ One of them said, ‘I am going to Miss Anna’s house to wash my feet.’ Another one said, ‘I am going to Alexi’s to drink water.’ Another said, ‘Miss Maria left a pot of rice in the oven. I am going to eat a little of it.’ So the person studied, and said, ‘What! No good people [are these who] are talking.’

In the morning when she got up, she went to the oven, and she saw the food. But nobody had disturbed it. In order to see if it was true that a ghost had eaten some of it, she called another person’s child, and gave him the food. And so, when the child ate the food, he became sick. They went to a diviner to divine what was troubling him. The diviner said, ‘A ghost has made him sick.’ Then he [the diviner] called the ghost to come into his head. When the ghost came, well, then all at once, he began to speak so, ‘Ha, the split peas and rice which someone gave him to eat, were mine.’ Then they called the person who had given him the food. Then the

⁷ Told by 1. Compare Togo, Cardinall 93-95; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 71-72, No. 62 I.
ghost said to that person, said, ‘It is you my master had said I must kill. Since you
did not eat the food, I could not catch you.’

So they exorcised the ghost from the child, and they gave him a charm so that it
might not come to him again. That is why it is not good to leave food overnight and
eat it later. The ghosts will eat with the living.

143. Yɔrka.

Wàŋ màn habi waka lati ‘a neti. Da' wa’ neti a i kom, dàŋ a mit' wàŋ màn. Nò mò,
na màn tají' hɔm bùŋ taki, ‘Mck' mi lɛt mi cigarct. Mi no habi swałfu.’ Dàŋ a takt,
‘Kɔm, mi leti nàŋgà mi cigarct.’ Fa-i-sì a lâŋga ðì mofo fò leti, nò mò na màn pìr ðì

Fa a lɔ’, na màn mit’ wàŋ tra màn baka. ‘A màn oksi hɔm taki, ‘Sàŋ' yu i lɔŋ so?’ A
taki, ‘Mi si wàŋ màn, so ðì tí tìa lâŋga so.’ Nò mò na màn pìr ðì tí fì gi hɔm baka. ‘Sort'
wàŋ moro lâŋga, na fɔs' wàŋ, efu disì?’

‘A màn lɔŋ baka, a mit' wàŋ tra màn baka. A takt, ‘Sàŋ yu i lɔŋ so?’ A taki, ‘Mi si
wàŋ màn, so ðì tí tìa lâŋga.’ No mo na màn pìr ðì tí fì gi hɔm baka, a taki, ‘Sort’ wàŋ
moro lâŋga, disì, of na di yu bèn si kaba? So na her’ neti na so na màn i lɔŋ. Ała
pɛ a i lɔŋ, ‘a màn a i bar’ gi hɔm. ‘Yu si tí bi gi lek’ disì? Tif’ bi gi lek’ disì?’

Noi moro na màn wa’ látì na strati.
Odo: ‘ONDROFEN’ so leri yu.
Obia odo: Pikin no wa’ yère mama, a so go na abança.

143. Yɔrka Teeth.

A man was in the habit of walking late at night. Then one night came and he met a
man. At once the man began to speak to him, and he said, ‘Let me light my cigarette.
I have no match.’ Then he said, ‘Come, I will light it on my cigarette.’ No sooner did
he reach to light the cigarette, than the man showed his teeth. They were three
inches long. The man ran.

As he ran, the man met another man (again). The man asked him, he said, ‘Why
do you run so?’ He said, ‘I saw a man whose teeth were so long.’ Immediately the
man showed his teeth (again). ‘Which are longer, the first ones or these?’

The man ran ahead, and he met another man. He said, ‘Why do you run so?’ He
said, ‘I saw a man, his teeth were so long.’ And immediately the man showed his
teeth (again), he said, ‘Which are longer, these or those you have seen already?’
So the whole night the man ran. Everywhere he ran, the man called after him, ‘Did
you see teeth as big as these? Teeth as big as these?’

Never again did the man walk the streets late at night.

Proverb: Experience will teach you.

Obia proverb: A child who will not listen to his mother, will meet death.

144.

1 Told by 1. Compare Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 180; Santo Domingo, Andrade 282-283, No. 234.
2 Here the narrator stretched out his arm and pointed half-way to his elbow.
3 Informant said this was a dyɔmbi - a ghost.
144. Yorka Rise from Graves. 4

A man was in the habit of going about late at night. One night he met a man. The man asked him, he said, 'What are you looking for so?' He said, 'I want to see how the ghosts rise from their graves.' The ghost said, 'All right, follow me.' He brought the man right to the cemetery. He showed him two skulls. He said, 'Look at them. They were like I am, but look how they have become. So you yourself will become, too.'

145.

Wą' maŋ bę' waka na strati ala neti. A ben sabi prej gitar. Wąn net' a komopo na wąn friar' oso naŋga eŋ gitar. A i prej de kom, a mit' wą' maŋ. 'A maŋ taki, 'Kq', mek' mi pre' wą' p'kin so.'.
145. The Guitar-Playing Yorka.\(^5\)

There was a man who used to go about the streets every night. He knew how to play the guitar. One night he came from a party with his guitar. He played (as he went along) until he met a man.
The man said, 'Come, let me play a little.' He gave the man the guitar and the man played it. But, as they walked so till... suddenly, he said to the man, said, 'Man! that is how one should play the guitar!' The man said, 'All, come! Well, when I was alive that used to be my own work.' The man was frightened, he said, 'My God! all I have been saying to you, and you are a dead man!' The man began to run. The other one called to him, 'Come take the guitar! Come take the guitar!' He answered him, he said, 'You can take away the guitar, I don't want it any more. When you go, you will play it for the other ghosts!'

But when the man came home [in] the morning, he found the guitar in his doorway. Never again did he walk the streets at night.

146.

Wań neti, na ŋi wań koleisi, den maŋ sidọ' a i prej karta. Di den prej so tɛ ... na mündi neti, dań wań maŋ ko. A kom na sei na tafra, a i prej 'aŋga dem. Ma sɛns' 'a mɛŋ kom den dc prej nowa' suma maŋ fɔ wni na maŋ. A i wni' ala den suma. Ma di dɛ' i prej, wań karta faðɔ' na ondɔ na tafra. Na wań fɔ den maŋ saka tek' 'a karta. Fa-i-si a buku na ondɔ na tafra, a si wań hasi futu. Di a si 'a futu, a skrejki. Na soso libisuma dc na sej na tafra, ma wań 'asi futu dc na ondɔ.

Ala doti na wań maŋ ben go suku takrụ sani, wisi fɔ prej karta fɔ wni moni. Ma na suma di bẹn gi ʰɛm na sani, a bẹn wroko wań krara gi ʰɛm. Dăn, tɛ a go na ŋi na koleisi, a mu' wer' na krara. Sondra a wer' na krara na ʰɛm ńeki, dań wantrọn a dc tro' wań sortu lejki didibri.

Ma di den kısı' ʰɛm na neti, dań den aksi ʰɛm tak, 'Fa yu dc kisi na hasi futu?'
Dań a taiji ʰɛm tak, na suma di bẹn gi ʰɛm na sani, taiji ʰɛm tak, tɛ ʰɛm dc kom na koleisi, dań çi ʰɛm musu towe watra, dań mus' tak, 'Mi na wań libisumà, ma tɛ mi go fɔ prej karta, mi mu' tro' wań karta-yorka, so mi sa wni ala den suma na ŋi na koleisi. Ma na krara di mi dc weri, dat' meki mi ńeki no dc gcɛrsi takrụ sani, ma a dc gcɛrsi libisumà.'

A so den kısı ʰɛm, den fom ʰɛm, dań den yaq' ʰɛm gowe. Dăn di çi ʰɛ go na ʰɛm basi, den çi basi taig' ʰɛm tak, 'Yu no ńaŋ kom bcตร mooro, yu go las' ala yu tu futu, bika' na trefu fɔ na koni a no maŋ fɔ nyam futumà' nanyam.' A kom siki. A las' çi futu.

146. A Card Yorka.²

One night, inside a gambling house, men sat and played cards. As they played so till... then at midnight a man came in. He came to the table, and played with them. But ever since the man came to play no one could win from the man. He won from all the people. But as they were playing, a card fell down under the table. One of the men bent down to take the card. Just as he bent down under the table, he saw a horse's foot. When he saw the foot he was frightened. Only human beings were at the table, but there was a horse's foot underneath it.

All this was because a man had gone to look for evil magic for card-playing in order to win money. But the person who gave him this thing, had worked a bead for

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1 Futumâ' nanyam - food cooked by a woman who is menstruating.
2 Told by 1.
him. Then, when he went into the gambling house, he had to wear the bead. Unless he wore the bead about his neck, then instantly he was changed into a sort of devil.

But when they caught him that night, then they asked him, they said, ‘How did you get a horse's foot?’ Then he said to them, said, the person who gave him the thing told him that when he came to the gambling house, then he had to pour some water on the ground and he had to say, ‘I am a human being, but when I come to play cards, I must become a card-yorka so that I may win from all the people in the gambling house. But the bead that I wear, causes me not to resemble an evil thing, but to resemble a human being.’

And so they caught him, and they beat him, and then they drove him away. He went to his basi, and his basi said to him, said, ‘You can no longer get well. You are going to lose both your feet, because the trefu of this magic is that one cannot eat food cooked by a woman during her menses.’ He became ill. He lost his feet.

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3 Here basi has the connotation of the head wintimn, who, in reality is often a practitioner of both white and black magic. The names for the wintimn are Pa Aluku-bön or Boni-Boni, or Basi fô Winti Prej, i.e., leader of the winti play.

4 Food taboo.

5 Menstruation is one of the deadliest taboos of these people, both in the bush and in town. Unless the trefu against menstruation have been removed, any obia, i.e., healing magic, or wisi, i.e., black magic, or any other form of supernatural power is contaminated and rendered useless, with the consequence that it not only loses its properties helpful to the person employing it, but eventually punishes the violator by exposure, as in the instance of this tale, or metes out punishment in other ways.

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147.

Wān suma bēn go pur' wān yorka gi wān trawān. Ma di den pur' 'a yorka, dān den no bēn hab' batra fō pot' tē na ūni. Dān den pot' ēn na ūni wān swalfudosu fō go tro 'a liba. Ma bifosi den doro liba nāŋga hēm, a lusu na ūni na dosu, a nak' wān fō den suma di bēn sidō' dape. A taki, 'Mi so wān trāŋga, trāŋga mān. Ūn so go pot mi na ūni wān swalf'-dosu!' So na mān bēn habi fō kis' ēn, tāj baka, pot' na ūni wān batra. Ma fos' a tāj hēm, dān ēn winti bēn śęngi taki,

Morgu Dan kot' a liba,
I' tro-wē tē yana,
N' ḋęngi kot' 'a liba,
I' tro-wē tē yana.

Na suma kisi hēm srefi.
147. Exorcising a Yorka.¹

A person was going to exorcise a ghost for another one. But when they exorcised the ghost, then they had no bottle in which to put it. Then they put it into a match box to go throw it into the river. But before they reached the river with it, it broke lose from the box, and it struck one of the men who was sitting there. It said, 'I am so strong a man. You would put me inside a match box!' So the man had to capture it, and tie it again, and put it inside a bottle. But before he tied it, his wunti sang,

Morgu Dan kot’ a liba,
I' trowe te yana,
N’ Ingi kot’ a liba,
I’ trowe te yana.²

The man recovered.

148. Leba nąŋga Yorka.


Ma kaba yu no wéri?’ Dàn a pig’ den taki, ‘Bika’ mi na Lêba. Mi nąŋga yorka na wąn, ma mi bigi moro yorka, bisa’ mi komopo te ... na Afrika. Yorka na sabana de t’a, ma ni na her’ kondre, ala uku-tapu mi de, so doti yorka musu pasa na mi uku-tapu.’

Dɔti meki, te wąn suma dè go vis’ wąn trawən, ef’ na yorka a go tek’ hɛm, a musu paji tapu-uku ‘fosí, bisa’ na uku-tapu a musu pasa nəŋga na yorka. So dati mek’ Lêba de wąn sortu fó wèn moro hɛí gadō lejki den p’kin gadō. Tɛ wąn suma ‘abi wąn yorka nąŋga wąn Lêba, na yorka no kàŋ kis’ na suma fos’ na Lêba, bisa’ na Lêba dè na ala prejisi. ‘Fos’’a yorka doro na tapu-uku, dısı na Lêba dè na uku dis’ tapu.

148. Leba and Yorka Make a Wager.³

A yorka and a Leba made a wager to see which would be the first to be admitted to a bakafulu-banya.⁴ But when they left the cemetery, then the Leba said to the yorka, said, ‘You see the first crossroads we come to, I am going to change clothes with you.’ The yorka said, ‘All right.’ But it was only for yorka that they were giving the bakafulu-banya. The Leba could not pass (to) get inside.

¹ Told by 1.
² Song No. 144.
³ Told by 1.
⁴ A yorka dance. This is one of the dances danced yearly in the market place to propitiate the gods of trade, and this is also danced at the opening of wunti dances, and is included under the euphemistic term of Anansi story dances. An explanation of this latter name is that Anansi stories are told for the dead, and these are the dances for the dead.

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All the yorka were wearing only white. Now when they [came to] change clothes the Leba, now, was wearing torn clothes, and the yorka was wearing white clothes. But when they changed clothes, the Leba forgot to take the kerchief tied about the head and face.5 Then he went to the house. But when he went, before he could pass inside, they stopped him. They said, ‘All the people who are in the house are wearing kerchiefs about their heads. Why are you not wearing one?’ Then he answered them, he said, ‘Because I am Leba. The yorka and I are one, but I am greater than the yorka because I have come all the way from till... Africa. The yorka live in the cemetery, but I am on all the crossroads of the country, so that the yorka must pass my crossroads.’

That is why, when someone is going to use black magic against another, if he is to take him a yorka, he must sacrifice at the crossroads first, because he must pass the crossroads with the yorka. So that is why the Leba is a kind of a higher god than the lesser gods. When a person has a yorka [spirit] and a Leba [spirit], the yorka cannot get him before the Leba, because the Leba is everywhere. Before the yorka arrives at the crossroads, the Leba is [already] at this corner.

5 The name for this is kabynte. It is tied about the head of the dead, so he may be recognized when he walks abroad.
C. Riddles
Lei-Tɔri

1. Sɛns'mimamamek'mi, minonyą'aranya-tɩki, ma sɛnsi den pot' mi na uni na parada, daŋ fos' mi nyą' aranya-tki.
   - Dot' wąn' taki, te wąn fisimą g'a fisi, t'a kis' wą fisi, t'a go drej ɛŋ na fajya, a pot' wą' tiki na uni na mofo.
2. Te na mundri busi wąn män sidọ' nąŋga wąn kron na tap' ɛŋ 'ɛdɛ.
   - Dot' na wąn ḥananas.
   - Ḥananas.
4. 'A p'kin ᵃdɛ meki ᵃmama baka.
   - Na wąn tchɛ'.
5. Bari na tap' bari.
   - Kyɛ'.
6. Mi m'ma g'a wowoyo. A baj somɛni bari, ma a no sab'-taki den a' watra, bika p'sa tin bari bɛn fas' makandra. Ma di a bjQuery fragment
   - Wąn tchɛ'.
7. Na 'udu-bere mi komopo, ɛn mi watra bor' a fajya 'e sujit' lejîk' ɔnị.
   - Na ɛnɔ fô tchɛ'.
8. (B) Wata dc 'a matu.
   - Tchɛ'.
   - Dati na wąn guyaba. Na guyaba tapu lọntu, ma tok 'a warọ' na uni de nyям.
10. Ef' ɛngamaŋ no bɛn dc, futurumąŋ bɛn sa kili sliðimان.
    - Wąn maŋya 'anga na wąn bom, ɛn wąn 'agu bɛn didọ' na ondọ na bom dc sribi. Ɛn wąn tigri bɛn dc kom fô kiri ɛŋ, ma bifosi na tigri doro, daŋ na maŋya fadọ', naki na 'agu, ɛn na 'agu wejki, a ọq'. Sọ na tigri n'è kisi ɛŋ.
11. Mi mama 'abi wą p'kin. So lọŋga yu no puru 'ɛm muso, yu no kàŋ bọs' ɛm.
    - Maripa koko.
12. Mi ʂɛ' fo bọŋ fu nyям, ma mi futu bọŋ.
    - Suît' kasaba.

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13. Te mi m'ma de nyam, a de puși na heri sukin.
   - Matapi.
14. Mi m'ma go na wowoyo. A baji 'udu, nangá nanyam, nangá watra.
   - Na wan kokronoto.
15. Mi m'ma 'abi dri aji.
   - Wan kokronoto.
16. 'A mi m'ma 'abi wani lọntu bal. A sutu pina lọntu na bal. No, na bal ferfi grün na
doro, na uni a ferfi wejt, en dem komopo dot' a hab' na uni 'en beji braka.
   - Na bal na wani sursaka; na pina di dc na ĝi s'kin dot' na na maka, en na wejt
ferfi do' na unisej f'ĝi, en na braka, dati na siri.
16a. Kerki ferfi grün, domni weri blaka, en suma na uni kerki wer' wejti.
   - Sursaka.
17.       Mi buba fo dri spun,
       Mi bonyo moji leiki krara,
       Mi brudu sunji leiki botro,
       Aka suma taki fa mi sunji.
       Ma tox den taki fa mi ogri.
   - Masusa.
18. Alatem 'a papa, ef' 'a mama habi fosi hede, ma na p'kin de kom moro bigi leiki
fa hem mama, da' a dc meki hem papa nangá hem mama baka.
   - Manya koko. Te yu tek' wani manya, yu nyam hem, dan yu prani na koko. Na
koko dc gro wani bom, 'a bom dc bigi moro leik' 'a koko, en a de meki tra manya
baka.
   - Dati wani karu.
20. Nangá wani karu mi p'pa bai kä, a bai 'asi, a bai buriki.
   - Wani man tek' wani karu, a prani ĝi. A ksi tin saka. A ser' na saka, a bai wani
p'kin. A bai wani buriki.
21. Mi mama 'a wani tani. A dieri na doro, a dieri na uni.
   - Na wani mami.
22. A grün na doro, a wejti na uni, a redi na uni, a blaka na uni.
   - Watramun.
23. Faiya na mundi busi.
   - Awara.
23a. Sɔndro 'udu faiya de na mundri busi, ma a n'e gi faiya.
   - Na wən bɔsu awara na mundri busi.
23b. (B) Faiya de 'a matu.
   - Da' wə awa'a.
24. 'A p'kin gebo'r fosi ɛɛ mama.
   - Na wən kashu.
25. A tenapu stejfi na tap' 'a bədi, afu rədi nənɡa afu wətiti, ma ala den p'kin Nɛŋgere
   ḋa kɔndre den frede ʃ tek' ɛn poti na olo di də na den fesiti, bikasi ala den bigi
   suma di tesi ɛn kaba, den tak' a pɛpre.
   - Wən sani den kar rebenas.
26. Mi go na busi. Libi suma no piki mi, ma dədə wən piki mi.
   - Na draj wiwiri.
26a. Mi g'a busi, mi kir' meti. Mi tak' na libi wən 'odi', a no pik' mi. Mi tak' na dədə
   'odi', dot' pik' mi.
   - Lala wiwiri nənɡa drej wiwiri. Te trap' na drej, a i barə, ma lała wə n'e barə.
27. Odi msi, odi masra. Kɔ' na un nənɡa yu lənɡa sani, waka îŋtu, kɔn dəŋgi
   mundri futu watra, ɛn nyəm gogo-nanyəm.
   - Na watra na mərki, ɛn na nanyəm na ekshi.
28. 'A mən sidq' 'a tap' wən tafa. A lolo fadən 'a grə'. No wən suma kən məki hem
   bakə.
   - Dat' na wən ekshi.
29. Mi mama habi wən bari. ɛn məfo a no ɔpo, ma ɛn də həri watra.
   - Ekshi.
29a. Mi mama 'abi wən bari. A no 'abi ɔpuru, ma a də 'ori watra.
   - Na wən ekshi.
30. Sort' foru yu də nyəm nənɡa ala ɛn wiwiri?
   - Ekshi.
31. Gogo na ɔndro, gogo na tapu, 'a sujit' kə 'a mundri.
   - Te yu tapu sujit'-sani na un tu skotriki.
32. Braka sabana, wəj't sabana, dri mən lən p'sa.
   - Înki, skrif papira, nənɡa pɛn nənɡa ʃənga.
33. Mi mama tən na ɔndro; a frəŋi wən qə bəskita nənɡa prejti faδən kə' na grən,
   ma no wən no broko.
   - Dat' wən taki papira.
33a. (B) Mi tata 'abi wən pə'abi fə ɛn. A kumotə 'a leə, a kaj, qə' boko.
   - Wə' ʃi.
34. Mi mama a' wăn djari. A habi twent' naŋga siki bom. Ma ala sani di yu kar' a nɛm, yu kaŋ suku den na djari pɛ den bom dc.
   - Alfalet.
35. Mi na mi mama oru na srefi.
   - Dat' wăn taki alfu, wą' naŋga wăn.
36. 'A dipi fɔ mi mama, na ląŋga fɔ mi papa.
   - Wąn peti, naŋga na ɛm ɛmb tețai.
37. Er-tin-tin
   Tin-tin-tin.
   Saŋ mi papa de tak' dija, na dati hɛm brada de tak' te na Bakra kondre.
   - Na wąn holoi.
38. A wroko deį naŋga neįti.
   - Na liba.
39. 'A mi mama meki mi, na mi meki hɛm baka.
   - Ice.
40. Wąn wejit'-umą tɛnapo na tap' wąn tafra. Moro a de tɛnapo, moro de kaba.
   - Dati na wąn kandra.
41. 'A mi papa tek' ŋi spara, a shułu na un mi m'ma smala.
   - Ki naŋga seroto.
41a. Mi papa bɛn wani go na un mi mama. Da teki hɛm sani suti na un mi mama sani.
   - Wą, seroto.
42. Blaka muraŋyi, rɛdi musyɛsyɔ, djokotiri na mindri.
   - Dot' na wąn tobo. Na blaka ala ŋi skin; ŋi heri un rɛdi. Djokotiri, dot' wąn ster a mindri.
43. A ląŋga na fesi, a ląŋga na baka.
   - Tetei naŋga nanai.
44. Er-tin-tin. Tompu wer' kamisa.
   - Nanai naŋga tetei.
45. Pikin musi sidọ' ɿngga hɛm 'anu na hɛm sej.
   - Dat' na wąn pis-patu.
45a. Mi m'ma 'abi wąn mąn. Ma noți ŋi 'anu de kɔmopo na ŋi sej.
   - Pis-patu.
46. Mi mama 'abi wąn p'kin. So ląŋga a g'ngi nanyam, a de bari.
   - Wąn patu na faiya.
47. Rɛdi 'asì de leki braka 'asì baka-sej.
   - Na te wąn braka patu sidọ' na tap' faiya.
47a. Rɛdi 'asì a de rej blaka 'asì gogo.
   - Wąn potu na tap' faiya.
47b. (B) Bɛ manu tą' ɿmbɛ b'aka mues gogo.
   - B'aka patu na faiya.
48. Pikin todo de djompo na patu.
   - Na te wən patu de bori nəŋa aleisi.
49. P'kin boi sori Gado kofu.
   - Dat' na te wən Djuka umə 'e fəm aleisi, 'a maka tiki opo çë'ede na tapu.
49a. Ləŋga mən de sori Gadu ʃəŋa.
   - Mata nəŋa tki.
50.  
   - Kүnsu, - a wənsi o'tem dej kom broko,
   - Wən de wənsi o'tem dej kən kom,
   - Wən de wənsi o'tem grọ'tapu so kaba.
51. Mi papa sùtu wən kəŋ n'əŋ hədə. 'A laj komopo te n'əŋ tere.
   - Na wən pipa.
52. Mi papa a' wən 'oso, a furu həm nəŋg' mejbel. A let' faiya g'əŋə. Ala den sani
   - Wən pipa.
53. Moro mi papa hatibrən, moro əŋ sak'-angisa frej.
   - Na wən skafu.
54. A mi o go, a mi o ko'. A ta' steifi.
   - Dot' na wən sigara.
55. A ĩəntu, a sidq'.
   - Təntən.
56. A ləŋga na fesi, a ləŋga na baka.
   - Strati.
57. Mi papa a' wən mən, a i tənapu nəŋa wən futu.
   - Na wən go'.
58. Mi p'pa de nyəm na əŋ baka-sej, a i de xrotə na əŋ mofo.
   - Na wən go'.
59. Yu fos' ben go, ma tox mi ko' p'sa yu əc mi mek' wən brand.
   - Wən go' ə'nəŋa wən dia.
60. Olo na unı olo, wiwiri lon' oro, sujı presiri komopo na unı.
   - Na wən tutu na yu mofo, te yu de prej əŋ, nəŋa yu barba.
61. Blaka umə, suŋə na swampu.
   - Dot' na wəq' stopu.
62. Blaka umə de meki kosi ala yuru na swampu.
   - Na wən stop' na unı swampu.
63. Homeni spikri 'e bo wən 'oso?
   - Na wən, bikasi na lasti spikri 'a dot' meki na hoso kaba.

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80. Mi sejki, yu sejki, ma mi sujt kom na yu.
   - Dat' wąn taki, wąn boj a bèn dc na wą' apra-bom tapu, dą' a bèn habi wąn kwata. Da boj dc sejki den apra na tap' na bom. 'A kwata na tap' na bom de sej' tu, dąn na kwata djompo saka na grq', a i nyam ala den apra.
81. Sebi man nyam wąn sika.
   - Wąn man bèn 'abi wąn sika. A libi na sika tç 'a sika kɔ' bigi, dąn a pot' 'a sika na wąn sej. Dàn yu bèn habi sejbi tembreman, èn wąn fò den tembreman tek' 'a sika, a go opo nangga wąn sika, a kus' wąn fisi, dąn ala sejbi nyam 'a fisi.
82. Meti na ni bonyo, èn 'wiri na tap' bonyo.
   - Krabu.
83. Di p'kin kodyo bèn sabi-tak' a i go de de, a i dig' wąn 'oro poti èn srefi.
   - Dat' na wąn sika.
84. Alfu dațki de waka.
85. Mi dc wąn tumusi ogrì meti. Yu puru mi 'ède da' mi tap' wą' ordro yari.
   - Dat' na wą' leò fò busi. Ef' yu pur' na 'i', dąn a tən wan 'éò', dąn a tròn ordro yari.
86. Mi nɛm 'abi fefì lɛtre, ma tç yu pur' tu lɛtre, a i tə' siksi.
   - Moses.
87. Wąn kiri Elfida; Elfida kiri sejbi; sejbi kiri dri. Mi drŋgi fò wąn watra di no komopo na na hejimal, a no komopo na grqon, ç' nąŋga na wortu fò Gadò mi 'ɛ nyam.
   - Wąn na dagu; sebi na yankoro; dri na mira.
88. Wàn Konu prani aleisì. Wàn màn kòm a aksì eŋ taki ef' na aleisì so kòm. A piki eŋ taki, ‘Ef’ den kòm a n'e go kòm. Ma ef' den no kòm, dàn a so kòm.’
- Pikin foru. (Ef’ den p'kin foru kòm, dan a n'e i go kòm. Ma ef' den p'kin foru no kòm, dàn a so kòm.)
89. Mi p'pa go na busì nàngga mi m'ma na 'ontì. Dem meti di a kiri, dòti a lib' 'a busì. Ma den d'a no kiri, dòti a gi mi m'ma tya kò' na hoso.
- Loso.
89a. Mi papa go na hontì. Dem meti di a kiri, dòti a libi 'a busì. Ma den di a no kiri, dòti a mek' mi mama tya' kòm.
- Loso.
90. Aiti stampu, wiriwiri, tikita.
- Na tu spàŋ 'asi, nàŋga na wil, nàŋga krawasi.
91. Wàn màn rej na tap' wàŋ 'asi. Eŋ saka-hangisa fadò'. Te a saka teki eŋ, a no shi eŋ mòro.
- Na asi sptì.
91a. Wàŋ suma rej wàŋ bisigre. Eŋ hati fadò'. Dot' suma saka fò go teki na hati, ma a no fènì eŋ mòro.
- Na sptì.
91b. Mi p'pa a rej 'a tap' wàŋ 'asi. Eŋ saka-hangisa fadò'. A draj' go suk' eŋ. No wàŋ suma no p'sa na pasì, ma a no fènì eŋ.
- Sptì.
92. Tùŋgiforu dè frejì, eŋ dagu sidò' na eŋ tsìre. Pè a sidò’?
- Na dagu tsìre.
93. (B) Mi ma habi wàŋ gologolo f' eŋ, q' fu ko wat'a.
- Puspus'.
94. (B) Mi ma habi wàŋ golo f' eŋ. A tą' fu' ko wat'a.
- Hantsì.
95. Mi papa scni wàŋ brifi fò kari eŋ p'kin. Fa na brifi doro, na so srefi na p'kin doro na papa.
- Fusìmàn, 'uku, fisi.
96. Mi dè na mi hoso. Mi fejantì dè kom kus' mi. Mi hoso de p'sa na mi fejantì fènsì, ma yète mi fejantì dè kus' mi.
- [Fishing net.]
97. Sañ de na hejmɛl di libi-suma 'anu meki?
- Den spigri na Masra Jesus 'anu.

98. Suma na na moro fufurumɛn?
- Tɛmɛrɛmɛn. 'A wɔntɛm de bɛn fufuru na spigri di spigri Masra Jesus na çɛ̨ kroist.

99. Sañ na wrokomɛn no bɛn 'abi dɔt' a gi çɛ̨ basi?
- Na dopo. Dat na Johanes na dopomɛn, hɛm basi Masra Jesus. A no bɛn dopo, ma a dopo.

100. Mi papa a'wɛn bari. Hoso-suma no kɛn'kus' watra na uni, ma doroseji-suma kɛn kisi na uni.
- Brada nɛŋa sisa no kɛn tro.

- Dat' kostel p'klin bɛn de domini fɾo.

102. Gadɔ no si çɛ̨ noiti;
Wən Konim si çɛ̨ wən-tu trɔ';
Wən buru si çɛ̨ ala dej.
- Wən koleixa.

Gadɔ no si noiti wɔn tra gadɔ;
Wən Konim no si wən Konim ala dej;
Wən buru si tra buru ala dej.

103. Sort' kɔndre yu de go, di yu no de kom baka?
- Na deɗɛ kɔndre.

104. Er-tin-tin.
Mi papa habi sejbi sani. A gi sikisi, ma di fɔ sejbi, doti a no gi.
- Sikisi dej fɔ wroko, wən a fɔ Gadɔ.

105. Sort' meti na Lɔnɔnɔ?
- Dot' na wɔn buriki. Lejt' na mundri-baka, 'abi na krois.

106. Mi p'pa habi dagu. Na biɡi dagu n'e bejti, ma den p'kin wən beiti.
- Wan peppe.
Riddles

1. Since my mother bore me, I never ate an orange-stick, but since they put me on the bier, then first did I eat an orange-stick.
   Ans. - That is to say, when a fisherman goes fishing and he catches a fish, then when he goes to dry it over the fire, he puts a stick through its mouth. (The reference to the orange-stick is to the chewing sticks used by Negroes in Africa and the New World for cleaning the teeth.)
2. In the deep bush a man sits with a crown on his head.
   Ans. - This is a pineapple.
3. My mother cut a cock's neck. She threw the head into the bush. The head crowed 'ko-ko-dia-ko'.
   Ans. - Pineapple. (If you cut off the head and throw it away, it will grow again.)
4. A child's head gives birth to its mother later.
   Ans. - A piece of sugar-cane.
5. A barrel on top of a barrel.
   Ans. - Sugar-cane.
6. My mother goes to market. She buys many barrels, but she does not know that they hold water, because more than ten barrels are fastened together. But when she begins to break open the barrels she comes to see that the barrels hold water.
   Ans. - Sugar-cane.
7. I come from a wooden belly, and my water boiled over a fire is as sweet as honey.
   Ans. - The syrup from sugar-cane.
8. There is water in the bush.
   Ans. - Sugar-cane.
9. A house stands. A carpenter inside is at work, but the house has no openings.
   Ans. - That is a guava fruit. The guava is closed all around, yet a worm is eating away inside.
10. If the hangman had not been there, the thief would have killed the sleeping man.
   Ans. - A mango hangs from a tree, and a pig is lying under the tree asleep. And a tiger is coming to kill him, but before the tiger arrives, then the mango falls down, strikes the pig, and the pig wakes up, and runs. So the tiger does not catch him.
11. My mother has a child. As long as you do not take off its cap, you cannot kiss it.
   Ans. - A maripa-nut.
12. I myself am not good to eat, but my feet are good.
   Ans. - Sweet cassava (because you plant the root).

1 Those riddles marked ‘B’ after the number, are in Saramacca Tongo, and not taki-taki.
13. When my mother eats, she urinates all over her body.
   *Ans.* - Cassava press.

14. My mother goes to the market. She buys wood, and food, and water.
   *Ans.* - A coconut.

15. My mother has three eyes.
   *Ans.* - A coconut.

16. My mother has a round ball. She shoots pins into this ball. Now, the color of this ball is green outside, inside it is colored white, and what comes out from its belly is black.
   *Ans.* - The ball is a soursap; the pins in its body are thorns, and the white color is the inside, and the black [which comes from its belly], the seeds.

16a. The church is colored green, the priest is dressed in black, and the people are in white.
   *Ans.* - Soursap.

17. My body is made of three spoons,
   My bones are beautiful as beads,
   My blood is as sweet as butter,
   Everybody says how pretty I am.
   But yet they say I am bad.

   *Ans.* - Masusa.¹

18. Always at first the father or the mother is ahead, but the child becomes bigger than its mother, and later gives birth to its father and mother.
   *Ans.* - A mango seed. When you take a mango, you eat it, then you plant the seed. The seed grows into a tree, the tree is bigger than the seed, and bears other mangos later.

19. When my father was young, his beard was white, but when he became old, his beard became black.
   *Ans.* - An ear of corn.

20. With one ear of corn my father bought a cow, he bought a horse, he bought a donkey.
   *Ans.* - A man took an ear of corn, and planted it. From it he got ten sacks. He sold the sacks (of corn) and he bought a cow. He raised the cow. The cow bore a calf [lit., ‘made a child’]. He sold it. He bought a horse; he sold the colt. He bought a donkey.

21. My mother has a thing. It is yellow outside and it is yellow inside.
   *Ans.* - The mammif fruit.

22. It is green outside, it is white inside, it is red inside, it is black inside.
   *Ans.* - Watermelon.

23. Fire in the deep bush.
   *Ans.* - Awara tree (i.e., its flowers are flaming red).

¹ *Renealmia Exaltata*, Encyc., p. 607.
23a. Without wood there is fire in the deep bush, but it does not give heat.
   Ans. - A bunch of awara in the bush.

23b. There is fire in the bush.
   Ans. - Awara.

24. A child is born before its mother.
   Ans. - A cashew nut.

25. It stands stiff on top of a bed, half red and half white, but all the young Negroes of that country are afraid to take it and put it in the hole which is in their faces,1 because all the grown-up people who already tasted it, say it is peppery.
   Ans. - A thing they call radish.

26. I go to the bush. The living people do not speak to me, but the dead ones speak to me.
   Ans. - Dry leaves.

26a. I go to the bush and I kill animals. I tell the living ones ‘howdo,’ they do not answer me. I tell the dead ones ‘howdo,’ those answer me.
   Ans. - Green leaves and dry leaves. When you step on the dry ones, they crunch, but the green ones make no sound.

27. Howdo, missus, howdo, master. Come inside with your long thing, walk around, come drink water from between the feet, and eat food from the anus.
   Ans. - The water is milk, and the food an egg.

28. A man sits down on a table. He rolls down to the ground. No one can put him together again.
   Ans. - That is an egg.

29. My mother has a barrel. It has no opening, but it holds water.
   Ans. - Egg.

29a. My mother has a barrel. It has no hoops, but it holds water.
   Ans. - An egg.

30. What kind of a bird do you eat with all its feathers?
   Ans. - Egg.

31. Buttocks on the bottom, buttocks on the top; a sweet thing comes in the middle.
   Ans. - When you put a sweet thing inside two skotriki (i.e., a sandwich).

32. A black savannah, a white savannah, and three men run past.
   Ans. - Ink, writing paper, and pen and fingers.

33. My mother stands on the ceiling; she flings a large basket of plates to the ground, but not one is broken.
   Ans. - That means paper.

33a. My father has a pot. Coming from the river it fell, but did not break.
   Ans. - A letter.

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1 Or ‘in front of them’. A play on words.
34. My mother has a yard. It has twenty-six trees. But for all things whose name you call, you can look in the yard where the trees are.
   Ans. - The alphabet.
35. I and my mother are the same age.
   Ans. - That is to say eleven, one and one.
36. It is a deep thing of my mother's, and a long thing of my father's.
   Ans. - A well, and a bucket rope.
37. Er-tin-tin
   Tin-tin-tin.
   What my father says here, that (same thing) his brothers are saying as far away as the White man's country.
   Ans. - A clock.
38. It works day and night.
   Ans. - The river.
39. My mother bore me, and later I gave birth to my mother.
   Ans. - Ice.
40. A White woman is standing on a table. The more she stands the more she wastes away.
   Ans. - A clock.
41. My father took his spade and shot it into my mother's narrow opening.
   Ans. - Key and lock.
41a. My father wanted to go inside my mother. So he took his thing and shot it into my mother's thing.
   Ans. - A lock.
42. Black outside, red inside, a star in the center.
   Ans. - That is to say a tub. It is black outside; its whole inside is red. Djokotiri, that is a star in the middle.
43. It is long in front, it is long in back.
   Ans. - Thread and needle.
44. Er-tin-tin. A stump wears a shirt.
   Ans. - A needle and thread.
45. A little girl is sitting with her hand on her hip.
   Ans. - That is a chamber-pot.
45a. My mother has a man. But never does his hand come away from his side.
   Ans. - Chamber-pot.
46. My mother has a child. As long as you feed it, it cries.
   Ans. - A pot on the fire.
47. A red horse licks a black horse's backsides.
   Ans. - When a black pot stands on the fire.
47a. Red horse is riding on a black horse's buttocks.
   Ans. - A pot on top of the fire.
47b. A red man licks a black woman's buttocks.
   Ans. - Black pot on fire.
48. Little toads jump from the pot.
   Ans. - When a pot of rice boils over.

49. A small boy shows God a fist.
   Ans. - That is when a Djuka woman stamps rice in her mortar, the pestle points to the sky.

49a. A tall man shows God his finger.
   Ans. - Mortar and pestle.

50. You have three things in your house,
    One longs for daybreak,
    One longs for night to come,
    One longs for the world to end.
   Ans. - Bed, - it longs for dawn; stool, - it is weary, it longs for night to come so that it may rest; clock, - it has grown tired, it longs for the world to end.

51. My father shoots a cow in the head. The load comes out from her tail.
   Ans. - A pipe.

52. My father has a house which he filled with furnishings. He put it on fire. All things burned, but the house did not burn.
   Ans. - A pipe.

53. The more my father is angry, the more his pocket handkerchief flies.
   Ans. - A plane.

54. I go and I come. It remains stiff.
   Ans. - That is a cigar.

55. It is round, (and) it sits down.
   Ans. - A pudding.

56. It is long in front, it is long in back.
   Ans. - A street.

57. My father has a man who stands on one leg.
   Ans. - A gun.

58. My father eats with his backsides, and he defecates through his mouth.
   Ans. - A gun.

59. You were the first to go, and yet I overtook you when I lit one firestick.
   Ans. - A gun and a deer.

60. Hole inside hole, hair about the hole, sweet pleasure comes from inside.
   Ans. - A flute in your mouth, when you play it, and (the hair of) your beard.

61. Black woman swims a swamp.
   Ans. - That is a gin bottle.

62. Every hour a black woman makes a curtsy in the swamp.
   Ans. - A black gin flask floating in the swamp.

63. How many nails will build a house?
   Ans. - One, because the last nail is the one which finishes the house.
64. Puff strikes puff.  
   Ans. - Ashes.
65. I make a house with one post.  
   Ans. - An umbrella.
66. A man is in prison. As long as he does not spit, he is not going to get out.  
   Ans. - When a man goes to a woman, when he is through the thing droops, and spits.
67. What is sweeter than honey?  
   Ans. - My mother's breast.
68. A soko\(^1\) woman carries her belly in back.  
   Ans. - The calf of the leg.
69. My mother has a well with weeds around it. Yet none falls in side.  
   Ans. - An eye [and its lashes].
70. Sister Akuba kills, (and) shows Brother William.  
   Ans. - That is (when with) your finger, (you take something out of) your eye.
71. Look-hard sleeps on the road beside the grass, and leaves his hair outside.  
   Ans. - An eye and eye-lashes.
72. What does God make which human beings remove?  
   Ans. - When a child is born, it is born with its navel-cord, but human beings remove it.
73. There is one thing, which is in the midst of thirty-two snakes, but the snakes do not bite it.  
   Ans. - The tongue.
74. What does the King do now, now?  
   Ans. - He breathes.
75. What thing of your mother's do you dislike?  
   Ans. - You dislike to see your mother's last breath.
76. If you tell me how many hairs you have on your head, then I will tell you what my father's riches are.  
   Ans. - Two things you cannot count. You cannot count your hair, and so you cannot count the stars.
77. A mother had one hundred thousand children. The mother sent the children to clean the square. The children did not clean the square well. But the moment the mother herself went, the place was clean.  
   Ans. - The moon and the stars.
78. One grain of corn whitens the whole river.  
   Ans. - A moonbeam.
79. The elephant's buttocks are cracked. So long as rain does not fall, they will not mend.  
   Ans. - When the earth is dry it cracks.
79a. My father's backsides are split. There is no thread to sew them.  
   Ans. - Clay. When it is cracked, there is nothing with which to fill it in.

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1 A word used in riddles.
80. I shake, and you shake, but my pleasure comes to you.
   Ans. - That is to say, a boy climbed an apple tree, then there was a monkey
   on this tree. The boy shook the apples from the tree. The monkey on the tree
   shook, too, but the monkey jumped down on the ground and ate up all the
   apples.
81. Seven men eat one sika.¹
   Ans. - One man has one sika. He leaves the sika till it becomes big, and then
   puts it aside. Then you have seven carpenters, and one of the carpenters takes
   the sika and with that he catches a fish, then all seven eat the fish.
82. Meat inside bones, and hair on top of bones.
   Ans. - A crab.
83. When little stick knew he was going to die, he dug a hole for himself.
   Ans. - That is a sika.
84. A sloping roof walks.
   Ans. - A toad.
85. I am a very evil beast. You pull off my head and I remain a hundred years.
   Ans. - That is a bush lion. If you take away the l, then there remains eo, which
   changes to 'one hundred years'. (i.e., 'eon'.)
86. My name is five letters, but when you take away two, there remain six.
   Ans. - Moses (i.e., take away 'mo', there remains the Dutch word for six as
   pronounced in tak-taki).
87. One kills Elfida; Elfida kills seven; seven kill three. I drink water which did not
   come from the sky, and did not come from the earth, and with the word of God
   I eat.
   Ans. - One is a dog; seven are buzzards; three are ants. (A boy goes abroad
   to find wisdom and he takes with him his dog, Elfida. A cook poisons the food
   which he gives to the dog, and the dog dies. Seven buzzards (yankoro) eat the
   dog and die, and three ants eat the seven buzzards and they die. The water
   the boy drank was dew. He walked farther on and went hungry until he found
   a rabbit, but still he could not eat, because he did not have anything with which
   to cook the rabbit. And so he walked on until he came to a church and he took
   a Bible and made a fire with it. Then he came where the King and Queen lived
   and asked them to guess the riddle, but they could not guess. The queen sent
   for her daughter. He liked the daughter, so he told her the answer. One was
   the dog; seven are the

¹ The translation given us for 'sika' was variously 'chigo' - a small insect that burrows into the
foot under the nail of the great toe - and 'crab', 'snail', or 'shrimp'.

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buzzards, and three are the ants. The water which came from neither sky nor earth is dew, and by means of the Bible which he put on fire he cooked his food. Therefore, with the word of God he ate.)

88. A King plants rice. A man comes and asks him, says, if the rice will come. He answers him, says, ‘If they come, it will not come. But if they do not come, then it will come.’

Ans. - Small birds. (If the small birds come, then it [the rice] will not come. But if the small birds do not come, then it [the rice] will come.)

89. My father and my mother go to the bush to hunt. Those animals which he kills he leaves in the bush. But those he does not kill, he gives to my mother to bring home.

Ans. - Lice.

89a. My father goes hunting. The animals he kills, he leaves in the bush. But those he does not kill, he makes my mother bring home.

Ans. - Lice.

90. Eight footfalls, wiriwire, tikita.

Ans. - Two span of horses, and (the sound of) the wheels, and (the sound of) the whip.

91. A man is riding a horse. His pocket handkerchief falls down. When he steps down to take it, he does not see it any more.

Ans. - The horse's spit.

91a. A person was riding a bicycle. His hat fell down. That person climbed down to take his hat, but he did not find it any more.

Ans. - Spit.

91b. My father was riding a horse. His pocket handkerchief fell down. He turned back to look for it. No one had passed down the road, but he did not find it.

Ans. - Spit.

92. The buzzard is flying, and the dog sits down on his tail. Where does he sit down?

Ans. - On the dog's tail.

93. My mother has a gourd which is not full of water.

Ans. - A cat.

94. My mother has a gourd. It is full of water.

Ans. - Ant hill.

95. My father sent a letter to call his child. Just as the letter arrived, then that self-same moment the child arrived at his father's.

Ans. - Fisherman, fish-hook, and fish.

96. I am in my house. My enemies come to catch me. My house passes through my enemies' windows, but yet my enemies catch me.

Ans. - A fishing net. (Explanation: the fish are at home in the water. The enemy of the fish is the net. Water, the home of the fish, passes through the net, but the fish are caught.)
97. What is in the sky that human hands made?
   Ans. - The nails in Master Jesus's hands.

98. Who is the greatest thief?
   Ans. - A carpenter. He promptly stole the nails which nailed Master Jesus to
   his cross.

99. What is it that the workingman has not that he has given his boss?
   Ans. - Baptism. That is to say, John is the baptist and (he baptised) his boss
   Master Jesus. He was not baptised, but he baptised.

100. My father has a barrel. The people of the house cannot take water from it, but
     outsiders can take.
    Ans. - A brother and sister cannot marry.

101. A minister and his wife, the deacon and his wife and child. They come on a
     visit, (and) they bring four apples to the table. Each one takes one.
    Ans. - That is, the deacon's daughter was the minister's wife.

102. God never sees it;
    A King sees it once or twice;
    A farmer sees it every day.
    Ans. - An equal.

                   God never sees another god;
                   A King does not see another King every day;
                   One farmer sees another farmer every day.

103. What is the country you go to from which you never come back?
    Ans. - Death's country.

104. Er-tin-tin.
    My father has seven things. He gives six, but as for the seventh, that he does
    not give.
    Ans. - Six days for work, one is for God.

105. What kind of an animal is a Roman Catholic?
    Ans. - That is a donkey. Right in the middle of the back, he has a cross.

106. My father has dogs. The big dogs do no bite, but the little ones bite.
    Ans. - Pepper (i.e., pods and broken peppers).
D. Taki-taki proverbs
1. Bigi aj fō Anānsi meki dom kori hɛm.
2. Syɛm meki mi dom.
3. Te yu taki, taki fō yu fosi; sān yu du mi.
4. Tān tiri a no dom.
5. Fā yu tā’? Yɛsredej betre tide.
6. Te yu nyām nāngā didibri, dā’ yu mu habi lāngā forku.
7. Tāngi fō bō’ na kodya.
8. Efuf drāi fisi kisi xorom, na mekunu.
9. Switi fō sapatia meki dejbroko frimusu na foru ’oso.
9a. Sūti fō lefeč meki dejbroko awari na foru ’oso.
10. Ba Anānsi kṛc’ na awara bom. (K)
    Maka sūtu hɛm, n’e flig-mashin,
    Mira beti hɛm, n’e lukbalɔŋ
    Ba Anānsi kṛc’ na awara bom.
12. Te lagadisa tere koti, dāŋ ħə fenĩ ħə horo.
12a. Te sapakara tere koti, wantroŋ a də fenĩ ‘olo.
13. Por’ nɛm na umā-suma sriβi-krosi.
14. Bigi aj fō məni meki a go tro na malata.
15. Sūti fō pyaŋ meki fioʃio hāŋga na barkɔ’. (K)
16. Efuf ondrofeni no bēn də, sabi-dirĩ a no so bēn də.

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17. Switi fō ajsko meki amtēnar fraŋ lasi ēŋ hoso-pasi. (K)
18. Tē kaŋ nyam, a mu gi 'asi pasi. (K)
19. Faka-faka fō Ananši mcki tigri kisi he'em.
20. Yu mu' fō de bōŋ naŋga suma, ma yu no mus' fō puru yu bēre gi' ēm.
21. Mi na p'kin aksi, ma mi de fara bigi kakatri. (K)
22. Ananši koni so tē ... ma tok a de fasi na lakboru.
23. Tigrī oru, ma a no las' ēŋ peni.
24. Fsi pasa maswa, ma a no pasa ēŋ dede.
25. Man de na opo, man de na bilo, tu.
25a. Bigi suma de na yu kōndre, bigi suma de na mi kōndre, tu.
26. Suma p'kin a no yu p'kin.
Sribi na dede.
Umā kiri man.
27. Čndrofeni so leri yu.
28. P'kin no wāŋ yer' ēŋ mama, a so go na abanba.
29. Efufi sīsi no bigi, a n'e nyam uku.
30. Te yu de koti, yu mu' de fiti.
31. Takru tajya a no bō' fō nyam, a no bō' fō trowe.
'Agu ọksì ẹjì mamà, taki, 'Mi mamà, sànbì ëèììkà ni mọfọ lààŋga so?' Na mamà pìki hùì taki, 'Mi p'ììn, sa kom y'e kom.'

Te okro brafu korù, boro-noso 'ẹ ìròyìn' 'm.

Te sumà no sabì ni yìí ìròyìn-presì, a tek' ìpà-ìntàràsì gí yìí wàtòra.

Notì bìla, yìí dè teki pári puru pondo.

Xọlòkù hабì ẹjìngà pàsi,
Ma hùr' yìí sàràfì, dótì nà bùsì.

Lùku pè yìí stótu yìí futù, má nù lùku pè yìí fàdọ'.

Te oòpò wà' sumà lùku đànsì, a oòpò yìí lùku fètì.

Tè yìí sàbì', yìí dù nà exprérsì.

Sùtì fó lìbi sà sì yìí tàgì tìrì.

Wàn nànyàm d'è fur' bèrì a i de sí ẹjì.

Siìnkì bètì mì, mì si wọràn, mì fèrdè.

Mì kòm fò mèrkì, mì nò kòm fò sèrí kàyì.

Te wàn tàkì liètì, ẹjì dik' wàŋ olo.

Grọntapù nà asi-terè; a wàjì ala sejì.

Bìgì alejìn nò kìri mì, yìí dèjì kì na p'ììn wà sò kìr' mì?
47. Na pasicorsi-umā na wān gudu-umā.
48. Bigi dagu n'ë bet' den srefi.
49. Fesi bën dë bifosi spikri.
50. M'ma-foru futu n'ë kir' ën p'kin.
51. 'Aŋgri-si skapu, na tigri nanyam.
52. San' sūti na konkoni mofo, na dòt' a dë go pir' ën tifì.
53. Të i taki f'ìna alata, yu mu tak' f'a batchau.
54. Prango a' yesi.
55. Barbar' dagu n'ë i betì.
56. Yu na anamu, yu no gointi.
57. Mi na Kakalaka, mi n'a let' 'a foru mofo.
57a. Yu na Kakalaka, yu n'a 'a letì na foru mofo.
58. Mi na watra, tya' hebi.
59. A no mi dğŋgi yu grón mek' yu no 'abi.
60. Të suma no sabi dansì, a tak' 'a pok' n'ë pre bòn.
61. A no i lafu a konkoni mek' a n'ab' tere.
62. Tide na f'mi, tamara na f' yu.
63. Te wān 'asi kostu moni, yu dë si na ën grón futu.
64. Maŋ lepl a no wisì.
65. Dagô taki ‘chaku, chaku’. F’yu na f’yu.
66. Babûn òre na babûn ñikin.
67. Te yu no habi ñnga, yu no kàñ mek’ kofu.
68. Ala kàñ blaka na neiti.
69. Masra hej, meki masra kàñ fatu.
70. Busi brôn, suneke no habi hëdcmân.
71. Koni móro trânga.
72. Won süt’ brafu meki i nyâ’ wà’ suà têntôn.
73. Te yu lob’ na okro, yu mu lob’ ‘a siri.
74. No puru yu bëre gi umà, bika’ umà dê kiri mân.
75. Yu wâñ’ nyâ’ yu cëg-fatu.
76. Bctre buriki skopu mi lejiki yu kosi me.
77. Süti fô mi tori meki tu dagu nyâm na uni wâñ preti.
78. Lakboru no dê na ‘oso, Anànsi dê na wroko.
79. Bûgi sîpi mi bèn tyari sondro stûrmân; wë, na wâñ krioro dân?
80. Ɔru fajya-tkî no dê prej fô teki.
81. Tà’ te tamara meki todo no habi òre.
82. Suma no bibri laj, a i no bibri tru.
83. Ala busi meti nyam kasaba, ma konkoni tyari nem. (K)
84. Mi na hafu-sensi, nowan man kə' broko mi. (K)
85. Na bloŋki di ben dc drɛsi soro, na doti dc meki bonkete na grəmnən tafra. (K)
86. Lobi na basi. (K)
87. Libi sujiti. (K)
88. Ėndrofeni a no bom, ma a dc gro. (K)
89. Doti-wagi dc tyari doti, ma a no dc tyari syɛm. (K)
90. Wawan lobi dc, ma ala dc na suma 'anu. (K)
91. Na p'kin pëntë ni dagu neki meki puspusi hati brən. (K)
92. Mi dɔji frej gowc, ma mi xoluk, doti tə'. (K)
93. Leși naŋga morsu meki yu 'kra gowc libi yu. (K)
94. Taki sən yu wani, mi fraga dc na tapu. (K)
95. Fa mi su taki, 'a masra dc du. (K)
96. Bụgi sensi kastoli mi gi yu, a de wroko yu so! - Dag buba! (K)
97. Sujiti fɔ mi smeri, meki mi gudu lasi şŋ hosə pasi. (K)
98. Wawan bon lobi dc ykte, ma a diri fɔ wni. (K)
99. Ala piri tifi a no lafu.
100. Ala gi hanu a no ñrənskap.
101. Te yu kosi tŋgi-fo, a dc hati krəkən.
102. Turəmiŋ 'oso no 'abi bəŋgi.
103. Bas' Djaki taki, 'A no fɔ soso na wɔrən dc waka na sɛj-sɛj.'
104. Mi no kən trə' todo fɔ opo prasono gi sneki.
105. San wan miri kàŋ du nàŋga wàŋ kàŋ 'ɛdɛ?
106. Di mi bàŋ mi kàŋ, mi kàŋ,
    Mi kàŋ no 'abi tutu.
107. Lòbi dèdè kaba.
108. Yu no ko' abra-watra, yu no dè kos' kàjìàŋ mama.
109. Sekrepatu taki, a no taki ɛn no màŋ kàŋ berì, ma na lafu dè moro ɛn.
110. Te kamerawàŋkìàŋ nàŋga bòtremàŋ kis' trobi, da' yu dè yere pè na bòtro bëŋ go.
111. Te yu nàki kàpa lasì, yu dè yere borìmàŋ tongo.
112. Agàmà taki, 'Hesi, hesì bòŋ, ma safri, safri bòŋ, tu.'
113. No teki syc m nyàm wisi.
114. Todo taki, 'Ef' yu dè tak' fò gogo, m'no kàŋ pìki, ma ef' yu dè takì fò hàj, mi kàŋ pìki.'
115. Anànsi konì, ma tide tgrì raì na hèm baka. (K)
116. Grabu nanyàm, ma no grabu taki.
117. Tònàng tyari hèm masra na bòŋ, a tyari hèm masra na ogri, tu.
118. Òru sìki fò todo na kraskrazi.
119. Te yu kori 'ɛdɛ, yu dè feni loso.
120. Sàŋ yu lasì na fàjya hoso, yu so feni na asìsi.
121. Kràb-dagu dè kàŋki hoso, ma a no màŋ kàŋki maneri.
122. Efù p'kin no habì syc fò dèdè na mundi netì, hèm mama no habì syc fò bari tu.

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123. So lāŋga lejikī lənwe dē, so lāŋga, lāŋga na wípi dē.
124. Ėngel fō stratī, didibrī fō 'oso.
125. Wān kehejim hontimān mōro ogī lejikī wān kirimān di ala suma sabi.
126. Traŋga nē tyari kāy go na peŋ, ma wān lēpi ūŋga ba-an, dōti no mo.
127. Gongote gōdo mofo 'e wejti, ma na tra suma de nyam č'.
128. Snekī kubrī ẹ̌ sērefi, a tōn aboma.
129. Wakamā si yorka, 'a yorka si 'a mān dē.
130. Tak' leti a no ascrāntī.
131. Tē yu no wāni yere 'odi, odi', yu no mu meki yu 'oso na sei pasi.
132. 'A tōntōŋ di yu bēn dēŋki no dē go furu yu bēri, na dōti dē go bonant yu.
133. Gadu sab' sān a du, a no gi 'asi tutu.
134. Sān yu no sabī mu du yu, ma sān yu sabī no mu du yu.
135. A sō du wi ala.
136. Yu go lasi lānsi, yu las' sapakara.
137. Ala fisi dē sck' ēŋ tere, te oru-wejī, tu.
138. Aleintēm yankoro wān meki 'oso, te aleēn kaba, a fnūti.
139. Sani mōro tigī, a 'e nyam doti.

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140. Lai hatri moro soro.
141. Faiya dede, p'kin n'gyere prej na asisi.
142. San de na dongo a so kom na krin.
142a. Not' so de na dongo, di no so kom na krin.
143. Yu bai wiisi yu mu bai koni tu.
144. Yu no sab' san asa bcn nyam mek' a kom bgi so.
145. Dagu a fô futu, ma a no de waka na fô pasi.
146. A teki bângi, a wâng tek teki gogo tu.
147. Wân tînya n'e dregi okro.
148. Tc mi de waka na tapu doti, daq' mi de trapu safri; tc mi dede, na doti go nyam mi.
149. Grâmâ' bobi na fô ala pîkin.
150. Yu muso prani kasaba fosi bifo a so gôô.
151. Te wâ suma duki wâ oro fô pot' wâ tra wâ, ên sêrefi fafa' go na unî.
152. Mi týari mi supi go na mundri, na roder broko, a libi mi na mundri sei. (K)
153. Luku 'a sôrêkî na yu fesi, ma no luku na barki na yu birmà aî.
154. Lobî a no notî, smusî dotî na basi.
155. 'Ef' na baiîa no habi faiya, na sttm no so go.
156. Tnnapu na kofu no brasa.
157. Ala foro no habi wan tôngo.
158. Te aleîn si yu de na broko hoso, a n'e kaba na yu baka.
159. Udu no de, mi teki tcteî potî na faiya.
160. S'ana kondre na 'asi tâle; tide a waji so, tamara a waji so.
161. Ôranjya mu grùn bifosi a lepi.
162. Anansî taki a no fredi, ma ên skin de gro.
163. Alata no sabî san moni bai.
164. Alata tajgi, 'Tc mi waka fufuru na netî, a no fô mi srefi 'cde, ma mi pîkin dê' sênî mi.'
165. Dagu no de, yu tya' k'abita go na honti.
166. Yu prej naîga pîkin dagu, a i leiî yu mofo.
167. Skapu dede, a libi pina gi hm buba.
168. Tigrî dede, Dia dansi na hm grebi tapu.
169. 'Ef' i habi nem fo' kaî, i mu tya' tutu.
170. K'abita pîkin, ma a n'e futu-boo gi kaî.
171. K'abita taki, 'Mofo tâ' tiri, dân yorka.'
172. Awasi krâbu no 'abi brudo, a 'abi hatibrôn.
173. Mi na orukuku; tc mi bari, suma dede.
174. San' moro keskeśi, a brasa maka.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
1. Anansi's greed permits the stupid to lie to him.
2. Shame makes me stupid.
3. When you talk, talk first of yourself, and what you did to me.
   - Said in a quarrel.
4. Silence is not stupidity.
5. How are you? Yesterday better than today.
   - We know yesterday; today is not over yet.
6. When you eat with the devil, then you must have a long fork.
7. The reward for good is the cudgel.
8. If dried fish becomes wormy, it is a curse.
   - If two people who were friends quarrel, this is said to express the opinion that there never was friendship between them. Mekunu, the Paramaribo equivalent of the kunu of the Bush-Negroes, is the supernatural curse meted out by ancestors and gods.
9. Love of the sapatia fruit caused the bat to be found in the chicken coop at daybreak.
   - The attraction of the woman caused the lover to forget prudence, and led to his discovery by the husband.
9a. Love of liver found the hawk in the chicken coop at daybreak.
   - The same as No. 9.
10. Ba Anansi climbed the awara tree. (K)
    Thorns shot into him, but there was no flying machine,
    Ants bit him, but there was no air-balloon,
    Ba Anansi climbed the awara tree.
    - This proverb is also used as a song. The point made about Anansi is that his daring in climbing the thorny awara palm-tree was rewarded with bruises. As spoken and sung, the proverb is used to comment on the fact that a man who had many times outwitted the authorities, had at last been caught and punished.
11. Haste is good, caution is good, too.
12. When the lizard's tail is cut off, then he finds his hole.
    - This is used to point the moral that when a man has been humbled, he is not seen about much.
12a. When the salamander's tail is cut off, he promptly crawls into a hole.
13. A bad name is a woman's winding sheet.
    - This is often said to commiserate with someone who, because of an early bad reputation, receives no recognition for a good deed.
14. Greed made her go and marry a mulatto.
   - Reference is made here to a white woman marrying a mulatto.

15. Love of the lottery makes fio fio hang on the balcony. (K)
   - See above, pp. 53 ff., for explanation of fio fio.

16. If experience had not been there, knowledge would not exist.
17. Love of the ice-company makes the officer's wife lose the way to her house. (K)

   - This proverb refers to the misadventures of a woman who had succumbed to the blandishments of the ice-man. It is interesting that it follows a definite pattern of proverb, and that currency is given to the saying by substituting a few words.

18. When the cow has eaten, she must give the horse the right to graze. (K) (Lit., 'she must give the horse the path."

   - The saying was quoted about a man who deserted his elderly wife to find a young one. While the women commiserated with the older woman, their feeling was that she had had her turn, and now it was time that the younger girl had hers.

19. Anansi's haste caused the tiger to catch him.

20. You must be kind to people, but you must not take out your entrails (lit., 'belly') for them.

21. I am a small axe, but I cut down the big silk-cotton tree. (K)

22. Anansi is very cunning, yet he is caught by the broom.

   - Anansi, the spider, gets swept away from the walls in spite of his ability as trickster.

23. The tiger is old, but he has not lost his spots.

   - A man does not lose his old habits.

24. A fish can pass a trap, but it cannot pass its death.

   - Said of a thief or a witch. A man can evade punishment, but he cannot evade death.

25. There are men on the upper river, there are men on the lower river, too.

   - This proverb constitutes an answer to a threat, and usually relates to a threat of black magic.

25a. There are big men in your village, there are big men in my village, too.

   - Used as in No. 25.

26. Someone else's child is not your child.
   Sleep is death.
   Woman kills man.

   - Any of these three lines may be used independently as a proverb, and together they form part of a song which occurs in stories (as, e.g., Nos. 125-127) whose point is that women betray those who trust them.

27. Experience will teach you.

28. The child who does not listen to his mother, will go to the land of the dead.
29. If a fish is not big enough, it does not bite at hooks.
   - Said to convey the idea that it is best to curb one's ambitions.

30. When you cut, you must fit.
   - This indicates that a man had better weigh his acts.

31. The bad taya is not good to eat, and not good to throw away.
   - Taya is a spinach-like plant, and, as used in this proverb, indicates that a family member is in disgrace.
32. The pig asked its mother, said, 'Mother, why is your snout so long?' The mother answered him, said, 'My little one, it will come to you, it will come.'

   - Employed when someone makes a depreciating remark about another.

33. When the okra soup is cold, a sore nose can drink it.

   - This comment would be spoken about the downfall of a man. When misfortune comes to a strong man, a weakling can taunt him.

34. When a man does not know your eating place, he takes a closed calabash to offer you water. (This is also at times translated as, ‘...he takes a calabash cover in which to offer you water.’)

   - When a stranger imposes upon another whose position he does not know, this proverb would be used. To offer a drink in a closed calabash is apparently very reprehensible.

35. When the need arises, you take a paddle to push a punt.

36. Luck has a long road,
   But mastery of yourself rules everything.

   - Said to a person who, having had good luck, abuses it.

37. Look where you stub your toe, but do not look where you fall down.

   - This proverb would be employed when a person in a quarrel with another turns on a friendly bystander.

38. When you stand up to watch a man dance, he will stand up to watch you fight.

   - This comments on the fact that a good turn is repaid with evil.

39. When you knew (better), you did the direct opposite.

   - A man who has met misfortune, and to whom this proverb is said, is thereby told that he must expect no sympathy, for he should have known better than to embark on his adventure.

40. Love of life will see you hold your tongue.

   - This is said by one man to another to indicate that while he knows the other is wrong, he does not mean to prove it.

41. Food which will fill the belly is seen.

   - An overconfident person would be told this proverb to imply that there is no need to boast, for when he achieves, ah will know.

42. A snake bit me, I see a worm, I am afraid.

43. I came to milk (the cows), but I did not come to sell cows.
- This is said to a person who asks many indiscreet questions, and is especially used for the young.

44. When one tells the truth, he digs a grave.
   - Said cynically to a man who had got into difficulty for being frank.

45. The world is a horse's tail; it waves in all directions.
   - This is the equivalent of the saying, 'each to his own liking'. (See No. 160).

46. The big rains did not kill me, you think the little ones will kill me?
   - Used both as a threat, and to express confidence.
47. A patient woman is a rich woman.
48. Big dogs do not bite each other.

- A commentary on the fact that people take care of their own kind. The example given by the informant to illustrate the point was that of a white man and a black man in a dispute, his feeling being that the white official who judges the case will always favor the white man.

49. Faces were there before mirrors.

- Often employed to suggest that though the whites have astonishing mechanical devices, the gods are still powerful. By ‘gods’ the black man’s gods are thought of.

50. The mother-hen’s foot does not kill her young.

- Used when a parent chastises a child.

51. The inquisitive sheep is the tiger’s food.
52. That which the rabbit finds toothsome, that will show its fangs.

- That is to say, what a man longs for most, will kill him.

53. When you speak of the rat, you must speak of the saltfish.

- This is said when someone who should be impartial, takes sides in a dispute.

54. Planks have ears.
55. A barking dog does not bite.
56. You are a wild bird, you do not stay at home.

- Spoken to a restless person.

57. I am Cockroach, the hen will never say I am right.

- This proverb would be used by a person who is blamed for something he has not done.

57a. You are Cockroach, the hen will never say you are right.
58. I am water; my load is heavy.

- Used disdainfully by a person who is accused of being in the wrong.

59. It is not because I drink your gall (?) that you have none.

- This is said to a person who always hints that someone else is well-to-do.

60. When a man does not know how to dance, he says the drum is not being played well.

- Criticism of someone who is speaking of what he does not know is conveyed by the use of this proverb.
61. It is not your ridicule of the rabbit that caused him to be without a tail.
   - This suggests that good fortune is a fickle thing and that it is well not to despise someone who is down on his luck.

62. Today is for me, tomorrow for you.
   - Said to a person who is mocking another about his bad luck.

63. When a horse costs money, you see it by his hoof prints.
   - Said to a person who is putting on airs.

64. Maturity [wisdom] is not black magic.
   - Used most often to criticise a man who knows how to do things but never does them for fear of public opinion.
65. The dog says ‘chaku, chaku’. What is yours is yours.
   - Said to a member of one’s family, to indicate that a man should help his
     own relations first.

66. The baboon’s tail is on the baboon’s body.
   - This means that a hurt to someone in the family is a hurt to all.

67. When you have no fingers you cannot make a fist.
   - Said cynically to imply that you cannot do anything against a rich man.

68. All cows are black at night.
   - This is said to mean that at night a man can hide.

69. When the master is important, the master’s cows are fat.
   - A rich man has well-fed retainers.

70. When the bush burns, the snake has no head-man.
   - This is said when a family breaks up, and draws its analogy from the
     fact that the bush is the provider for the snake.

71. Cunning is more than strength.

72. For the sake of sweet soup you eat sour dumplings.
   - Used when a person overlooks the behavior of a friend or friend's relative
     because of his friendship.

73. When you love okra, you must love its seeds.
   - The equivalent of ‘Love me, love my dog.’

74. Do not take out your entrails for a woman, because woman kills man.

75. You want to eat your own fat.
   - When a man makes sport with one of his own children or siblings, he
     might hear this said. ‘Eating one’s own fat’ means having an incestuous
     relationship.

76. I would rather a donkey kicked me than you cursed me.

77. The pleasure of gossiping about me makes two dogs eat out of the same dish.
   - Said to suggest that a common enemy will bring enemies together.

78. When the house has no broom, Anansi (the spider) is at work.

79. I have brought in large boats without steersmen; well, what of a corial then?
   - Used in a quarrel to imply that the speaker has held her own against
     greater odds than those presented by the opponent. One example given
was of an older servant quarreling with a younger one, with this proverb spoken by the older one to say that she had defied the mistress herself.

80. Old fire-sticks do not take long to rekindle.

- This proverb implies that reconciliations between old friends are not difficult.

81. Waiting till tomorrow caused the toad to remain without a tail.

- This reminds a person of an unfulfilled promise; see Saramacca Proverb No. 39.
82. A man who does not believe a lie, does not believe the truth.
83. All bush animals eat cassava, but the rabbit carries the name (of thief). (K)
   - This proverb was used to comment on the fact that a certain man had suffered too great a penalty for adultry.
84. I am half a cent, no one can break me. (K)
   - This is said in defiance when a person is being taken to task. Reference to the half-cent, of course, is to the smallest coin.
85. The flower which cures a wound, is the one which is used for a bouquet on the chief's table. (K)
86. Love is the boss. (K)
87. Life is sweet. (K)
88. Experience is no tree, but it grows. (K)
89. A dirt-wagon carries dirt, but it does not carry shame. (K)
   - Spoken in a quarrel by someone who has been reduced to poverty.
90. Lovers there are, but all are in others hands. (K)
91. The small license on the dog's neck makes the cat angry. (K)
   - Said in a quarrel.
92. My dove flew away, but my luck, that stays. (K)
   - A woman would say this to a man who is about to leave her.
93. Laziness and nastiness caused your soul to leave you. (K)
94. Say what you like, my flag is on top. (K)
   - Used in a quarrel when one woman accuses the other of being incompetent, this proverb suggests that nevertheless fortune has favored her.
95. What the mistress says, the master does. (K)
   - This is said to a lover by a woman who mocks him for being henpecked.
96. I gave you a cent's worth of castoroil, and it has worked you so! - Dag buba! (K)
   - Used in a quarrel as a taunt.
97. Enjoyment of my smell, makes my lover lose the road to his house. (K)
98. There is still a good lover left, but he is hard [costly] to win. (K)
99. All showing of teeth is not a laugh.
100. All stretching out of the hand is not friendship.
101. When you curse the buzzard, it hurts the turkey.
102. The carpenter's house has no benches.
103. Boss Djaki says, 'It is not for nothing that the worm crawls from side to side.'

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- A warning to be careful of a person.

104. I cannot change the toad to [so that he will] open a parasol for a snake.

- A play on words is involved here, for *todo-prasoro* means a ‘toad-stool’.
105. What can an ant do with a cow's head?

- Said in a quarrel as a retort to a threat.

106. When I bought my cow, my cow,
My cow had no horns.

- This ridicules a person who is putting on airs.

107. Love is already dead.

- A cynical saying, used when someone brings up the story of a quarrel
between a man and a woman.

108. If you have not crossed the stream, you do not curse the alligator's mother.

- Used for men who boast, to suggest the value of discretion.

109. The turtle says, it is not that he cannot climb a hill, but the laughter disturbs
him.

- Said in mockery to someone who, as an excuse for something which
he cannot do, blames it on some trivial external thing.

110. When the chambermaid and the butler quarrel, then you hear where the butter
went.

- This would be said during a quarrel between friends, who in their anger
disclose confidences.

111. When you strike the bottom of a kettle, you hear the boiling-man's tongue.

- When two people who had gossiped about another quarrel, he will
soon hear what they had said about him.

112. The chameleon says, 'Haste, haste is good, but caution, caution is good, too.'

- This, is said to an impetuous person. (Compare No. 11).

113. Do not be shamed into eating poison.

- Spoken to a timid person. As has been stated, *wisi* may mean either
'poison' or 'black magic'.

114. The toad says, 'If you are talking of buttocks, I cannot speak, but if you are
talking of eyes, I can speak.'

115. Anansi is cunning, but today the tiger rides on his back. (K)

- This was said of a man who had for a long time criticized the authorities
but had finally been sentenced to serve a prison term for it.

116. Seize food, but do not seize speech.

117. The tongue brings his master good, it brings his master evil, too.

118. The old sickness of the toad is eczema.
119. When you comb the head, you find lice.
120. What you leave in the burning house, you will find in the ashes.
121. The wild dog changes his house, but he cannot change his manners.
122. If a child is not ashamed to die in the middle of the night, his mother is also not ashamed to bewail him.
123. As long as there is running away, so long there is a whip.
124. The angel on the street, the devil at home.
125. An unknown hunter is worse than a killer whom all men know.
126. Strength does not take the cow to the barn, but one small ripe banana will.
127. The gourd which holds cassava-flour has a white mouth, but other people eat the flour.

- This is said by a person who is accused of possessing something which he does not have.

128. Snakes that hide, change into boa constrictors.

- Someone who wished to register distrust of another person would use this proverb.

129. The wanderer sees a ghost, the ghost sees that a man is there.

- This proverb is used when a strong man meets his equal.

130. To tell the truth is not evil.

- This would be said by a man who had been insulted for being frank.

131. When you do not want to hear ‘howdo, howdo’, you must not build your house by the side of the road.

- Spoken to someone who has put himself in a position to be criticised, and resents it.

132. The pudding which you thought would not fill your belly, that one is going to tax your digestion.

- This applies to a person who has misjudged another.

133. God knew what he did, (when) he did not give the horse horns.

- Said to a man who has tried to do more than he is capable of doing.

134. What you do not know should overwhelm you, but what you know should not overwhelm you.

- This is a criticism of someone who did that which he knew he should not do, and is now in difficulties.

135. It will come to all of us.

- Spoken to reprove a person who seems to find relish in another man’s bad luck.

136. You go (prepared) to lose the arrow, you lose the salamander.

- This would be said to a man who has given up something he was sure of for the possibility of finding something better, and has lost both.
137. All fish shake their tails, the old-wife, too.

    - This is said about a poor man who tries to act as though he were rich, the point being that 'old-wife' is the name of a very small fish.

138. When the rain comes the buzzard wants to build a house, when the rain is over, he forgets.

139. When hard times come to tiger, he eats earth.

    - That is, when tiger has not found any kill.
140. A lie hurts more than a wound.
141. When the fire is dead, the pickaninny plays in the ashes.
142. What is in the dark shall come to light.
142a There is nothing in darkness, that will not come to light.
143. (If) you buy poison (black magic), you must buy cunning (sense) also.
144. You do not know what elephant has eaten to make him grow so big.
145. Dog has four feet, but he does not walk on four roads.
146. He took the stool, and he wants to take the buttocks also.
147. With one finger you cannot drink okra.
148. When I walk on the earth, then I step softly; for when I die, the earth is going to eat me. (See Saramacca Proverb 1.)
149. The chief's breast is for all children. (See Saramacca Proverb 2.)
150. You must plant the cassava before it will grow.

- That is, a person must ask for a thing before he can hope to get it.

151. When a person digs a hole to put another in, he himself falls into it.
152. I took my ship to the middle of the stream, the rudder broke, and it left me in midstream. (K)
153. Look at the speck on your own face, but do not look at the sore on your neighbor's eye.
154. Love is nothing, talk (companionship?) is the boss.
155. If a boiler has no fire, there will be no steam.
156. Standing with a clenched fist is not an embrace.
157. All animals do not speak the same language.
158. When the rain finds you in a leaky house, it never stops coming down on you.
159. When there is no wood, I put vines on the fire.
160. Suriname is a horse's tail; today it moves so, tomorrow it moves so. (See No. 45.)
161. An orange must (first) be green before it is ripe.
162. Anansi says he is not afraid, but his body trembles. (See No.109.)
163. Rat does not know what money buys.
164. Rat says, 'When I go about stealing at night, it is not for my own sake, but (that) my children send me.'
165. When there is no dog, you take the goat hunting.
166. You play with a puppy, he (will) licks your mouth.
167. When the sheep dies, it leaves (its) suffering to its skin.
168. When Tiger is dead, Deer dances on his grave.
169. If you are called a cow, you must carry horns.
170. Goat is small, but it is not a servant to cow.
171. Goat says, '(When) the mouth is quiet, then it is a ghost.'
172. Even though crab has no blood, it has anger.
173. I am the owl; when I cry, someone dies.
174. When the monkey is in need, it embraces a thorn.
E. Proverbs of the Saramacca bush-negroes
1. 'ɛmigōó,'adɛdɛmitɛmasapî sapíwakatąTɩn gowê.

The time has come for me to walk softly, softly, but (for) when I am dead, into the earth I shall go.

This means that what a person has to do he must do carefully, lest in doing it without discretion he will get hurt; he must ‘walk softly, softly’, and be politic with those who are stronger than he. This proverb was said by Kaptein Abaisa in speaking of Graman Yankuso, whose political opponent he was, but with whom he could not afford to break openly. For the taki-taki equivalent, see No. 147.

2. Gämą bobí na fō hî sembc.

Chief breast it for many people.

The chief’s breast belongs to many people.

A ruler must care for all his subjects. The town variant is No. 148.

3. Te wâ miî di ogi, i’ mu sa dâi paâda.

When a child does evil, you should forgive him.

The great man, or the person who has political power, must know how to forgive an offense.

4. ɗ uy ɗ wən, ɗu yitkìpi piš-piši, ɗ uy ɗ mû ɗ eql aqala.

When you have a yam and cut it into pieces, when you plant the pieces, yams will grow.

Used when the actions of a person are being discussed and reasons for them given. It is like our saying ‘like to like’, for the inference is that a good yam comes from a good one, and a poor one from a poor.

5. iC y wâs hau bô dî hî nî râs bî suma.

If you wash your hands well, you can eat with important people.

This is an injunction to be careful of your conduct in the presence of persons of standing. If you treat them with the deference that is their due, they will do well for you.

6. Koni-koni taki, ‘Ogi dê na ala pe.’

Koni-koni says, ‘Evil is in all place.’

Koni-koni says, ‘There is evil everywhere.’
The moral in this saying is that just as there is bad everywhere, there is also good, and if you do good for people they will return you good, but if you are evil with them, they will work against you.
7. Kononi taki Dey a l bi g ulu hobi
   Kononi say Wha t i d e u lu hobi

Koni-koni says, ‘When there is no more land, there remain the holes in the trees.’

Koni-koni is a rabbit-like animal who figures extensively in Suriname folklore; his name actually means ‘cunning-cunning one’. This saying, put into his mouth, means that there is more than one way to attain an end if a person is determined. For taki-taki version, see No. 65.

8. Dagu taki, ‘Chaku-chaku, fi’ ú, da’ fi’ ú.’
   Dog says, ‘Chaku-chaku, for you, then for you.’

Dog says, ‘Chaku-chaku, what is yours, then, is yours.’

‘Chaku-chaku’ is the noise a dog makes when he laps up water, and as far as could be ascertained, has nothing in particular to do with the meaning of the proverb. This lies in the last part of the quotation, and signifies that a person will give first of all to those who are related to him, thus reflecting the family solidarity found among the Suriname Negroes.

The taki-taki version is given in No. 65.

9. Młu a Słu oga n mboc, i tā de f, i a mi d’ ef i gā ning ḫa
   Młu go Vā segn i d a m i b a t i n t o y t o y b i n g ḫa

Makaku says, ‘What goes in your stomach is yours, but what is in your hand is the hunter’s.’

Makaku is a small monkey. ‘Don't count your chickens before they are hatched’ is our corresponding saying.

10. Abosiki djompo tu musi, a kaya faja.
    Abosiki jump too much he fall fire.

Abosiki jumps too much, and it falls into the fire.

Abosiki is an insect (moth ?) that jumps far, and often, not seeing where he jumps, is killed. Therefore, the saying warns that if a person tries too hard to accomplish something, he is likely not to succeed in it.

    Becsi there at side I is come.

Becsi is at the side from which I have come.

This is a toad-like animal, and the saying may reflect the dislike which the Suriname Negroes have for it. The proverb is used by a person when talking to another in the presence of a third, to indicate that there is something of a private nature which the speaker wishes to tell the other.

12. Masa kaq, masa sabana.
    Master cow, master field.
The owner of the cow is the owner of the field.

The person to whom a thing belongs is the one who has the say over it.
13. Todo fi no de leiki noj ko fi.
    Toad head not is like belly and head.
    
    *Toad's head is not toad's belly.*
    
    You are not the same person I am.

14. i cy se y hot, t y ba hi p y pe? 
    f i cy se y head, t y jo la we y jo m
    
    *If you sell your head, when you buy a hat, where will you put it?*
    
    Used by a man when he is urged to do something that would redound to
    his own harm.

15. f wq boto n'a pada, fa a d go? 
    If one boat no paddle, how is go?
    
    *If a boat has no paddle, how will it go?*
    
    This means that if a person has no witnesses in court, how can he prove
    his case?

16. Ef na ku-nunu, da' ni bce 'e si fota
    If it is hill, then I been see town.
    
    *If there were a hill, then I would see the town.*
    
    Like the preceding proverb, this is used in court, and signifies the thought,
    ‘We have come to a point we must discuss the matter before we can go
    farther with it.’

17. uY un ak sg of a' su li a uy an e tonti 
    uY da a be of at se sp a uy e a buni
    
    *You must be shamed by the sweet soup, into eating sour pudding.*
    
    For the sake of the thing a person likes or respects he must submit to
    things he would otherwise escape. For *taki-taki* version, see No. 72.

18. Powisi sings, 'Mmhu, mmhu; you are a man, I cannot kill you.'
    
    This is a proverb quoted by the Graman of the Saramacca people, and
    signifies that every creature recognizes the limitations to his power. But
    it may be said ironically, too.

    Comb-comb head, you can catch lice.
    
    *If you comb the head, you can catch lice.*
A proverb quoted by the Graman to indicate that as one must go carefully after a louse, so a man's friend can get something from him that an ordinary person cannot. For taki-taki variant, see No. 119.

20. Ndy dëkkë tiki dëkkë e' og 'a' fô a a fô a li
Parrot say ch à si og ot dy ti à on a
Parrot says if his tail goes to the city and falls down, it cannot break; if an egg falls, it can break.

A strong man will come through any situation he finds himself in, but a weak one will give way under the strain. A proverb used by the Graman.

21. A strong man will come through any situation he finds himself in, but a weak one will give way under the strain. A proverb used by the Graman.

Dog says, 'I am pregnant, but I cannot give birth in the house.'

The Graman used this proverb to indicate that while a person may know what is outside a closed container, he cannot know what is inside it. The saying also signifies that one cannot know what a person will say until he speaks.

22. Since, when the father made you he gave you your soul, you must answer, 'Yes, my father.'

The Graman used this saying to indicate that the dictates of the spirits must be followed.

23. (Even) if his belly is full, he is not very fat.

Said when a person who has given someone only a small amount, boasts of how much he has given.

24. If you love the bud, you must love the fruit, too.

A corresponding proverb of ours is 'Love me, love my dog.'

25. The power that took the makaka monkey from the ground and put it in the tree, is not exhausted.

The meaning of this proverb is that if a man had done a good deed for another, the second should not forget it, for the gods are still there to see that the weak are protected.
If a person shaves you with a razor, do not shave him with broken glass.

Do not return evil for good.

27.  Fũ   krikĩ   ˈɑ   tãń   hon   wi.
     Full   creek   no   stand   uproot   weeds.

A flooded creek does not uproot the weeds.

Another proverb which teaches not to boast.

28.  i M̩ ə   də   ˈə   am   imon   a   kəm   a   d     I ə   etaw   to   lon   ə   kov   ym   yə   sə   li   ə
     I am looking at the herd, but I do not know how many cows there are.

Used by a person given a package by another to keep, to indicate he does not know the contents; also used when the speaker wishes to indicate he does not want to discuss the affairs of another.

29.  Ganiya   ta ̯ kĩ   a   ña   ña   d ̩ ə   ra   ə   a   ɡə   id   mi ̯ ə.
     Chicken   say,   eh   le   ë   egg   bat   on   le   fo   ñ ̩ tən
     Chicken says she can lie about her eggs, but she cannot lie about the chicks.

That is, no one can tell what is inside an egg before it has been hatched, but everyone knows what the chick, once born, is like. The point to the Bush Negro is that no one can know what is going on inside the mind of another person.

30.  Pu ̯ kĩ   matchā ̯ u   fa   a   ɡə   pa ̯ u.
     Small   axe   cut   down   big   stick.

A small axe cut down a big tree.

For taki-taki equivalent, see No. 21.

31.  Seki   na   go ̯ o   a   go   seki   na   ba-kā.
     Shake   the   buttocks   le   go   shake   the   back.

The more the woman moves her buttocks (in connection), the more the man's back will move.

This is a woman's proverb, and carries the significance that one person must help another.

32.  Boto   n ̩ ə   masangan ̯ a   a   si ̯ əbi   oo ̯ ə ᵇ ̩ o.
     Boat   no-have   steersman,   he   sleep   quiet.

The boat without a steersman rests quietly.

This proverb, said to be spoken in the esoteric 'Kromanti-tongo' - the language of the men's secret society (?) - means that a village cannot exist without a head-man.
33. Đź sund tə' wai pikį fō a ed a kelų pau li thirg smal bid eh si on can stick the thing which will make the little bird happy is on the corn stalk.

That is, the thing a person looks for, he will get. The saying is used to console someone who wants something badly, and cannot get it at the time.
34. Kambá tą kosi kapasi fő kōkū.  
Big stand curse small for thick-skin.  
armadillo armadillo  

_The big armadillo curses the little armadillo for being thick-skinned._

But both have the same kind of skin; hence the equivalent of, ‘The pot calls the kettle black.’

35. Data on mu dat; on ben-pei on mu tą’ sosà  
People on mus dead but bury thee on mus and rested  

_No one must die, but the grave-yard must not be empty._

This is spoken fatalistically to convey that what must be must be. Attributed to Graman Yankuso.

36. Na væ tái fi gbi vōh i se si sà uni.’  
Te e se say, ‘If stir hole wà vi e what in ite’  

_People say, ‘If you stir up a hole, you will see what is inside it.’_

This proverb is used when in a fight, or condition of stress, someone shows unsuspected power.

37. Ganiya futu an mu ki’i çŋ piŋj.  
Chicken foot no must kill he child.  

_The foot of the chicken must not kill her young._

It was explained that when a person asks for help in time of need, this is how he appeals to the one he is asking. For the _taki-taki_ version, see No. 50.

38. Èf yu no stti wà, no kà kō tū.  
If you no settle one, no can cut two.  

_If you do not settle one, you cannot dispose of two._

That is, ‘One thing at a time.’

39. A’ hu di k i ëg i a’ ëk i sō də  
T A cər də e h e e h e e èt əl e e viî ti  

‘A tap-uku luku tə a lobi a teki, na todo tą’ zondra tere.’  
_Standing at the corner watching so that when he liked he could take, caused the toad to remain without a tail._

40. Koni-koni taki, ka’api sūti mo pûnda.  
Koni-koni say, krapa sweet more peanuts.  

_Koni-koni says, ‘Krapa is sweeter than peanuts.’_

1 _Taki-taki_ version.
41. Sabi ḷṣ dę a g'andì.
Knowledge no is with old.

*Knowledge is not only with the old.*

42. I kọ go kaji, a no malìngere.
Come-go fall is no weakness.

*To slip is not to be a weakling.*
43. Tidɛ fō i, a mānya fō mi.
Today for you, tomorrow for me.
Tide fō yu, na tamara fō mi.¹
Today is for you, tomorrow for me.

44. Hati fō tidɛ chubi hcm fō a mānya.
Heart of today hide he for tomorrow.

Hatibrɔ̨n fō tidɛ kubri hcm fō tamara.¹
Hide today's anger until tomorrow.

45. Wiwi kaj a wata, a no tidɛ a pondi.
Leaves fall in water, if no today if spoil.

Wiwiri fado' na watra, a no tidɛ a de pori.¹
Leaves that fall into the water will not spoil today (in one day).

46. A kaleu tą nyam, makaka dę 'a faiya.
The worm stand eat, monkey is in fire.

Na worɔ̨n tą nyam, makaka dę na faiya.¹
A worm in the maripa nut will bring the monkey to the fire.

47. Pi wata 'abi fündu gro'.
Still water have deep ground.

Tiri watra habi dip' gro'.¹
Still water has a deep bottom.

48. Sũnyu wata habi bũnbũn fisi.
Ruffle water have good-good fish.

Truli watra habi bũn fisi.¹
Ruffled water has good fish.

49. Wành lalu pa'y 'abi mela a hɛd c a gɔb mela
One bush sick he thorn eh head eh gow thorn.

Na bom di habi maka na hcm hɛdɛ, a de goro maka.¹
A bush which has thorns will grow thorns.

¹ Taki-taki version.
F. Dreams
1. Tɛ mi m’ma meki mi, mi m’ma dredux taki a kɔti ɛŋ fʊnga, d’a pɔti na wɛ ụku, d’a kis’ wɛ trapu. Da’ a scr’ ’a trapu, d’a bɛ yɛn pɛ mɛkiri. Dæn a gi wɛn tra suma umɛ-yan, d’ a ‘ɔr’ na man-wɛ. Na s’refɛ dey di mi xeboru, tu wiki na baka, na suma di a kɔsi na umɛ-yan, a kɔsi wɛn umɛ p’kin. Ala tu no kɔn nyam dojip na trapu. Wi ala tu na wɛn dey, a taki wi habi wɛn krɛ lɛjɛki tu-p’kin. Ef’ wɛ wun ti wɛn bũ kisi hɛm, so laŋga mi no miti hɛm, a no kan kisi hɛm. Ef’ a teki masra en mi yeye no lɔbi hɛm, a musu prati.

2. Ef’ wɛn suma dredux hɛm si pastoru, dɔtii na Papa wunti.

3. Tɛ yu d-redux yu si Bakra, na Kromanti wunti.

4. Tɛ yu d-redux kɔkɔkɔ, na Obia wunti.


6. Ef’ wɛn suma ’ɛ d-redux a si sineki, dɔtii taki a habi feiarrayi.

7. Ef’ yu d-redux fafa, na trobi ’ɛ go mit’ yu.

8. Ef’ neti dido’ baka yu d-redux yu smoko pɛpa, na alamal’ trobi dɛ go mit’ yu - sosu trobi.

9. Ef’ yu dido’ na neti ɛn yu d-redux dati yu kis’ wɛn bɾɛdɛ - ma a no mu’ habi botro - na wɛn wɔkɔ yu go kisi.


11. Ef’ yu d-redux yu go waka na sipi, dɔtii na boskɔpu yu go kisi fũ go ’a wɛn preiṣi. A kɔn bɔn, ef’ ɔgri.

12. Ef’ yu d-redux yu si na sipi, dæn yu so kisi wɛn boskɔpu.
14. Ef yu si wən bosu ba-ana, dati wən suma go dcdc, yu so kis' boskopu.
15. Ef' yu si dryi fis, na dcdc.
17. Ef' yu dẹŋ yu na sosos s'kin, yu so kisi syem.
18. Ef' yu dẹŋ yu heri sikin morsu ngαga xrotu, na mɔni a go kom na yu hanu.
19. Ef' yu dẹŋ alein kom, yu i go krei.
20. Ef' yu dẹŋ y'i 'e dantsi, dąt' no bọn tu. Dat' wən sabi go kis' yu. Ibriwạ dantsi, ef' yu dantsi nangα musik.

21. Tẹ yu dẹŋ dat' yu swẹŋ na un' wà liba, ṭẹŋi wün ti so kis' yu.
22. Ef' mi dẹŋ taki mi suki, ef' mi hanu, ef' mi futu koti, dat' wan' taki mi 'ẹ go 'a wà prejsi, den go oksi wà sani, ma mi n'ẹ go sabi fọ piki.
23. Ef' yu dẹŋ na neti wà mɑ-suma a gi yu wən lepi ba-ana a bakba, yu nyəm hɛm, dati taki na dati mɑ' a teki yu umà. Ma ef' yu no nyəm, dati taki a i suku, m'a no kisi yɛtc.
24. Ef' na wən umà gi tra umà wa lepi ba-ana a bakba, ef' a nyəm hɛm, dati taki na umà doti a teki hɛm mɑ'. Ma ef' a no nyəm. a no kisi yɛtc.
25. Tẹ yu dẹŋ yu kisi wa nyu susu, yu de go fen' wà nyu lbi.
26. Ef' yu dẹŋ wàŋ kriki nangα fis, ma kriŋ watra, ef' yu de go du wà sani, a i go waka bọn.
27. Ef' yu dẹŋ yu kisi fis na wà uk, 'a wan pikin yu de go kisi.
28. Ef' yu dẹŋ fo foru ekis, a no bọn; ef' yu so du wà sani, a i n'ẹ go waka.
29. Ef' yu dẹŋ dagu, dati na Kromanti wün ti.
Introduction

The dream interpretations which appear here were given by one informant, and developed from a discussion of the souls of twins. There was no opportunity to obtain fuller material; the list that follows is, therefore, included as raw data that may be useful to students for comparative purposes.

The first dream explains how the informant came to be regarded as a twin brother of a girl born of another mother two weeks after he was born. While taking down these dreams we were several times assured, ‘A tru-tru. Mi habi androfeni fō na sani disi.... It is true. I have [personal] experience regarding these things.’

1. When my mother conceived, my mother dreamt that she cut off a finger, and put it on a [fishing] hook, and caught a tarpon. Then she sold the tarpon, and bought a pair of doves. Then she gave away the female, and kept the male. Two weeks after I was born, on the same week-day, the one [the woman] who got the female [dove], gave birth to a girl. Both of us cannot eat doves or tarpons. Both of us were born the same day [of the week], and it is said that we have one soul like twins. If a spirit wishes to make a familiar of her, as long as I have not come upon it first it cannot do so. If she marries and my soul does not like the husband, they must separate.

2. If a person dreams he sees a priest, that is a Papa wunti [that wishes to make a familiar of him].

3. When you dream you see a White man, it is Kromanti wunti [that is seeking to come to you].

4. When you dream of monkeys, it is Obia wunti [that is seeking to come to you].

5. When you dream someone is about to kiss you, the wunti [one that had manifested itself as in 2, 3, or 4] must catch you without fail. He has already caught you. That is an oath [compact]. He fought you, but [and] he has already gained sway. You have no means to stop him.

6. If a person dreams he sees snakes, that means he has enemies.

7. If you dream of fire, trouble will come to you.

8. If night after night you dream you are smoking a pipe, all kinds of trouble will come - nothing but trouble.

9. If you lie down at night and you dream that you are getting a [piece of] bread - but it must not have butter - you will get a job.

10. If it has butter, the job will not turn out well. You won't get it.

11. If you dream you will travel in a ship, that means you will get a message to go somewhere. It can be [for something] good, or bad.

12. If you dream you see the ship, then you will get a message.
13. If you dream you see a Djuka boat [a corial], that is death. Don't know who, but someone will die.
14. If you see a bunch of plantains, that means someone will die [and] you will get a message [about it].
15. If you see dry fish, it is death.
16. If [you dream] you carry a load on your head, that means that something is going to distress you. Hunger, trouble.
17. If you dream you are naked, you will be humiliated.
18. If you dream your whole body is covered with excrement, you will come into money.
19. If you dream of an approaching storm, you will weep.
20. If you dream you are dancing, that also is not good. That [means that] you will have a sorrow. Any dance, if you dance to music.
21. When you dream you are swimming in a river, an Indian wunti will take possession of you.
22. If I dream that I am sick, and my hand or my foot is cut off, that means I am going somewhere, and they will ask me something, but I will not know how to answer them.
23. If you dream at night that a man gives you a ripe banana, and you eat it, that means that man took your wife away. But if you do not eat it, that means he is trying [to take her], but he has not got her yet.
24. If a woman gives [in a dream] another woman a ripe banana, and she eats it, that means that woman took her husband away. But if she does not eat it, she has not got him yet.
25. When you dream you are getting a pair of new shoes, you will find a new lover.
26. If you dream of a fishing creek, but [with] clear water, [then] if you will do something, it will turn out well.
27. If you dream you are catching fish on a hook, you will have a child.
28. If you dream of eggs, it is not good; if you will do something, it will not turn out well.
29. If you dream of a dog, that means Kromanti wunti.
Part III Suriname music

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ANALYSES BY DR. M. KOLINSKI

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A. General statement

The study of Afro-American music is as significant from a musicological as from an ethnological point of view, for in the comparison of the musical styles of the various Afro-American peoples with one another, and with those of the African homeland, we may look for clarification of some of the important problems of acculturation. It already appears as a possibility that by an analysis of musical forms we may be able to follow gradations from the African dark-brown, so to speak, to the purest European white. Up to the present time the types of Afro-American music that have been generally known and discussed, are jazz and 'the spirituals'. The fact, therefore, that New World Negro musical forms, other than these two, have been but little studied, enhances the value of the data presented here. For as the present study discloses, the songs of the Suriname Negroes are in large part typically African in their entire tonal, rhythmic and formal structure. This means that in spite of the sudden uprooting of the Dutch Guiana Negroes from their native soil, the decisive change that took place in their conditions of life, and their contact with foreign races, this element of their culture has been preserved partially unchanged for centuries.

B. Musicological analysis

1. Introductory Remarks:

To facilitate comparisons between the tonal structure of the songs treated here, it is necessary to classify them according to a uniform and at the same time characteristic scheme. Undoubtedly the so-called anhemitonic\textsuperscript{2}-pentatonic scale, the intervals of which correspond to the black keys on the piano, represents a special type of tonal progression; however, neither the absence of half tones nor the presence of five notes constitutes its predominant characteristic. Thus, the scale $f^\#-g-a-b-c$, to choose an extreme example, is non-half-tonal as well as five-tonal; yet in spite of this fact, it differs basically from the so-called anhemitonic-pentatonic type. The scale $c-d-e-g$, hispite of its four-tone character, is much more closely related to it. Some have termed such scales of less than five tones 'incomplete-pentatonic', but this has been done with just as little justification as it would be to call the pentatonic scales 'incomplete diåtonic' ones. As a matter of fact, the differentiation of tonal structure on the basis of the number

\textsuperscript{1} The most noteworthy exceptions are H.H. Roberts' studies of Jamaican Negro music, referred to below, though some studies of Sea Island music have been made by Johnson (I).

\textsuperscript{2} i.e., non-half-tonal.
of tones within one octave, or according to the occurrence of half-tones, appears to be of little value as a primary principle of classification, even though the number of tones as well as the anhemitonic character constitute in themselves important elements. Of far greater significance in determining the characteristics of the tonal structure is the manner in which the tones are connected, the greater or lesser melodic significance of the various tones, and the position of the tonal center, - the key-tone within the scale; in short, the functional relationships between the tones.

Thus it may be said that the so-called anhemitonic-pentatonic scales are to be distinguished by an especially close binding of the tones. All tones in such scales are linked in fourths and fifths, the end points of the chain being separated from each other by not more than four steps of a fourth or a fifth each, (e.g., $\text{c-d-g-e}$ or $\text{c-d-a-e}$). Thus the tones employed always lie within a section of five tones, within the cycle of fifths; in the first example, it is the section $\text{c-d-g-a-e}$, in the second, $\text{b-f-c-g-d}$. All scales, then, whose tones lie within such a section of five tones from the cycle of fifths, - that is, the so-called anhemitonic-pentatonic scales, - as well as those having fewer tones, as for instance $\text{c-d-e}$ (these being a part of the complex $\text{c-(g)-d-(a)-e}$), constitute a tonal type which may be called the 'penta-type'. All scales whose tones lie within a section of six tones from the cycle of fifths, namely, scales of from two to six tones, like $\text{b-c}$ (of the complex $\text{b-(e)-(a)-(d)-(g)-c}$) or $\text{e-f-g-a}$, (from: $\text{f-(c)-(g)-(d)-(a)-e}$) or $\text{g-a-b-c-d-e}$, (from: $\text{b-e-a-d-g-c}$), form what will be termed the 'hexa-type'. All scales whose tones lie within a section of seven tones from the cycle of fifths, constitute the 'hepta-type'; i.e., $\text{f-g-b}$ (from: $\text{f-(c)-(g)-(d)-(a)-e}$) or $\text{d-e-f-g-a-b}$, (from: $\text{b-f-(c)-(g)-(d)-a-e}$).

Different modes may be distinguished in accordance with the position of the key-tone. One might classify modes according to their key-tones, and this can be accomplished without employing sharps or flats; thus, one speaks of a $\text{do}$-, $\text{re}$-, $\text{mi}$-, $\text{fa}$-, $\text{sol}$-, $\text{la}$-, and $\text{si}$-mode. However, only the scales of the hepta-type can be thus defined unequivocally, since the cycle of fifths contains only one seven-tonal progression without accidentals, namely $\text{f-c-g-d-a-e-b}$. On the other hand the scales of the hexa- and penta-type may be built up from two or three tones, because the cycle of fifths contains two sections of tones which do not have any accidentals, namely, $\text{f-c-g-d-a-e}$ and $\text{c-g-d-a-e-b}$, in addition to three sections of five tones without sharps and flats, namely, $\text{f-c-g-d-a}$, $\text{c-g-d-a-e}$, and $\text{g-d-a-e-b}$. From the point of view of the determination of mode, therefore, scales of the hexa-type have a two-fold, those of the penta-type a three-fold aspect. Thus, the scale $\text{g-a-b}$, with the key-tone $\text{g}$, may, for example, be deemed to belong not only to the $\text{sol}$ mode, but to the $\text{do}$ mode ($\text{c-d-e}$), and to the $\text{fa}$ mode ($\text{f-g-a}$) as well.
Plate XIX. Left to right: Bush-Negro (Saramacca) Apinti drum, Haitian Voodoo-cult drum, Bush-Negro (Djuka) Apinti drum.
In the diagram of tonal structures the section of fifths c-g-d-a-e has thus been arbitrarily selected as representative of the penta-type the mode based on c being called the penta-do-mode; the mode based on d designated the penta-re-mode, etc. For the hexa-type, the progression c-g-d-a-e-b has been chosen, the mode based on c being termed the hexa-do-mode, and that based on d the hexa-re-mode, etc.

Following the example of E.M. von Hornbostel, the different melodic values of the individual tones have been indicated in the analyses of tonal structures by employing notes of different values. In this way, fundamental tones have been expressed by whole notes; tones not structurally significant which are only occasionally employed have been expressed by quarter-notes. Structurally significant intervals are indicated by means of horizontal brackets ‘—’; less important ones by brackets in dotted lines ‘—’. The sign, υ, above a note indicates the opening tone; inverted, χ, it indicates the closing one.

In the transcriptions of the songs the sign + or - above a note means that this note is raised or lowered in tone, up to approximately a quarter-tone. In exceptional cases, where a certain tone has been consistently raised throughout the whole song, (as for

Fig. 1. Tonal ranges of the songs.

instance the a in song 68), then, to avoid repeating the sign throughout, this fact has been indicated by writing a + at the beginning each bar on of the line where this note occurs. A

1 Due to an error in copying this figure, the designation ‘Eleventh’ should read ‘Major Tenth’, that given as ‘Twelfth’ should be ‘Eleventh’, while the word ‘Twelfth’ should mark the point on the dotted line above the figure 19.
slanting line before or after a note (\(\uparrow, \downarrow\)), or between two notes, (\(\downarrow\)) indicates by its direction an upward or downward glissando. Parts enclosed by brackets, [' '], have reference to deviations which result from repetition of songs, or parts of songs. Notes not distinctly audible on the phonograph records are placed in parentheses '( )'.

Inasmuch as the relationship between the tones of a given melody is of foremost importance, and absolute pitch only of secondary significance, the major portion of the songs have not been transcribed in the key in which they were sung. Readability of the transcription has been the prime consideration in transposing the songs, and this has been accomplished by avoiding the use of many accidentals, and the necessity of adding additional lines to the staff.


a. Tonal Range.

The songs are very diverse in their tonal structure, something which becomes evident when the range of tone is considered. While it is true that the nature of the tonal structure of a song is not sufficiently designated by merely presenting the limits of its range of tone, yet this constitutes an important characteristic as a frame within which other traits are to be discerned. In addition to very narrow intervals (comprising only a third or a fourth), there are some songs with ranges of over one and a half octaves. Songs of large range predominate; 40% have tones within the limits of a

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1 See O. Abraham and E.M. von Hornbostel, passim.
2 See Fig. 1.
third to a seventh, while 60% have ranges between an octave and a thirteenth. The major sixth is the range of greatest frequency of the individual intervals. The extremely rare occurrence of the minor sixth as setting limits to tonal spread is, on the other hand, to be noted. In songs of a wide range the major tenth, the major ninth, and the octave most often describe the limits. The small degree of consonance between the intervals is evidently the reason why we find only a small number of songs having a range of a major seventh and minor ninth, and none at all with a range of an augmented fourth.

b. Melodic Movement.

The majority of Suriname Bush-songs have a descending melodic progression. This being the case, it is not strange to find, for example, that songs where the lowest note is more than a sixth below the beginning tone, are much more frequent (29%) than those where the highest note is more than a sixth above its opening tone, (9%).¹ The fact that upward skips of such magnitude occur at all - those of a fifth or of a sixth occur fairly frequently, - is what is noteworthy.²

Just as in a chord the root forms the foundation, so also in the course of a melody the ‘tonic’, i.e., the key-tone, toward which the melody aims and which almost always closes the song, is as a rule placed on a comparatively low, if not the lowest tonal-position. Although in an eighth of the songs the final tone is placed more

¹ See Figs. 2 and 3.
² See Fig. 3.
than a fourth above the lowest tone, most frequently it is placed on the lowest tone, or a fourth, a major second, or a minor third above it.¹

Furthermore, the relation between the opening and closing notes of a song helps to characterise its melodic line. In most of the songs, the pitch of the opening note is above the pitch of the final one, and in these cases the fifth above the final tone is especially favored for the initial tone. Very frequently the opening and concluding tones are the same.²

**c. Absence of Half-tones.**

In the analyses of tonal structure, apart from the twenty scales of the penta-type which are necessarily half-toneless, we find only three scales which lack half-tones³. However, a great number of songs other than these three must, strictly speaking, be considered as also being without half-tones. First of all, there are those songs

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¹ See Fig. 4.
² See Fig. 5.
³ See analyses of tonal structure, Ille, Vla, and VII.
which, though they contain intervals of a half-tone, do not show in their melodic flow any half-tonal steps; \(^1\) secondly, songs in which the half-tone step only seldom occurs and is without significance for the melodic form. \(^2\) Altogether, almost two-thirds of the songs (63\%) are those which completely or almost completely lack half-tones.

**d. Intervals.**

The conspicuously frequent employment of wide steps usually gives to the melodic line an erratic and ragged appearance. Almost all songs (91\%) contain intervals of a fourth or more. The step of a fourth, whether ascending or descending, is especially favored (85\%). The fifth is frequently found (45\%), and is more often a descending step (31\%) than an ascending one (20\%). Occasionally

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1 Songs 22, 31, 39, 42, 45, 46, 53, 55, 60, 64, 79, 81, 85, 87, 91, 93, 96, 98, 99, 103, 109.
we find still wider intervals, such as the minor sixth (9%), the major sixth (2%), and - almost always ascending - the octave (6%). On the other hand, recitatives, themselves a part of the song, sung on a continuous pitch,⁷ are also found. Less extensive repetitions of a single tone occur with extraordinary frequency; in by far the greater proportion of the songs (70%) are found phrases in which four or more syllables are sung on the same note.

**e. Combinations of Thirds.**

A special characteristic of Bush-Negro music is the frequent combination of several intervals of thirds. Three types of combinations may be distinguished:

*The pendular swing,* as, for instance, the melodic figure *a-c-a-c.* Repetitions of the same tone can hardly be called tonal steps; thus, such a melodic configuration, as, for instance, the motif ‘c’ in song 11, must still be regarded as a linking together of thirds. Such pendular combinations of at least three sets of thirds (with or without repetitions of the same note) are to be found in a little less than half of the songs. The minor third is given conspicuous preference in this respect to the major third; 37% of the songs contain only minor third pendular combinations; 4% have only pendular combinations of the major third; while in 5% we find pendular combinations of major and minor thirds side by side. Song 30 is of special significance as illustrating the preference for the combination of minor thirds. The key-tone of the song is *e.*

Yet, in the melodic pendulum figure of the motif *a²* it is not *e* but the minor third *e♭* which is chosen for the third of *c,* the tone next in importance to the key-tone, although *e♭* has no relation to the rest of the tonal structure.

*Sequence of thirds moving in the same direction* (as occurs in 53% of the songs). From the above discussion, it might be assumed that where two linked thirds are found to move in the same direction, minor thirds (for example, *b-d-f*) would predominate. However, such combinations of minor thirds are very rare, being found in only 5% of the songs, and always descending. In the main, minor and major thirds are found to be associated in these combinations. The reason for this would seem to lie clearly in the fact that two minor thirds combine into a tritone, an extremely dissonant interval, while a minor and major third, form a perfect fifth, which is highly consonant. Such sequences of thirds, which give the European the impression of broken major or minor triads, occur frequently in primitive music. In non-European music that is characterized by melodic line, it is by no means a question of chords which have been split into such intervals. Von Hornbostel has characterised these

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⁷ See, above all, songs 30 c d, 46 b d, 53a¹, 81a¹ e, 108, 109, 112c.
‘triads’ as steps of a fifth which are split by a middle tone. However, aside from these ‘filled-out fifths’ there are also triadic motifs of a different nature. In many cases, - especially in the Surinamese songs, - the fifth is not the primary unit, but rather the minor third, which has been enlarged to a fifth by adding the sub-dominant of its upper tone, or the dominant of its lower tone. Such fifths derived from the enlargement of minor thirds are to be found, for example, in the music of the Papuans of New Guinea,¹ of Negroes of East and West Africa,² as well as of North and South American Indians.³ If a fourth be substituted for a fifth, then musical motifs such as those where, again, the minor third is the skeleton, will result.⁴ A characteristic example of the enlarged minor third, where the dominant of the lower tone is added, may be seen in song 77. The beginning of song 11 affords another example, where the minor third is enlarged into a fifth, in this case, however, through the addition of the sub-dominant of the upper tone.⁵

Of special significance for an understanding of the function of the minor third within ‘triadic’ tone configurations are the motifs d-b-g (g-b-d) in songs 3, 6, and 17, which are substituted for the minor thirds d-b (b-d) in analogous places. Motifs of the ‘major triadic’ type are more abundant (38%) than those of the minor (24%); descending ones more often found than ascending. In several songs (7%), a set of three thirds, and in exceptional cases even of four⁶ have been linked together, moving in the same direction; in such a case minor and major thirds alternate. In those instances where three thirds are found, the outer members each constitute a minor, the inner member a major, third.⁷ Evidently this structure is conditioned by the fact that what is present are two fifths, each composed of two thirds, the two sharing the central major third:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{fifth} \\
\ldots \begin{array}{c}
\text{minor third} \\
\text{major third} \\
\text{minor third} \\
\end{array} \ldots \\
\text{fifth}
\end{array}
\]

It is to be observed that ascending linked-thirds do not occur less frequently⁸ than descending ones.⁹

¹ See illustration A, Appendix II
² See illustrations B and C, Appendix II
³ See illustrations D and E, Appendix II
⁴ See illustration F, Appendix II Compare with this motif ‘g’ in song 11, or motif ‘a’ in song 103.
⁵ Cf. the first phrase in songs 5 and 96.
⁶ Cf. song 38.
⁷ For example, song 80.
⁸ E.g., song 24 c, first part of 40.
⁹ E.g., songs 30b c, 34 b.
Interlocking thirds. By this form we understand melodic figures such as these or That is to say, here we have steps of thirds moving in the same direction that are connected with one another by steps of seconds, going in the opposite way. Triple progressions of this kind occur but rarely and only in a descending direction; usually it is only two steps of thirds which are connected, and as a rule they are descending thirds. An illustration for an ascending progression is motif ‘a’ in song 98. Most often, however, the complex consists of two steps of descending minor thirds. Occasionally a minor and a major third are connected, and in one instance two descending major thirds are so associated.

f. Combinations of Fourths.

Intervals consisting of fourths are also very frequently found in combination (in 38% of the songs). Steps which move in opposite directions predominate, and form either the melodic figure or These two figures may be taken to constitute a pendular figure composed of fourths ; an extension of this (in the last section of song 5) through an offbeat from the fourth, makes a pendular motif of four members, thus:

The employment of a sequence of fourths moving in the same direction (mostly descending) is found in 6% of the songs. An example of an ascending sequence of fourths is found in song 4. Just as here the figure represents the nucleus of the larger figure so in song 82 (the measure before the last), is the starting motif for the extension , and in song 28 (the line before the last), is the nucleus of the extended figure Interlocking fourths occur in 11% of the songs. As a rule it is here a question of two descending steps of fourths which, connected
Plate XX. Town-Negro Apinti drum.
Plate XXI. Town-Negro Podya drum.
by an ascending minor third, create the figure \( \text{figure} \), \(^1\) or, connected by an ascending major second, create the figure \( \text{figure} \). \(^2\/\) \( 46c \) \( d \) gives us a characteristic example of this. Here the minor third pendular motif \( e-g-e-g \) links into one melodic phrase the descending set of fourths \( d-a-e \) and the interlocked set \( g-d..e-b \). Song 20 (if we overlook the ornamental sixteenth note) contains in the last line the three-fold broken progression of fourths \( \text{figure} \), which may be considered as a fusion of the two fundamental figures \( d-a..c-g \), and \( c-g..a-e \).

g. The Penta-types of Modal Structures.

Among the songs of the penta-type, number 47, with its narrow range and its limited number of tones, has the most primitive tonal structure. It is not worthy that here, contrary to what is found in most other songs, no single tone stands out as the tonic; rather the melodic line oscillates between \( b \) and \( a \). The variant in which \( g \) is replaced by \( a \) shows that we are really dealing here with a structure based on two tones. Song 74 also has a pendular composition; in this instance, however, the minor third and not the major second constitutes the nucleus, while fourths and fifths appear in the function of structural intervals. Through the employment of the sub-dominants of both tones of the nucleus and the fourth above the lower tone of the nucleus, the tonal range becomes enlarged into an octave and the number of steps is increased to five. In the penta-\( do \) songs, \(^3\) with one exception, the \( g \) above or below the tonic \( c \) represents the melodic 'dominant'. However, other fourths and fifths also acquire structural significance; for example, in songs 4, 57, and 84, the steps \( c, g, d, \) and \( a \) are interlocked by intervals of a fourth and a fifth. \(^4\) Just as in the penta-\( do \) modes \(^5\) so also in the penta-\( sol \) \(^6\) forms the step of a fourth \( c-g \) stands out as the basic structural interval. However, the melodic center is no longer on the higher but on the lower of the two tones which compose the interval. The penta-\( re \) mode \(^7\) is related with especial closeness to the penta-\( do \) mode. It is not \( a \), the fifth above the key-tone which is the 'dominant'. Rather, side by side with the fourths above and below the tonic \( (g-d; d-a) \), the fifth \( c-g \) - as in the penta-\( do \) mode \(^8\) -

\(^1\) E.g., songs 32 II c, 76c, and 104a.
\(^2\) E.g., 26c, 44, and 106c.
\(^3\) See analyses of structures Nos. 1 a-h.
\(^4\) Analyses of structure Ie, f, h.
\(^5\) Analyses of structure Nos. If, g.
\(^6\) Analyses of structure Nos. I i-i.
\(^7\) Analyses of structure Nos. I m-q.
\(^8\) Cf., for example, the penta-\( do \) songs 1 and 4 with the penta-\( re \) songs 2 and 5.
Fig. 6. Distribution of modal types in Bush and Town music.

comes to the fore as a structural interval, occasionally extended into an octave by the fourth g-c. The primitive pendular structure which forms the basis of song 47, may possibly be looked upon as representing the common nucleus of the penta-do and the penta-re modes. Song 35, also has essentially a pendulum-structure based on a second in which, however, the greater weight seems to rest on the higher tone. If the emphasis be shifted to the lower tone, the penta-re mode then becomes a penta-do mode. Of the two examples of the penta-la\(^1\) mode, song 78 much resembles the structure of the penta-do song 77.\(^2\) In both cases, the fifth e-a is the interval within which the song is composed, while c, the key-tone of 77, becomes the initial tone of song 78. The next two tones, d and g, function as leading tones of the fifth e-a. In the other penta-la song\(^3\) also, the fifth e-a is the principal structural interval; it is the concluding link in the three-fold chain of fourths and fifths, g-d-a-e.

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1. See analyses of structure Nos. 1 r, s.
2. Analysis No. 1a.
3. Analysis No. 1 s.
h. The Hexa-types of Modal Structures.

In most cases the songs of hexa modal structure may be reduced to the penta types: thus, for example, the pendular structure based on a second shown in analysis III p is an extension of the penta-structure I t; in the case of other songs in the hexa modes, on the other hand, we do not find any analogous structure in the penta-type. In the hexa-do structures composed of six tones, 1 g, the fourth below the key-tone, has always the function of the dominant and is the lowest tone of the melody as well. Besides the fourth g-c, the fifth g-d is the outstanding structural interval. The range of the songs, in the main, comprises a sixth g-e, and they are closely related to the structure of the penta-do songs analysed in I f. 2 In the hexa-do songs of fewer tones, 3 the absence of the step g which is elsewhere of structural importance is to be observed. The melodic interplay of the fundamental tone c through the minor third b-d, characterises the structures of the songs analysed in II a and b; II c represents an extension of the penta-do structure I a, achieved through transposing the dominating fifth a-e a fourth lower. The tonal structure of song 92 4 is remarkable. The part marked ‘a’ is a transposition of part ‘a’ a second lower. Though the first part of the song is in the hexa-do mode, the tonic being above the half-tone, and thus closely resembles the song analysed in II b, in the second part the main tone occurs as the lowest note. Yet variant 2, with its ending on the higher tone, corresponds to the hexa-do structure of the first. In contrast to what is found in the songs sung in the hexa-do modes, the tonic in the hexa-sol mode 5 is most often the lowest note. Certain hexa-sol songs have essentially a penta-sol structure; thus the structure of song 36 6 very much resembles that of song 68. 7 In other hexa-sol songs a combination of penta-do with penta-sol elements is to be observed. Thus, in song 103 8 the structure of the phrases ‘a’, ‘b’, and ‘d’ is almost identical with that of the penta-do song 3, 9 while in motif ‘c’ a penta-sol element makes for a resemblance to the structure of I i. Similarly in song 73 10 the penta-do structure of the solo part, identical with I c, is to be contrasted with the penta-sol structure of the choral section. In song 87 11 the manifold relations between fourths

1 Analyses Nos. II d-k.
2 Compare, for example, the hexa-do song 56 (IIh) with the penta-do song 57 (If).
3 Analyses Nos. II a-c.
4 Analysis No. IIIq.
5 Analyses Nos. II I-s.
6 Analysis No. lq.
7 Analysis No. I k.
8 Analysis No. II o.
9 Analysis No. I d.
10 Analysis No. II m.
11 Analysis No. II r.
and fifths are to be remarked. The hexa-re songs III b-f, with their wide range and six tone structure, attract attention in contrast to the narrow four-tone structure of III a, which is based on the
same (Doric) tetrachord as II b and q. The hexa-re mode is remote from the penta-re, which is characterised by the fifth c-g, but has more in common with the penta-sol mode. On the other hand, the hexa-la structures, with the exception of III g, are evidently developments of penta-re structures. Thus in song 39\(^1\) the hexa-la mode (line 2) appears as a variant of the penta-re mode (line 1), while the structure of the songs analysed in III h and III i is almost identical with that of those given in I m and I n. The penta-pendular structure of song 74\(^2\) shows a close correspondence to the hexa-si structure of song 75.\(^3\) The structure of 69\(^4\) is especially simple. Here the melodic line runs essentially on the same pitch, which is lowered by not quite a full tone on one unaccented beat, while at another strong beat it is raised by something short of a half-tone.

i. The Hepta-types of Modal Structure.

Half of the songs belong to the hepta-type.\(^5\) Among the hepta-do structures, IV a and b may be cited to call attention to the relatively high position of the fundamental tone. In IV b\(^6\) we recognise the penta-do mode as basic. Thus, the first line of the song corresponds structurally to the penta-do song 4.\(^7\) Here, the minor third below the tonic acquires (next to the tonic) a special significance. Song 42\(^8\) possesses what is essentially a hexa-sol structure; the b which characterises the mode only occurs in one part of the song and then only as an unaccented lower third. The transposition of the initial motif a whole tone higher in the third line of the song is to be observed. In the other hepta-do songs we notice a closer relationship to the hexa-sol than to the hexa-do mode. While the fourth above the tonic - whose absence, as has been seen, characterises the hexa-do mode - constitutes, along with the dominant g, the most outstanding structural element in these songs, the ‘seventh step’ (i.e., the b in the hepta-do mode), the absence of which is characteristic of the hexa-sol mode, is also of little significance in the greater number of the hepta-do songs.\(^9\) By far the most favored of the hepta modes is the hepta-sol.\(^10\) Like the hepta-do, it is usually an extension of the hexa-sol form (and not of the hexa-re); thus, for instance, song 89,\(^11\) with the exception of variant 2, possesses the same tonal configuration as songs 72 and 73. In the hexa-sol mode the notes a fifth and a

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1 Analysis No. III k.
2 Analysis No. I u.
3 Analysis No. III o.
4 Analysis No. III n.
5 See Fig. 6.
6 Song 40.
7 Analysis No. I e.
8 Analysis No. IV a.
9 See analyses Nos. IV a-c, e-h, comparing, for example, IV h with II I, m.
10 Fig. 6.
11 Analysed in No. V a.
fourth above the tonic stand out as structurally important. The extension into the hepta-sol mode is accomplished, as a rule, by adding the sub-dominant of the fourth above the tonic. The fifth f-c must be understood as being very often the transposition of the fifth g-d - a whole tone lower, as in song 98, variant 1, and at the beginning of song 76. In the choral repetition of song 25, the beginning of the ‘b’ motif (the progression f-c) is transposed a whole note above its original level. The apparently chromatic combination c-b-b♭-a in V d and V e may also be traced to transpositions of this character; while the b fulfills the function of a third within the fifth g-d, the b♭ constitutes the major second below c within the fifth f-c. Occasionally traces of the penta-do mode and penta-sol mode are found. The forms analysed in IV q and IV r are deserving of special notice, for while in other songs in the hepta-sol mode the d usually has the function of the dominant, it is here scarcely touched upon, or not at all. The most simple hepta-structure is found in the hepta-re song 48, aside from the extension in motif ‘a’, the tonal range is restricted to that of a fourth, using only three steps (d-f-g). The g, the fourth above the tonic, especially prominent here, is almost always important in the other hepta-re songs but in these cases further relations of fourths and fifths also enter, as c-g-d-a in VI b, d, h; f-c-g-d-a in VI c, or g-d-a-e-b in VI g. In some hepta-re structures the penta-type cannot be overlooked as the one from which they may have been derived; thus, VI d has essentially a penta-la character, while VI g goes back to the penta-sol mode and resembles I 1 in form. In song 31, parts I and II are in the hexa-la mode; only in part III is this enlarged into the hepta-re mode. The hepta-la structures VI k and VI m constitute minor modifications of hexa-la structures; in VI k this is accomplished by substituting the third f-a for the fourth, e-a; in VI m it is accomplished by ‘filling’ the third with an inserted note in the beginning of the song. Songs in the hepta-mi and si modes are very rare; when they do occur, it is as non-essential extensions of ambiguous modes, the hepta-mi mode being reducable to the hexa-mi and the hepta-si mode to the hexa-si. Finally, the ‘bimodal’ structures comprising eight tones may be remarked; here we are confronted either with a combination of do and sol, or of sol and re.

1 See, for example, songs 90d and 104 (end).
2 Analysed in No. V c.
3 Compare analysis No. III q.
4 Beginning of song 85.
5 Songs 45 and 51.
6 Analysed in No. VIa.
7 Analyses Nos. VI b-e, g-h.
8 Song No. 50.
9 Variant 1.
10 Song 43.
11 Analyses Nos. VI n-p.
12 Analyses Nos. IV m and n.
13 Analyses Nos. V s and t.
j. Falsetto.

The use of the falsetto is very rare. At the same time the songs show that the occurrence is not due to an unintentional break in the voice, but to a deliberate and conscious use of head tones. Thus the last measure of song 38 is a repetition in falsetto of the final phrase, while, on the other hand, in 39 the falsetto is employed in the manner of a yodel.

k. Meter and Melodic Rhythm.

About half of the songs may, without forcing, be fitted into some metrical scheme. Measures of even numbers of beats are more frequent than those of odd ones; however, in most of the songs triplets are employed in abundance. The three-quarter rhythm predominates in the odd meters, while the five-four meter, and the seven-four meter are also represented. Occasionally, the meter is extended or shortened, or a change of rhythm occurs in the course of the song. In a number of songs diverse meters are combined, either in regular or varied sequence. In spite of these liberties in meter, the songs are strictly rhythmic, and are to be contrasted with about a third of the songs, which run in free rhythms. It is characteristic of these free-rhythmic songs that in them there occur, side by side, long drawn-out motifs, motif-like calls, and recitative-like motifs, broken up into tones of short duration.

l. Drum Rhythms.

A drum accompaniment often goes with the songs, or there is hand-clapping. In most instances this represents rhythm which underscores that of the melody. The beats are usually regular quarter-notes. In song 73 each quarter-beat is dissolved into two eighth-notes, in 90 and 94 into triplets of three eighths-notes each. In song 57 the regularity of the 3/8 drum beats underscores the 6/8 of the music, while in song 72 the rhythm of the accompaniment is more differentiated, in conformity with the melodic rhythm. More vivid drum-rhythms which, however, still form a unit with the rhythm of the melodies, are found in songs 1, 58, 98, and 99. The strictly rhythmical 3/8 drum accompaniment to some songs which are characterised by more or less free rhythms is remarkable. Of

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1 Songs 5, 38, 39.
2 E.g., songs, 9, 35, 76, 96.
3 E.g., songs 8, 16, 92, 103.
4 E.g., songs 56, 63 b, 98 c.
5 E.g., songs 50, 81, 83.
6 E.g., songs 36, 40, 60, 63, 95, 100.
7 E.g., songs 19, 24-27, 31, 45, 51, 52, 64, 102.
8 Songs 55, 77-81, 83-87, 89.
9 Songs 21, 28, 42.
these latter, song 42 is instructive, as it makes for an understanding of the relation between regular drum-rhythm and free melodic rhythm. A comparison made between the three verses shows especially that drum and song are essentially independent of each other, meeting only here and there at important points.

**m. Formal Structures of the Songs.**

In general the songs of regular rhythm are tonally as well as formally more primitive than those where the rhythm is free. In this connection, songs of especially small range and of few tones have, for the most part, markedly primitive formal structure as well, and are restricted to repeating one short melodic phrase a number of times. These shorter songs are of predominantly regular structure, as the following table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song(s)</th>
<th>Consists of Times</th>
<th>Beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, 58, 70, 78</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54, 74, 75</td>
<td>3 times</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, 54, 59, 71, 72, 79, 94</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 35</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 7, 15, 17, 101</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 92</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 57, 73, 77</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76, 96</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 87</td>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequent repetition of such phrases, most of them bipartite in character, gives a song cyclic form, especially if it closes with the opening theme.¹ In some instances the second motif is a variant of the first.² In songs 8 and 96 the second portions of the motifs ‘a’ and ‘a¹’ are almost identical, so that here, in reality, the form ‘a-b-c-b’ is found. This same form is also found in songs 50, 55, 57, 76.³ In other songs the two halves differ in their ending, with the result that the form is really ‘a-b-a-c’.⁴ Sometimes the bipartite form ‘a-b’ is enlarged into the tripartite form ‘a-a-b’ by either a close or varied repetition of ‘a’.⁵

Another tripartite type is ‘a-b-c’,⁶ a form which, in song 87, is enlarged into four sections ‘a-b-c-c¹’, through the employment of a variation of the final phrase. Some songs are divided into four

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¹ See songs 8, 9, 70, 71, 78, 96; compare 16, 44, 97, 104.
² E.g., songs 8, 56, 59, 92, 96.
³ Cf. also songs 26 and 32.
⁴ See songs 35, 47, 77, 89; compare 21, 28, 60.
⁵ Songs 3, 34, 67, 110.
⁶ Songs 24, 25, 41, 75, 100.
different phrases 'a-b-c-d'; it is true, however, that in song 83, 'b' and 'd' are free variations of themes 'a' and 'c'. In song 103 the configuration 'a-b-c-d' is extended into a rondo-like form 'a-b-c-d-c-d-c'. Of the longer songs, part of them are characterised by a rather free treatment; others by a divisional construction which may be clearly perceived.

n. Alternation of Solo and Chorus.

The form of a song often results from the alternate singing of the soloist and the chorus, something which favors the development of cyclical forms. In songs 71 and 78 the structure is particularly concise and simple; one short theme is sung by the soloist, another by the chorus, and the entire song is repeated several times (in song 78, there are seventeen repetitions!), the solo part constituting the beginning as well as the end of the whole. In song 91 the responsorial singing is preceded by a solo part which also contains the motif sung by the chorus; in 80, the initial statement of the solo part is enlarged after the choral interpolation by a variation of the phrase sung by the chorus. Of a similar nature is song 84, where the extension of the solo part, achieved through the addition of the themes 'c', 'c', and 'd', presents a comparable case. The chorus is not always restricted to the repetition of only one phrase, however. Thus, in song 77 the solo part, which remains the same throughout, is followed by two different choral phrases which alternate with one another. In other songs, the solo as well as the choral parts vary. While in these songs of strict rhythm the motif of the chorus is different from that of the solo, in the songs where the rhythms vary, the chorus is mostly a slightly changed repetition of the solo part. In song 23, the part of the chorus is shortened noticeably, while in 27 the entries of the chorus and the soloist differ quite considerably. To illustrate with an instance where alternating themes occur in the solo part while the refrain of the chorus remains the same, song 26 may be cited.

o. Part Singing (Polyphonic Music).

In Bush-Negro music, part-songs in the proper sense of the term are almost entirely absent. Occasionally the premature opening of the solo over the prolonged final tone of the chorus produces an accord, and in this manner a bourdon-like effect is created. In the

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1 Songs 19, 64, 68, 83.
2 E.g., songs 11, 40, 106.
3 Songs 30, 43, 46, 52, 53, 81, 102.
4 See songs, 72, 73, 89.
6 See song 19a.
choral part itself there are simultaneous seconds, thirds, or fourths occasionally to be heard. The jump from unison singing to the upper fourth is to be noted, as well as an attack on the fourth above the main voice with a step of a descending fifth following, as in song 85, variant 2, and 87, variant 2. Parallel fifths are found in one instance only.

p. Tempo.

In general the tempo is rather lively. In most cases (91%) it remains constant; however, sometimes there is much acceleration as the song proceeds.

3. The Music of the Town Negroes

a. Tonal Range.

The songs of the Town Negroes also show considerable difference in tonal range; however, in the Town music, a range of more than a minor tenth is found in only 6% of the songs (in contrast to 29% of the Bush songs). Most commonly the tonal range is an octave.

b. Melodic Movement.

The descending tendency of the melodic movement is more conspicuous in the Town than in the Bush songs. Thus, about one-fifth of the Town songs begin on the highest note of the song (Bush 8%); while a maximum rise of more than a fourth over the opening tone occurs in 27% (Bush 42%), and a maximum drop of more than a fourth below the opening note is found in 62% (Bush 56%). The position of the opening tone in relation to the closing one, as well as the position of the final tone itself, shows essentially the same characteristics as in the Bush songs.

c. Intervals.

Only 10% of the Town songs (Bush 63%) are entirely, or almost entirely without half-tones. The less frequent employment of steps of wide range is a correlative of much more frequent use of half-tones. The following table gives comparisons between Town and Bush in the matter of the intervals which are found:

1 See songs 19, 23, 24, 26, 92, 93.
2 Song 86, variant 2.
3 See, e.g., songs 47, 59, 85.
4 Fig. 1.
5 Figs. 2 and 3.
6 Figs. 4 and 5.
Plate XXII. Town-Negro *Mán-dró*.
Plate XXIII. Town-Négro Agida and Lãnga drø.
Songs with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Steps of a fourth</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Bush</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steps of a fifth</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steps of a sixth</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steps of an octave</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manifold tonal repetitions are, as in the songs of the Bush, very much favored; two-thirds of these contain parts in which four or more syllables are sung on the same pitch.\(^1\) On the other hand, the combinations of steps of thirds and especially of fourths, so characteristic of Bush songs, occur here more rarely:

**Songs with**

1. Pendular combinations of at least three steps of thirds
   - 17% (a) Minor thirds
   - 41% (b) Major thirds
2. Sequences of steps of thirds moving in the same direction
   - 37% (a) Two minor thirds
   - 30% 'Major triads'
   - 10% 'Minor triads'
   - 4% Three thirds
3. Interlocking thirds
   - 14% (a) Configuration of fourths
   - 3% (b) Configuration of fourths
   - 0 (c) Sequences of fourths moving in the same direction
   - 2% (d) Interlocking fourths

\(d.\) **The Penta-types of Modal Structure.**

A large proportion of the Town songs more or less coincide in their tonal structure with those of the Bush Negroes. The penta-type occurs only very rarely.\(^2\) In the song analyses VII a and b, the dominant g stands out especially and becomes the tonic in VII d. Song 116, it may be remarked, has essentially the same structure as Bush song 1.

\(e.\) **The Hexa-type.**

The frequency curve showing the number of songs in the hexa-mode indicates an increase in the number in sol and si at the expense of those in do and re. Among

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1. See chiefly songs 113, 168, 180, 204, 205, 212, 232, 245, 249.
2. Fig. 6.
the hexa-do songs,\textsuperscript{3} numbers 164 and 171 are to be noted for the absence of the
\textit{g}, a tone other-

\textsuperscript{3} Analyses of structure Nos. VII d-I.
wise of importance in this mode. Song 77\(^1\) may be looked upon as the basic structure of 164;\(^2\) gaps in the thirds are filled in by two inserted tones. Song 171, having a range of a fourth,\(^3\) based on the minor third, is closely related to song 14;\(^4\) song 243 has the same tonal structure as 49,\(^5\) while 242 appears to be almost a variant of 15.\(^6\) Songs 228 and 254 are extensions of the penta-do mode.\(^7\) Just as is the case with the Bush songs, so in those sung by Town Negroes, the tonic of the songs in the hexa-sol mode is for the most part the lowest tone, the upper fifth functioning, as a rule, as a dominant.\(^8\) Song 117 is a variant of the penta-do melody 116.\(^9\) The scales on which the songs analysed in VII m–p are based, represent what may be called diatonically ‘filled’ penta-chord structures, and in this resemble the analyses of songs 72 and 73 in II l and m.\(^10\) The structures VII q–u, based on a sixth, are like II n–p; VII u, based on the octave, is like II q. The hexa-re mode, which is only represented by song 198, has, if we overlook the absence of the fourth below the key-note, the same structure as song 23.\(^11\) Of the songs in the hexa-la mode, those analysed in VII c–e, with their emphasis on the fifth, g–d, resemble the analyses given in III h–k. Just as in the Bush music, where songs sung in the penta-re mode were seen to be closely related to those sung in the penta-do mode,\(^12\) so the music found in the hexa-la mode is closely related to that in hexa-sol. This appears with special clarity in song 186, which was rendered twice by the same singer, who ends his song one time on a, that is, in the hexa-la mode, and the other on g, in the hexa-sol mode. In the songs sung in the hexa-mi mode\(^13\) either the fifth above the tonic\(^14\) or the fifth below it\(^15\) functions as the ‘dominant’. The minor third b–d, with b as the fundamental, ‘filled’ with an inserted c, forms the nucleus of the hexa-si mode.\(^16\) Besides this the thirds a–c\(^17\) and g–b\(^18\) also have structural significance. The tonic b\(^19\) is the ‘mese’ of the third a–c, as well as

1 Analysis No. I a.
2 Analysis No. VII h.
3 Analysis No. VII g.
4 Analysis No. II b.
5 Compare analysis No. VII k with No. II i.
6 Analyses Nos. VII j and II g.
7 Analyses Nos. VII l and i.
8 Analyses Nos. VII m–v.
9 Analyses Nos. VII m and VII a.
10 Compare especially songs 72 and 184.
11 Compare analysis No. VII a with No. III e.
12 Compare songs 1 and 4 with 2 and 5.
13 Analyses Nos. VIII f–h.
14 Song 132.
15 Songs 187, 192.
16 Analyses Nos. VIII i–t.
17 Analyses Nos. VIII l, o, p, r–t.
18 Analyses Nos. VIII p, r, s.
19 As in analysis No. III o.
of the fifth g-d. Song 248 exhibits a pendular structure of minor thirds in the second part, while in 214 the melodic weight is shifted in the course of the song from g to b, and thus the hexa-sol mode changes to hexa-si.

**f. The Hepta-Type.**

The hepta-do mode is by far the most commonly employed in the Town Negro songs. Songs in this mode are found to correspond, to a degree, with those of the Bush Negroes. g is, in most cases, the dominant. The chromatic sequence that is employed in two instances is avoided in the restatements of these songs. Further parallels to the Bush songs of various kinds are also found among the other hepta melodies. As in song 214, the melodic weight in 218 is shifted by a third; in this instance, however, by a minor third downward, which means that the song modulates from the hepta-do mode to the hepta-la.

**g. Meter and Rhythm.**

The 4/4 rhythm is that which occurs most frequently in those songs of regular meter, while 3/4 time is rare. 6/8 time is found somewhat more frequently, as is the 5/4 beat. Metrical extensions and contractions are much in favor. Thus, for instance, the 4/4 measure is found shortened to 7/8 or to 3/4 or extended to 5/4. These changes in rhythm are in part caused by the nature of the text, as, for example, in the two renditions of the final measures of song 142. The shortening of the phrase ‘a’ in song 236 when contrasted to ‘a’ is worthy of remark: the two distinct elements of phrase ‘a’ have been welded together in ‘a’, where the end of the first becomes at the same time the opening of the second. For a number of songs no rigid metric scheme can be established, notwithstanding the fact that a regular meter may be recognized as underlying their rhythmic form; one may note in this regard the

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1 Analyzed in No. VIII u.
2 Analyzed in No. VIII v.
3 Fig. 6.
4 Compare analyses Nos. IX i with IV c-d; IX j with IV e-g; IX l-o with IV h; IX q-w with IV k.
5 Songs 174, first variant, and 185, first variant (analysed in Nos. X n and IX p).
6 Compare analyses Nos. XI g-h with V a-c; XI i with V i; XI n with V r; XI r-s with VI d-e; XI v with VI g.
7 Analyzed in No. X v.
8 See analysis No. XII o.
9 Songs 117, 129, 135.
10 Songs 181, 187, 224.
11 E.g., songs 133, 164-166.
12 E.g., songs 131, 152, 253.
13 E.g., songs 115, 126, 194.
14 E.g., songs 149, 150, 240.
15 Songs 125, 142, 185, 202.
4/4 measure in song 119, the 3/4 measure in song 161, and the 6/8 measure in song 167. Occasionally different texts are set to the same melody, and because of this the meter becomes changed, as can be seen when comparison is made between songs 120 and 121, 140 and 141, 221 and 222. Songs in free rhythm are much less frequent in Town Negro music than in that of the Bush. However, they do occur.¹

h. Formal Structure of the Songs.

Essentially the same formal characteristics are found in the Town and Bush songs. Very short melodies, restricted to an exact or varied repetition of a short theme, are rare;² on the other hand, songs which fall into two phrases are very much in favor.³ Frequently the second phrase is a variant of the first; in 131 and 203 the end is varied, while in 139-141 and 213 the second phrase, in contrast to the first, is transposed a fifth lower. From the varied repetition of the form ‘a b’, constructions such as those to be noted in songs 144, 170, 192, 194, 207 and 241 result. A somewhat richer cyclical construction is found in 125, 129, 132, 171, 209, and 231. Songs which comprise a number of phrases often originate from the basic form ‘a b’ by a single or manifold repetition, strict or free, of one or the other of the two members; thus, we see the three-fold ‘a b b¹’ in song 114, ‘a a b’ in 119, 188, and 199, ‘a b a¹’ in 127 and 247, the four-fold ‘a a¹ b b¹’ in 161, ‘a a¹ b a²’ in 219, ‘a a¹ a b’ in 179 and divers others of greater number, as in 118, 123, 232, 245, and 248. Similarly the repetition of individual elements of the fundamental set of phrases ‘a b c⁴’ and ‘a b c d⁵’ result in enlargements such as ‘a a b b b c⁶’, ‘a b b¹ b¹ b² c c¹ c² c³’, and ‘a a b b b¹ a a b² b¹ b² b¹ c c d d¹ d²’.⁷

i. Alternation of Solo and Chorus, and Polyphony.

Songs in which there is alternate singing by solo and chorus are frequently found, as was the case with the Bush Negro music. The part of the chorus, in varied forms, represents a repetition, more or less strict, of the entire song, which has been initially sung by the leader;⁹ transposition of the choral part in song 166 a fourth higher than the rendition by the soloist is to be observed. In song 128 the repeated and varied opening phrase ‘a’, and in 250 the last motif of ‘a’ is repeated by the chorus. More frequently,

¹ As, for example, in songs 179, 210, 229, 232, 248.
² Songs 113, 115, 122.
³ Songs 148, 159, 189, 235, among others.
⁴ Songs 165, 180, 183, 190.
⁵ Songs 134, 186, 195.
⁶ Songs 116, 117.
⁷ Song 205.
⁸ Song 208.
⁹ See songs 163, 165, 183, 187, 199.
Plate XXIV. Town-Negro Agida drum.
Plate XXV. A Bush-Negro Agida drum.
however, the chorus represents a continuation of the solo part. In songs 153 and 202 the solo of the precentor, which remains the same throughout, is alternately answered by two different choral themes as was the case in the Bush-Negro song 77; in 184 and 223 the solo part is varied as well. In some songs chords are produced by the overlapping of the solo and chorus. In song 215 the chorus carries a drone above the singing of the solo part. Chords occur in the choral parts as well as in songs for chorus alone. These are, in the main, the major second, the minor third, the major third, and the fourth. In only one instance each do we find a tritone, a major sixth, a minor sixth, and a minor seventh. Parallels are rare; we do, however, find parallel thirds in songs 158, 206, 233, and 255, as well as one instance each of parallel fourths, fifths, and major seconds in 203 and 255. The polyphony in song 253 is noteworthy; it originates, however, in the possible unintentional overlapping of the phrases ‘a’ and ‘b’.

j. Tempo.

In many cases the tempo accelerates as the song proceeds. Occasionally, while the tempo is constant within the verse, the repetition is sung faster. In song 178, however, the tempo of the duet is slower than that of the solo. The strong rubato in songs 156 and 190 is to be remarked.

C. Ethnological evaluation.

The music here analysed cannot be fully assessed from an ethnological point of view on the basis of the material encompassed in this study. This will be possible only after an analysis has been made of the extensive phonographic material gathered during the field-work of the Northwestern-Columbia Universities’ Expedition in the regions of West Africa where the ancestors of the Suriname Negroes lived, and a comparison of this material with that which is published here. Even so, the materials presented here offer

1 As in songs 138, 210, 217.
2 Cf. Bush-Negro songs 72, 73, 89.
3 As, for example, in songs 152, 201, 220.
4 E.g., songs 178, 204, 211.
5 E.g., songs 163, 165, 222.
6 E.g., songs 209, 211, 219.
7 E.g., songs 217, 227, 244.
8 Song 211.
9 Song 244.
10 Song 240.
11 E.g., songs 115, 121, 150.
12 As in songs 139, 159, 251.
13 More than 450 songs, religious and secular, were collected in Dahomey, Nigeria and the Gold Coast during 1931. Further comparative value will accrue to the songs published here when still another collection of Negro music, consisting of 300 Haitian songs, recorded in 1934, are analyzed.
data from which results of some ethnological significance may be derived.¹

If one compares the individual Bush Negro songs, it becomes evident that the 
music of these people is far from homogeneous, the collection containing musical 
forms which differ greatly, and between which the connection is anything but obvious. 
One sees this difference, for example, when one compares song 47 and song 24; 
the first having a narrow tonal range, small number of steps, pendular-structure, 
strict rhythm, constant meter, considerable acceleration in tempo and very concise 
form; the second possessing the range of a tenth, a large number of steps, 
prevalence of the keytone, free rhythm and meter, constant tempo, greater variety 
in form and alternating solo and chorus parts. On the basis of this material it is not 
possible to trace the cause of these differences. The few songs of the Djuka tribe² 
show no characteristics which do not also appear in the other songs, that is, those 
of the Saramacca tribe. The relationship between Saramacca song 2, for instance, 
and Djuka song 96 is much closer with regard to tonality, rhythm and form than is 
that between many Saramacca songs. Nor does one find musical uniformity within 
the various divisions into which the songs fall; this is true both in the case of the 
three important groups of religious, ancestral, and secular songs, and within the 
subdivisions of these groups, as, for example, the Kromanti or Seketi songs. This 
is made evident by comparison of such two different Kromanti songs as 1 and 26, 
or of the two work-songs 103 and 107. On the other hand, to mention only one case, 
the religious song number 35, the ancestral song number 55, and the secular song 
number 96 are of the same musical type. Only the dance-songs³ show at least one 
characteristic in common, namely, the absence of free rhythm, though it would be 
strange if dance music were not distinguished by a strictness of rhythm.

Even less homogeneity can be discerned in the Coastal Negro songs than in 
those of the Bush. Within any given classification are to be found, on the one hand, 
greatly contrasting forms,⁴ and, on the other, melodies appearing in different classes 
of so great a resemblance that one might be justified in considering one melody a 
variant of the other.⁵ It is therefore apparent that it is the text and not the musical 
form which marks the song as belonging to a certain type. Originally the various 
types of songs may also

¹ The number of available papers on African music which could make a comparison possible 
is very small. The large collection of African records in the phonograph archives in Berlin have 
been gone through, however, thus enabling a clear impression of the character of Negro 
music to be gained.
² Songs Nos. 9, 13, 75, 76, 91, 96, 97.
³ Nos. 69-100.
⁴ Compare, for example, Dagowe songs 220 and 227.
⁵ Compare song 196 (Aisa) with 219 (Lɛba) and with 161 (Kromanti).
have been differentiated musically; that is to say, it is conceivable that in the beginning, music and text were an inseparable unit, and that later, a cleavage occurred when several texts were sung to the same melody and thus effaced the musical characteristics of the individual groups. Perhaps an analysis of the music collected in Africa will lead to the elucidation of this question.

For the problems of acculturation, it is of great importance to see to what extent and in what manner European influence may be detected in this music. Before this is attempted, the criteria which determine whether or not a song is African, European, or a combination of both African and European elements, must be considered. Theoretically, two methods are possible. The first is synthetic; one listens to the record of the song in question, and the resulting judgment is prompted by the total impression. Naturally, this method can be employed only by one who for years has studied primitive music, - including also the music of African Negroes, - and who has acquired the ability when hearing primitive music, to recognise instantly the European elements. The second method is analytical. After the recording of a song has been transcribed, its melody, rhythm, form, and other characteristics are analysed, and those features which are typical of African or European music are segregated. The exclusive use of either of these methods is, however, inadvisable; for only through employing both the synthetic and the analytic approach will the student be led to reasonably valid results. In this investigation, therefore, both general impressions and detailed analyses have been taken into account.

With the exception of a few songs, the music of the Bush-Negroes displays traits that are essentially African, and the musical characterization of the songs given above exhibits almost throughout features which are either specifically typical of African Negro music, or, at any rate, of non-European music in general. The music of the Coastal Negroes, on the contrary, shows a strong European influence, though, even here, a considerable proportion of songs (23%) is, as in the Bush, wholly African.

A comparison between the music of the Coastal Negroes and those of the Bush gives insight into the direction of the change from African to European elements. The most striking fact is the difference in proportion of entirely or almost entirely anhemitonic songs, this being 63% in the Bush and only 10% in the city. The less frequent use of wide skips and their combinations goes hand in hand with the tendency to favor half-tone steps. Intervals which were originally of wide range are frequently lessened by the insertion of notes. Obviously the greater proportion of hepta-type songs in comparison with penta-type, the greater occurrence of

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1 In section 2, ‘The Music of the Bush-Negroes’.
2 See the comparative percentages given above in section 3 c, pp. 510-511.
3 See Fig. 6.
songs with seven steps and the less frequent appearance of songs containing three to six steps\(^1\) are connected with that fact. Figure 6c is especially significant as indicating European influence in the music of the Town Negroes, for it shows the great incidence of music in the hepta-do mode, which, in comparison with all other modes, corresponds to the European major. Since one of the most significant characteristics of European melody is its relation to triad harmonies, the use of broken chords within the melodic line being frequent, one might expect these arpeggios, combinations of a major and a minor third, to occur more often in the strongly Europeised Town-music than in that of the Bush. This is not the case, however. On the contrary, the percentage of songs containing melodic passages corresponding to a broken major or minor triad is smaller in the city than in the bush, the percentages for the former being 38% and 30%, respectively, and for the latter 24% and 10%. This fact proves the opinion stated above\(^2\) that the combination of major and minor thirds, to be found so frequently in songs of the Bush Negroes, is not to be interpreted as a broken chord, but purely as a melodic phenomenon. Yet, in spite of their differing significance, such melodic passages may be regarded as forming a bridge between European and Negro music. For a European would interpret the completion of two thirds to a fifth, when occurring in Negro music, as a broken triad, - that is, his interpretation would be an harmonic one; a Negro hearing European music, on the other hand, would understand real arpeggios only as melody, and would think he recognized in them a characteristic of his own music. The predominantly descending course of the melody, typical of non-European music, is not very strongly marked in songs of the Bush.\(^3\) This might be referred to European influence, but such a contention would be made difficult by the fact that the extent to which the descending melodic line is found, when compared with the incidence of an ascending one, is greater in songs of the Town than of the Bush.\(^4\) In similar manner, it cannot be held that the tunes of very wide range that are found in the Bush Negro music are a sign of European influence, for the rarer occurrence of songs of wide range in the music of the Town-Negroes would vitiate such an assumption.\(^5\) With respect to rhythm and meter, the development toward the European manifests itself in the gradual supplanting of songs with free rhythm by songs with a strict rhythm.

Among the songs of the Bush-Negroes only the religious Wata-winti song number 49, the ancestral cult song number 61 and the secular Seketi song number 88 have strong European features. In

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1 See Fig. 7.
2 Section 2e, pp. 498-499.
3 Cf. section 2b, pp. 495-496.
4 See Section 3b, p. 510.
5 See Fig. 1.
Town music, African style has been preserved mainly in religious songs, where 31% seem to bear no marks of European influence whatsoever.\(^1\) Of the secular Town songs, only 10%\(^2\) are purely African, while in the 'songs in stories', 13% are of this nature.\(^3\) In the music not influenced by Europe, as in non-European music in general, songs are to be found which are far removed from European conceptions of melody besides others which show some similarity with European forms in their musical structure. It is a significant indication of the greater musical acculturation of the Town Negroes to European patterns, that among the songs in African style the number of extreme non-European structures is much smaller in the Town than in the Bush. On the other hand, there are to be found among the European songs of the Town Negroes a great many melodies relatively akin to African forms,\(^4\) as well as striking non-African forms.\(^5\) While the latter are doubtless European tunes adopted by Negroes, the former are probably in part composed by them.\(^6\) The European melodies are frequently found to have been transformed by the Negroes into African-like songs. For example, song 123, otherwise European in nature, is combined with African elements by the interpolation of the minor third pendular motifs 'a'\(^1\) and 'a'\(^2\). Occasionally the tonic of a given melody is transposed, whereby the European major or minor is transformed into a non-European mode. In such cases, the tonic moves either to the second above the tonic,\(^7\) to the dominant,\(^8\) or to the fourth below the tonic.\(^9\) More frequent than tonal changes are those of rhythm, which loosen the more or less inflexible metric-scheme. For instance, 4/4 time is transformed by means of shortening or extension to 3/4, 5/4, 7/8, 9/8 and other meters.\(^10\) In addition to European songs which contain few Africanisms, there are in the music of the Town Negroes a great number of songs which combine European and African styles.\(^11\) A part of these are of European origin, remodelled until they are all but unrecognisable; but there are also melodies which may have been invented by the Negroes under the influence of European music. In hybrid songs of this type sometimes the

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2 Songs Nos. 242, 248.
3 Songs Nos. 113-115, 119, 132.
4 For example, songs Nos. 136, 137, 145, 146, 150, 182, 234, 243.
5 For example, songs Nos. 116-118, 127, 139-144, 170, 173, 184, 189, 213, 216, 235, 239, 240, 252.
6 The presence of Hindus and Javanese in Suriname may explain this phenomenon.
7 Songs Nos. 120, 121, 163, 172.
8 Song No. 192.
9 Songs Nos. 149, 159.
10 For example, songs Nos. 126, 185, 195, 237, 238, 241, 251.
11 For example, songs Nos. 122, 124, 131, 138, 153, 166, 175, 203, 204, 208, 210, 212, 218, 224, 226-231, 233, 245, 249, 250, 255.
European, sometimes the African characteristics predominate. Song 206, for example, is essentially African; only the parallel thirds reveal European influence. All gradations of musical acculturation from extreme African to pure European can easily be found in these Suriname songs.

The Negro spirituals have very little resemblance to the songs of the Suriname Negroes. However, the Suriname music helps to throw light on the question as to whether or not some features of the spirituals can be traced to Africa. Syncopation, so typical a rhythm in Negro spirituals, is usually considered to derive from African rhythm; only Von Hornbostel has voiced the suspicion that this syncopation is derived from Europe, probably from the Scottish folk-song. This hypothesis would seem to be confirmed by the present material; for the typical syncopations are not to be found in songs of African character but only in Europeanised tunes. There is, however, a greater bond between Suriname music and that of West Indian Negroes. To take only one example from the Haitian songs published here, it is to be seen that its melodic configuration is quite similar to that of Suriname song 116. In general, European influence upon the Negro music of the West Indies is much greater than upon the Suriname songs, but there, too, distinct African traces are discernible.

D. Musical instruments.

Drums are the most important instruments in both Town and Bush, and the drummers, in these as in all Negro cultures, achieve a virtuosity of performance and an intricacy of rhythm that come of long practice. It was impossible to obtain satisfactory recordings of drumming which would reveal the complexity of these rhythm-patterns, chiefly because, lacking electrical recording apparatus, the inner rhythms which in combination give a steady beat are lost, and only the points where the notes of the several instruments coincide can be discerned.

The drums have more than a musical significance in this culture. Tradition assigns to them the three-fold power of summoning the gods and the spirits of the ancestors to appear, of articulating the messages of these supernatural beings when they arrive, and of sending them back to their habitats at the end of each ceremony. Both in Town and in the Bush, the dancers who are the worshippers,

1 It has been maintained recently in several works, (Johnson, Jackson, I, among others) that the spirituals are essentially adaptations of White revival songs.
2 Hornbostel, p. 748.
3 For example, songs 126, 135, 149, 159, 174, 182, 195.
4 Song No. 256.
5 Roberts; H.H., I and II, passim.
- one of the most important expressions of worship is dancing. Face the drums and dance toward them, in recognition of the voice of the god within the instruments.

Bush-Negro drums are of three types, the Apinti, the Tumao, and the Agida. The Apinti, of which examples from both Saramaka and Djuka tribes are to be seen, with a Haitian Voodoo drum of similar size, in Plate XIX, is the principal drum of the battery, as far as its function in ritual is concerned. It is the tenor drum, and the one that carries the most intricate rhythms; but, more importantly, it is also the drum that calls the Sky-gods, the powerful Kromanti spirits, and the ancestors. The attachment of the drum-head to the body shows a characteristically Gold Coast arrangement of the fastenings, and it is the only type of drum that is decorated with carved designs. Of so sacred a character are these Apinti that an example of one was acquired only after prolonged negotiations with the ancestors (through diviners), as well as the village elders. The drum spoken for was without a head, and had had to be replaced by another, yet not until the end of the second summer in the field was the decision to dispose of it reached, and the chief finally prevailed upon to send out his young men to hunt for a ‘deer’ to provide a drum-head. In the case of the Djuka specimen, the difficulty was not so great, for the village was near the rail-head, was well-to-do, and there were a number of drums available; the one acquired and which is figured was, however, the only one of the village collection that was without carving.

The Tumao drum is especially dedicated to the Apuku, or spirits of the bush. When the full battery of three instruments is being played, this drum furnishes the intermediate accompanying rhythms. An example of this type is illustrated in Plates XXVI and XXVII. Inasmuch as it was the first drum acquired, it often served as a substitute for the others when drum-accompaniments to the songs were recorded. At times it was used in place of the Apinti, when the latter was not available. In actual ceremonial usage, however, when a tenor drum is missing and cannot be readily borrowed from the people of a neighboring village, the natives prefer to improvise an Apinti rather than to employ a drum of another category. As can be seen, the method of attachment of the head to the body of the drum is quite different from the attachment of the Apinti.

The Agida is the bass drum of the Suriname Negroes, both in Town and in the Bush, and is the instrument which, with its low note, dominates the battery with a steady beat. With the kwakwa (to be shortly described), this beat sets the basic rhythm of the more complicated notes played by the drums of higher pitch. It is sacred to the Snake deities and is used to call them. A number of the Agida drums seen were of impressive size; the largest, found in a shrine to the Snake deities in a village on the Pikien Rio in the

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
deep interior, measured more than eight feet in length, and was played as it lay on the ground. So powerful was its call, that only a few minutes after it began to sound the invocations to the Snake god, devotees from nearby villages, under possession, made their appearance.¹ Unlike the Apinti and Tumao drums, which are played only with the hand, the Agida is played with one drum-stick, the player using his free hand to sound more intricate rhythms.

All drums have at least two tones. When played near the outer edge a higher note is sounded than when the beat is struck in the center of the drum-head. All of these instruments, whatever their type, are constructed from hollowed-out logs, and, except for the largest Agida drums, each has a carved ‘foot’ on which it rests. The Apinti and Tumao drums are tilted off the ground at an angle when being played, the player usually squatting on the instrument which, in turn, rests on his heels.² This makes it possible to obtain the greatest volume of sound in drumming, since there is no stoppage of the column of air inside the body as is the case when the opening at the lower end stands directly on the earth. Before playing any drum, the head is tightened, usually by driving the pegs which hold the fastenings of the head deeper into the body of the drum. With heat the skin also tightens, but we have never witnessed a drum-head tightened by means of holding it near a fire. Dances are ordinarily held during the night, when it is dampest, and it is characteristic for drummers to tune their drums at intervals during the period when they play them.

Other instruments in the Bush are the kwakwa, the rattle, and the striking the ‘iron against iron’ (felu-kɔ̨-felu), an improvised triangle consisting of any two pieces of iron which are at hand. The kwakwa, which, with the iron and the Agida drum set the basic rhythm of a complex of instruments, is a low bench, with a hardwood top, beaten with two sticks by a player who squats beside it facing the dancers. However, the only real kwakwa we saw was in Paramaribo; in the Bush, the Negroes are quite content to use an old wooden box and any two pieces of wood at hand for the purpose. The rattle is the most important of the subsidiary instruments and we have seen it used alone to induce possession. It is indispensable for any religious ceremony³ and the rhythms it sounds vary with the spirits that are being called. In secular dances the rhythms are also governed by the song categories.

A word may be said concerning those who play these instruments. The major line of specialisation is one of sex, for no woman may play

² Kahn, p. 58, gives an excellent photograph of a Bush-Negro playing a drum, and (p. 60) figures two Bush-Negro drums.
³ In Dahomey, the asogwe (rattle) is necessary for the establishment of a cult-house to any deity; equal importance is ascribed to the rattle in all the West African regions from which the forebears of the Suriname Negroes were derived.
Plate XXVI. A Bush-Negro Tumao Drum. (Hamburg Museum, No. 30.51: 76)
Plate XXVII. Detail of attachment of drum-head, Bush-Negro Tumao Drum.
drums, or even touch them. Belief has it that if a woman plays the drums, her breasts will grow until they reach the ground; whether or not it is this belief that gives the custom a living validity, it can be said that one never sees a woman playing one of these instruments. All men are expert at handling drums. There are those who excel as drummers and they are seen most frequently playing them, but such excellence is attributed to the favor of the gods, - 'He has strong gods’, they say in the Bush; and in the Town, 'It's his wunti'. Nevertheless, when necessary, any man can take his place in an orchestra. This is not strange, since every Bush-Negro hears the drum-rhythms from his earliest years, and before every dance one can see the small boys tuning and playing the drums. Often very young girls dance to these rhythms, while the older men listen to the drumming and correct mistakes. To illustrate how early in life a feeling for rhythm appears, we can cite our own experience on the Pikien Rio, where a child who could not have been more than two years old drummed against the side of the low box on which he was sitting, reproducing perfectly some of the Awasa dance-rhythms, and being encouraged by the admiring comments of his parents and others who listened to him. Both women and men play the kwakwa and the rattle, but it is the women who accompany the songs with hand-clapping, and for all but the Kromanti and ancestral songs, they are the most important singers.

Little need be added to what has been stated in discussing the musical instruments of the Paramaribo Negroes. Detailed photographs are given of the five drum-types found among them, and the differences in the size of the drums, and in techniques of attaching the drum-heads, are shown in the accompanying illustrations. The smallest of these drum-types, and, as in the Bush the only one to be decorated and ritually the most important, is the Apinti. Of similar size but different in outline and in method of attaching the drum-head is the Podya. Next comes the intermediate-sized drum, which corresponds to the Tumao of the Bush, but which, among the coastal Negroes, is termed the Man ḏrọ, the ‘man-drum’, and still larger is the long, slender ‘lądga-đrọ́’, which is played lying on its side with a drum-stick. The great drum of Town as of Bush is, once more, the Agida. As in the Bush, these instruments are supplemented with rattles, kwakwa, and iron; the sex-division in playing, and the technique of handling these various instruments follows essentially what has been described, though on occasion a woman, in the Town, will play a drum.

1 Plates XVI, XX-XXIV.
2 See above, pp. 87-88 for the description of the use of these drums in an actual ceremony.
E. Notes on the recording of the songs.

The songs presented in this work were recorded in 1929, during the second field-trip to Suriname, on a phonograph recommended by Professor von Hornbostel, and procured from Wira, G.M.B.H., Berlin; recordings were made on wax cylinders of the Edison Phonograph Company. With the cooperation of the Psychological Laboratory of the University of Berlin two hard-rubber casts were made of each of the original cylinders, thereby making available for reference two complete sets of the recordings, one in the Phonogramm Archiv of the University of Berlin, and the other at Northwestern University, Evanston. The transcriptions, as they appear here, are grouped according to song categories, and two tables are appended for the use of those who may wish to consult the original recordings, the first giving the number of the record on which the song appears, and the second listing the songs by the numerals given each in the field, and opposite these the corresponding transcription numbers.

The Bush-Negro songs were obtained from singers the length of the Suriname River, and with the exception of songs Nos. 9, 13, 75, 76, 91, 96 and 97, which are Djuka songs, sung by Djuka men, they were given us by members of the Saramaka tribe.

In order to facilitate the work of students of comparative music, the Bush-Negro as well as the Town Negro songs are included in this volume, even though the major portion of the data describes aspects of the life of the coastal Negroes. Since, however, there is no ethnological comment in these pages to serve as a background against which the Bush-Negro songs may be projected, we shall sketch briefly certain phases of the life, and a few of the more cogent psychological attitudes of the Bush as they touch upon the songs themselves and the technique of recording, and shall indicate the bases from which these spring.

The New World experiences of these Negroes have been such as to preserve in the interior of South America an archaic African culture, for whereas their ancestral stocks in Africa have had continuous contact these last two hundred years with other West African and European peoples, the Suriname runaway slaves who had fought their way to the status of a free political group by the first half of the eighteenth century, have remained in isolation. From the aboriginal Indians whom they had driven from the river bank terrains which they appropriated for their own villages and fields, they had taken over certain food complexes, either in their entirety, like the manioc complex, or in part, as in the use of the kuni̱ali shrub for poisoning fish. From the Whites they obtain such staples as cloth, rum, gunpowder, axes and bush knives, iron griddles and pots,

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1 Appendices IV and V.
beads for ornamental and ceremonial purposes, brass and iron for conversion into armlets, bracelets and anklets, and white clay for ceremonial uses. To these must be added such luxury acquisitions as enamel basins, large and small oil lamps, tools for woodcarving, with helmets, folding chairs and even an occasional table, hammocks with mosquito net attachments, a shirt and pair of trousers as a sign of special affluence.

Other than in the field of material culture, the greatest single outside influence is to be discerned in the language, which, as we have indicated in our discussion of the language of the Town, consists of a Portuguese-English base with a good proportion of African words, a sprinkling of French, Dutch, and Indian, and all of these expressed in an African idiom, with African speech cadences and rhythms, and, in the instance of African words, with significant tones. In other aspects of their culture, however, no outstanding influence of either Indian or European civilisations is observable.

The Bush-Negro’s attitude toward the White man may be said to stem chiefly from the lore of the relationship of the enslaved ancestors to the Whites, and the heroisms of the runaway slaves in establishing themselves in the Bush. This memory is consciously fostered from one generation to the next in the name of the ancestors, who are worshipped, and for political reasons is often emphasized anew by clan heads and priests. The pervading attitude, then, may be said to be characterised by two proverbs most often spoken to White persons by men of all ages. One is, ‘White man's magic is not black man's magic,’ and the other, - heard incidentally on the coast as well, and expressing that one is fortified by wit and strength to cope with enemies - ‘There are men on the upper river, and there are men on the lower river, too.’

About this attitude of aloofness toward the White man's civilisation, and the suspicion of the White stranger, cluster an entire complex of inhibitions. One of these was manifested in the unwillingness to give the text of the songs sung into the phonograph, though except in the case of the very young, or of the specially timid, there was no reluctance to sing into it. The reason for this was that the fascination of singing a song into a ‘machine’ and hearing it reproduced immediately thereafter was strong enough to overcome all hesitancy. The singing, however, was often prefaced with a spoken explanation to the ancestors, or to a man's personal spirits, that he was conceding nothing of his heritage in thus performing for the White man's machine. Often, too, the singer made peace with the spirits by misnaming the songs he sang.

Knowing these attitudes, it was necessary to replay the songs to members of other villages in order to obtain a check on the names of the songs, and to play them again to informants for explanations. An excited exclamation naming the type of song usually resulted from first hearing a record, and this was taken as the best indication.
of the true nature of a given song. In the matter of obtaining texts, however, new problems arose. Few men on the river fail to carry protective magic against slander and backbiting, so that to reveal what another had attempted to distort involved spiritual danger. If a man, however, was so sure of the powers of his own spirits, and their friendliness toward him, to ignore this danger, he was faced with the edict of the ancestors that no man might reveal more than half of what he knew. Moreover, with many the mere replaying of the songs which named important gods, or ancestors, or invoked the spirit of magic - Obia - brought much consternation, and there was little willingness to repeat these sacred names.

Many of the texts, therefore, had to be worked out by playing and replaying the songs after we returned from the field. When it is recognised that many of them are in the esoteric Kromanti language, unknown to all but the initiated adult men, and that even the secular language of the Bush-Negroes because of its use of elision and circumlocution, added to differences in basic vocabulary, is not understandable to Coastal Negroes, it must be evident that much that is tentative is contained in these texts. Nevertheless, despite our many misgivings about them, and our decision to refrain at this time from giving translations, it was found that the texts were sufficiently accurate to enable the two Fanti and one Ashanti informants from the Gold Coast of West Africa with whom we have had an opportunity to go over them to give us partial, and in some instances even full translations of a number of these songs - particularly those in the Kromanti group - with the accompanying comment often of ‘This word is proper Fanti’, or ‘This any Fanti on the coast will understand’, or ‘This is ours, but I can’t get all the sense’, or ‘This is an Adansi expression. The Ashanti use it today.’ As a check on these African translators, we made it a point to read to each informant all the songs, including those which by internal evidence showed them not to be of Twi origin, as for example those invoking the Dahomean Snake god Dangbe, (pronounced in Suriname Dagowe), or the rainbow serpent Aido-Wedo, or the Bantu god Zambi. In all these instances we were told ‘That's not ours’ before we had more than pronounced a few phrases.

An experience in the Gold Coast, among the Ashanti, during the summer of 1931, provides another example of the tenacity of the culture of the Bush-Negroes and the purity of its Africanisms, and suggests the problems that need to be met before a definitive rendering of the texts can be essayed. In the village of Asokore we came upon a group of the older generation who could remember Seketi dances (pronounced by them Sekete), and one informant proceeded to sing a refrain to one of them which is the same as the Bush-Negro song No. 82. But whereas the Bush-Negro sings,

*Mamba semba go na Semene
Mamba people go to Semene,*
the Ashanti sing,

Amamasem be go no asem ne

Distinguishing themselves they will ease matters today.

It can be seen from this illustration that other translations given may upon analysis show similar tendencies to inject into traditional words meanings based on current speech, for it must be borne in mind that for the Bush-Negro it was a new experience to be objective about the songs he sang. Songs contained words which came from the ancestors, or were improvisations on an event that was remembered as lore, or not remembered at all; or else symbolised, in the idiom of song, some event of more recent origin. Until such time, therefore, as we have definite internal and external evidence, derived from an analysis of the component elements of the language, to corroborate these translations, or definitely to controvert them, a sound methodology requires that the songs be treated in their present form, with all the elements that require study indicated.

In a separate discussion treating of the culture of the Bush-Negroes, a full analysis of the Twi translations will be undertaken. In this section they will be indicated in footnote form for the respective songs.

The Town Negro music presented no similar problem. In most instances the singers dictated the words of the songs and gave us the proper classifications. Nevertheless, the same process of checking and rechecking songs by playing them to others was carried on as in the Bush. Where the singers were vague about the meanings of phrases, or knew no translation, we have so indicated. It must be remarked that at times the Town Negroes were also baffled by the request to explain the meaning of a song, never having had to assume an analytical attitude towards the words they sang. It was evident that this led to some improvisation of meaning. All instances which showed hesitancy on the part of the informants are noted.

Because of the fact that the style of singing differs with the individual singers, another table is given showing the singer of each song, so that a future student interested in this aspect of the music may have the information available.\(^1\) Names do not occur, for we have substituted numbers, the reason for this substitution lying in the wish of the singers to remain anonymous.

\(^1\) Appendix III.
F. Bush-Negro songs
1. Religious Songs.

a) Kromanti.¹

1.

Sa-ma-we, Sa-man-yo, ye - grunt - ya - e Sa-mawe, Sa-man-yo, to grunt - ya [-e] Sa-man-ya - na

2.

A kom - bo-yo Sa-bi na b'o - koa - ya-wa o bo - a kog-bwe-tio
Sa - bi na b'o - koa-ya - wa 'ban'-ba kog-bwe-ti -o.

¹ A secret cult among the Bush Negroes. The word itself is derived from the Gold Coast Coromantyn. The organisation of this cult among the Bush Negroes points to its being a warrior society, whose symbol is iron. The dancing of the Kromanti group is more violent than that of any other, and it is in the frenzy of Kromanti possession that exhibitions of imperviousness to cuts by iron, glass, thorns, is demonstrated. This group also includes Obia-Kromanti songs. Cf. Herskovits, M. and F., (V), 322ff.
3'.

A - ya - wa Da - da ya - wa Da - da - o -
A - ya - wa Da - da ya - wa Da - da - o -
A - ya - wa Da - da K'o man - ti ma'o kq wi - dio ya - o
[Ta - ta To - nio]
(3 times)

4.

Nya-mio-o Ka-ria gri - gri - o A bon-ya mio-bia-e Ka-ria gri - gri
Nya-mio - o Ka-ria gri-gri-i A bon-ya mi - i Ka-ria gri-gri
Nya-mio - o - o Ka-ria gri-gri-o A bon-ya mi-o ten tye-e Ka-ria gri-gri

---

1 The translation of this song was given by Africans to whom the words were read as follows:

‘Ancient Ayawa,
Ancient Ayawa - o,
The Kromanti people
Will fight to save you.’
5.

Bu - si wa - na - bi - wągan-ga - o - a wa-ni ba - e
Bo - su wa - na - bi - wą oan - ga - a bo - si - bi - sa - o
Bu - si (etc.)
6'.

Ye m'o - bi'e - i ye m'o-bi'yo ye m'o - bi'yo
e m'o-bia dy - e - ye e m'o-bi'yo ye m'o-bu dya e m'o-bi'yo

7.

Yo grin - ya - o a ba - na - we ba ma - ni Yo grin - ya-a
o - bia ba - na - we ba man-y a na yo grin - ya - o

8.²

O - ru - ma We-de O - ru - ma We-de kwa Ko-dyo

---

1 In Twi, Ye m'o-bia e dja would signify
   'We give again, father,
   Here it is again.'

2 It is probable that the classification given for this song is incorrect; from internal evidence, it would seem to be a song for a snake deity.
O - ru-ma We-de kwa Kodyo O - ru - ma We-de kwa Ko-dyo.

9.

U - sa - fō tu - tu fo - ma - nio 'sa - fō ye sa - fō tu-
tu fo-ma - nio 'sa - fō ye U - sa - fō tu - tu (etc.)

10.

Te-i-go -, Dya-dya man-yio Te - i - go -, Dya-

---

1 One Fanti informant referred this to a campaign of Osai Tutu, translating it as

‘General Tutu
Start a campaign.’

Another Fanti gave its meaning as,

‘O warriors gather,
And give it to him,’

(i.e., the unnamed enemy).
11.

A - ye mu da - e Kwa-si kwa-dyo (etc.)
A - ye mu da - e - o - (etc.)
(Repeated 3 times with variations).
A - ye mu da - e - (etc.)
A-ye mu da-e - o - (etc.)
A - ye mu da - e -
ye mu da-e - o -
12.

Ya si - ki si Dya-dya u - si dya si bu - bu
Ya si - ki si Dya-dya u - ni dya si bu - bu

13'.

Ya - wa nu-a sa - fō ya - wa nu - a nu

14².

Kod-yo, kod-yo - o sa - ba sa - ba wa sa do - a

1 Called a ‘Djuka Kromanti’ song. The Twi-speaking translator rendered the meaning of the words as

‘Here we are, warriors,
Here we are.’

2 If the accent on saba is on the first syllable, the meaning is

‘Kodyo, Kodyo, have you come with love,
Or have you come to kill me?’
kod-yo - o sa - ba-a kum-yo sa - ba wa sa do
Kod - yo, kod - yo - o sa - la - e kum - yo - o
sa - ba - wa sa do - a - o sa - ba - wa sa do

15.

O Ma - to Sya - ba ga - du we - o we - a
Ma - to Sya-ba ga - du we - o we

16.¹

A - fi - mu da-dye a ye - a - o Am-ba-o san-yo - A-

¹ ‘The year has come to a close
Amba, here are our tears.
The years has come to a close,
Save us today,
Amba, we come to you for aid.’

Amba is the female Saturday day-name. Here reference is either to a goddess or ancestress.
-fi-mu da-dye - a - yo Da-dyo-de - Am-ba-o su-yo -
Am-ba on-dye A - - fi-mu da-dye - ai - yo A - - fi-mu da-
dye-on-dye Da-dyo-ndye fi-mu da dye - a - yo Am-ba-o,
sub - wa 'fi-mu da-dye - a - yo Da-dyan-de - 'fi - mu dadye-a - yo

17. see p. 541.

18.
A-na-mu Dya - dya-e - - o - - i A-na-mu Dya-dya - o - i
Ma - na tu ku - mà na - mu - ba We ma-ma - o ma - i (3 times)
17.\(^1\)

Bod’-bo, bod’-bo, a - di - ka - a bod’-bo Bo-dyi A - nan-si ’dji ka bod’-bo
Bod’bo (etc.)

---

\(^1\) One informant stated that Bodji is a Fanti 'strong name' for Anansi, but he could not say what it signified.
19.

A-ma-nu Dya-dya-e - ye - o A-ma-nu Dya - dya - o o -ye
(............) ku-ma le - u - ku mo wu-e ma-ma-e o - o - u
A-ma - na - u (etc.)
A ye ne Ga - du - lu- ku na mu Dya-dya ti - de Ma na
mu bɛg’yu lu - ku na mu Dya - dya - o e -
Ma Ga - du wɔ’ su - ku ma luu - ku - mo me ma - ma - e
'Have you come again, Ando?  
Have you come again, Faku?  
Have you come again, Adjai?'

Adjai is a 'strong name' for 'brave man.'
22'.

Đañ - kio Nyän-kōm-pǒn Đañ-kio Nyän-kōm-pǒn e Đañ-kio Nyän-kōm-pǒn [kɔ pi - k] Đañ - kio - Nyankömpǒn (etc.)

23.

Ta - ta lu-ku an-ka - mà - o ti - de Ya tá lu-ku an -ka - mà
Ya-e - o Ya - o [Kɔm pi - k] Ya-o tān lu-ku an -ka - mo

1 Either ‘Turn’ or ‘Thank you, Nyankompon [come speak]’ - last addressed by the soloist to the chorus.
Ya-o tän lu - ku aŋ -ka-mo ti - de Ya (...) Ya-o - e
Ya-o - e Ya-o tän luk' aŋ-ka-ma-o Ya tän luk' aŋ - ka-ma-o ti-de
mi o-g'a lu-ku aŋka-ma-e - y-e

24'.

Dāŋ-kio Na - na - o - ye - A - ya - we dyān-kio luk' Dāŋ-
kio lu - ku Na - na - o - ye Na - na mi dan - kiyō Na - na wënt'
Dja-dja - e - Dāŋ-kio - Na-na-o - e - ye U Dāŋ-kio
Na-na-o - e - ye Na-na-na - u Dāŋ-kiyo-o Na-na - e - e - o dan-kie

1 See Song 22.

‘Nana ancestors
Nana went' Djadja-e ancestral Djadja winti.’
Sunday Vulture, O mighty one,
Sunday Vulture, O mighty spirit of magic,
Sunday Vulture, today the mighty winti
Kwao, Kwao, Kwao. [Said to be call of the vulture.]
Sunday Vulture, O mighty one, greetings.
Sunday Vulture, look at the mighty obiaman.'
(O)-pe-te kwa-sio A-djay-nio-ye O-pe-te kwa-se
A-djay-nio-o-yo O-pe-te kwa-sio A-djay-nio-ku-mau
O-pe-te kwa-sio lu-ku A-djay-ni-e o-bia-mau O-pe-te kwa-sio
ti-de-d' A-djay-ni O-pe-te kwa-si ti-de da A-djay-ni we-ti kwao

26.

'U ku-ya Ga-do, Wu-du-bai-yu, Lu-ku-ku-ya-e-
Ga-du O kō-ko-o-ya O ku-
-ya ti-dc lu-ku ba'i-yo-o kō-ko-o-bia.
O kō - kō U ku - ya (......) Wu - du - bai - yu,
Lu - ku - ku - ya - e - Ga - du - e - O kō
A ye ma ye - , o ma bu - si A - la - da
mi da o kō - kō - e - - o - mu ya

27.²

Kɛ - dia-ɔn - so Kɛ-diam-po - nu Kɛ - dia - ɔn - so -
Kɛ - diam - p’o - di - o sa - ki na - ya - wa [o - bia - we]

1 ‘O ma busi - I bring you Kola.’
2 ‘Accept water, Kediampen,’ etc.
Kɛ-dia - on - so - e - Kɛ - diam - po - nu Kɛ-dia-diam-
po Kɛ-diam - po - nu (...........) ya - wa - e (3 times)
Kɛ - dia - o - no- na moi

28.

O - da ya - we - o - dwa ya - we - ob-ia - o-dwai ya
wi wai ya-ob - ia - wei
We pi - ki trąŋga kɔ' o - bi-a-'bia wi o-bi-a'o dwai-ya
(...........) o-bamba Wa ya oe - o-dwai-yao-we -
The meaning of the first part, according to Gold Coast translators, is

`Bird winti, come,
Ashanti obia,
Priest of the bird-god come.`

*Anumai* has the meaning of ‘this bird’; *ayeba* is a black pot used for sacrifices.
Dān-kio, Na-na - e - o - e - Dān-kio Na-na - o o - bi - a - o
Ye mu ta- fa - ra Na - na, mu ta - fer' a - di - o Kc-dia-mo-a
Ū dan-kio Na-na - o - e - Ū dan - kio Na-na - o o-
bi-a-e - Ta-fe - ra Na-na, mu ta-fer' a - di - o Kc-diam-po - e
Dan-kio Nana, wa yem ku-mi-ba Ta-fe - ra Nana, mi ta-fe - ra gi.'
Dan-kio Na - na - o man ku-mo ta - f'a yo to ga-wc a Man-de.

(See Songs 22 and 24.)

‘Dankio ancestors - e
Dankio obia of the ancestors
You must forgive us ancestors,
Must forgive and save us, Kcdiamo.
Dankio ancestors,
Do not kill my children.
Forgive us, ancestors,
You must forgive and save us.
Dankio ancestors,
Do not kill me,

Dankio ancestors of the Awana bush,
Dankio ancestors of Tata Weneki,
Dankio Kromanti ancestors.’

Yo to ga-we a mande could not be translated by the Fanti, who understood the remainder of
the song; this line was said by them not to be Fanti.
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31.

Ma-wu - le - ye Te - da Ku-dya - ni ku- ma - o (- - - -
- -) Ma - wu - lo ko dia me we Ma wu - lo - e - o -
Ma- wu - lo Ga - du me ko - di Ma-wu - lo u-dyon - gi
32.¹

A dya mi-a dizɛn-go man go m暧 Komɛ-ti Kɔ̩n-go man ma-u lʉ-tu Na-na
gai-a mii mo ye - e ga-du! Sa - ve - - e Sa-ve-e-e - o
A - dya - ni a di zɔ̩n - gɔ̩ man go - mɔ̩ Ko - mɔ̩ ti Kɔ̩n-go - mɔ̩
ma lʉŋ-tu Na-na ṣu-zu an - zi - nga-ma Sa - ve - e Sa-ve

33.

(O) mɔ̀ dje - ni o - bia dy-e ma dje-ni no-ho o - bi - a ma - ye
Am-ba dje - yì o-bia mi yì yì (- - - -) (o-bia) (- - - -)

¹ There is reason to believe that this has been classified incorrectly, and is not a Kromanti song.
O ma dje - ni o- bia mi yi man dje-ni no-ho o-o-bia mo - ye  
Am-ba dje - ni o - bia- i ye man dje-ni no-ho (o - bi-a - i).

34.

Ma ya - o - wi-sia ma-ma-o Ma ya - o - wi-ga ma - ma  
Ta Azanku nya ma-ma ku-ma nwj - (.................)  
Ma ya - o - wi-sia ma-ma-o A ya - o - wi-n-sia ma-ma  
Ma no m’a g’wa Nțŋ-ge kɔn-de (........) (..........)  
Ma ya - o - wi-n-sia ma-ma-o mi kuma-ni A ya - o - wi-n-sia  
ma-ma Ma no m’a g’wa Nțŋ-ge kɔn-de (...............)

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
b) Dagowe.

35.¹
Da wa - da da - gō Ma - o da - da ya-o Da - wa - da da-gō
Ma - o da - da ya - o Ma - o

36.
Ma-lem - be - e ya Ma-lem - be Ma-ma - we - o -
Sa Ma-lem - be - o - o
-ma - Ga - du Sa Ma-lem - be fi - la - e -

37.
Ma - um - be - wa Ma-um - be - wo T'-ta Man-ga
Ti - ta Ma-um - be Ga - du Ma-lim - be Da - go - we

¹ Dagowe is a snake deity (Dahomean Dạŋgbe).
Ma-um - be - wa Ma-um - be - wo Ti - ta Man-ga
Ti - ta Ma-um - be Ga-du Ma-lim - be Da - go - we
Tu - tu kar' ye - o Tu - tu kar yɛ - o Ga - dua de-a
li - ba dɛ - dɛ Ga-du tu - tu ka' ye - - - - - yo
(Repetitions with minor variations)

38.¹

Bo-na- e -, a - bo-na-ye -, a - bo - na-ye, a - bo-nya-o
E-ya bo-nya yu - ku bra-bra-bra yu - ku (...) ya bo- nya - e
Ma-ma mi kul' a bra-bra kwa bo-nya- e A-bo- nya - e -, a

¹ Our Fanti informant said when he heard this song, 'This is our's but I can't get the sense,' and added, 'It is a praising song.'
c) Apuku. ¹

39.

Sem - be - re - wa gą - ga wa - e - , Sem - be - re - wia
gą - ga wa - e - U - pau we - i - Sem - be - re-wa

¹ Apuku are the little people of the bush. They are thought of as good spirits, but mischievous, and capable of evil when disturbed. The natural clearings in the bush are places where the Apuku gather to hold council at night, and may never be worked, or entered by humans. These spirits seem to be definitely related to the forest spirits of West Africa, such as the Azizq of Dahomey and the Mmotia of the Ashanti.
gą - ga wa - e Sem - be - re - wa gą - ga wa - e -, 
Sem - be - re-wa gą - ga wa - e - U - pau we - u -  
Sem - be - re - wa gą - ga

40.

Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die Lu - ku die  
Y'a - no bi-a - i ba - ka te-en - die ma bu - li - man lu - ku  
Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die Y'a - no 
bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die ma bu - li-man lu - ku
Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die E - y'a - no
bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die ma bu - li - man lu - ku
Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en die Lu - ku die -
Y'a no bi-a-i ba - ka te-en - die ma bu - li - man lu - ku
(Repetitions with minor variations)
Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka ye - ye u Tu - tu
Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die ma 'bu - li - man
lu - ku Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die
A ta bom - bo - to a yu m'ba-ka ro mo te - en - die ma
bu - li-man lu - ku A ta lom - bo - toa yu m'ba-ka no mo
te-en die ma bu - li-man lu- ku A ta lu - ku a (m'ba)-ka
A ta lu - ku a (m'ba-) ka te-en - die ma bu - li - man lu - ku

41.

Da-wi-e-, Ga-du, Da-wi-o-o Da-wi-e-, mi
kom ka- ri - yo Ti - de m' wa - a - ka na Ba-k'a Ga-do ka - ri - yo
O Da - wi - e-, Ga-du, Da - wi - o O Da - wi - e-, mi
kom ka - ri - ye (.....................) ka - ri - ye
42.

A Ta-ta Bo-di-yo 'Pu-ku bo-ni-yo Tye - - - - go
A Ta - ta - 'Pu-ku
bo - ni-yo - Tye - go - A
Ta - ta Bo - di - yo 'Pu-ku bo - ni - yo Tye - - go
A Ta-ta 'Pu-ku bo - ni-yo-
- Tye - - - - go A
Ta-ta - Bo-di-yo 'Pu-ku bo - ni-yo Tye - go
A Ta-ta - 'Pu - ku bo-
ni-yo - Tye - go -

43.

Bang-wa - e ma-ma- o - , Bang-we ma - ma- e A-ya - o -
Bang-we - ma- ma - e Bang-we ma - ma- e A-ya - o -
Bang-we - ma-ma-o Ye Bang-we ma-ma-e - A- ya - o -
Bang - we ma-ma - Bang-we ma - ma - o A - ya - o -
Bang-we ma-ma-we-o Bang-we ma - ma - e - A - ya-o -
Bang-we - ma-ma - Bang-we ma-ma - o A - ya - o

44.¹

Yen-to-nyo, yen-to - nyo, yen-to - nyi A - be-ru Mam-ba e -
A-yen - to-nya, yen - to - nyo, yen - to-nyi A - be - ru Mam - ba - o
Yen-to - nya ya - ya, ba - ku ye yen - to - nyu

45.²

Yen - to- nyo, yen - to - nye, yen - to-nya l - be- ru fo Mamba-ye - e

¹ 'Let us sing,
Let us sing well,
Let us be united,
Aberu people.'

² The translation is the same as for Song 44.
Yen-to-nyo, yen-to- nye, yen - to-nyi l- be-ru Mam-ba-o-e- o
Yen - to - nyi - ya - ya Ta-ta Ma-wo wi -
(Repetitions with variations)

46.

A ma-ma A-mu - te - Wa - ka si ku - ma - no, ku - ma - no, ku-
ma-no Ku-ta - e - A ma-ma A-mu - te -
Wa-ka si nku-ma - nu, ku - ma - nu, ku- ma-no An-dya - o-
we - o - a ma-ma A-mu - si Wa - ka si ma-nu, ku - ma - nu
Ba Ton-tio, Bai An- dio, Ma-mai A - mu - su Di de wa - ka si ku-
ma - nu, ku - ma - nu, ku - ma - nu, ku - ma - nu Ku-tia-e -
d) Aido wedo

47.

Do - ma - iŋ - ge tiŋ - gi tiŋ - gi Do - m' A - i - da We - do
tiŋ - gi

48.

A da - nya bo - nya hu, a da-dya We- da - e A - la - da-nya
Bo - nya A - da - dya We- da Daɗ A - gi - da hu-nya
bo - na hu - ya tu - wa Da-dya We - da - o

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1 The rainbow-serpent; bears the same name in Dahomey (Fɔ̨, Aido Hwedɔ) and Haiti as it does in Suriname.
A da - nya bo - nya - hu a da - dya We - da - e
A - la - da - nya Bo - nya A - da - dya We - da

e) Wata-Wënti.¹

49.
Ba-ka lo ye - ye - ye Ba-ka lo ye - ye Ba - ka lo ye - ye
Ba-ka lo-a-den-tiyo Ba-ka lo ye - ye - ye Ba-ka lo ye - ye
Ba-ka lo ye - ye Ba-ka lo a-den - tiye Ye-ye - ye - ye - ye
ye - ye Ba-ka lo ye - ye - ye Ba-ka lo a-den - tiye
Mi' a ko - ti wak-tian Ga- mą Ba - ka lo a - den - tiye

¹ Spirits of the water.
Ko - ti, ko - ti wak-tian Ga - mą dia Ba - ka lo a den - tiyo
Ko - ti, ko - ti wak-tian Ga - mą Ba - ka lo a den - tiyo

f) G'ą obia¹.

50.²

O - bia - yo -, Yan - ko - ro O - bia - e, Yan- ko - ro
O - bia - e, Yan - ko - ro O - bia - e, Yan - ko - ro
O - bia - ye -, Yan - ko - ro O - bia - e -, Yan - ko - ro (8 times)
Yan -

¹ Literally ‘great spirit of magic’.
² The word Yankoro in the body of the song indicates that in reality the vulture is being invoked. This bird as in Africa is held sacred as a messenger of the gods.
g) Towenu\(^1\).

51.\(^2\)

Ye - ye - ye o - ye - o O - ye - ye - ye - ye o -
To - we - nio Ye - ye ye-o ku - ma yen - ye- ye- ye- o
Ga - du mu - ye - ye, Na - na ku - ma nye - ye- ye - ye - o
O-ye-ye-ye ye o - ye-o (etc.)

h) Zambi.\(^3\)

52.

E - - ye o - e - Mi kɔ - ɔ Zam-bi - o - e

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1 'Strong name' for the *Papa* god, a snake deity.
2 Fanti informants translated the words to this song as
   
   'What we have done
   We can do (this),'

   and explained that *ye-ye o-ye* has the meaning of 'it can be done.'
3 The name of the Congo-Loango Great God; it is significant that the song in this category was
   sung by men of the Saramacca sib called Loango.
Wų - u Ma mi kọ Zam - bi te na mu’ So - ko So-ko
Mi kọ - ọ Zam-bi Gạ Zam-bi Mi kọ Zam-bia Mam-b’ A-wa-ni
Mi kọ Zam-bi A - mu - si kọ wa - ye mi kọ - ọ Zam-bi Zam-
bi - ye o - e - Mi kọ-ọ’ Zam - bi ti - de - o - we - o -
ke o - we Ma mi kọ a Zam - bi tẹ na mu’ So-ko So-ko

i) Prayer to the earth gods.

53.
Dém - bu - ra Mam - ba - e - y - - o -
Ti-de mi dém-bu-ra Mam-ba - o, wa - ye Ga - - dō mi dém
bu-ra a-Mam-ba-, Ti - de mi dém-bu - r’A- i - da Ga - du a kar’
mī a - i-ye (-o) Dɛm-bu-ra Mam-ba-e un de To - wo-nyo Ga-du
Dɛm-bu-ra Mam-ba-e un de Pe - ra Ga - du Dɛm - bu - ra Mam-
ba-e un de Mam - ba wɛn - tio Dɛm - bu-ra Mam - ba - o
Dɛm - bu-ra wɛn - tia Ti - de mi Dɛm - bu - ra a Mam - ba
O Dɛm-bu - ra wɛn - ti - a Ga - du a kar’ mi a - i - ye (-o)
(Repetitions with minor variations)

2. Ancestral Cult Songs.

a) Twin songs.¹

54.

Ka - bi - ya - ya gbo - lo Ka - bi - ya - ya Ka - bi - ya - ya

¹ Twins in the Bush, as in Dahomey and other regions of the West African Coast west of eastern Nigeria, are sacred. They are known among the Saramacca people by the Dahomean term hoho, and are called hohobi, from the Fɔ hoho, ‘twin’ and the Gą bi, meaning ‘child’.
55.

Hand-clapping:
A ku - da mi mbe-yu Na - kia-ban-dya Ma na mi sek'
Na- kia-ban-dya

56.

Ka - ya zun - zio Ka-ya zunz' bom-bo zem- ba - ye
Ka - ya zun - zio Ka - ya zunz' bom-bo zem - ba

57.

Ho-lo -lo bom-bia ho-lo- lo A - ho - lo bom-bia ho - lo - lo
Ke-bu-ta m'ta-ta dy - a - la - la Ho-lo- lo bom-bia ho-lo - lo A-
b) Yorka.¹

58.

A di’ a dis’ [si]man Zom-be [A-] (26 times)

c) Ancestral.²

59.

Bwa-mu - ra -, A-ben-tu-a - o Bwa-mu - ra -, ’Wa-ben-tu-a - e
Bwa-mu - ra
1 a) 1 b) 2) A-wa-ben-tu - a - e

¹ The Yorka, in the Bush as on the Coast, are the ghosts. The fact that the word zombe occurs in the body of the song is interesting in view of the Haitian word zombi as applied to certain special ghosts, or the West Indian djombie, a generic term for the spirits of the dead.

² Under this heading are grouped ancestral songs which could not be more definitely classified.
60.¹

To-we-nu - To-we-nu a To-we-nu - Na-wa bo - e Ba-ku-ba (8 times)

61.²

Bon - to - nyo bon- to - nyo [bon-to-nyo] bon-to - nyo
(6 times)
Na-na wa - ya
kum-wa
ya-wai
kum' obia

¹ In Twi, bo-e signifies 'help'; ba ku ba was translated as 'one who has come to thee'.
² ‘Sing us a song
About what the ancestors have done.’
d) Papa songs.¹

62.

Dyąŋ - ga - si, siŋ - ga - si Dyąŋ - ga - si, siŋ - ga - si
Kɛm - bi - tién - ti ma kɛm - ba tu - tu A - wal’ kwi -
so - - o yan - gi - si A - wan - ga - e - mi lu -
ku lu A - wan - gi - so - o yą - gi - di (3 times)

63.

A - o - o, ma - ma ‘An - gye - ye Zam - be ma-ma -, na-
ki a-ban-dya-o - A - o - - o, ma-ma (etc.)

¹ Songs for the dead. It is held that when a song of this type is sung and no ceremonial for the dead is being performed, it means the death of a member of the village where it is sung. A coincidence lay in the fact that the child of the singer’s sister died one week after he had sung these songs for the phonograph. The people who heard them played showed fear, and demanded that the machine be stopped as soon as the nature of the songs were recognised. Most of these were improperly named when first sung.
A - o - o, ma-ma (etc.)

64.

Ŭ da-mie -, ye-ye - o Ma - bu Ko - dya mi o - n-
de te a Ga - du Wa - ye mi kò no da mi - dai
(........................)
(3 times with variations)
Ŭ da - Ŭ ku da -

65.

A-za - ke mu-ye - Ma Ga-du ke-mbu na yo- yo ke-mbu-an-ya-we
66.
A - za - kye mu-ye, kye- mu- na yo- yo Ke - bwan - ga
A - za - kye mo - o - kye-mu - na yo - yo mu-yo -
A - za - kye mu - ye -, kye-mu-na yo - yo - yo Ke - bwan-ga
A - za - kye mo - o kye-mu - na yo - yo ki-mu-yo

67.
Si-na-ma-le bo - to Si-na-ma-le den-tiyo A ye -
Si - na - ma-le bo - to Si-na - ma-le den - tiyo A - ye
I - ri - ye i - ri - yo si - ba si ba

68.

Wɛ, mɑn na-ʊn’ bɛn go-e - ya-ye Wɛ, mɑn na-ʊn ’bɛn gō-o ya-ya
Cha go ’wa na mɑn mi gɑŋ-ga ke, Ga-dō na mi o - to me-ya-ye -
Ma Gadu mïc-go ’we, ya - ye - no Ma na di mic-gyo, ya - ya
Ga-du a na mɑn-yo Wa-ye na mi o - to dcm wɑn ki- ra
Tu bɛn g’we - ya - e Ma na di wi bɛn gyo - ya - ya
A na ma-di gɑŋ-ga-o Wa-ya na mi o - to ʊn’ g’ia Ga-du -

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
3. Secular Songs.

a) Susa.¹

69.

Da - gu la - bu se - ben - tin'
(14 times)

70.

Kɛ - si kɛ - si Zɔn-d'o lịŋ - ga Lịŋ - ga - li
[Kɛs'kɛs - i g'a] (5 times)

71.

Ta yo Zen - fa măn Ta yo - ye - ye

72.

Gi mi mi G'a - mă' Ma-yom-be

¹ Susa songs, like most of those in this category, are dance songs. The dance is a contest in which two men engage in hostile demonstrations, and the pantomine is that of men fighting with shields and spears. They leap toward each other, the left foot of one dancer parallel to the right of the other, changing until when the song is broken, the one whose foot is on the outside is said to have 'killed' his opponent. Once a year there is a 'Susa play', when the dancers of a region congregate; the final winner is given a wand, and is called 'King of Susa' until the next contest is held, when he is expected to defend his title.
Gi mi mi G'a-ma' Mayom-be Gi mi (etc.)

73.

Ke-si Ke-si g'a wo - wo-yo Kaiçη In - gi - o
Ke-si Ke-si g'a wo - wo-yo Kaiçη In - gi - o Kaiçη In - gi - o
74.

Yo yo gri, yo gri, yo gri, A - ku - ba - o yo gri, yo gri, yo gri, 'is' A - ku - ba yo go lu - ku, go lu - ku yo gri

75.

Dju-kau- må - ye Yo - yo - yo - y - o Dju - kau - må - ye yo - yo - yo (etc.)

76.¹

Yo - yo - yo - yo Ka-na dy' yo - yo - yo Ka-na dya-dya

¹ The syllables yo-yo-yo have no meaning.
b) Sèkèti.¹

77.

Ko - ba dɛ-mu-a - i, ba To - ne - ne Da - i To - ne-
ne - ne Da - i To - ne ne - ne

78.

Ma-ma Ho - lan - de Ho-lan - de m’mu-ye
[Ma - sa]
[Mi - sa]

¹ The Sèkèti is the most popular social dance on the river. The songs comment on current
happenings, and are satirical in character. The finest examples of Sèkèti dancing are to be
found in the village of the tribal chief, and this is recognised everywhere on the Suriname
River. It is there, too, that the recitatives are the longest, and the variety in melody greater.
In this phenomenon we have a survival of the trained choruses of the African courts - as, for
example, those of the Dahomean chiefs, whose wives form choruses and rehearse songs in
praise of the ancestors. Such songs, however, often take the form of deriding the living and
the dead enemies of the chief and his forebears.
79.

80.

Got' mon'in - gio Hol' a yo - - ye Got' mon' in - gio
Hol' a yo - - ye [Hol'] a ye - - ye Got' mon' in - gio
(8 times)

81.

Yaŋ - ku - so dop’ a Ho - lan - dsi mɔ - ni yu - yu
Yaŋ - ku - so dop’ a Ho - lan - dsi mɔ - ni yu - yu
Yaŋ-ku-so dop’ a a yu Ye - mi Yaŋ- ku - so dop’ a-u
Yān-ku-so (etc.)
Ti to-ti Wi a (..........) ko-ni-ba
wa-ka ko-ni (................)
..........................

82.

(.................)'Mam - ba sɛm - be go
na sɛ-mɛ-ne ..'Mam - ba sem- ba go na Se - me - ne
'Mam - ba sem - ba go na Se - me - ne (etc.)

1 This song is still sung in the village of Asokore, Ashanti, on the Gold Coast.
Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
84.

A ye - e ye-e-e ye
A yo ye-e-e - e sa wan' Ga - dō - go lū - ku ba?
(women's cry)
(4 times)
85.

A-y-o
A-e-ma
86.

Yo kan - to - ri mis' to mi ko - ne ya - ya
Yo kan - to - ri mis' - to mi ko - ne ya - ya
Ye kan - to - ri (etc.)
(5 times)
87.

Ų - mų gaŋ - ga - le - a 'tu mi - ni daį - a - ye Ü - mų
gaŋ - ga - le - a 'tu mi - ni daį - o - yo Ü - mų (etc.)
(6 times)

88.

Mi go ba - ka te - le - le na min-dri bo - to - ε dyom -ba
te n'an g'wa La - me sib' a - e de mu - ye
Te n'ang'wa La - me sib' a di mu - ye (etc.)
c) Awasa.¹

89.

Tɛ mi go na o to nyo Pa - pa-ka - yo da-yo da-yo Tɛ mi
go na - o to nyo Pa - pa-ka - yo da-yo da - yo Tɛ mi
go na - o to nyo Pa - pa-ka - yo da - yo da - yo ye
ye ye ye ye ye - ye (3 times)

¹ The Awasa dance songs are of a semi-religious character, in that they are often sung as a preliminary to the religious dances. In their secular aspect the words are introduced to comment on current happenings, as in the Sekcti songs. Saramaka tradition tells that the Awasa was learned from the Djuka tribe of Negroes. In the Ashanti country, the dance is called Awisa, and is said to be of Hausa origin.
90.

(4 times)
Si gi - d'ai ba - ka -
lu tan - yo ye - ye - ye Si - - gi-d'ai ba-ka - lu tan - yo
ye - (etc.)
(7 times with variations)
91.

Yo yo Ka-waj-na, yo wa ye yo yo Ka-waj-na, ye
Yo kô Nçŋ - gre Yo kô Nçŋ - gre Ka - waj - na, ye
Dai - mo-i ma - ti Yo kô Nçŋ-gre (Ka - waj - na, ye) (13 times)
I - ya-o
Ba - ka-a

92.

Da mi saja-o fo yu a’ mi’e tan - gi fi - ai - ye
Da mi saja-o fo yu a’ mi’e tan - gi fi - ai - ye (4 times)
93.

Dą mi go mio g'we Sa - ba mi ną' g'we Ma na
te mio go - Sa - ba mi na' do' Dą mi go - we, mio go-
we O lu - ku są - ni na, lu - ku są - ni,
bą Te u - ma lu - ku ba są - nią de (.... tąŋa)
lu - ku, ba, są ną' kan-ta na Ma mie-go - (mie-go)

94.

Yu - ku Ke - dja-ma tan-dyo Yu Ku-djo Kwa-ma wa-
dji wa-djo (..........) (7 times)
djo ye ye ye
ye -

95. ¹

Ko - dyo, ko-dye da-i - y - o ko - dye
Ko - dyo, ko-dye da-i - y - o ko - dye - i
Ko - dyo, (etc.)

¹ A Gold Coast informant, stating that kodyo signifies ‘sleep,’ felt that this song might be a lullaby.
d) Sungi.¹

96.²

Ba - yi ba - o - e Ba - yi ba - o
Ba - yi ba - yi ba - yi ba-a Ba - yi ba - o (11 times)

97.

Mi yɛn - ti mų - nyo ye mą-nye yo, yo, Mi
yɛn - ti mų - nyo ye mą - nyo ye, ye Mi (4 times)

¹ The songs given under this heading are Djuka songs and constitute an accompaniment to a secular dance of the same name.
² Translated as, ‘Take it off and come.’
e) Banya.¹

98.

Mie go na li - ba - e Ka’i go - Mie go na ba - ti - ye
Ka’i go - Tio ka’i go - (...............)(5 times)
Ye ye ye - Ka’i go - Mie go na ba-ti - ye Ka’i go -

99.

Ba-ka den - tiye ti - de-o - Ba-ka den-tiye ti - de-o -
(...........) A ma-nya o - ga - nya ti - ya - ye - (5 times)
Ye ye ye - ye ye - ye -

¹ The character of this dance among the Saramaka people is more secular than in the city, and is known mostly to lower river villages. A probable derivation is the Coastal Fanti dance Bai nya, considered semi-sacred in character and important in the cycle of dances to insure prosperity, especially an abundant fishing catch.
100.

\[ \text{Iŋ\text{-}gwa\ da\ li\ -\ o\ da\ -\ ti\ moj\ moj\ Dan\text{-}go} \]
\[ \text{Iŋ\text{-}gwa\ da\ li\ -\ o\ da\ -\ ti\ moj,\ moj,\ moj,\ O\ -\ pi\ -\ ti} \]
\[ \text{Iŋ\text{-}gwa\ da\ li\ -\ o\ da\ -\ ti\ moj\ moj\ -\ i\ -} \]
\[ \text{Iŋ\text{-}gwa\ da\ li\ -\ o\ da\ -\ ti\ moj\ -\ o\ -} \]
\[ \text{Iŋ\text{-}gwa\ da\ li\ -\ o\ da\ -\ ti\ moj,\ moj,\ moj,} \]
\[ \text{da\ -\ ti\ Iŋ\text{-}gwa\ da\ li\ -\ o\ da\ -\ ti\ moj\ -\ o\ -\ i} \]

f) Alada.\(^1\)

101.

A\ -\ la\ -\ da\ -\ nya\ -\ Bo\ -\ nya\ -\ we\ Dan\ -\ di\ -\ dy\text{-}a

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1 In classifying the songs in this group, we follow native terminology; we are not able, however, to offer any explanation of why they are so termed.
A - la - da - nya Bo-nya Dan - di A - la - da - nya (etc.)

102.

We - a Mam- ba Ga - du g'Wa-o - si We ku - ma nya so kwe
dia f' A - la - da Wcd' Gad' Nam - fa - ye -
Ma- quà de di Ga - du Wa - o - si Ya - kô-ma ya no kwe - a dya f' A-
la-da Dya - kaj - o Mam - ba Ga - du f'i (Nyàn-kôm' ....)
Mam - ba Ga - du fi Yą - kō - mo yo ku - kwe dia f'á - la - da
(..................) Yą - kō - mo yo ku - kwe
dia f'á - la - da Dya - ka-o - Mam - ba Ga - du fi
(Nyan - kom' ..................)

**g) Work-songs.**

103.

Ye gri - gri na boi - ko mo' Ba - k'a mo' mu - ge
ye - Ye gri - gri na boi - ko mo' Ba - k'a mo' mu - ye
Ye ye gri ye gri Ba - k'a mo' mu - ye - Ye gri - gri -
gri na boi - ko mo' Ba - k'a mo' mu - ye ye ye gri

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1 The songs in this group are chiefly those sung by men while hauling timber to the river.
104.

Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siq - Saŋ' gia Di - siq Wa - ya
ban - gi de Di - siq - Saŋ' gia Di - siq Wa - ya ban - gi de
Di - siq Saŋ' gia Di - sia Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siq -
Saŋ' gia Dis' Ye ye ye ye ye Saŋ' gia Di - siq
Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siq Saŋ' gia Dis' Ye ye ye
ye - ye - ye O Kwa - wa - e ye ye ye
ye ye Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siq Sąŋ gia Di - siq - bia Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siq Sąŋ gia Dis'
ye ye - ye - ye - ye ye
Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siq - Sąŋ gia Dis'

105.

Mi dc bu - le - le ge' o ta - ma - ye Di mi go na min - dri bo - to Di mi go na min- dri bo - to-e - mi gi'a pan - gi ka - ba, gi na u - ma de a be - gi'a gi' na sa - po-a di - gri gri - gri gri - gri - i A - ku - ba, a
106.

Mcn deš - i - ni - mo Mcn deš - i - ni - mo
Fom - bo kie Mcn deš i - ni - mo Mcn deš
i - ni - mo Fom - bo kie A fi - ni - mo,
107.
h) Miscellaneous.

108.¹

109.

¹ A number of the songs in this group (such as No. 111, a Kromanti song), are religious, but since the natives gave no distinctive designations for them, it seems preferable to leave them unclassified, rather than to place them in arbitrary categories.
110.

Ma-no-we - ma-ni ma-yo ṙrn-ki - Ma-nu-e - ma-ni ma-
yo ṙrn-ki Ma - ni Ma - ne a sa - bi Ko-dyo ṙrn-ki - (3 times)

111.¹

Ke - dya' - mku-man-ye - e Bem-pon ye - o Al-gam ko - pq me de
le - ba Bem - po - ne - e mi kwa ya - wa mi ku - ma - ni

¹ ‘O thou whom we welcome,
Great warrior, great leader,
Nyankompon, I am bringing,
O great leader, my life is yours,
Great warrior, thou hast performed the deed,
I am only a wretched being, great warrior.
I am kneeling...
Kedyampon, Tata Nyankomponu...
Tata Nyankomponu, here is water...
Hold (i.e., protect) me.’
A - ya - o - o, a - ya - o A - ya - o - o, mi ku - ma - ni
bu fa - ni - kwa U mi ku - ma-nià mi ku - tu mi koi - ya wa
du Wi, wi na ku - ya dwa Ga - du ko no Ya wa
na - ki - to n - ma na Dya-dya, ya - o - nu Ke-dyam - pò, Ta-ta
Nyan-kom-pò na - nu Ma dya - o - kò - dya òò - su Ta-
ta Nya-kom-pò nu - mi-dya òò - su o-kwa-mi mi

112.

A Ma - ri - a - ye mu-ye A Ma - ri - a - o - a - A
Ma - ri - a - ye mu - o A Ma - ri - a - e jìn - gi
kon - de a din - dya o - bia Ma - ri - a A Ma - ria -
ye mwo A Ma - ria- o - A Ma - ria ye mwo A
Ma - ri - a - o An - do kon - de din - dya - o - bia Ma
ri - a- e A Ma - ri - a-ye mo A Ma - ri - a
Ta - fe - ra Na - nam’ ta - fe - ra - di A Ma-
ri - a - ye mu - ye A Ma - ri - a Ban - tu - o,
ban - tu - a dya tyin - tyin tu - a man - de

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
G. Town-Negro songs
1. Songs in Stories.¹

113.²

A-bri-kɛ - ɛ ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni

114.³

Bi-a, bi-a, bi-a, bi - a
(Dje - be de - de) su - ma dc - dc ma'i - ka - ra-(ke)-bro
Ti - ge - ni Pap' Ti - gri Ta Dje - be'ɛ dc - dc

115.⁴

Ɛ - mɛ - li - na to - do-waj - søn - d'ɛ-mɛ - li - na to - do-waj -

¹ The order of words given with the songs is that taken from the records themselves, and do not always agree exactly with the words to the same songs as found in the texts of tales, where they are reproduced as recited by the tellers of the tales, after the respective songs had been sung into the phonograph.

² To story 102.

³ To story 17; see pp. 175-177 for translation.

⁴ To story 128; when this song was played back to the singer, he harmonised with the phonograph, as he did in the case of other songs (127, 138, 146).
sɛn - dɛ to - do - waj - sɛn - dɛ to - do - waj - sɛn - dɛɛ - mɛ-
li - na to - do - w'ajis' ɛ - mɛ - li - na to - do - waj[s]-
-ɛ to - do-waj - sɛn - d'ɛ-ɛɛ - li - na to - do - waj-sɛn-d'ɛ̂-mɛ - li
ɛ - mɛ - li - na (etc.)
(3 times)

116.¹

Ưn kir' A - nɑn - si tɛ Ưn kir' A - nɑn - si tɛ A-

¹ To story 12; see p. 169 for translation.
la su - ma so dc - dc Ko - num s're - fi so dc - dc
Ko-num wej - fi so dc - dc A - nān - si wan so tā' na lib'.

117.¹

Kir' A - nān - si tc Den kir' A - nān - si tc A - la su-
ma so dc - dc Ko-nu s're-fi so dc - dc He - ri kon-dre sa
su' - ūŋ A - nān - si wa- wą so tān Den

118.²

Mi - ni - mi - ni kê nyam Fre - man - bo - ni kê'
nyam Fre - man - ta - ya kê nyam Ko - pro - ka-

1  To story 11; see p. 167 for translation.
2  To story 101; see p. 323 for translation.
nu tą’ de Ko - pro - ka - nu tą’ de

119.¹
Pu - ru pař’ na fe - si, o griŋya Pu - ru pař’ na ba-ka, o griŋya
Mi A - nąn - si, mi kon’i, o griŋya Pur’ pař’ na (etc.)
Pur’ pa-ř’ na (etc.)

120.²
Kò’ go na broj- ki, yu sò si Kɔn go na broj- ki yu sò si
Kò’ go na broj - ki yu sò si Ma - la - ta u - mà

¹ To story 64; see p. 259 for translation.
² To story 119; see p. 369 for translation.
dc, ya - yo yu so si Ma - la - ta u - ma de ya - yo

121.¹

Sŋŋ', sŋŋ', mi dun-dya-ma - ka Sŋŋ', sŋŋ', mi dun-dya-ma - ka
Sŋŋ', sŋŋ', mi dun-dya-ma - ka Sa - ni so dc, mi dun-dya-ma-ka

122.²

Na mi, na mi, brɔn Ko-nu ker - ki (4 times)

123.³

Man Kwa-kwa Man Kwa-kwa Ba To - to mi na Kwe-man - do,
Man Kwa-kwa Man Kwa- kwa Na mi, na

¹ To story 128; see p. 403 for translation.
² To story 80; p. 285 for translation. See Parsons, (II), p. 145, for this same song.
³ To story 66; see pp. 269-271 for translation.
mi, na Fi-ŋ- to - ni Na mi, na mi, na Fi - ŋ- to - ni Ba To - to, mi na Kwe - mạŋ - do, Mạŋ Kwa - kwa

124. ¹
Yɔr - ka d’a sa - ba - na Pɛa - de? Yɔr - ka wɛ - ri wei - ti
Pɛa - de? Yɔr - ka d’a sa - ba - na Pɛa - de? Yɔr - - ka d’a beŋ’ pɛ
Pɛa - de - e’ Yɔr - ka (etc.)

125. ²
Sa - ni mor’ A - ba - na No mạŋ go a no mạŋ kom
Sa - ni mor’ A - ba - na No mạŋ go a no mạŋ kom

¹ To story 128; see p. 403 for translation.
² To story 119; see p. 371 for translation.
Tɛ si - ne - ki bej - ti mi M'si wə - rəŋ mi fre - dc
Tɛ si - ne - ki bej - ti mi M'si wə - rəŋ mi fre - dc

126.¹

Syo - ro ma tyɛn - tye, Mi klu - si Tyo - tyo moj
Sɔ - ro ma tyɛn-tye, Mi klu - si Tyo-tyo moj Syo - ro ma tyɛn-
tye, Mi klu - si Tyo - tyo moj Sɔ - ro ma tyɛn- tye,
Mi klu - si hɛm moj Sɔ - ro (etc.)

¹ To story 62; see p. 253 for translation.
127.¹
Ark' tɔ - r'A - nαŋ - si tɔ - ri Mαŋ dia - so
Ar - ki tɔ - r'Α - nαŋ - si tɔ - ri Mαŋ dia - so
Ark' tɔ - r'A-nαŋ-si tɔ - ri Mαŋ dia - so

128.²
Ef'mimutronαŋ-gamipa-paMɔ-robɛ-tremidɛ-
dɛ Amɔ-robɛ-tremiwa-simifu-tuMigo
namibɛ-degodi-dɔ-ɔnPre-si-si̯alɔ̨'-tudoi̯-
doi̯mɩ-siPre-de-si-si̯alɔ̨'-tudoi-

¹ To story 128; see p. 405 for translation.
² To story 119; see p. 373 for translation.
doj mi - si Ef' mi mu tro nąŋ - ga mi pa - pa
Mo - ro bε - tre mi dε - dε A mo - ro bε - tre mi wa -
si mi fu - tu Mi go na mi bε - de go di - dγ - qn

129.¹

U - ra, sa - ni nąŋ ma - nya U - ra, sa - ni nąŋ ma - nya [U-]
Nyąŋ ma - nya, nąŋ ma - nya U - ra, Pom - pom nąŋ ma - nya
Nąŋ ma - nya, nąŋ ma - nya U - ra, sa - ni nąŋ ma - nya
Pom-pom

¹ To story 119; see p. 371 for translation.
130.¹
Sri - bi na dɛ - dɛ - ɛ Sri - bi na dɛ - dɛ - ɛ Sri-
bi - na dɛ - dɛ - ɛ lu - ku, u - mą ki - ri mąn
Sri - bi na (etc.)

131.²
A - nąn - si kɔ - ni, kɔ - ni, kɔ - ni mąn Kɔ - ni'ɛ mɔ - ro mi
Kɔ- mi'ɛ mɔ - ro mi

132.³
A - san - ti bɔ - yo Da mi a wi-dy'a - kɔ - lo A - san - ti

¹ To story 127; see p. 401 for translation.
² To story 127; see p. 397 for translation.
³ To story 19; see p. 181 for translation.
bɔ - yo Da mi a wi-dy'a - kɔ - lo a - kɔ - l'a - kɔ - l'a - ba - nu ba

133.¹
A - li - maŋ, xaŋ-maŋ (etc.)

134.²
A - gi- da fa - do' Maŋ no dc A - gi- da fa - do' Maŋ no dc
Prŋ - ci wä-wäŋ na maŋ A - gi - da wä-wäŋ na maŋ

135.³
Ti - bo, ti - baŋ, săŋ a na - ki maŋ tro - we

1  To story 119.
2  To story 139; see p. 423 for translation.
3  To story 2.
Mi go bu - ku ba - lan - se tη - gi li - gi li
Bu - ku ba - lan - se tη - gi li - gi li

136.¹
Su - sa - na - rej Su - sa - na rej Yu ha - bi wq
moj bo - bi Na bo - bi na fô yu Ma
te mi de fas' Cη na fô mi na fô mi

137.²
Kcīs - kc - si djom-po na ta - pu Go fre - di wan
gran mt - si Sâ' mi sa gi'c' fô drη -

¹ To story 20; see p. 185 for translation.
² To story 120; see p. 377 for translation.
gi? Pn - da nəŋ-ga ka - ru wa - tra, ha - ha!
Pn - da nəŋ - ga ka - ru wa - tra, ha - ha!

138.¹

A - lei - sic fa - dø' Kɔm pi - k'ɛm, ba, Sa - ni dɛ
ni dɛ - A - lei - sic fa - dø' kɔm pi -
kiA - lei - sic fa - dø' kɔm pi - kiA - lei-sic fa-dø' (etc.)

¹ To story 128; see p. 407 for translation.
139.

Mi sɛ - rɛ - na mi sɛ - rɛ - na trj, trj, trj,
Mi na mo - ni ma - sra trj trj, trj

140.

Srɛp' mi - i nɛ - fi sɛŋɛŋ, sɛŋɛŋ Ko' A - ku - ba bar - ba
Srɛ - pu mi nɛ - fi moj, moj Mi go ko' A - ku - ba bar - ba

141.

Ska - pu na wɛn sɛ - gi me - ti Sqa' go du na sa - ba-na
Ska - pu na wɛn sɛ - gi me - ti Sqa' go du na sa - ba - na

1 To story 127; see p. 399 for translation.
2 To story 20; see p. 185 for translation.
3 To story 119; see p. 373 for translation.
142.¹

Ba - ɡɛ, ba - ɡɛ Lej - mɑn yu kom fɔ le - i lej do - ro
Ba - ɡɛ, ba - ɡɛ Lej - mɑn yu kɔ’ fɔ le - i do - ro, Lej - mɑn
yu kom fɔ lej Lej - mɑn yu kom fɔ Lej - mɑn

143.²

Ba‧-a - na, ba‧-a-na, ku - le ku - le, d'in-
ɡi ko - ti ba‧- a - na, ku - le ku - le

144.³

Mor - gu Dɑŋ kɔt' 'a li - ba l' tro - wɛ tɛ ya - na
N'ɛŋ - gi kɔt' 'a li - ba l' tro - wɛ tɛ ya - na

¹ To story 104; see p. 335 for translation.
² To story 123; see p. 389 for translation.
³ To story 147; no translation of these words was obtained.
Mor - gu Dån kot' (etc.)

145.¹

Seⁿ' kar’ bi - a, bi - a Seⁿ' kar’ bi - ke - ble - du - a
- a Kɛ - ti dyomp’ un de pot, yo- ti Ta ma - ka
yɑŋ - ki - ki - ky - o Ta ma - ka yɑŋ - ki - ho

146.²

Se - li - na fa - nej - da san ’ɛ - dɛ yu dɛ krei
dɛ krei Yu lɔb’ mî fô mî mo - ni Ma i no
lɔb’ na mî par-son Na da - ti yu dɛ krei

¹ To story 10; see p. 165 for translation.
² To story 128; see p. 405 for translation.
147.¹

Tra-plɛnt wl - tyɛ, snɔ-ɾɛ, snɔ-ɾɛ Tra-plɛnt wl - tyɛ, hɔ - rɛ, hɔ - rɛ
Dra-tyɛ rɛk, i lɑŋ-sam haut Dra-tyɛ rɛk, i lɑŋ-sam haut

148.²

Na mi Tan - ta fu ne - ti Mi gɔ fu gɔ lu - ku Grɑ'ɔm - si
ya - gi mi Wɔ - i, wo - i Grɑ' - m - si ya - gi mi

149.³

(Mi) wa - ni nyą-nỳąm Mi wa - ni nyą-nỳąm Su- ma wąŋ' k'ęŋk
Mi a - bi wąŋ
ɛŋ Wąŋ' pis' wąŋ go - tu mɔ - ni Fō wąŋ pi - si le - frɛ
go - tu mɔ - ni

¹ To story 122; no translation of this song was obtained.
² To story 120; see p. 375 for translation.
³ To story 91; see p. 297 for translation.
Mi wa - ni (etc.)

150.¹

Wą’ ma - ma tye! San na wą’ ma-ma? Wą’ pa - pa tye!
San na wą’ pa - pa? Taŋ - gi, tą - ń’ gi mi pi - kin
wa- tra Tć yu dc - dc, mi so mɛm-brɛ yu Ma - yu

151.¹

A - len - ɛɛ kak’ a - len - ɛɛ A - len - ɛɛ kak’ a - len - ɛɛ
A - len - s’i - mɛ - ɛɛ ka - ka a wa - ni si A - len - ɛɛ kak’
a - len - ɛɛ a - len - ɛɛ

¹ To story 127; see p. 397 for translation.
¹ To story 92; no translation of this song was obtained.
2. Religious Songs

a) Anãnsi-ɔri

152.¹

\[ \textit{Solo: A - mam - ba ti-ɛn-de Ta - ma - ra Son - dej 'Mam-ba ti-ɛn-de- Ta - ma - ra Son - dej Ta - ma - ra Son- e (5 times) A - mam- ba ti-ɛn-de Son- dej (etc.) dej 'Mam - ba ti-ɛn - de (etc.)} \]

b) Opete

153.²

\[ \textit{Mi na män fo' lok - to O - pe - te män freij Mi - na män fo' ta - pu O - pe - te män freij (4 times)} \]

¹ See p. 91 for a description of the occasion on which this song was sung.
² No translation of this song was obtained.
Solo: I am the man of the air,
Chorus: The Vulture can fly!
Solo: I am the man from on high,
Chorus: The Vulture can fly!

154.¹

O - pe - te Yɔŋk-mą mi wən bra mi wan O - pe - te Yɔŋk-mą mi wən da - di mi wən bra O - pe - te Yɔŋk-mą mi wən da - di mi wən O - pe - te Yɔŋk-mą A mi wən da - di mi wən bra

155.

M'sɛn’ na bo - ya, no wa - ni go - Mi sɛn’ na bo - ya, no wa - ni go A mo - ro bɛ - trɛ mi s’re - fi go (5 times)

¹ No translation of this song was obtained.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
I sent the *boyo*
He did not wish to go,
I sent the *boyo*
He did not wish to go,
Far better I myself go.

156.

Ma-fre, ma - fre, A - la - dɛ - o Ma-fre, ma - fre, A - la - dɛ - o
O - pe-te go na "San-tio Ma-fre, (etc.)

I have called, I have called, *Alade* - o,
The Vulture goes to Ashanti - o.

157.₁

A - la - do a - mi - ra O kwa - so a - mi - ra a - mi - ro a-
mi - ro (.....) a - mi - ro am-bra O - pe - te kwa-

₁ No translation of this song was obtained.
so a - mi - ra - O - pe - te kwa - so a - mi - ra a - mi-
ro a - mi - ro ('Pe - te kwa - so) a - mi - ro mi man bra

158. ¹

A - mi - o da - ti mi wān bra O - pe - te yuŋk-mān,
mi wān da - ti mi wān bra Yurk-mān - o mi wān da - ti
mi wān bra 'pe - te yuŋk-mān, mi wan (etc.)

¹ No translation of this song was obtained.
c) Kromanti obia

159.

Ma-ma 'Bre - wa naŋ-ga Ta - ta 'Bre - wa M'a - do - rɛ to - rɛ
sa Ga - do mi - a do - rɛ -

Ancient Mother,
And Ancient Father,
*M'adore,*
Toresa Gado
*M'adore.*1

---

d) tap' kromanti

160.2

Mi T'-ta Ya - o Tru-tru mạn A - dɔn-swa Mi T'-t'A - la - do
Tru-tru mạn A-dɔn - swa Bra-ka mạn I - ba Bra-ka man Ya- ɗ
Mi T' - ta Ya - o (etc.)

Father Yao,
True, true man *Adonswa*
Father *Alado*
True, true man *Adonswa*
Black man *Iba,*
Black man *Yao.*

---

1 Untranslatable. Informant said this song is in the 'Kromanti tongue'; 'm'adore' is probably derived from the French, and has the meaning 'I worship'.
2 See Song 162.
161.

Wa - dya - e, a - wa - dya - e Wa - dya - e a - wa - dya - e
'A bu - sì kon - dre Kro - man - tio Wa - dya - e
'A Nɛ̨ŋ- ceremonie kon - dre Kro - man - tio Wa - dya - e

Awadya - e
Awadya - e
The Bush Kromanti - o
Awadya - e,
The African Kromanti - o
Awadya - e!

162.¹

Tru-tru màn A - dòn - swa O - pru - ru Bra - da Tru - tru
màn A - dòn - swa Bra - ka màn I - go 'A bra - ka i - màn Kaj- ye Ta - ta A - la - do
Mi Ta - ta Ya - wo (8 times)

¹ See Song 160.
True, true man Adonswa,
Thunder Brothers,
True, true men Adonswa,
Black man Igo
Black man Akaiye
Father Yao,
True, true man Adonswa’,
Father Alado.

163.2

Vɛ - de, A - go vɛ - de A - go Ma Vɛ - da wo - ya - ya
Go - ro du mi so o - ya - ya Vɛ - de, A - go vɛ - de
Mɛm-bre Wan-ga yo - ye
-da wo - ya - ya

e) Busi kromanti

164.

Ma-ba, ma-ba, san kɔ’ Ma - ba Kro-man- ti A-mamba ’Ku-ba

1 Informant could not translate this word.
2 No translation of this song was obtained.
San kò' Ma - ba (6 times)
I came, I came,
I went and I came [back]
[I am] Akuba of the Kromanti nation.¹

165.

A - yu mu yɛ - pi, yu mu yɛ - pi, yu mu yɛ - pi mi,
A - yu mu yɛ - pi, yu mu yɛ - pi, yu mu yɛ - pi - o,
A - yu mu yɛ - pi O - saj Tan - do, yu mu yɛ - p'A - b'e - wa
(5 times; sung alternately by solo and chorus.)
You must help me,
You must help me - o;
You must help me,
You must help me - e.
You must help (me) Osai Tando²
You must help, Abrewa.³

¹ This translation was given by a Gold Coast informant.
² Gold Coast Deity (Tano).
³ Gold Coast Deity; lit., ‘Ancient Woman’. 
166.

O - ya Bus - mọ, ᐌ Bus - me-o Ko-rą - ti - na ba - bra
O - ya Bus- mọ, O Bus - mọ, Ko-rą - ti - na ba - bra
Da ya-wa Bus-mọ Kro-man-t'a Bus - mọ - Ko-rą - ti - na ba - bra
O - ya (etc.)

Thou art God
Thou art God
O Korantina calls
O Thursday Gods
Kromanti Gods
O Korantina calls.¹

¹ This translation was given by a Gold Coast informant.
167.

Kro-mañ-ti ba - ri, a ba - ri, a sa - chie - o Kro-mañ-
ti ba - ri, a ba - ri, a sa - chie Na Nɛŋ-gre Kɔn-dre Kro - mañ-
ti Na Bu - si kɔn-dre Kro-mañ - ti Kro-mañ - ti ba - ro, a
ba - ri, a sa - chie Kro-mañ-ti ba - ro a ba - ri, a sa - chie
Kro-mañ - ti ba - ro, a ba - ri, a sa - chie Na Nɛŋ-gre Kɔn-dre Kro-
mànti Na Bu-si Kɔn-dre Kro-mañ-ti Na Ön - dro Wa-tra Kro-mañ-ti
Kro-mañ-ti (etc.)
(End of the record)
Kromanti is crying;
It cries, and it calls - o!
O, Kromanti is crying;
It cries, and it calls;
The African Kromanti,
The Bush Kromanti,
The Water Kromanti,
O, Kromanti is crying;
It cries and it calls - o!

168.

Ya, ya - wa - ya - wa - ye - Ya-wa, ya - wa
ya - wa ya - wa-o A Na - na - o Ya-wa, ya - wa
A - san - te - o (........) A-ya- wa dɛn - si′ a - wa - ni
[ku-ma] (Repetition by the chorus)
a-wa dɛn - si′ a - wa-wa - wa - wa - wa - wa A - ya - wa
dɛn - si′ a - wa - ni a-wa dɛn - si′ a - o A Na - na - ba
Ya - wa dɛn - si′ a - wa- (ni) - A′ sa - sa ku - ma (.......)

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
Oh Ya, oh Ya, oh Ya - e,
Oh Ya, oh Ya, oh Ya - o,
Oh ancestors,
Oh Ya of Ashanti - o,
Oh Ya we greet you - o!

f) asobu djanti winti

169.

Woi, woi, ba, 'Djan-tio Woi, woi, ba, 'Djectio mi-kal' a Gad' A-sob' Dyan-tio -tio

Woi, woi, Ba Adyanti - o
I call the god Asobu-Dyanti - o.

g) adyanti winti

170.

Tai̯-gia-ladɛ̨u-mągi'miMinodɛ-dɛyɛ-te
Tai-aidɛ'u-mągimiMidɛ,minodɛ-dɛ
Lu-siminaminɛ-ki-eHɔ-riminamiba-ka

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
Tell all the women for me,
I am not dead yet;
Tell all the women for me,
I live, I am not dead.
But let go of my neck,
And clasp my back;
When I am in my hour of passion,
Loosen my head.
Hold me by the neck,
Loosen my back,
When I am in my hour of pleasure,
Loosen my neck.

h) ŋgi wënti

171.

A - Gɛ - dc - y - su, na mi Tǂn - do fa - nu - a ko - bjɔ
Miĝ - dc go na ye - rɛ - to Na ye - rɛ - to, mar-wa
Mi'e - dc go na ye - rɛ - to
A Gedeusu, my Tando take it back again,¹
My head goes on the bier
On the bier, marwa
My head goes on the bier.

172.²

Yan-kio pre man - do ke yan - kio pre man - do ke
yan - ki pre - man - do na yan - ki e - go pre man - do
Yan-kio (etc.)
(6 times)

¹ This line was translated by Gold Coast informants; the phrase Fa nua ko bio meaning ‘take it back again’ is used to signify the taking away of the spirit at death.
² Not enough words of this song were translatable by Suriname informants to attempt a rendition of it here.
173.

Miɛ̮-go pre A - gi - da tc - dei Miɛ̮-go pre A - gi - da tc - dei
Kop-si pur''a wi - si fo ka - ka a ba - ro Miɛ̮-go pre A-
ɡi - da tc - dei (etc.)
(6 times with minor variations)

I will play the Agida (drum) today,
I will play the Agida today - o!
Kopsi will remove the evil magic,
That the cock may crow - o!
O I will drum on the Agida today,¹
I will change into the Agida today - o,
Kopsi will remove the evil magic,
That the cock may crow - o!

¹ These last four lines are a translation of a variant of the original words not given above in taki-taki.
174.

Miɛ - go dɛ-ɛɛ na li - ba pe-man - dɛ - Miɛ-gɔ dɛ-ɛɛ na tu - na pe-man - dɛ li-ba

I will die on the river,
Pemande;¹
I will die on the water,
Pemande.

175.

Gu - ru - ya da - da A - ya - ya A - gi - da - o yo A-
 gi - da wo - ye A - gi - da - o ye - o Go - ro wicn -
ti no ko' cóte n'A - gi - da o - ye M'A - i - sa no
kom Ga - dô Ma - ya A - gi - da - o ye - (....

¹ Not translatable. Occurs in Indian wunti songs. One informant said the word dɛdɛ in former times also meant 'softly', and that the song had reference to running away under the protection of the water Indian wunti spirits who rule the inland waters.
............) Go-ro Ga - dō no kọ' ye-te
A- gi - da wo - yo M' A - i sa no kọ' ye - te

Guru ya da-da
A ya-ya Agida-o-yo.
Agida wo-ye, Agida-o ye-o.
The earth wunti have not come yet,
Agida o-ye.
Mother Aisa has not come yet,
???
The earth gods have not come yet,
Agida wo-ye.
Mother Aisa has not come yet.

i) Busi งงิ

176.

Yo na - yo - o Bu-si ma- sra na - yo - ba-ya - dyo
Bu - sio na - yo - na Bu-si ma - sra na - yo - o ba-ya - dyo

Yo Nayo-o!
Master of the Bush,
Nayo bayadyo,
Bush Nayo
Master of the Bush
Nayo bayadyo.
j) Watra ɲgi

177.

Ti-dɛ, ti - dɛ bo - yo sɑŋ' mor' ka - ba ɲŋ - gio Bo - yo sɑŋ' mor' ka-ba ɲŋ - gio (8 times)
mo - ro ka - ba - a ɲŋ - giɛ

Today, today, Boyo,
Hard times have come,
ɲgi - o!
Hard times have come.
ɲgi - e!

178.

Mi'ɛ go go - we na li - ba, mi wɑŋ; mi'ɛ go go - we na li - ba, mi wɑŋ Da - ti mi na wɑŋ ɲŋ - gi
Mi n'ɛ tɑŋ 'a dɛ - bra, tɾɔŋɛŋ-gre go - we na li - ba mi wɑŋ Mi'ɛ go go - we na tu - na mi wɑŋ (etc.)
I will go on the river,  
Because I am an Indian,  
I will not remain to turn into a Negro,  
I will go on the river,  
I alone.

Yan-kidɛnadye-re-to Fami'ɛ-dɛegro -  
Yan-kidɛna (etc.)  
Yanki is on the bier,  
How my head grows!

1 In the repetition the word used, tuna, is Indian for river.
180.

Ka - ri dë'lng' na li - ba Gri - gri dc ya - na -
Ka - ri dë'lng' na li - ba Gri - gri dc ya - na -
Ka - ri Ko - ri - si na li - ba Gri - gri dc ya - na
(5 times with minor variations)
Ka - - na

Call the Indians to the river
The Grigi\(^1\) are yonder.
Call the Indians to the river
The Grigi are yonder.
Call Kobisi to the river
The Grigi are yonder.

k) Abo fô watra

181.

'A wa - tra su - ma A - bo te - te A - bo - e - ,
A - bo - o A - bo na li - ba su- ma A - bo te - te

---

\(^1\) This is said to mean the spirits.
A-bo-e, A-bo-o-A-bonali-basu-ma
A-bo-te-te A-bo-e -Á- bo na li - ba su - ma

He is a water creature,
*Abo - te - te*,
*Abo - e, Abo - e*,
*Abo* is a river being,
*Abo - te - te* ... etc.

I) Watra wànti

182.

U - wai da - da mi bçm - bç si - na - ro kç
wa - tra mi bç - be si - na - ro Kç wa - tra mi bç - bç
si - na - ro - kç - wa - tra mi bç - bç si - na - ro
Kç wa - tra mi bçm' si - na - ro ke (etc.)

1 No translation of this song was obtained.
m) Lōango-wānti

183.¹

Miɛ- go ta - ląŋ - go - ni ta - ląŋ - go - Lōan-g'oe ta - ląŋ-
   go - ni ta - ląŋ - go Kon-go mą go na Ga - o kɔn - de
Miɛ - go ta - ląŋ - go - ni ta - ląŋ - go Lōan-g'oe ta - ląŋ - go - ni
   ta - ląŋ - go Pap’ u - mą go ’a Ga - dō kɔn-de

¹ No translation of this song was obtained.
184.

Na yu ba - ka mi wa - ka Ma Bum - ba Na
yu ba-ka - mi wa - ka Ma Bum-ba Na yu ba - ka mi wa - ka
Ma Bum- ba Na yu me - ki mi fe - ni bòn Ma Bum - ba (3 times)
yu ba - wa - ka ko - ya

I tread on your back,
Mother Bumba;
You help me to live well,¹
Mother Bumba.

185.²

Na yu ba - ka dę' wa - ka Ma Bum - ba - Na yu
ba - ka dę' wa - ka Ma Bum-ba - O na yu Ma Bum-ba

1  Sometimes this phrase is sung ‘Yu meki me feni bòn, - You cause me to copulate well.’
2  The translation of this song is the same as for the preceding one, except the first line is to read ‘They tread on your back’.

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, Surinam folk-lore
n) papa wînti

186.

Mi ma-ma na go - ro wen - ti - Mi pa-pa na wa-tra bo - su
Mi da-tio na Pa-pa jŋ - gi ak-si na A - gi-da (....) Pɛ-man-de
- da Pe-man-de

My mother is an earth winti
My father is a water god
I am a Papa Indian.
Ask Agida pemandɛ.

187.

Mi n'A - la - da u - mą Mi na si - ne - kio Mi n'A - la - da

---

1 Bosu is probably derived from the Ashanti 'Obosom'.
2 A spirit resulting from the mating of a mother who had a Papa (snake) spirit, and a father who had an Indian wînti.
u - mą Mi na si - ne - kio Mi n'A - la - da (etc.)
(4 times)
I am the woman of Alada
I am a snake - o.

o) Obia wənti

188.

Mja no ba-sio ma mja no bo - io Dia no ba - so ma mja no
bo - io Ma te den ba - si kɔm den sa tyə' wa - tra gi mio

I am no master - o
And I am no boy - o
But if no master - o
I am no boy - o
Yet when the masters come,
They will fetch water for me - o!
p) song to ‘set’ wunti

189.

\[\text{Chɛŋ, Chɛŋ, o Chɛŋ Chɛŋ, o Kɔt’ a ka-ma-ya Ti-de, Ti-de, o-Kɔt’ a ka-ma-ya Ta-ki Kɔt’ a ka-ma-ya Ta-ki Kɔt’ a ka-ma-ya}\]

\[\text{Chɛŋ, Chɛŋ, Chɛŋ,} \]

Cut the illness.¹

Today, today - o (say)

Cut the illness.

q) kɔmfo

190.²

\[\text{Mɔj m’A-mu - sj[em]ɔj mą’ Na mi mɔj m’A- mu-si mɔj mą’} \]

\[\text{Tɛ y’e tr’ a Ga - du yu tr’ A - mu - si -} \]

\[\text{[Ga - du -]} \]

(3 times with minor variations)

191.³

\[\text{‘A bu-si kon-dre na’i pre so ‘A bu - si kon-dre na’i pre so}\]

¹ Akamaya is Fanti for ‘disturbance’.
² Song to Story 19; translation on p. 183.
³ Song to Story 18; translation on p. 179.
Zɔn - dr’a - kri - ma Zɔn - dr’a - kri - ma A mi do-tiŋ na’i
pre so ’A bu - si kon - dre na’i pre so A mi do -
tiŋ na’i pre so Zɔn-dr’a-kri-ma Zɔn-dr’a-kri-ma

r) grʊn ɖŋgi komfo

192.

Mij’a no so - so ḷŋ - gi dis’ we - ri ka - mi - sa
Mij’a Pa – pa u - ma mi dc we - ri-e ko - ro - si
Mij’a no so - so ḷŋ - gi dis we - ri ka - mi - sa
Mij’a Pa – pa u - mą mi dc we - ri ko - ro - si

1 Song to story 66; translation on p. 271.
s) səŋgi kəmfə

193.¹
Miɛ-dɛ go - lo, Na - na - o - Miɛ-dɛ go - lo, Na - na-o
Mi wi-rí ʔən-sï te mi 'ɛ si sa-ni so Miɛ-dɛ go-lo -

194.²
ľŋ-gibo-toɛ̮-kwɛn-daikɔmbo-ya-yaA-lad'ľŋ-gino kɔmyɛ-tɛ,bo-ya-yaľŋ-gibo-toɛ̮-kwɛn-daikɔmbo-ya-
yA-lad'ľŋ-gino kɔmyɛ-tɛ,bo-ya-ya

195.³
Miɛ-go, go - wɛ na li - ba - e Miɛ-go, go - wɛ na li - ba-

1 Song to story 18; translation on p. 179.
2 Song to story 123.
3 Song to story 120; translation on p. 377.
e Mi na wən ɪn - gi mi n'ε tən nəŋ-ga Ne-gro
Mi'ɛ-go, go - wε na tu - na - e
Mi'ɛ-go, go - wε na tu - na - e

**t) Aisa**

196.

A- i - sa - o - e - Ai - sa - e A-i - sa - o - e - Ai - sa - o
Ai - sa go na ba - ka go - ro Tɛ su - ma no dc Ai - sa - e
Ai - sa - o Wa-na-i - sa go na ba - ka go - ro Tɛ
(5 times)

*Aisa-o-e, Aisa-e,
Aisa goes into the earth
When no one is about,
*Aisa-e, Aisa-o!
Wanaisa goes into the earth ... etc.*
197.

M’Ai-sa fir’ ṣè gò - ro Saf - ri saf - ri wà déj (...
.....) M’Ai-sa fir’ ṣè gò - ro - e M’Ai-sa fir’ - ṣè
go-ro saf - ri Saf - ri wà-dej M’Ai-sa fi - ra ṣè gò - ro - e

Mother Aïsa felt (?) her ground
Softly, softly one day
Mother Aïsa felt her ground-e.

198.†

Ye, ye sa - gi sag’ - yo mu - a - wè - se wi no bra
Sa - gi mam-bra Sa - gi mam-bra

199.†

A - ga - ma si - si ‘ga - ma wo - yo Mi tu - tu no dè -

1 No translation for this song was obtained.
1 No translation for this song was obtained.
A - ga - ma si - si 'ga - ma wo - yo M i tu - tu no dɛ
Ai - sa 'ga-ma si - si 'ga-ma wo - yo De tu - tu no do - ɛ
A - ga - ma si - si 'ga - ma wo - yo Tu - tu no dɛ
A - ga - ma si - si 'ga - ma wo - yo Tu - tu no dɛ
Ai - sa 'ga - ma si - si 'ga-ma wo - - yo Tu - tu no dɛ

200.

Ai - sa no dɛ na pa - si No dɛ na bu - si No dɛ na wa-
tra Kɔ' na bro-ko mas-sa (tɛ) A - wa-nais' A - gi - da
Aisa is not on the road,
Is not in the bush,
Is not in the water.
She came to the (?) master from far.
Awanaïsa Agida approaches
A-ye-a-ye!

201.

Pa Lo - ko na bom A - wa-nai - sa na na do - tio
Lo - ko na bom A - wa - na - is'na - do - tio
Pa Lo - ko na (etc.)

Pa Loko is in the tree
Awanaïsa is in the earth-o
Loko in the tree
Aisa in the earth-o.

u) grön mama

202.

Grön Ma - ma mi dë bë - g'yu Waj - sa, Wa-i - sa
Grøn Ma - ma, m' đɛ bɛ - g'yu fō p'kin Waj - sa, Wa-i - sa
Ų Grøn Ma-mä, m' tek' Ga- du bɛ - gi yu Waj - sa, Wa-i - sa
Grøn Mam' đɛ bɛ - gi bɛ - gi yu Waj - sa, Wa-i - sa

Earth Mother, I pray you
Waïsa, Waïsa;
Earth Mother, I pray you for children
Waïsa, Waïsa;
Earth Mother, I pray you in God's name,
Waïsa, Waïsa.

v) vodu fo grɔn

203.

Mi na Fo - du A bis' mi ha - b'o Na go - ro wɛn - ti - o Mi kc -
kc, mi kic Mi na Fo - du A - bi - si mĩha- bi Na, go -ro wɛn - t' - o
Mi kc-kc, m' ki - e
I am Fodu
Abisi! I have-o
The earth winti-o
Mi keko, mi kic.

204.

Ya - ro, Fo-du Ya - ri A - la su - ma na ya - ro Mi no si
Fo - du- Ya - ro - Fo - du ya - ri Ya - ro, Fo-du Ya - re
Ya - ro, Fo - du Ya - re A - la su - ma A - la su - ma na dya - ri
na dya - ri Mi no si Fo - du Ya - ro na Ya - re

Yaro, Vodu, Yari
All the people are in the yard,
I do not see the Vody yet,
Yaro, Vodu, Yari.

w) Akantamasu.

205.

Y - e - a - e mia mia mia mia mia mio Te na 'o -

1 Untranslatable.
Ye-a-o, mia, mia, mia,
To my very lair my dead trouble me-o,
I am Kantamasi-ǫ,
I am Kantamasu,
But human beings trouble me,
It is well, too
Since I am a good\(^1\) person
To my very lair, my dead trouble me,
I am a good person.

206.\(^2\)

A - ma - sio fa - ni - nim-ba - A-kan - ta - ma - sio fa-
Ma - to gre-nya - Ma-
ni - nim-ba - A - ya - ma - sio fa - ni-nim-ba -

---

1 Informants said this was said ironically, but bɔn, in Fanti means ‘evil’.
2 The translation of this song was not obtained.
to gre - nya (......) ni - nim-ba Ma - to gre - nya -
ba - 'ma - sio fa - ni - nim-ba
fa - ni - nim - ba Ma - to gre - nya
A - kan - ta - ma - sio fa - ni - nim - ba -

207.
Tɛ na tɔmp’ɛ - dɛ mi si - dɔn - 'A su - ma sɛn' kar' mi
'A Ko - nu Bi-a, Bi-a, Bi-a, Su - ma sɛn' kar' mi
Tɛ na tɔmp’ɛ - dɛ mi si - dɔn - Su - ma sɛn' kar' mi
'A Ko - nu Bi-a, Bi-a, Bi-a, Bi-a, Su - ma sɛn' kar' mi
Tɛ na tɔmp' (etc.)
At the top of the stump I sit,
And the people send to call me.
The King *Bia, Bia, Bia,*
People send to call me.

208.

*Kan-ta* - *ma* - *su d’a bom go - go (...)* ṣun no fre - de *Kan-ta-
*ma* - *su d’a bom go - go ṣun no fre - de Ṣun no trob’ *cm
dia Ṣun no trob’ *cm dia Wakti də mi pi - ki - o
Ṣun lib’ *ẹ̀r (......)* *Kan* - *ta* - *ma* - *su d’a bom go - go
Ṣun no trob’ *ẹ̀r Kan* - *ta* - *ma* - *su na ọ - gri sa - ni
(......)mi no trob’ *ẹ̀r A de’ a bus’ a n’e trob’ ṣun, ba,
Di - ᴅɛ̇n - ᴅɛ̇, ba - *Kan* - *ta* - *ma* - *su d’a bom go - go
666

Di den mek’ a tan UN no tro - bio UN no tro - bio
Kan - ta - ma - su no bojn sa - ni Di - den-de A - di-
den - (i) a - di - den - dc A - di - den - (i) a - di - den - dc

Kantamasu is at the foot of the tree
Fear not.
Do not trouble it there.
But I say-o
Let it be.
Kantamasu is at the foot of the tree
Do not trouble it.
Kantamasu is an evil thing
I do not trouble it.
It is in the bush,
It does not trouble you, brother,
Di-den-de, brother.
Kantamasu is at the foot of the tree
Diden, let it be
It does not trouble you-o.
Kantamasu is not a good thing.
Di den dc,
A di den,
A di den dc.

x) Tonɛ

209.

To - nɛ - si go na li - ba To - nɛ - si ba - ro Ai - sa - yɛ

1 A Gold Coast informant states that at Akantamasu, where a great battle was fought, there are many ant-hills, ‘red ones, and high.’ It has already been explained (above, p. 66) that the Akantamasu deity in Suriname is god of the anthill.
To - nc - si go wa - da; To - ne - si go na li - ba To - ne-
si ba - ro Ai - sa - ye To - ne - si go wa - de

Tonesi go to the river,
   Aisa-ye.
Tonesi go to the river,
   Kokoro cries-o.
Tonesi go wade
   Aisa-ye.

210.

Dai To - nc na li - ba - € Dai To - ni na li - ba - o
Li - ba Ma ma - si mi Da-i To - ne na li - ba [Li - ba Wāng-
ga ma - si mi Da-i To - ne na li - ba ] Da Kwen-dai
ma - si mi Dai To - ne na li - ba
The Tone are in the river-e
The Tone are in the river-o,
The River Mother crushes me,
The Tone are in the river,
The River Kwenda crushes me,
The River Wanga crushes me,
The River Mother crushes me,
The Tone are in the river-e.

y) Apuku

To-nya,yɛ-ny-aAmi-si-no-bo-roMa-ye-ya ora-braMi-ye-si-no-bo-ro,mi-da-we-nya-Yɛ-si-ye-si de-box-ro,mi-da-We-nya-Mi-ye-si-de-box-ro,mi-da we-ny-aMi-ye-si-no-box-ro,a-i-me-ki-bra-bra

Tonya, yenya
When my ears are pierced,
I wear rings.
But when they are not pierced,
It makes bra-bra!

1 A wini priestess explained that this is the Apuku circumlocution for saying that if they will pay, there will be a dance, i.e., if the ears are not pierced for earrings, there is nothing to shake. To 'pierce the ears' is the equivalent of our idiom 'to grease the palm'.
212.

A - pu - ku djɔ̨, djɔ̨, djɔ̨ A - pu - ku djɔ̨, djɔ̨, djɔ̨ - Tɛ na o - ro mi de A - pu - ku djɔ̨, djɔ̨ Tɛ na o - ro mi de A - pu - ku djɔ̨, djɔ̨, djɔ̨, djɔ̨, djɔ̨, djɔ̨ Mi na Da-go-we - Mi na Da-go - we Tɛ na o - ro mi de Li - bi su - ma tro - bi mi - mi

Apuku djɔ̨, djɔ̨, djɔ̨
I am in my lair,
Apuku djɔ̨, djɔ̨.
I am the Dagowe,
I am in my lair,
But human-beings trouble me.

213.

Sa'i kɔ’ lu - ku, sa’i kɔ’ ha-ksi Yɛr’ A - puk'ɛ nyə́m su-ma
Sa'i kɔ’ lu - ku, sa’i kɔ’ ha - -ksi Yɛr’ A - pu-kuɛ nyə́m su - ma

What did you come to see?
What did you come to ask?
You heard the Apuku eat people.
z) Leba

214.1

Ya, ya A - i - sa 'Fre - ke - te na mi ke
A ya, ya A - i - sa 'Fre - ke - te na nu ke
Ya, ya A - i sa fr - ke - te na nu ke (etc.)

1 The translation of this song was not obtained.
215.¹

Solo: A - dan-dya Ma Lɛ - ba A - dan-dya (etc.) (5 times)
A - dan - dya Na - yo

216.¹

Na u - mą du - mi ta 'Fri - kɛ - te u - ma du - mi - o
Na u - mą du - mi ta 'Fri- kɛ - te u - mą du - mi - o ta - ta u -
ma - i Fru - ku - tu no - bu - o Na u - mą du - mi
ta 'Fri - ke - te u - ma - i (4 times with minor variations)

¹ The translation of this song was not obtained.
¹ The translation of this song was not obtained.
217.

Lɛ - ba Ga - do ko' ya E - si - na - ma - y' Lɛ - ba ba Lɛ - ba
A - si - na - ma - y' Lɛ - ba çŋ go - ra więn - ti ko' ya E - si -
na-ma-y' Lɛ - ba Lɛ-ba Lɛ - ba A - si - na - ma - y' Lɛ - ba (4 times, with minor variations)

The Lɛba God is coming,

Sinemaya Lɛba
The Earth Winti are coming,

Sinemaya Lɛba.

The Papa’ Winti are coming,

Sinemaya Lɛba,
The Earth Winti are coming,

Sinemaya Lɛba.

218. ²

A пɛ-man-de, пɛ - man - de, пɛ-man - de ma Fi - na ba - djɔ
Lɛ - ba di - dŋ' Пɛ-man-de Пɛmande, Пɛmande, пɛ-man - de ba
Fi - na ba - djɔ Lɛ - ba di - dŋ', Пɛ - man - de A пɛ-man-de,

¹ i.e., Papa-snake. Only the first four lines are translation of the text given above; the following
lines represent the words to repetitions of the song.
² The translation of this song was not obtained.
The translation of this song was not obtained.
aa) Dagowe.

220.

Dag'-we lo - lo - Kon-da lo - lo Dag'-we lo - lo Dag'-we lo - lo -
(Dag' - we lo - lo)
Dag'-we lo - lo - Dag'-we u - a -
Dag'-we bari - o - Dag'-we lo - lo - Dag' - we -
Dag'-we lo - lo
Dag'-we lo - lo - Dag'-we lo - lo - lo - lo
Dag'-we lo - lo
Dag'-we lo - lo - Dag'-we lo - lo Dag'-we lo - lo -

*Dagowe* is rolling,
*Konda* is rolling,
*Dagwe* cries - o!

221.

Man g'a mi'o - ro Man g'a mi'o - ro Man g'a mi'o - ro
Dag'-we ba - ri
Dag'-we go na ho-ro Dag'-we ba - ri - o (6 times)
A man goes to my lair,
The Dagowe cries of
The Dagowe goes to the lair,
_Papa_ goes to the lair!

222.

[Dag'-we] kɔ lo lo Dag'-we kɔ lo - lo Dag'-we kɔ lo - lo
Su - ku y'u - mà Dag'-we kɔ lo - lo - kɔ lo - lo - (10 times with variations)
Vo - dú kɔ lo - lo Su - ku y'u - mà Su - ku y'u - mà

_Dag'we_ come and roll,
_Dag'we_ come and roll,
To seek your woman.
_Patu_ come and roll,
_Vodų_ come and roll,
_Kwasi_ come and roll,
To seek your woman!

223.

[Di] yu bro - ko mʒo - ro, ba - Pɛ m'mu go -
Di yu bro- ko mj'ò- so, ba Pɛ m'mu go (3 times)

1 At this point the cry of a possessed woman is heard. The fourth and sixth lines given here are not present in the _taki-taki_ text under the transcription of the music.
Solo: Since you broke (into) my lair, brother,
Chorus: Where am I to go?
Solo: Since you broke (into) my house, brother,
Chorus: Where am I to go?

224.

[A] Lo- lo Kɔn-da m'yo - Dag'-we lo - lo Lo - lo Kɔn-dam' yo
O Dag'-we lo - lo (5 times)
m'yo - Dag'

_Dag'we is rolling_
Rolling _Kanda_ mine-o
_Papa_ is rolling
_Kwenda_ is rolling
_Papa Dag'we is rolling._¹

225.

Ta - ki, san du Pa - pa - Pa - pa dɛ me - ki so
Da - go - we -, di ko - ti pɛ - ni so moj Da - go - we,
di ko - ti pɛ - ni so moj Da - go - we, di fu - ru

¹ All the names in this song are those of sacred snakes.
li - ba so moj Ta - ki, san du Pa - pa? Pa - pa, dc
me - ki so

Tell us, what troubles Papa
That Papa acts so?
The Dagowe are so finely marked,
The Dagowe fill the river so handsomely.
Tell us, what troubles Papa?

226.

O, mi wa - ni si dɛm Vo-dų na dya-ri 0, mi wa - ni si dɛm, ba
Wa - ni si dɛm Vo-dų na dya-ri Mi wa - ni si dɛm ba
O, mi wa - ni (etc.)

O, I want to see the Vodu in the yard,
O, I want to see them, brother!
227.

Na mi ho - ro mo - fo mi't' go - Dag'- we ba - rię
Yan - ki - a ya - po - to Na mi ho - ro mo - fo mi't' - go - Dag'-
we ba - rię (etc.)

I go to the entrance of my lair,
The Dagowe cries to me,
‘Yanki yapoto’.
bb) Yɔrka.

228.

Kwa - si Kwa - sio, mĩ'ɛ ka - ri - ɛ, Kwa - si Kwa - sio, mĩ'ɛ ka - ri Mi'ɛ tra dej mend' ye de su - ma di tya mi - ny - o Yu mu ka - ba Tye, Kwa - si Kwa - so mĩ'ɛ ka - rio te - dɛ a mɛn - de mi - o -, Ma ti - dej mu ka - ba - a Pa - si mo - ro me - ki pa - sio Pa - sɛ'a bu - si, ma dɛ'a bu - si, Ma - ma dɛ na 'o - so tu Kwa - si Kwa - si mi - 'ɛ ka - ri-ɛ - ma de mo - ro mɑn, Man na bu - sio, ma na o - so, Kwa - si Kwa - si o ti - de mɛ' ka - rio
Kwasi Kwasio, I am calling-e
Kwasi Kwasio, I am calling-o
Mi-ë tra-die mende
De suma di tya minyo,
You must put an end to it.
Tye, Kwasi Kwaso, I am calling you-o
Tede a mende mi-o,
But today it must end,
A troubled path (?) makes a path-o
There is a path in the bush,
And there is a man in the bush,
A mother is there in the house, too.
Kwasi Kwasi I am calling you-o
Man is in the bush-o
Man is in the house.
Kwasi Kwasi, today I call you-o.

229.

Li-bi-su-ma wi 'ë si yön, yön, Fa wi 'ë wa - kaç tro - bi su-ma
No mu go mil' naŋ - ga Ka-ma-a - dc-wë Li - bi- su-ma wi 'ë si yön, yön, Fa wë - wa - kaç tro - bi su-ma Wi mu go wa - ka
Mîl' naŋ - ga Ka - ma - dc - wë Wa-ka - mân si Yor-ka Yor - ka si 'a - mân dc Li - bi - su - ma wë si yön, yön, Fa - ë wa - kaç
tro - bi su - ma Wi mu go mit' naŋ - ga Ka-ma-a - dc - wc

Human-beings we see well, well,
As we go about troubling people,
You must not approach Kamadewe.
Human-beings we see well, well,
As we go about troubling people.
We must approach Kamadewe.
The wanderer sees the ghost,
The ghost sees a man is there.

230.

Yɔr - ka-o -, Yɔr-ka, Yɔr - ka - e Na sa - ba - na den
te - kio Na sa - ba - na i sa go ba - ka - o
Yɔr - ka, Yɔr - ka - o - Na sa - ba - na den te - kio
Na sa - ban’ ye go ba - ka Na naŋ-ga wit’ ka - tin y - o
’A ta - ma - ra sa - ba - na y’t go ba - ka
Yɔrka-o, Yɔrka, Yɔrka-e,
From the cemetery they took you-o,
To the cemetery you will go back-o,
Yɔrka, Yɔrka-o,
From the cemetery they took you-o,
To the cemetery you go back,
With white cotton-yo,
Tomorrow back to the cemetery you will go.

231.

Sa - ba - na we'r ye - ti Gran' Yɔr-ka - o, m'o ka - ri yu
Sa - ba - na we'r ye - ti - o Gran' Yɔr - ka, mi ka - ri
Na i - ni gre - bi de' pot' yu A no mi ben po - ti yu
Mi go pəj pot' ba - ka Sa - ba - na we'r ye - ti - o
Gran' Yɔr - ka, mi'z ka'r yu Na su - ma po - tie,
Ma mi sa pur' yu ba - ka Mān na 'o - so, mān na bu - sio
The cemetery is clothed in white,
Great Yorka, I am calling you,
The cemetery is clothed in white-o,
Great Yorka, I am calling.
In the grave they put you,
'Twas not I who put you [there].
I will pay you, and put you back,
The cemetery is clothed in white-o,
Great Yorka, I am calling you.
Someone put you (here),
But I will take you out again,
Man is in the house,
Man is in the bush-o!

cc) Bakru.

232.¹

Bra bri bri bri bri bra bra bra bra bra Bra bri bri bri bri bri bri bra bra bra bra bra bra bra Bri bri bri bri Bri bri Bri bri Bri bri Bra bri bri bri bri bri bri bra bra bra A lon a lon - ta A lon a lon - ta Bra bri bri
Fɛ pre mo - kro Bra bri bri Fɛ pre mo - kro A - be - re - ta

¹ The translation of this song was not obtained.
dd) Agida.

233.

(................)(........................................
..................) ‘A Ko - ro - so m'a-i - da A - gi - da
m'ai - da Ko - ro - so - O mi na Pa - pa Ga - du
Ko - ro - se - o da Ko - ro - se (................)

Agida m'aida
Koroso m'aida
I am the Papa god
Korose-o, da Korose.
ee) Sofia bada.

234.¹

Kom tc - si mi, mi na m'an, Kom fi - ri mi, mi na m'an, So - fia Ba - da, Mi na bq m'an f' A - la-da, Kɔ'
tc - si mi na m'an, ha, hal (3 repetitions with minor variations)

3. Secular Songs.

a) Kawina.

235.

Mi'a Ma - ria We - gri Mi n'e we - gri fõ tc - ti Dān yu kq'nam (mi) grôn kq - dc Tc yu wa - mi fu fre ye nq- ga mi si - sa Dān yu kq' na mi grôn kq - dc
Mi na Ma - ria (etc.)

¹ Song to Story 19; for translation see p. 181.
I am Maria Wegri
I do not wegri fō leti
Then yon must come to my village.
If you wish to court my sister,
Then you must come to my village.

236.

No - do moj mi go srib' nay' bc - di Sëc - ki moj
mi go srib' nay' bc - di Prō - do moj mi go srib'
nay' bc - di srib' nay' bc - di mi go srib' nay' bc - di

Spruce up nicely,
I am going to sleep in your bed.
Shake nicely,
I am going to sleep in your bed.

237.

Kɔ̨'go na o - po Kɔ̨'go Wa - i - sa Kɔ̨'go
na op' A - mer - ya Da - i kɔ̨'go Wa - i - sa Te - ki
Come let us go inland,¹
Come let us go, Waïsa,
Come let us go inland, Amerya
Come let us go, Waïsa,
Take your hoe and your axe,
Come let us go inland.

238.²
A - lejn-tɛm kra - bu - o Kɔ - ti kwɛn-da mɔj, mɔj
Fru-du wa-tra pot' mja sho - ro Ne - ti ta - pu m'a dam

239.²
O - ra - nyɛ Na-say Bc - tre no bɛn kɔn ɖia Te'i si'a
bo - to dɔ - ro no mo Li - ba dɛ na wai ya - ya

¹ Opo is here translated ‘inland’ in accordance with its sense of indicating ‘up-river’.
² Song to Story 118; for translation see p. 365.
240.

To mi tyā' g'we to mi tyā' g'we
E- li - sa, yu na wā' to - bo - to to mi tyā'
g'we To mi tyā' g'we to mi tyā' g'we
E- li - sa, yu na wā' to - bo - to to mi tyā' g'we

241.

Na Go - ḵa - ti ba - ka ḏaŋ Dra - pč mo - ni dč lo - lo
Na Go - ḵa - ti ba - ka ḏaŋ Dra - pč me-ni dč lo - lo
Na Kč - tč - kč - tč ba-ka ḏaŋ Dra-pč pi-na dč lo - lo
Na Kč - tč - kč - tč ba-ka ḏaŋ Dra-pč pi-na dč lo - lo

1 Song to Story 103; for translation see p. 331.
1 Song to Story 103; for translation see p. 331.
242.

Man-da Ma - de - ra Man de: Man-da Ma - de-ra Man de
Mi no 'a - bi no pa - pa de: Man de: Man-da Ma - de- ra Man de
(7 repetitions with minor variations)

Manda Madera,
Man de.
I have no mother there,
I have no father there,
I have no sister there,
I haven't got anybody there,
Manda Madera,
Man de. ¹

243.²

Ɛ - mɛ-li - na, Ka-ro - li - na Wą' ku - nu d'a y' o so
Ma - yɛm - be Ma - yɛm - be Wą' ku - nu d'a y' o - so

244.

Dan - si go na wo - wo - yo Te mi wąn' u - mą

¹ The idiom in this song is that spoken near the British Guiana border.
² Song to Story 124; for translation see p. 389.
Wa - si na wān' go li - ba Su - ku na wān' mān O,
Dān - si go na wo - wo - yo - (etc.)

Dān - si go na (etc.)

Dancing (I) go to the market
When I want a woman.
To wash in the river one goes
To seek a man.

245.

Tye, aŋ ma-ma -, aŋ ma-ma, tye aŋ ma - ma Wā’ te, wā’ te,
aŋ ma - ma, au ma - ma, tye au ma - ma Dā’ ye - ri Ko’t-
ka līb’ wa - ka lon - tu (...) Mi wa - ka te mi si wā’
Dju - ka u - mą, Tą, tą, me - ki tą', Me - ki wąń pus-pu-si
Tą' me - ki tąń, Me -ki wąń pus-pus' Tye aų ma-ma au ma-ma tye
aų ma - ma Kot'-ka li - ba de fu - ru nąń - ga Dju - ka
Kot' - ka li - ba de tyo tyo tyo tyo tyo man - gri Dju - ka
Tą', tą', tą', Yć - ri są, - i - du A - te, a - te są me - ki,
są me - ki wą' pop - tya A - te, a - te są me - ki
są me - ki wą' pop - tya

Then you heard the Cottica river flowing along
I travelled till I saw a Djuka woman.
Wait, wait, let her wait,
*Meki wan puspusi*
Wait, let her wait,
*Meki wan puspusi*

Tye, o mama, o mama, tye o mama,
At once, at once, o mama, o mama, tye o mama,
There are many Djukas on the Cottica river
The Cottica river is full of skinny Djukas
Wait, wait, wait,
Hear what is done
Until, until they give birth to a doll
Until, until they give birth to a doll.
246.

Wả Son- dc’ ma-man-tém Mi go na Bu - gu - daŋ Tɛ mi go,
mi si dri bi - gi maŋ Nyąm a na de’ nyąm wąn Ku - lia nyą-nyąm
Son - dc’ na A - de - laj - na Son - dc’ na To - ro - a - ma
Son - dc’ na A - ma - ti - ri Di den nyąm wąn Ku - li nyą - nyąm
O sa - ni di den nyąm, Ku - ri nyą - nyąm Saŋ’ dę ba – ya
Ku - ri baj - maŋ O sa – ni di nyąm Ku - ri nyą-nyąm
Saŋ’ dę ba-ya Ku-ri baj-maŋ O mi do - ti baj wą-wąn Ku-li nyąnyąm
O mi’e-go pa-ya Ku-li paj-maŋ Mi da- ti wa’sab’, a Ku- li nyą-nyąm
(8 times, with minor variations)
Solo:
One Sunday morning
I went to Bugudan
When I went I saw three big men
Eating, they were eating Coolie food.¹
Sunday² it was Adelena,
Sunday it was Toroana
Sunday it was Amateri
Who was eating a Coolie food.

Chorus:
Oh, what did they eat?
Coolie food.
Oh, what did they buy?
A Coolie purchase.

Solo:
Oh, I am the one who buys a Coolie food,
Oh, I will pay for a Coolie debt,
Oh, I am the one who knows the Coolie food
Oh, I am the one who knows Coolie roast beef.³

b) Binya.

247.⁴

Na mɔ - fo bɔ - ko bɔj - ki Na mɔ - fo bɔ - ko bɔj - ki
A wɔr’ ŋŋ’ ge - ri kre - ti A wɔr’ ŋŋ’ ge - ri kre - ti
Mu san - tɔ ba - i da - gu Mu san - tɔ ba - i da - gu
Bɔn - yo’cwak’ aj su - ku da - gu
Bɔn - yo’e wak’ aj su - ku da - gu
Fɔ go be - ti Mɔ - si Na - na

---
¹ The verb ‘to eat’ means also to enjoy, to spend, and as in this case, to have connection; the reference to ‘Coolie’ is either to a Hindu or Javanese woman.
² Or sɔntɛ, meaning ‘perhaps.’
³ This line is not in the song as transcribed.
⁴ Song to Story 47; for translation see p. 231.
Sunday morning I hurried to Begistron,
I met the Cottica women coming.
I stuck out my back at the Cottica.
A dc dyeno, dyeno, let us go, dyeno,
And it shook, and it shook?
Yes, man.
The bodies they looked?
Yes, man,
They looked and they looked?
Yes, man.
Your belly it worked?
Yes, man.
c) Lɔbi sɪŋgi.

249.

Mi g'a sɛ - ri bu - ba no mi dɛ lo - bi mɔ - ro U - mą
mi san - ti Wa - ka mɔ - ro a - 'ɛ si dɛm moj-moj sa - ni
Mi gu - du, mɔ - fo dę wa - ni, mɔ - fo - dę wa - ni, tu
Wa - ka mɔ - ro a - 'ɛ si dɛm moj-moj sa - ni Mi gu - du,
mɔ - fo dę, wa - ni O, mɔ - fo dę' wa - ni, mɔ - fo dę' wa - ni,
Go - go dę' wa - ni, tu, Go - go dę' wa-ni, mɔ - fo dę' wa - ni
Mo - fo dę' wa - ni, go - go dę' wa - ni, tu

I will sell my skin, I am loved no longer,
Woman is hateful to me.
Travel about and you see fine, fine things.
My dear, the mouth they want, the mouth they want, too.
Walk about and you see fine, fine things,
My dear, the mouth they want,
O, the mouth they want, the mouth they want,
The buttocks they want, too,
The buttocks they want, the mouth they want,
The mouth they want, the buttocks they want, too.
Solo:
Every day you shout,
How sweet your love is,

Chorus:
But I do not see, see;
But I do not see, see;

Solo:
If we get on together,
I will see that there is love;
But not to go to people (men)
Nor to earn money

Chorus:
Does the night, the night exist.
Solo:
If you go softly,
We will eat together,

Chorus:
Then I will see.

The words continue as follows:

Solo:
Ma ef yi'ɛ go trąŋga
Yi'ɛ go na sigara

Chorus:
Da' mi si
Da' mi si.

Solo:
Da' yi'ɛ mek sapakara
Da' yi'ɛ a baki nasu

Chorus:
Da' yu da gogo.
Da' i da gogo.

Solo:
But if you will go rudely.
You will go na sigara,¹

Chorus:
Then I will see,
Then I will see.

Solo:
Then you make sapakara,²
Then you thumb your nose,

Chorus:
Then you give your behind,
Then you give your behind. (Then to beginning of song)

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d) Fisherman's song.

251.

Si, si, si, Na-go Si, si, si, Na - go
Ye, ma-ma no dr, Pa - pa no dr, Si, si, si, Na - ro

¹ Lit., 'to the cigar,' but what the definite allusion is, informant did not know.
² Lit., 'Salamander,' and idiomatic for having 'a big time'.
Yes, there is no mother,
There is no father,
Si, si, si Naro.

e) Miscellaneous.¹

252.²

Pe-rum, Pe-rum, mi pa-tron Są' wa - ni kɔ̀ - , mek' a kɔm
Ịŋ - gri - si ma - sra tyə - ri prəŋ-ga go na djo - go prəŋ

253.³

A ye - ye - ye Mja - la A ye - ye - yo Mja - la A-san - do
yo Mja - la A ye - ye - ye Mja - la A ye - ye - ye Mja - la

¹ Under this heading come songs for which there were no other classification or for which natives gave us no designation. No. 252 is a play song, while, from internal evidence, it is apparent that No. 253 is Tap' Kromanti, No. 254, (Ingį Winti, and No. 255, Bush Kromanti.
² The words to this song given here represent only a portion of those which were heard on several occasions, but not recorded. See van Panhuys (V), 211, for a translation of these words, given with an additional phrase. The same writer (II, p. 125) has also published an extremely interesting Curaçao version of the words of this song.
³ No translation of this song was obtained.
A - Bo-nu a kọ' Mja - la (etc.)

254.

'A Ka-ri-bo bro - ko, a - yo 'A Ka-ri- bo bro - ko - Gi mi mi bo - to naŋ - ga mi pa - ri A - la de' In-gi-o Ma-ma-dam

The Karibo is broken, - ayę'

The Karibo is broken.
Give me my boat and my paddle
All the Indians are at the Mamadam.

255.

Ya - o - ya - o - ya - o - e Y'A- na- na -o A ku-ma-e

1 Reference is here made to the fact that many people had run away into the interior and the wnuti wished to go, too.
[ya - o ya - o] o A - na- na - e Yaq a den - si' ya - o

O Yao, Yao, Yao-e
Yao ancestors-o
We greet you-o!
O Yao adensio.
H. Songs from Haiti
1. Religious Songs.

a) Rongol.

256.

Ron-gol po al - le' (....................
.........................)
(3 times)

b) Dambala wedo.

257.

Fi - lé, na fi - lé, Mam' Dam-ba - la We - do;
Fi - lé, na fi - lé, A - i - da We - do c'est cou -lè - v' (8 times)

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1 These examples of Haitian music were recorded when the ship from New York to Paramaribo called at Port-au-Prince. The deities to whom the songs are sung are all members of the Vaudou pantheon, and are of Daho-mean provenience. (See Dorsainvil, passim, for these deities). No translations of the words which are in Haitian French creole, are given; the songs are appended here because, as the only examples of recorded Haitian music available, they have value for the comparative study of Negro music.
c) Zombi.

258.

Al - lé' na ci - mi-tière po' Zom - bi cou - ri (...)
Al - lé' na ci - mi-tière po' Zom - bi cou - ri [(..)]
(5 times)

d) Loko.

259.

Pa-pau - pa - u Aido We-do pai - Pa - pau Loko
Aido We-do pai -

e) Marassa (twins).

260.

Ma - ras - sa m'en d'l'eau me man-ger A - go - ye Ma-ras - sa
m'en d'l'eau me man - ger - (- - - - - - -
- - - - - ) Ma - ras - sa m'en d'l'eau me man - ger -
f) Legba.

261.

Pa - pa Leg-ba, ou - vri bar-rier' po' moin A - go - ye
A - zi - ma Leg-ba, ou - vri bar-rier' po' moin, ou - vri bar - ri-
er' po' moin a - go - ye - e
(3 times)
g) Simbi.

262.

Sim' man-dé d'l'eau, l'eau dans la bas-sin Simb'man-dé d'l'eau (etc.) (3 times)

263.

Sim - bi man-dé d'l'eau (.....) Sim - bi man-dé d'l'eau (.........) (.............)
Al - lé ci - mi-tière (................

.........................

.........) Sim - bi man - dé d'l'eau (.....)
A - go - ye Sim - bi man - dé d'l'eau (........

.....)
I. Analyses of tonal structure
1. Suriname Bush.¹

a) Penta type.²

_Penta-do Mode._

¹ See above, p. 493, for explanation of the symbols employed in these analyses. The number underneath each bar is, in every case, that of the song analysed.

Penta-sol Mode.
Penta-re Mode.
Penta-la Mode.
Penta-re-mi Mode.
Penta-sol-mi Mode.

b) Hexa type.¹

Hexa-do Mode.

¹ See above, pp. 503-505.
Hexa-sol Mode.
Hexa-re Mode.
Hexa-la Mode.

Hexa-mi Mode.
Hexa-si Mode.
Hexa-la-si Mode.
Hexa-(do)-si Mode.

c) hepta type.¹

Hepta-do Mode.

¹ See above, pp. 505-506.
Hepta-do-sol Mode.
Hepta-sol Mode.
[vervolg]
Hepta-sol-re Mode.
Hepta-re Mode.
Hepta-la Mode.
Hepta-mi Mode.
Hepta-si Mode.
2. Suriname Town.

a) Penta-type.$^1$

_Penta-do Mode._
_Penta-sol Mode._

b) hexa-type.$^2$

_Hexa-do Mode._

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1 See above, p. 511.
2 See above, pp. 511-512.
Hexa-sol Mode.
[vervolg]
Hexa-re Mode.
Hexa-la Mode.
Hexa-mi Mode.
Hexa-si Mode.


Hexa-sol-mi Mode.
Hexa-sol-si Mode.
c) Hepta-type.¹

Hepta-fa Mode.
Hepta-do Mode.

¹ See above, p. 513.
[vervolg]

Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
[vervolg]
Hepta-do-sol Mode.
Hepta-sol Mode.
[vervolg]
Hepta-re Mode.
Hepta-la Mode.
Hepta-la-mi Mode.

Hepta-mi Mode.
Hepta-do-la Mode.
3. Haiti.

Penta-do Mode.
Penta-mi Mode.
Hexa-sol Mode.
Hexa-sol Mode. (Hepta-fa Mode.)
Hepta-do Mode.
Appendices
Appendix I. Glossary of Taki-Taki Words Appearing in Introductory Notes

NOTE: Wherever it was possible to establish definite African provenience and New World survivals, these are indicated parenthetically, according to language or region, after the definition. In those instances where identification is not obvious, we have given European provenience as well.

- A -

a, the (Ewe a, the).
Abɔ́rewa, ancient woman; deified ancestress (Twi).
*aboma*, boa constrictor; deity assuming the guise of the boa (Kongo *mboma*, python).
*abọ́ŋgra*, medicinal seeds.
Abonuako, Thunder God (Ashanti *abona*, stone axe, i.e. ‘thunder stone’).
Adyanti-wai̯, African deity.
Afi̯kette, deity born of the mating of *Aisa* and *Lɛba* (in Dahomey daughter of *Agbe* and *Naete*, gods of the Sea).
Afkoḍrai, idolatry, i.e. worship of African gods (Dutch).
Agida, earth spirit; largest of complex of ceremonial drums; principal drum for invoking Earth and Snake Gods.
Aida, earth spirit (in Dahomey, snake deity coiled under the earth to support its weight).
*Aisa*, earth deity (Dahomey, Haiti).
Akabrewa, African deity, see Abɔ́rewa.
*akansa*, cornmeal cakes cooked in banana leaves (Fɔ̨, Nago, Edo, Haitian).
Akantamasu, or Akantamasi, Gods of the Ant-Hill (Twi?).
Akoabonua, see Abonuako.
akra, soul (Twi).
Alado or Aladi, Thunder God.
Ananka Yao, Thunder God.
*anąnsi*, spider; principal trickster of the animal tales (Twi).
*anąnsi-tɔri*, generic name for all tales (*tɔri*, Eng. story).
*anąnsi-tɔri dansi*, euphemism for the series of individual dances for the ancestors.
anejisi, name of bush whose leaves and twigs are used medicinally.
*apinti*, sacred drum; principal drum for invoking African gods not in Earth or Snake categories (Yoruba, *apinti*: Ashanti, *mprintin*).
Apuku, little folk of the bush worshipped as deities (probably from Yoruba-Dahomean, *abiku*).
Arawaki, Arowak Indian.

asay, elephant (Kongo, nzau).

'asi, horse; devotee of a god (Dahomey, asi, wife; suffix si added to name of a deity denotes wife of deity, i.e. devotee).

asogri, cornmeal pudding.

Awənaisa, earth deity, strong name for Aisa (in Dahomey one of the strong names for the earth).

Awənasa, see Aisa and Awənaisa.

awге, male invert (Edo, awekia, impotent man).

azɛ, witch (Fɔ, Ewe, Edo; Nago, Aje).

azɛman, vampire (Dahomey).

- B -

baka-futu-banya, dance for the ancestors.

bakra, white person (Efik).

bakra-opo, charm for dominating the will of a white person.

bakru, little people with bodies half human and half wooden, who act as carriers of black magic.

bakru-kɔti, a magic inoculation against these carriers of black magic.

banyɛ, dance for the earth spirits; on occasion danced socially.

basɛra, bastard.

bejfi, to tremble, used especially in connection with religious possession.

bita, Suriname bitters, used medicinally.

bombo, vagina; to copulate.

bonkoru, albino.

bonu, priest, maker of charms (Ewe, bo; Fɔ, gbo charm, nu, person).

bosum or abosomo, Kromanti word for deity (Twi).

Bumba, deity invoked in Loango wunti dances (also used in Haiti).

- C -

Cheno, snake deity.

- D -

dagowɛ, sacred snake (Ewe, Fɔ, Haitian).

dia-tu or dia tutu, the horn of a deer, the scrapings of which form an important ingredient for the making of charms.

didibri, devil.

Djuka, name of one of the three principal Bush-Negro tribes; generic coastal name for a non-urban Negro skilled in magic.
doku, highly seasoned pudding of bananas, or peanuts, or young corn, cooked in a banana leaf (Gold Coast, Jamaica).

doro-sej pikin, illegitimate child (Haiti, ‘enfant-dehors’).

dosu, name of child born after twins (Dahomey, Haiti).
Dyadya, a spirit of the Tigri-Kromanti group: see Kromanti.
dyɛbi or djɛbi, devil; a spirit of the Tigri-Kromanti group: see Kromanti.
dyodyo or djodjo, soul (Dahomey djɔto, ancestral soul).

ɛnt, to circumcise.

- F -

fajia-lobi, scarlet flower (see note, p. 7; according to van Panhuys [in a letter], 'fire-love', hence 'ardent love').
famiri, family; pad worn by women about the waist; name for protuberance formed by this pad in back which is one of the elements of the woman's dress called koto-yaki.
fiofio, bug, and spirit manifesting itself as this bug to punish for conscious or unconscious hypocrisy in relationships of intimacy or blood-kinship. (In the Congo fiofio is a root whose dust is used to exorcise the demons that might have entered the body of a child in its mother's womb).
fodu, see Vodu.
Frɛpsi, Indian wunti spirit.
futumą-nanyam, food cooked by a menstruating woman.

- G -

gadō or gadu, god.
Gãŋga or Kãŋga, dance for the ancestors.
ɡi tafra, to offer food; idiom for offerings to the soul.
ɡoro gadō, earth god (Eng., ground-god).
granman, chief, headman, governor. (Ewe, ɡa, chief; Sar. speech, g'amą).
Grɔ Mama, Earth Mother; also generic name for tutelary earth spirit of each compound, plantation, etc. (Eng., 'Mother of the Ground').
Grɔ Papa, a deity born of the mating of a female Earth spirit and a Papa snake. (Papa is generally interpreted as the equivalent of Popo. The Saramaka tribe includes the Popoto clan, which is pronounced as here written, and also the Papa Gadu).

- H -

hängisa, kerchief (Eng., handkerchief).
*hantimān*, male invert.

*hasi*, see *'asi*.

*hctbi*, heavy, a load; trouble.

*hej-grọ*, a snake-deity.
- I -

*isri nangga isri*, two pieces of iron struck against each other to give a rhythm; *Kromanti* spirits will not come unless to the voice of the drums is added the sound of iron against iron, for iron is the symbol of the *Kromanti*. (Dutch; in the Bush this is called *felu ko felu*, Port.).

- İ İ -

*İngi*, Indian.

*İngi Wunti*, Indian spirits, associated particularly with earth and water.

- K -

*kabugru*, Negro-Hindu cross (also employed to mean Negro-mulatto or Negro-Indian cross).

*kabugru-uru*, brown girl wanton (*uru*, probably Eng. ‘whore’).

*kado*, gift (Fr.).

*kamalama*, birthday gift of best friend.

*kankantri*, sacred silk cotton tree.

*kankantri wunti*, spirit of this tree.

*kartaman*, man who tells fortunes by means of cards.

*kaseka wunti*, interlude of social dancing during a *wunti* dance.

*kasiri*, to purify (Hebrew).

*kauna or kawina*, social dance, essentially a fertility dance; ceremony performed when a manatee is caught, or a tapir is killed.

*kauna sỳngi*, songs for such dance and ceremony.

*kauna drò*, small drum, played at both ends.

*kina*, see *trefu*.

*Kobisi*, Indian *wunti* spirit.

*komfo*, spirit skilled in divination (Ashanti word for priest of a god).

*kondre*, country, village, kingdom.

*Korowena*, snake deity.

*koto-musi*, women who dress in *koto-yaki*.

*koto-yaki*, traditional dress of women, now used principally for ceremonial occasions.

*krionri*, creole.

*'kra*, see *akra*.

*'kra tafra*, food offerings to the soul, eaten by the individual himself as the corporeal agent of the soul.

*Krebisi*, Carib Indian.

*kretn*, gunpowder, firecrackers; used ceremonially at funerals, and as an ingredient for making preventive charms against ghosts (Dutch).

*kroj ’a man*, idiom for subjugating a man’s soul.

*Kromanti*, category of spirits comprising African, forest, water and
thunder gods; among the Saramacca people men’s warrior society(?). (Ancient Gold Coast kingdom; name in New World for Gold Coast slaves, i.e. Coromantyns.

*kuli*, coolie; name given both Javanese and Chinese.

*kunu*, violation of ancestral moral code; punishment for such violation by ancestors and gods.

*kuswc*, red pigment from the fruit of the *Bixa orellana*.

*kwakwa*, musical instrument played at sacred dances, consisting of a hardwood bench beaten with one or two sticks.

*kweki*, children reared by strangers; they have the status akin to the African pawn in certain respects, though no money is exchanged between the family of the child, and the family taking the child.

*Kwenda*, snake deity.

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**- L -**

*lama*, see kamalama.

*Leba*, god of the crossroads; guardian spirit of habitations, thought most often to reside in trees that are found in the yards. (Dahomey, *Legba*; Yoruba, *Elegbara*; Haiti, *Legba*).

*Liba Mama*, Mother of the River.


*lɔbi-sɩ̨ŋgi*, institutionalized ceremony of recrimination by ridicule, with women as the active participants; also form of public confession for women; songs sung at such ceremonies.

*loko*, sacred tree, and deity residing in the tree. (Dahomey, *Loko*; Yoruba, *Iroko*).

*lukumàn*, diviner.

*lej*, to lie; to guess; a lie.

*lej-tɔri*, riddle.

---

**- M -**

*Ma fò Doti*, Earth Mother, see *Grọ Mama*.

*man drog*, male drum, one of complex of sacred drums.

*man opo*, a charm for winning and keeping a man.

*maŋ*, to be able (Ewe; also possibly Dutch; or telescoping of both).

*masra*, master, husband, mister.

*Masra Gra Gadô*, Supreme God (lit., ‘Master Great God’).

*mati*, friend; name for homosexual relationship; invert (prob. Eng., mate).

*muwese* or *Wɛse*, Thunder God.

*moj*, fine, beautiful, polite (Dutch).
na, the; idiom for 'it is'; abrev. for ⁿᵃⁿᵍᵃ (Twi, Nago, Mende).
ⁿᵃⁿᵍᵃ, and; with.

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ňanyam, food.
Nëŋgre, Negro.
Nëŋgre-kɔndre, Africa.
Nëŋgre-kɔndre komfo, see komfo.
Nëŋgre Kromanti, see Kromanti.
Nëŋgre-kɔndre pepe, African pepper, Aframomum Meleguete.
Nëŋgre-kɔndre wunti, an African spirit, see wunti.
numąn ńçm, strong name.
yąm, to eat, enjoy, capture, (as in a game of counters); spend, attack, (as when referring to an illness), (Jamaica, Brit.Guiana, U.S. [Sea Islands], Trinidad).

- O -

obia, healing principle; generic name for charm. (Efik, Twi?).
obia-fatu, palm oil.
obiaman, maker of charms, who also exorcises evil magic.
odi, greeting, (probably Eng., ‘how do’; Sar., odi or undai).
opete, vulture (Twi; Ewe, mpete).
opo, category of charms designed to perform aggressive acts for their owners; see tapu.
Opruru Brada, Thunder Gods (Eng., ‘Uproar Brothers’).

- P -

pai, pay, sacrifice.
paŋgi, cloth worn as skirt by women (Fr. pagne).
Papa Gadō or Papa Wunti, snake deity who possesses women. See Grọ Papa.
Papa Iggi, a spirit born of the mating of a Papa snake and a female Indian spirit.
Papa fō wunti, priest; lit., ‘Father of the wunti’.
pɛmba or pɛmba-doti, sacred white clay (Kongo).
pia̯man, Indian priest (Carib Indian).
pikin, child; small; term of reference to the speaker when addressing a superior, i.e. a chief, a deity, a protector.
pina, pain, suffering, famine (Loango, pena); palm-leaf thatch; pin.
pinda, peanuts (Kongo, mpinda).
pɔdyo, a drum forming one of the complex of sacred instruments.
pranasi or prandasi, plantation (Eng.).
prapi, clay pot, bowl, or jug.
presi-doti, praise the Earth, i.e. prayer to the Earth (Eng., praise-dirt).

puru, pull, withdraw, retract, guess, solve, redeem, retrieve. (Eng.)
puru mofo, ceremony of retraction; see fiofio (Eng., lit. ‘pull mouth’).
puru wisi, exorcise black magic.
puru yorka, exorcise a ghost.

- S -

sabana, savanna, cemetery.
safri-safri, cautiously, tenderly, quietly, (Eng., ‘softly’).
saka, to subside, to dismiss (Kongo, sakusa, to abate).
saka-saka, rattle used ceremonially to call the gods, and as one of the instruments of the ritual complex.
san, what (when speaking of things).
saqagrafu, sacred bush whose leaves and shoots are used ceremonially, particularly when dancing for the Tap' Kromanti, the sky gods.
sani, thing.
seti wunti, to pacify an angered wunti spirit.
sibi, to sweep.
Sinero, snake deity.
sisibi, broom.
smeri-wiri, a plant, Ocimum micranthum.
sneki-koti, magic inoculation against snake bites.
Sofia Bada, Thunder God (Dahomey, Bada, youngest member of Thunder pantheon; Haiti, Zofi Bada).
sopi, rum, alcohol.
Sranami, Thunder God, according to van Panhuys (personal communication), ‘Suriname deity’.
suma, person; who; used to form passive voice, i.e. suma taki, people say.... (Twi?).
sweri, oath, compact.
switi sopi, liqueur.

- T -

Tando, Osai Tando, African deity. (Gold Coast, Tano, older spelling, Tando; Togo, Asiotando, war god).
Tap-Kromanti, the Sky Gods envisaged as Thunder Deities; see Kromanti.
tapu, category of charms designed to act as preventives against the machinations of ghosts, malicious gods and sorcerers, see opo; top; on; ‘stop’ (in Haiti, the same charms are called arrêf).
tg, tcm, when, until, (lit., ‘time’).
tigri, jaguar (lit., ‘tiger’).
Tobochina, snake deity (in Ewe, Fɔ, to, water).
Tonɛ, generic name for water gods.
tɔ̨tɔ̨ or tɔ̨mtɔ̨m, pudding made of pounded bananas (Twi).
trąŋgamан, strangulation, convulsions.
trefu, tabu, usually food tabu (Hebrew), also called tchina.
twelįŋ, twins (Dutch).

-U-

umą-opo, charm for winning and keeping a woman.

-V-

Vody, snake deity; generic name for spirit, god. (Dahomey, vo, python, Vody,
generic name for spirit, god; Haiti, vaudou; U.S., voodoo).

-W-

Wanke, an African deity.
Watra Ingi, Indian Water spirit.
Watra Mama, Mother of the Water.
Wɛse, see Muwɛse.
wunti, wind, air, atmosphere, deity, spirit (Eng.).
wuntimąn, priest or priestess of a wunti.
wunti prię, dance for the gods, lit. wunti ‘play’.
wiri or wiwiri, hair, leaf, herb, plumage.
wisi, black magic; poison.
wisimąn, sorcerer, poisoner.

-Y-

Yąnki, Indian wunti spirit.
Yao, Tata Yao, Thunder God; male born on Thursday (Twi).
Yawa, Thursday goddess (Twi).
ye or yeye, soul (Fɔ̨).
yorka, ghost (Carib Indian).
yorka koti, magic inoculation against ghosts.
Appendix II. Themes from Music of Other Primitive Folk, Used for Comparative Purposes in Musicological Analysis

Example a

Beginning of a song of the Awèmbiak Tribe of New Guinea (From: J. Kunst, A Study of Papuan Music. Weltevreden, 1931.)

Example b

Solo:
Choral refrain:

Example c

Introductory solo from a dance song of the East African Wanyamwezi. (From: E.M. v. Hornbostel, Wanyamwezi Songs; Anthropos iv, 1909.)

Example d

First half of a song of the Mohave Indians of North America. (From: George Herzog, The Yuman musical style; Journal of American Folklore xli, 1928.)
EXAMPLE A

Beginning of a song of the Awêmbák Tribe of New Guinea
(From: J. Kunst, A Study of Papuan Music. Wehebraden, 1931.)

EXAMPLE B

Solo:

Choral refrain:


EXAMPLE C

Introductory solo from a dance song of the East African Wanyamwezi.
(From: E. M. v. Hornbostel, Wanyamwezi Songs; Anthropos IV, 1909.)

EXAMPLE D

First half of a song of the Mohave Indians of North America. (From: George Harsog, The Yuman musical style; Journal of American Folklore xii, 1929.)
Example e

First half of a chorus from a song of the Makushi Indians of South America (From: E.M. v. Hornbostel, Musik der Makuschi, Taulipáng und Yekuaná, in Th. Koch-Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoko, Stuttgart, 1923.)

Example f

Canonical Theme of the Kenta Tribe of Pygmies of Malacca (From: M. Kolinski, Die Musik der Primitivstämmme auf Malaka und ihre Beziehungen zur samoanischen Musik; Anthropos xxv, 1930.)

First half of a chorus from a song of the Makushi Indians of South America (From: E. M. v. Hornbostel, Musik der Makuschi, Taulipáng und Yekuaná, in Th. Koch-Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoko, Stuttgart, 1923.)

Canonical Theme of the Kenta Tribe of Pygmies of Malacca (From: M. Kolinski, Die Musik der Primitivstämmme auf Malaka und ihre Beziehungen zur samoanischen Musik; Anthropos xxv, 1930.)
Appendix III. Catalogue of Singers of Songs.¹

BUSH-NEGRO SINGERS (SARAMACCA TRIBE).

Singer B2 (Disiɔ̨) - 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 59, 60, 61, 69, 74.
Singer B3 (Gąnya Kɔnde) - 33, 36, 43, 44, 63, 66, 67.
Singer B4 (Gąnya Kɔnde) - 37.
Singer B5 (Gąnya Kɔnde) - 18, 47, 100, 110.
Singer B6 (Gąnya Kɔnde) - 14, 15.
Singer B7 (Nių Kɔnde) - 3, 20, 42.
Singer B8 (Lombe) - 16, 21, 28, 30, 41, 51, 53, 64, 65, 68, 102, 112.
Singer B9 (Lombe) - 70, 82, 92.
Singer B11 (Kadju) - 17, 34, 111.
Singer B12 (Lōąŋgo) - 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 45, 46, 52.
Singer B13 (Asindopo Lantiwe) - 84.
Singer B14 (Asindopo Lantiwe) - 54, 55, 56, 57.
Singer B15 (Asindopo Lantiwe) - 77, 78, 79, 80, 86, 87.
Singer B16 (Asindopo Lantiwe) - 48.
Singer B17 (Guyaba) - 11, 12, 39, 50, 62, 81, 94, 95.

BUSH-NEGRO SINGERS (DJUKA TRIBE).

Singer B18 (Kofikamp) - 9, 13, 75, 76, 91, 96, 97.

TOWN-NEGRO SINGERS.²

Singers T1 and T2 - 220.
Singers T1, T2, and T3 - 202, 219, 227, 254.
Singer T3 - 228, 229, 230, 231.
Singer T4 - 117, 126, 142, 153, 159, 179, 180, 189, 223, 225.
Singers T4 and T12 - 252.
Singer T5 - 185, 226, 249.
Singers T5 and T6 - 163, 178.
Singers T5, T6, T7, and T8 - 244.
Singers T5 and T8 - 246.
Singer T6 - 155, 162, 167, 173, 174, 196, 221, 222, 250.
Singers T⁶ and T8 - 172, 177.
Singer T9 - 152, 183, 184, 199, 200, 201, 214, 216, 218.
Singer T11 - 154, 175, 186, 203, 204, 206, 209, 210, 215, 217, 224, 233, 253, 255.

¹ The names of the individual singers are replaced by numbers. In the case of the Bush-Negro singers, village names follow the number. Names are omitted because of the wish of the singers.
² These songs are all from Paramaribo.
Singer T12 - 151.
Singer T13 - 119.
Appendix IV. Field-Numbers of Songs Arranged According to Transcription Numbers.¹

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¹ In enumerating songs in the field the number of the cylinder was first given, then the number of the song on that cylinder, since, in some cases, as many as seven different songs were recorded on one record.
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Melville J. Herskovits en Frances S. Herskovits, *Surinam folk-lore*
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Appendix VI. Population of Suriname by Racial Type and Religious Affiliation.¹

A. Population of Paramaribo according to place of origin. (From statistics of the Netherlands Colonial Office, 1930-1931).

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<td>Europeans (born elsewhere)</td>
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<td>Netherlands East Indies</td>
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<td>365</td>
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<td>977</td>
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<td>21 152</td>
<td>25 801</td>
<td>21 219</td>
<td>26 099</td>
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Combined Totals           | 46 953   | 47 318 |

B. Population of the Colony of Suriname according to racial type and religion.  
(Prepared by the Royal Netherlands Colonial Institute for the Colonial Exposition, Paris, 1931.)

1. Population of Suriname according to type (estimated)

- British Indians          | 34 000
- Javanese                 | 30 000
- Chinese                  | 1 500
- Caribs and other American Indians | 2 500
- Bush-Negroes             | 18 000
- Europeans (Whites, and mixtures between Whites and the 4 000 above types)
- Creoles of Suriname (city Negroes, Mulattoes, and other natives of Suriname, more or less colored, not belonging to one of the above groups) | 60 000

¹ These data were made available through the kindness of Jhr. L.C. van Panhuys. They are given here to document the discussion at the beginning of Part I of this work.

² Although no details of the manner in which this classification was made are available, it is presumed that the figures under this heading represent the citizens of Paramaribo who are entirely or partially of Negro blood. In view of the discussion on pp. 16-23 above, their disparity in sex ratio is to be remarked.
2. Population of Suriname according to religion (estimated)

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<td>Pagans</td>
<td>16 000</td>
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References

NOTE: In the body of the text, references are made by author's last name only. Where more than one work of a given author is cited, these are quoted by name and number, as 'Lederbogen (II)'. In order to distinguish titles employed in analysing correspondences for the tales, and to make the list of titles more useful to folk-loreists, the number of tales found in such works is indicated.


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