Proverbs: tools for world view studies: an exploratory comparison of the Bemba of Zambia and the Shona of Zimbabwe

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The proverbs of people - defined by Webster as short sayings "in common use expressing a well-known truth or common fact ascertained by experience or observation" - have been an object of study to many kinds of people for many decades. Robert R. Marett (1938) has said
that proverbs are a key to both the language and culture of a people. But, knowledge of the language and culture of a people, in itself, cannot be satisfying to the discerning anthropologist. An effort must be made to identify and understand the categories of thought, codes and symbols that undergird their language and culture. The anthropologist cannot be satisfied to simply view their world; he must also discover the ways they view their world. He must discover their world view.

Marett rightfully acknowledged that proverbs are a useful key for learning language and culture. It is the contention of this paper, however, that they are, likewise, excellent tools for world view studies.

A unique opportunity arose to prove this thesis when a combination of factors presented the researcher with considerable data. First, he had learned the languages of the Shona and Bemba peoples of Southern Africa. Second, he had collected and studied the use of the proverbs of these people for twelve years. Third, others had collected and published the proverbs in different forms (Hoch 1968, Hamutyinei and Plangger 1974). The paper, then, is a presentation of the results of hours of study of 1,556 Shona proverbs, and 1,286 Bemba proverbs, plus contextual data collected from ethnographies, dictionaries, and personal observations.

The theoretical framework of the paper is, of necessity, carefully presented. Necessary, because neither world view nor proverbs are well understood in the social sciences. Michael Kearney, one of the prime resources for information on world view, says that it is not a "well-established field of study in the sense that it appears in course catalogs, or that there are recognized schools of world view
theory or many scholars specializing in it" (1975:247). Carolyn Parker (1974), one of the main sources of study for proverbs, says the same thing for this subject. According to her, although there has been a long history of the study of proverbs, much of that study has been characterized by shallowness, superficiality and casualness. Benefiting considerably from the contributions of these two, and others as well, the theoretical framework of this paper rises out of an anthropology characterized by the related disciplines of the cultural patterning of the 1950s with its emphasis on psychology and philosophy, the ethno-science and symbolic anthropology of the 1960s with their emphases upon linguistics and philosophy respectively.

Methodologies centered around the extraction from the proverbs of all references to people and their relationships. Lists of this data were compiled and analyzed with the objective of comparing the two groups in question. Special attention was given to three categories: Self, Other and Relationship. The data extracted was analyzed statistically by use of a chi-square test. Primary analysis, however, depended upon the content of the proverbs themselves. Problems of translation, classification, comparison and statistics were given careful consideration in the analysis.

Several observations on both world views and proverbs were the result of methodologies carried out within the theoretical framework described. More than fifty dimensions of the world views of the Bemba and the Shona were brought to the reader's attention. These dimensions point to similarities as well as distinctives between the two groups. They reinforced observations made according to other method-
ologies and they also revealed new possibilities for future research. Observations on the proverbs concerned the practicality of using them for the purpose of world view studies. This practicality was obvious, though it has its limitations which must be acknowledged. Application of this methodology in the social sciences may contribute to a greater understanding of people from diverse cultures.

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PROVERBS: TOOLS FOR WORLD VIEW STUDIES

AN EXPLORATORY COMPARISON OF THE BEMBA
OF ZAMBIA AND THE SHONA OF ZIMBABWE

VOLUME I

by

LARRY L. NIEMEYER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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The members of the Committee approve the thesis of Larry L. Niemeyer presented June 3, 1982.

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"Just talk to them like you would to eleven and twelve year-olds back home, and you will do right." With that ill-founded advice, I began missionary service to Africa in 1967. It was not long, however, before I realized just how ill-founded the advice was. I discovered that it was not the people among whom we had gone to live who were the children, we, the American missionaries, were the children. Our use of the language was childish as was our behavior. We were living among people mature and wise in their culture's view of the world.

With the impatience of youth and its naivety I set out to discover their view of the world - impatient, because all study had to be crammed into a small bit of time left over after expected tasks were performed; naive, because the college education I acquired had barely taught me how to deal with my own world, let alone the world of others. My few classes in anthropology, however, had sharpened my desire to get into that world.

Well-armed I was not. Yet, my two years among the Shona people of Zimbabwe, and later six and one-half years among the Bemba of Zambia, were the best years of my education. Perhaps they were "best" only from my perspective. Looking back, I wish that I had been a better student. I learned the languages of these peoples - but not as well as I wanted. I studied their cultures - but not in enough depth to satisfy
me. Nevertheless, those eight and one-half years among two Bantu-speaking peoples provided the background to many important aspects of my life today; they also provided the background to this study of proverbs and world view.

Robert R. Marett (1938) has said that proverbs are a key to both the language and culture of a people. I found this to be true while living among the Shona and the Bemba. What began as a slight interest in Shona proverbs in the sixties developed into a serious interest in Bemba proverbs in the seventies. Proverbs did unlock gateways to their worlds. My interest was hampered, however, by difficulty in finding collections and sources for proverbs. At that time, I had no expertise in eliciting proverbs from informants. I remember poring through books and articles in the Africana section of the library in Bulawayo whenever I was in town for supplies. The Shona dictionary (Hannan 1961) became a source for many proverbs. Later the Bemba dictionary (White Fathers 1954) proved to be a good source for Bemba proverbs. In 1975, after laboriously collecting proverbs from that latter dictionary I was chagrined to discover that The Society of Missionaries of Africa, popularly called White Fathers, had already made a collection of the proverbs, and had published them in mimeograph form (1968). William Bascom, in his attempt to survey the field of folklore research in 1964, drew the same conclusion: it is very difficult to gather together the existing collections of African proverbs for analytical purposes.

Fortunately, two excellent collections of proverbs are now available for the Shona and the Bemba. M. A. Hamutyinei and A. B.
Plangger have provided a collection of 1556 Shona proverbs available in hardback (1974) and E. Hoch (1968) has provided a similar list of 1286 Bemba proverbs in mimeograph form from his language center at Ilondola, Zambia. The collections require a knowledge of both languages, and though I could not be considered an expert in either language, it is hoped that my knowledge of ChiShona and ChiBemba will add to the credibility of this study of their proverbs.

While proverbs did unlock a gateway to the languages and cultures of the Shona and Bemba peoples, it became clear to me at a later date, that those gateways were external only. The doors to which those keys were applied could be likened to the gates of a courtyard which allowed access to the house. I could then get near enough to get a proper view of the Shona and Bemba scenes. But there was obviously another door that had to be entered. That was the front door - the door that would give access to all the various inner rooms. Entrance to the various rooms would reveal windows through which the Shona and Bemba looked to view their worlds. Marett had said that proverbs would unlock the gateway allowing my knowledge of their language and culture but he did not relate their applicability to the door that would allow me to see their perspective on the world.

My personal interest in this view from their windows was first sparked as an undergraduate student of Dr. R. Clyde McCones of California State College in Long Beach. That interest developed somewhat after my experience with the Shona and before my experience with the Bemba. "World view" became an intriguing study to me that continued into my graduate studies. In 1972 when I returned to Africa I was
equipped to study the world view of African peoples. A lack of definitive literature on world view made this study somewhat frustrating.

Yet I grabbed at anything I could find that had the slightest semblance of this perspective on a people.

Looking back, it seems only natural that my interests, experiences and study should result in an effort to wed the subject of proverbs with the subject of world view. Marett recognized in proverbs a useful tool for learning language and culture. The question is, are proverbs likewise a tool for understanding the world view of a people? Are they an effective key for unlocking the doors to implicit knowledge as well as explicit knowledge? It is the contention of this presentation that they are, in fact, excellent tools for world view studies.
PART I

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY
CHAPTER II

WORLD VIEW

World view is not a well-established field of study in the sense that it appears in course catalogs, or that there are recognized schools of world view theory or many scholars specializing in it. And yet, rather paradoxically, literature about world view and world-view-related subjects permeates anthropology (Kearney 1975:247).

In order to unite the study of world view with the study of proverbs, it is necessary to define and delineate both. This is an especially difficult task in regard to the concept of world view. An historical overview reveals some of the reasons for this difficulty.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Alan Dundes (1971) and Michael Kearney (1975) provide two different overviews of the studies that have been made of this subject. According to Dundes, Malinowski attempted to get anthropologists beyond the narrow cosmological/mythological conceptions of world view that were current in the early decades of the century. To Malinowski is traced the introduction of the word Weltanshauung: "What interests me in the study of the native is his outlook on things, his Weltanshauung. . . . Every human culture gives its members a definite vision of the world. . . ." (1922:517). Following this Dundes referred to various other scholars who have studied world view from different vantage points: language, folklore, religion, and even architecture. The studies of these scholars have ranged from a very general terminology
that leaves the reader thinking he is merely viewing culture, to a very specific terminology that leaves the reader wondering what he really is viewing. They have studied single individuals and entire groups for world view perspectives. Single features of world view such as time, space, self and other (to be discussed later) have been studied in some works, while the whole realm of these features has been considered in other works.

Michael Kearney's overview is confined to the field of anthropology. He points out what he calls a developmental history of world view studies, associating various anthropologists with the different phases. By-passing Malinowski, he considers first, a formative period in the 1930's, rising out of the work of Burckhardt, Kroeber, Sapir, Whorf, and Benedict. Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (1934) typifies these studies. Next came a time of transition in the 40's and 50's when Tax, Hallowell, and Redfield described world view in more detail. Hallowell's *Culture and Experience* (1955) is designated a representative volume for this time. Kearney's third historical phase of world view studies was the propositional period of the 60's and early 70's. It is represented by Foster, Hoebel, Kearney, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck—all of whom derived propositions dealing with various aspects of particular world views they studied. Kearney believes that Foster's "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good" (1965) proved to be the greatest stimulant during this period. It is likewise interesting that Westerners began looking at their own philosophic and scientific systems as world views during this time (Kuhn 1970).
Common to all of these studies up through the early seventies is the vagueness already mentioned. World view was variously called, "primitive categories", "cognitive maps", "ethos", "forms of life", "ideology", "theme", "style", "ultimate Cosmology", "pattern", "world hypothesis", and "climate of opinion" during these years (Jones 1972: 79). Jones went on to say that         

... critics suspect that a concept so variously named is itself somewhat vague, and this suspicion doubtless explains why some students of culture prefer to ignore the notion of world view altogether and to concentrate instead on the directly observable institutions and practises of a culture" (ibid.).

While various schools of thought grew up around the observations of cultural patterns and performances, no "recognized schools of world view studies" emerged. One observer noted in 1970 that various researchers touched on religion, law, folklore, magic and other familiar categories of ethnography, but avoided the "intellectual facets of world view such as logic and epistemology" (Albert 1970:101). He attributed this deficiency to presuppositions in the scientific world about "non-western, non-scientific conceptual systems." Another reason for the vagueness may arise out of a fear of being "out-of-synch" with current research trends. Indeed, Egbujie (1977) called world view studies "the left out" side of research. Kearney believes that the vagueness that has enveloped world view studies began disappearing somewhat in the late seventies and early eighties. He calls this fourth phase of developmental studies the systematic period. It is a period characterized by a mounting concern that various world view features be properly related and ef-
fectively integrated. In Kearney's opinion, Mary Douglas' *Natural Symbols* (1973) is an example of this kind of systematic approach to world view studies. He places her in that broad school of anthropological thought called *cultural idealism*. In contrast, he sees himself contributing to this new period as a proponent of *historical materialism*, a second broad school of thought. His 1981 volume sets forth the principles of this school very clearly. His aim, he says, is to "rescue world view from the idealist camp" (1981:12). Along with this systematization, whether of one school or another, there comes a concern for conceptualization and definition in the field. So, the fog is lifting - the wedding of proverbial studies and world view studies becomes a greater possibility.

**CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW - A MODEL FOR WORLD VIEW STUDIES**

At the beginning of his survey on the study of world view, Michael Kearney said that his major problem was finding a meaningful definition of the subject (1975:247). He was not satisfied with those definitions that were current:

The "world view" of a people, . . . is the way a people characteristically look outward upon the universe. If "culture" suggests the way a people look to an anthropologist, "world view" suggests how everything looks to a people.

But if there is an emphasized meaning in the phrase "world view," I think it is in the suggestion it carries of the structure of things as man is aware of them. It is in the way we see ourselves in relation to all else (Redfield 1957:85-86).

The world view of any individual is a set of very wide-range vectors in that individual's belief space a) that he learned early in life and that are not readily changed and
b) that have a determinate influence on much of this observable behavior, both verbal and nonverbal, but c) that he seldom or never verbalizes in the referential mode, though d) they are constantly conveyed by him in the expressive mode and as latent meanings (Jones 1972:83).

World view is the way a people characteristically looks out on the universe. It consists of the most general and comprehensive concepts and unstated assumptions about life (Spradley 1975:280).

Kearney found Redfield and Spradley bound by the biases of their cultural idealism. The work of Jones, a philosopher, was judged "peripheral" to real cognitive studies and was said to be of more significance to personality studies than to world view studies. At that time, Kearney himself stated: "I take world view to be virtually synonymous with cognitive anthropology" (1975:247). By 1981, he had changed somewhat as he tried to put theoretical distance between himself and others interested in the subject. Yet, he simply wrote,

The world view of a people is their way of looking at reality. It consists of basic assumptions and images which provide a more or less coherent, though not necessarily accurate, way of thinking about the world. (1981:51).

In fact, he had said little by way of definition that had not already been said. To his definition, I would like to add a definition contributed by a fifth person - a definition not unlike all the others:

The world view is the central systematization of conceptions of reality to which the members of the culture assent (largely unconsciously) and from which stems their value system. The world view lies at the very heart of culture, touching, interacting with, and strongly influencing every other aspect of the culture (Kraft 1979:53).

Kraft added later, "A people's world view is their basic model of reality" (op. cit., 54).
Combining the contributions of various people to a definition of world view, and noting especially the contributions of Kearney and Kraft, world view will be defined in this thesis as:

The basic assumptions and presuppositions with which people look out upon their world, systematized and integrated so as to bring coherence to their thinking about the world. World view is basic to every subject, whether individual or people, effecting and being affected by the patterns, performance and panorama that make up that subject's culture.

Beyond definition, Charles Kraft attempts to discuss world view in connection with the entirety of the culture in which it is found, describing that culture according to structure and behavior. Beyond discussion, he also tries to portray it graphically (see Figure 1). Referring to Robert Redfield, Kraft presents world view as the "central control box" of a culture or subculture (1979:53). World view is the "organizer of the conceptual system taught to and employed by members of that culture/subculture." It governs the application of this conceptual system to performance in all areas of the "arena of reality." Everything, says Kraft, ties in with the world view's central conceptualization. Drawing on Malinowski's discussion of religion (1925), he goes on to say that world view functions to explain, evaluate, reinforce, integrate and adapt within this model.

1 Thus, world view can be held by an individual or a group, of these two possibilities, Kraft says, "A groups' world view does not completely determine the perception of all its members at all times. Though there is characteristically a very high degree of conservatism to such conceptualization, there is change in this as well as in all areas of culture. . . ." (1979:56).
1. Cultural Patterns (Structure)

- Linguistic Structure
  - Semantics, Grammar
  - Phonology

- Social Structure
  - Family, Associations, Economic, Political, Educational Structures

- Religious Structure
  - Belief, Values, Ritual, Mythology

- World View
  - as Organizer of Conceptualization

- Tools, Techniques
  - Technological Structures

2. Cultural Performance (Behavior)

- Use of Language
  - Speaking

- Use of Social Patterns
  - Organizing and Operating Family, Associations, Economic, Education, Political Structures

- World View
  - as Governor of Application of Concepts

- Apply Skills

- Use of Religion
  - Application of Judgment, Performance of ritual, Production of myth

- Use of Technology

Figure 1. Kraft's model of world view in relation to pattern and performance.
Kraft's concept of world view within culture has both strengths and weaknesses. An obvious strength is the way he discusses cultural structure and behavior as it relates to world view. He also acknowledges the place of cultural change and its impact upon world view and vice versa, the place of world view change and its impact upon culture. A third strength that Kraft brings to the discussion is an awareness of the place of world views in what he calls "reality" - the external world. Quoting Barbour (1974:37-38), he says, "The fact that as human beings we see reality not as it is but always from inside our heads in terms of such models means that 'no direct comparison of model and world is possible'" (1979:29). Kraft speaks for many when he says of world view models, "We cannot, therefore, take our models (or our paradigms and world view) literally or absolutely. We must, however, take them seriously" (ibid.).

Some weaknesses are apparent in Kraft's presentation of world view. While he gives proper place to world view within its cultural environment along with discussion of the interaction of the two, he does not sufficiently delineate the interaction. His concept is a static concept rather than a dynamic one. Then, too, although Kraft gives attention to "reality" - the external world, he seems to do so only in a philosophical sense, not a physical sense. Finally, Kraft discusses world view without presenting its features and dimensions. He makes little reference to the actual makeup of world view. While saying what it does, Kraft does not clarify what a world view is.

Like Kraft, Michael Kearney is not only verbose, but he is also graphic in his description of world view. His model for world view in
its environment clearly shows the bias of historical materialism (1981: 178, Figure 7). External sources of change can and do modify the social and geographical environment; environment, in turn, modifies the world view; world view directs the activity of a person in the culture, and the person then alters the environment in which he lives. At the same time, with perceptual schema and cognitive maps imbedded (1981:57a, Figure 2), and with "universals" such as time, Space, Causality, Self, Other, Relationships and Classification, integrated (1981:161a, Figure 6), world view generates cultural symbols and projective systems which Kearney carefully defines. Reification, the elevation of abstractions to the position of being a material part of the social and geographical environment, occurs at this point; the symbols and systems become part of the total environment. Figure 2 is an attempt to bring Kearney's three models (1981:57a, 161a, and 178a) together.

Two weaknesses in Kearney's model caution the student to careful study of his viewpoint. First, as an historical materialist, he clearly makes his bias known throughout his volume. This bias can be seen somewhat in Figure 2 where world view is seen not only directing, generating and exploring various features of the environment and culture but is also being modified by the environment itself, and this in a direct way. All sources of change are external. The same bias can be seen as he considers world view universals as "analogos of physiological principles necessary to maintain life" (ibid.). A second

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2 These "universals" will be discussed more fully on pages 16-18.
Figure 2. Kearney's model of world view in its environment.
weakness is that Kearney assumes that only the historical materialist can have a practical perspective on world view. Others do have such views. I, for example, am not an historical materialist, but consider myself practical in terms of my understanding, interest in, and application of world view studies.

On guard for the weaknesses, one can benefit considerably from the strengths in Kearney's model and discussion. The most obvious strength is his effort to bring world view into focus in its social and geographic environment. He wants to avoid discussion of world view as though people just sit around and speculate on philosophical issues. Instead, he says, it is a prominent part of every culture, a part that is involved in the direction of action, the generation of cultural symbols and the exploration of its own environment. A second strength that Kearney's model of world view in its environment brings to the study is his judgment that world view serves "the pragmatic necessity of communication," and that the various elements of which it is comprised are like tools (1981:96) for this communicative purpose (1981:96). World view is not just something to be thought, it is something to be talked and to be used as the basis for conversation and communication. This brings a practical significance to the subject of world view. Central as it is to communication, it is incumbent upon those who desire to communicate and improve communication to learn what they can of the various world views involved.

It is necessary to call attention to one more strong feature of Kearney's study, because it becomes the theoretical basis of this thesis. It appears that Kearney has succeeded where others have
failed, in providing an integrated model of world view. This was an important objective in his study, as he himself says,

Throughout this discussion of world view universals I have attempted to indicate how they are in different ways and to varying degrees interdependent. As we saw the backbone of a world view is the opposition and integration of Self and the Other. From this most primary structure we were able, using both genetic and structural arguments, to identify other universals as necessarily deriving from the presence of Self and Other. The first of these was Relationship. The existence of Self and Other as well as further necessary major discriminations within the Other are also tantamount to the origin and structure of the Classification dimension. Whereas Classification is a static structure, Relationship is dynamic in that it deals with interaction between, first of all, Self and Other, and later with interaction among elements both within the Self and within the Other. It is thus from this dynamic aspect of the Relationship universal that we derive the general category of Causality. And as we saw, the cognition of causality is dependent not only upon Relationship, but also upon the cognition of space and time (1981:160-161).

Kearney then went on to diagram these summarizations, showing the "logico-structural linkages" between the various "universals" (Figure 3). To understand the integration he sought and discovered for his own satisfaction, it is necessary to discuss both the linkages and the universals.

Before Kearney develops his model of the integration of "universals", he discusses "categories". In reference to the latter term, Kearney says they are the "necessary dimensions of any functional world view," and went on to say,

The study of world view is to a great extent the analysis of the major categories of reality recognized by a people and the criteria by which they group the contents of these categories together (1981:115).

The integration of categories is more acceptable than "the integration of universals". "Categories" is preferred in this thesis, since one can always find an exception to "universals".
Figure 3. Integration of world view universals (Kearney 1981:161a).
All students of world view would agree that these categories are necessary. They would not agree on what to call them, neither generally nor specifically. Generally, the terminology varies from "vector" (Jones 1972), to "operational units" (Spradley 1972), to "universals" (Kearney 1981), to "ideas" (Dundes 1971), to "orientation" (Hallowell 1955). In arriving at specifics, Redfield called attention to 75 common elements in the world views of all cultures. Some of those elements are the self, other, "us" and "them", men and women, human as distinct from non-human, invisible forces and beings, animals and all of nature, space, time, birth and death (Spradley 1975:280). Kluckholn and Strodtbeck referred to human nature orientations, man-nature orientations, time orientation, activity orientations, and relational orientations, with variations postulated for each (1961:11). Kearney arrived "willy-nilly" (sic) at the seven important elements presented in his model: time, space, causality, self, other, relationships and classification (1975:247). Fortunately, however, he elaborated on the seven elements in his later volume (1981) and the model presented in my paper incorporates those same elements and his model for showing their integration (Op. cit., 161a, Figure 6). Not wanting to belabor my presentation or repeat what Kearney and others (Redfield 1952; Hallowell 1955:75-11) clearly presented, these elements will be defined and exemplified as follows:

**Self**

Definition: The identity of a given person as distinct from all other persons and things.
Examples: Kearney's observation that the Ixtepeji people of Mexico do not view self and the body as necessarily harmonious elements (1972). Dorothy Lee contended that the Wintu Indians of Northern California do not place strict bounds on the self, do not name it, and do not view it as a separate entity (1959:132).

Other
Definition: Everything that is not part of the identity of a given person. May be human and non-human.
Examples: The Ojibwa's belief in a universe of supernatural beings (Hallowell 1955), the American struggle with individuality and a weak base for group adherence (Riesman 1950).

Relationships
Definition: The interaction of Self and Other.
Examples: The Arapesh see a relationship of maintenance between self and other, the Zuni - harmony, the Mesopotamian obedience, and the American - action upon (Redfield 1952: 33-34).

Time
Definition: Temporal frame of reference.
Space

Definition: Spatial frame of reference.


Causality

Definition: The interrelation of time and space in event with special emphasis upon cause and effect.

Examples: Piaget's study of causality from an empiricist point of view (1930), Kluckhohn's discovery that 'perhaps' was one the most frequently uttered words in Navaho (1949:361).

Classification

Definition: The conceptual grouping of all world view elements.


The "universals" then (or "categories" as I prefer to call them) are vital to Kearney's integrated model (Figure 3, page 17). The other vital feature of this integration has to do with the "logico-structural linkages." Kearney plainly states the basis for this concept:

The theoretical bias behind the concept of logico-structural integration is that a world view is a dynamic,
more or less internally consistent system which demonstrates logical and structural regularities. Furthermore, these regularities exist both synchronically and diachronically (1981:71).

He likens his viewpoint to that of Anthony Wallace who says that "every human brain contains 'a unique mental image of a complex system of dynamically interrelated objects' which he refers to as a 'mazeway'" (Wallace 1970:15 in Kearney 1981:71). Kearney contrasts his viewpoint with that of Robert Redfield, saying that in both

...the opposition of Self and Other is the primary axis of world view. But in Redfield's model each dimension is in effect an isolated category which presumably can vary independently of the others. To the contrary the lines [Figure 3] represent dynamic inter-connections in which the presence of assumptions in any one has logico-structural implications for all the others. I have argued that those relationships indicated by heavy lines are the most direct, but that nevertheless all dimensions are directly or indirectly connected one with another (1981:161).

Kearney makes it quite clear that he stresses linkage: integration, inter-connection, inter-dependency of various world view categories.

Kearney's integration of world view categories is the perspective taken in this paper - with certain reservations. The chief reservation concerns Kearney's contention that his seven categories are "universals". That is not something that can be verified. However, the categories are helpful "tools" for analyzing other world views and they will be used as such in this thesis. Another reservation concerns Kearney's understanding of causality. He states again and again that he is an historical materialist, and as such, has his own presuppositions concerning causality. Those assumptions make clear that determinism in a closed system is the accepted premise in discussions of causality. Yet it has not been proven by the materialist, whether
cultural or historical, that such is not the case at all. Furthermore, people with such biases have historically left the individual and personality factors out of the picture and world view is all about individuals and their personalities. These two reservations lead me to seek theoretical distance from Kearney. Although his integration of world view "universals" (Figure 3) is the clearest presentation of such features that I know of, and becomes the basic model of this paper, Kearney's definitions are not necessarily accepted, nor are his claims for universality.

Having conceptualized the subject matter in terms of verbal definitions and graphic dimensions, all the attendant problems that face students of world view now come to play upon this attempt as well. A few of these problems need to be broached so that it will not appear as though this study was undertaken oblivious to their presence. The whole study of world view obviously rises out of Western intellectual tradition with its inherent biases (Kearney 1981:327). Moreover, world views are not neatly separated into elements, indexed and readily accessible. Instead they are made up of elements often fused together, covert, or exceedingly difficult to identify. Jones refers to the difficulty informants can have trying to verbalize something that is seldom if every verbalized in a culture (1972:82). In fact, says Jones, direct interrogation concerning world views is not possible. To compound the difficulty, world views change, though every so slowly (Kraft 1979:53). Robert Levine says, "Traditional ways of viewing the world persist long after the conditions that led to the formation of the world view have changed" (1966, as recorded by Salamone 1970:39-44).
Kearney quoted Ernest Gellner (1970) who objected, "Concepts are as liable to mask reality as to reveal it, and masking some of it may be a part of their function." That presents problems of another kind to students of world view. Masking may occur at the most fundamental level. I remember the difficulty of learning personal names among the Bemba. This would seem a simple task of classification. But I was often given newly created names - in order to have realities masked from the questioner who was not yet to be trusted.

Similar problems are referred to by others such as French anthropologist, J. J. Maquet:

"Few, if any, native cultures will be so well integrated that all ideas bearing on a certain phenomenon, e.g., death, as expressed in mythology, in ritual, in professed belief, in linguistic usage, in proverbs and sayings, etc., will tally with one another. . . . in the endeavor to synthesize the various expressions of native belief, sentiments, and custom into a coherent and congruous system of thought, he can scarcely avoid imposing to some extent his own way of thinking (1954:27)."

There is a danger, too, in these studies to form vast, complex world views on the basis of a limited amount of information. At the American Anthropological Association's annual meeting in Los Angeles (December 5, 1981), Roger Keesing raised the question of the appropriateness of the long-standing use of "mana" and "taboo" by anthropologists in the formulation of world views. Keesing challenged his listeners to engage in the quest for "indigenous thought" rather than participate in "anthropological theology."

Speaking of the categories themselves, several observations have been made. Studies of Self and Other are hampered by the fact that one is not likely to find a corresponding linguistic term for either
in the language of the people studied (Hallowell 1955:90). Usually, the image of Other is not as well defined even as Self (Kearney 1981). When speaking of Relationships, one is speaking of a wide, diverse field of possibilities and different levels of relationship that make this particular study very complex and time-consuming. Time, one of the universal elements, is also "one of the most abstract and intangible concepts in human thought" (Kearney 1981:259) and references to Causality per se "are almost non-existent in world view literature" (ibid.). The study of Causality is further compounded by the prevalence of probability theory in the social sciences today. And finally, Classification, though the most explicit of the elements, usually lies at the subconscious level of language usage.

In addition to these general and particular problems facing one in the study of world view, he must also be on guard to distinguish world view from other fields of research. Redfield, back in 1952, distinguished it from some of the terms in vogue at that time, including "ethos," and "national character." Geertz (1957) attempted to show the difference between world view and values, saying that the former is based on "intellectual and experiential data" while the latter is based on "normative data." Nevertheless, Foster (1966:387) says that world view studies often slip off into the study of values. World view studies differ from religious studies. "A world view provides people with their basic assumptions about reality," says Paul Hiebert (1976: 371), "while religion provides them with the specific content of this reality." Kearney, being the one who wanted to "rescue" world view from all these "idealists," distinguished it from belief systems (1981:
69-70), and just as importantly, from the studies of cognitive psychology, personality and culture, ethnosemantics and ethnosciences (op. cit. 35-60). The reader is invited to read Kearney's explanations on his own.

All these challenges confront the student of world view. They are the kind of challenge that cause him to sink or swim. Attempting to swim, it is now time to consider studies of African world views.

OVERVIEW OF AFRICAN WORLD VIEW STUDIES

Like the diversity of the continent itself, world view studies in Africa have been approached from several different vantage points and persuasions. The peoples who have been the focus of world view studies have been located in all of the continent. Those who have studied them have done so from the perspectives ranging from art to personality studies and in three major European languages: English, French, German. Consequently, the resultant reports show significant variations in both systematization and scope. Additionally, the student must carefully weave through this maze of studies which, when compared with other African studies, seem marginal. Undoubtedly, this is a reflection of the general unpopularity of this approach in African studies.

Daryll Forde's African Worlds, Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples (1954) brought together the largest number of studies that I know of which dealt with different aspects of world view. The volume also brought together studies representing most of the continent. Representing North Africa was
Godfried Lienhardt's study of the Shilluk of Sudan, Kenneth Little's study of the Mende of Sierra Leone, K. A. Busia's study of the Ashanti of Gold Coast, and P. Mercier's study of the Fon of Dahomey. The volume gave representation for East Africa to Gunter Wagner's study of the Abaluyia of Kenya and J. J. Maquet's study of the Banyarwanda of Rwanda. One study in South Africa was J. D. Krige and E. J. Krige's presentation of aspects of Lovedu world view in the Transvaal. Thus, Forde compiled a significant number of articles relating to the subject in hand.

The North is further represented in studies of the Dinka (Lienhardt 1961), the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940, 1956) and the Azande (Evans-Pritchard 1937), all from the Sudan. West Africa is further represented by the work of Kagame (1956) among the Dogon of Mali, Vaughan among the Marghi (1964), the work of Tessler among the Kanuri (1973), and the work of Lowery-Palmer among the Yoruba (1980) - all in Nigeria, the work of Kirk-Greene among the Adamwa of Cameroons (1958), the work of Goody among the Lodagaa (1962), and the work of Kilson among the Ga (1970) - both in Ghana. Studies from East Africa include Middleton's study of the Lugbara of Uganda (1960), Wilson's of the Nyakusa of Tanzania (1957, 1959), Tessler's of the Usangi of Tanzania (1973), and Mbiti's of the Akamba in Tanzania (1971). To the Krige accounts from Central Africa can be added the accounts of Theuw and Erny among the Luba in Zaire (1973). Additional Southern African peoples studies with attention to matters of world view include the Ndembu of Zambia (Turner 1967, 1968, 1969), the Zulu (Berglund 1976) from South Africa, and the Sotho of Lesotho and South Africa (Hammond-Tooke 1981).
The large number of world view studies from all over the continent is encouraging, but one must be aware of the various perspectives through which the subject is brought into focus. Although recent studies have dealt specifically with world view (Lowery-Palmer 1980, Hammond-Tooke 1981), many of the earlier studies are parts of more general studies (Evans-Pritchard 1940; Turnbull 1961), with world view discussed in relation to other interests that dominated the researcher's attention, whether language, folklore, law, personality and culture, art, philosophy, politics, education, or social patterns. Religion, for example, was the basis for many of the studies. Kiernan (1981:4-5) finds it unfortunate that world view studies have been so dominated by and immersed in religious studies in Africa, to the neglect of its integration within a broader physical and social environment. In some cases, religion was seen to be the major component of world view (Forde 1954). In other cases, world view was seen as an aspect of religion (Fortes and Dieterlen 1965). It would be a major study in itself to identify various researchers who have made religious studies the basis of their world view studies' (Turner 1967, 1968, 1969; Hammond-Tooke 1974; Mbiti 1969) with either Forde's approach or Fortes and Dieterlen's approach. Second to religious studies would be personality studies. Those who have considered world view from this perspective would include Lloyd (1972), Gay and Cole (1967), Carothers (1972), Erny (1973), and many others. Language was the basis for Doob's marginal interest in world views (1961). Parrinder's interest (1967) was in folklore. Tempels (1959) and Jahn (1961) shared a common interest in philosophy, but came at the subject from two entirely different ways.
In addition to the different perspectives on the subject there are various schools of thought represented in the literature. For example, English studies of world view in Africa may be those of a British social anthropologist like Evans-Pritchard (1956), or those of an American cultural anthropologist like Lowery-Palmer (1980). French studies may be those of a structuralist like Claude Levi-Strauss (1966) or those of a Durkheimian like Marcel Griaule (1948). Kearney (1981) would have us aware of the differences between idealists (Turner 1968) who have a "limited" grasp of world view, and materialists (Lowery-Palmer 1980) whose perspective is "holistic."

Finally, world view studies in Africa are themselves characterized by varying degrees of scope and systematization. The scope of certain studies are all-encompassing, intending to speak for all, or large parts of Africa (Jahn 1961, Tempels 1959). Some such studies appear as comparisons of African world view with Western world view (Horton 1967, 1973); others generalize. For example, Kiernan considers an outlook on life that is "bounded" (in the sense that space and time have definite limits) rather than "open" as an outlook characteristic of all of Africa. Relationships would "scarcely stretch beyond the immediate neighborhood and at most might extend to contain a small region" (1981:6). All one's needs would be supplied within limited space and time, according to this world view, so there would be no need to look beyond. In contrast, the scope of other studies is minute, dealing with only one people - and then with qualifications. For example, Forde, whose 1954 edition brought together a variety of studies said there was no "blue print" for world view that will directly apply
to all African peoples. Even Kiernan who had done much work among the Zulu with his bias toward a "bounded" outlook, said, "It may no longer be permissible to speak of e.g., the Zulu world view without qualifications. There is no one single Zulu world view, but many" (1981:10). Another contrast in the scope of world view studies in Africa concern dimensions of the world view itself. Certain studies include all or a large number of elements of world view, others include only specific elements. The latter is more common. Kirk-Greene was concerned about Time among the Adamwa (1958). Evans-Pritchard's early reports on the Azande of Sudan concerned their relationships. Relationships are a commonly discussed element, because they lend themselves to more tangible study. Littlejohn (1963) and Kilson (1970) were concerned with the spatial-orientation of the Temne and Ga respectively. Lloyd (1972) reported on Serpells' interest in the other-orientation of subjects in Zambia. Two researchers specialized in the areas of numerals (Raum 1938; Zaslavsky 1973). The systematization of all these elements into an integrated whole may be according to the structures attributed to Maquet by Kearney (1981:255) or according to the logico-premises attributed to Griaule and his students by Alexandre (1973:4) or it may be according to the logico-structural approach fostered by Kearney and practised in Africa somewhat by Lowery-Palmer (1980).

Amidst all these divergencies, what place does this immediate research occupy in the study of African world views? Obviously, it stands in the school of American cultural anthropology. The scope of the study is necessarily narrowed for reasons of expediency to matters of Self, Other, and Relationships. Though very intriguing studies in
their own right, Time, Space, Causality and Classification will have to be analyzed at a later time. Relationship will allow for some discussion of integration - but only in a very limited way. Systematization will not be attempted beyond summary statements. Since proverbs, an aspect of folklore and language, provide the primary data for this study, and since the Bemba and Shona peoples of Southern Africa are the peoples studied, these added parameters must be noted.

Having considered the literature and theory surrounding world view, it is now necessary to provide a review of the literature and theory as it relates to the linguistic side of this project, with particular emphasis upon proverbs. Chapter Two discusses proverbs as they are known throughout the African continent.
CHAPTER III

PROVERBS

Proverbs are common ways of expressing religious ideas and feelings. Unfortunately, little study of proverbs has been made, and our information on the subject is scanty. It is in proverbs that we find the remains of the oldest forms of African religious and philosophical wisdom.
Mbiti 1970:86

Just as there has been a need to clarify the subject of worldview before any attempt to wed its study with the study of proverbs, there is a need to clarify the subject of proverbs before the wedding can take place. In 1974, Carolyn Ann Parker, student of Swahili proverbs, said, "a comprehensive theory of proverbs is lacking in either the scholarship of anthropology or literature..." (1974:1). The fog and the ambiguities must be overcome. Then it will be seen that the combined study of worldview and proverbs is, indeed, worth the effort.

THE NATURE OF AFRICAN PROVERBS

Basically, African proverbs are messages with distinct characteristics that are transmitted for specific purposes and in particular contexts. Their distinct characteristics, says Ruth Finnegan, authority on the subject of oral literature in Africa, include "shortness, sense, and salt" (1970:393).

A typical proverb from the African scene is the Bemba proverb, "Iyalemana: taibulwa cilaso" - the stubborn is seldom without a wound.
Hoch 1968:59). That is a short, terse statement. However, it should be noted that there are short phrases and comparisons that are proverbial in nature, but are not proverbs. A common phrase among the Bemba is "Akabeyo kapusene no mwefu" - The razor missed the beard, i.e., you missed the occasion (White Fathers 1954:226), and a common comparison is, "alula nga lunda" - As bitter as the rind of a "pumpkin" (ibid., 226). Proverbial phrases and comparisons, though short and pithy, should be distinguished from proverbs (Boswell 1962:21).

"Sense" characterizes proverbs because there is a "popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed" in them (Finnegan 1970). Parker elaborated on this aspect of proverbs in her definition, and called a proverb "a message coded by tradition and transmitted in order to evaluate and/or affect human behavior" (1974:80). She is saying that proverbs make sense to the people acquainted with them; and because they do, they are effective in the evaluations and influence of human behavior. In regard to the sense of proverbs, Abrahams says,

Proverbs are descriptions that propose an attitude or a mode of action in relation to a recurrent social situation. They attempt to persuade by clarifying the situation, by giving it a name, thus indicating that the problem has arisen before and that past practise has come up with a workable solution (1972:121).

The third feature of proverbs is their "saltiness." Bergsma (1970:153) points out how proverbs sometimes have repetitious utterances in them that are near to being or are "tongue twisters." Often these utterances not only create the meaning implied, but amuse the listeners - add salt to their daily diet of activities. Balance adds to this saltiness, as many proverbs appear in binary (two-part) composition.
even given a name in the literature: caesura (1972:120). Figurative language, metaphor, simile, rhythm, humor, archaic words, and near poetry also enhance the impact proverbs make upon people (Doke 1947:102). Finnegan says their most noticeable characteristic in this regard, however, is their allusive wording (1970:390). Simon Kapwepwe, a Bemba man and former Vice President of Zambia, was a master of this kind of wording. The Bemba people talk admirably of his skill at this usage of words -- which non-Bemba couldn't begin to understand -- to his and his listener's pleasure. Messenger (1965:229-300) says that the Ibo of Nigeria gave the Annang, whom he studied, their name. The term Annaga denotes "the ability to speak wittily yet meaningfully on any occasion." The Annang are adept at this through the use of proverbs.

Besides being messages with distinct characteristics, proverbs are transmitted for specific purposes. Finnegan points out that proverbs serve to advise, rebuke and shame (1970:407-418). This is an evaluative purpose that is fulfilled so as to avoid conflict. Joyce A. Okezie says that this may be a universal feature of proverbs. She reports that the Maninka of Mali prefer the usage of proverbs in situations where negative reactions are expected. In such cases, reaction can be directed at the message - the proverb used - rather than the messenger (1978:14). Bergsma says that the Tiv of Nigeria use proverbs for the same purpose and adds that they provide ways for Tiv to get out of difficult situations without losing face (1970:151). Finnegan, reporting on the Ila of Zambia, says that they can sometimes be laughed out of a disagreement more effectively than they can be
argued or forced out of it - the laughter rising from one's usage of proverbs. In this same connection, Parker makes the general observation that proverbs serve to release social tension, giving a kind of psychological release to individuals involved (1974:119-122). I confirmed this usage of proverbs by noting the way the Bemba and the Shona incorporated them in stressful situations involving kinship (1979).

Patrick Essien's way of making this same point was by showing that proverbs are used to "soften words," mellowing and abolishing "the clash of contradicting opinions that appear to be common in oral societies" (1978:26, 125). Much earlier, Merriam and Armstrong said that proverbs enable people to adjust, adapt, alter, and even avoid certain circumstances (1954:267). At the more official level, they are widely used throughout Africa in traditional and contemporary judicial procedures to settle disagreements, close dispute, and win arguments. Arewa and Dundes (1964) report that proverbs are often cited as precedents in judicial cases much like Western lawyers cite cases from the past. Thus, the advice, rebuke, and shame to which Finnegan referred is served in an ameliorating way.

In addition to this evaluative purpose, proverbs can be said to be transmitted for esthetic and educational purposes. "Among the Ibo," says Chinua Achebe, well-known Nigerian novelist, "the art of conversation is regarded very highly and proverbs are the palm-oil with which words are eaten" (Lindfors 1968). People like Achebe use proverbs for purposes of complexity, unity, coherence, pattern direction, clarity, and focus (Essien 1978:9). Boadi (1972:184) thought that brilliant
speakers who used proverbs did so for the poetic value primarily. Bergsma found that the Tiv used them as a form of praise (1970:151). In yet other instances, proverbs can be seen today in a city like Nairobi, Kenya, on buses, dresses, hats, bedsheets, and handkerchiefs (Parker 1974:82-83).

According to Roger Abrahams, one who has made a general study of proverbs, the function of African proverbs distinguishes them markedly from European proverbs (1972:119). Finnegan found that they are commonly used in initiation rites where cultural values and mores are transmitted to the younger generation (1970:413). Bergsma observed that they are often used among the Tiv to explain things beyond comprehension, i.e., sickness and traumatic events (1970:151).

The purposes of proverbs can then be summarized as evaluative, esthetic and educational. These purposes are well-known to the peoples themselves; they know what purpose is intended when a proverb is used. A proverb from Abarry's collection from the Ga of Ghana (1978:68) says, "Kansatswi le enuntso" - the target of a proverb knows himself. A Ga song amplifies this message. The song tells of all the animals preparing for a long journey by tying all their possessions in one bundle. The elephant declares that the ugliest one among them must carry the bundle, whereupon the monkey breaks into tears.

Context is a third distinguishing feature of African proverbs. Ruth Finnegan says that they should not "be regarded as isolated sayings, . . . but rather as just one aspect of artistic expression within a whole social and literary context" (1970:393). The social context of a proverb is very important. Here, one becomes aware of who says
what to whom, when he says it, where it occurs, how it takes place, the intent of the speaker, and the effect of the proverb upon the situation (Parker 1974:42). As just one brief example, Dan Ben-Amos (1977: 23-24) shows that among the Fante and Yoruba of West Africa, the age of the person declaring the proverb is very important; children should never use proverbs. The social context also includes beliefs, values, social behavior, structure, categories and plans – all that is pattern and performance. The literary context of a proverb is also important. It must be seen in the context of other oral literature (Herskovits 1963:10) or folklore (Boswell 1962:12-13), as the various genres are unitedly called. These other genre include sign language, gestures, jokes, beliefs, ideas, phrases, charms, blessings, curses, riddles, tales, legends, and songs. Only when the context of a proverb is known can the meaning of that proverb be fully known. When knowledge of the context is combined with knowledge of the distinctive characteristics and the specific purposes, then the study of proverbs takes on depth.

THE STUDY OF PROVERBS IN AFRICA

Those who have studied proverbs in Africa have done so with different objectives in mind. Some have been content with merely collecting the proverbs of various peoples. Others have been interested in delving into the content of those proverbs.

The collection of proverbs is a science called paroemiology (Abrahams 1972:118). Africa is a great continent in which to pursue this science, for, as Carolyn Parker says (1974:1) it is "one of the
richest proverb areas in the world." According to Abrahams, the first
collection of proverbs in Africa was made by J. Dard in 1826 among the
Wolof of Senegal. Then came Eugene Casales' collection of 56 Tswana
proverbs from Nigeria (Jahn 1966:60). Jahn credits Gottlieb
Christaller with the production of the first large collection of pro-
verbs with his 3,600 Twi proverbs from Ghana. Bascom (1964) lists
collections with comments in the English, French and German languages
and gives a summary of what he considered the 36 major collections of
500 proverbs or more. There was a seeming proliferation of collec-
tions between 1954 and 1964, at least according to Bascom, who counted
eighteen new collections during that time. Janheinz Jahn, likewise,
listed a large number of collections (1966). Several others have
collected proverbs since Bascom and Jahn's lists were published. Some
of these collections are those of Mbiti (1966), Hoch (1968), Burton
Hamutyinei and Plangger (1974), and Ekwulo (1975).

Table I shows the various peoples of Africa represented in the
collections.¹ Notably absent from the list of peoples are the !Kung
and related peoples of Southern Africa, and the Nilotic and Nilo-
Hamitic peoples of North Africa. Unlike other African groups these
people have few if any proverbs (Finnegan 1970:389). The list refers
to collections that range from 36 to 4000 proverbs. The collections
may be translated into English, German or French, and may appear in

¹The African Studies Association Center for African Oral Data,
Indiana University, receives and processes collections, making them
available to researchers everywhere.
TABLE I

SEVENTY-FIVE PEOPLES REPRESENTED IN THE PROVERB COLLECTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akamba</th>
<th>Giryama</th>
<th>Masai</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algerian</td>
<td>Gogo</td>
<td>Mongo</td>
<td>Somali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>Mpangwe</td>
<td>Sotho/Pedi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ashanti</td>
<td>Haya</td>
<td>Ngbandi</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bambara</td>
<td>Harero</td>
<td>Ndau</td>
<td>Temne</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td>Nova</td>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>Tigrinya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bbaya</td>
<td>Ibo</td>
<td>Nyanga</td>
<td>Tonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>Ikweri</td>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>Tsonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chokwe</td>
<td>Ila</td>
<td>Nkundo</td>
<td>Tswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chopi</td>
<td>Jabo</td>
<td>Nyika</td>
<td>Tukulor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>Kambe</td>
<td>Oji</td>
<td>Tumbuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogon</td>
<td>Kanuri</td>
<td>Oron</td>
<td>Twi/Akan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duala</td>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
<td>Ovambo</td>
<td>Vai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edo</td>
<td>Kimbundu</td>
<td>Pol</td>
<td>Wolof</td>
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<tr>
<td>Efik</td>
<td>Kru</td>
<td>Rundi</td>
<td>Xhosa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fang</td>
<td>Lamba</td>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>Yoruba</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fulani</td>
<td>Luba</td>
<td>Saho</td>
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<td>Ga</td>
<td>Malinke</td>
<td>Shangaan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>Malagasy</td>
<td>Sambaa</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
books, journals, grammars, school texts, and dictionaries. The collections may be the work of anthropologists and linguists or missionaries, foreigners or nationals. Whatever the case, they can be very difficult to obtain. Bascom concluded his survey with the observation that the available collections are but a small fraction of all that are available in Africa. Viewing the available collections, he was of the opinion that "no single publication has yet surpassed Doke's monumental collection" (1964:16) of Lamba proverbs in Zambia (1927). However, Finnegan (1970:389) draws attention to the Rundi collection of 4000, the Nkundo collection of 3000 and the 2000 proverbs collected for the Luba and the Hausa. I believe Hamutyinei and Plangger's volume (1974) deserves much praise as well. In 1964, Bascom made the observation that more verbal art had been collected for the Nkundo of Zaire than for any other people. This statement would have to be re-evaluated in view of the work that has been done since the publication of his survey.

Collections are valuable, but Ruth Finnegan's warning must be heeded at this point:

We have in fact no way of telling whether some of the 'proverbs' (that have been collected) are not just the contentious utterances of a single individual on a single occasion which happened to appeal to the investigator (1970: 394).

The study of proverbs in Africa has consistently been characterized by an interest in their content. There may be said to be four approaches to the study of content: the rhetorical approach, the historical approach, the literary approach, and the anthropological approach (Abrahams 1968:143). All approaches have their proponents.
Those researchers who take the rhetorical approach to the study of proverbial content see the primary function of the proverbs as esthetic or poetic - not didactic or social. The literary context of the proverbs with its argumentation, wit, sarcasm, humor, and rhetoric is of primary importance. L.A. Boadi, as a proponent of this method, says,

In Akan society, rhetoric is a far more important part of an adult's linguistic equipment than in most other societies. A mature participant in a dialogue or public discussion always strives to use vivid language because his audience is continually making folk-literary analyses of his speech. The importance attached to brilliance and imaginativeness in public speech leads those who aspire to enter traditional public life and hope to exert influence, especially in the courts and in politics, to cultivate the use of striking images (1972:186).

He went on to make observations on the esthetics of Akan proverb use, demonstrating that Akan adults recognize two different image levels. Another proponent of the rhetorical approach is Roger D. Abrahams who gives credit to Kenneth Burke for being the "most persistent and important exponent of the rhetorical method" (1968:144). The influence of these most outspoken proponents is recognized most notably in recent studies that are coming out of American universities (Abarry 1978; Egbujie 1977).

Abrahams points out that those who pursue the historical approach to proverb study are usually not concerned with the art of the subject as is the rhetorician. Instead they are concerned about the geographic and historic distribution of the proverb and its elements. Richard M. Dorson is a proponent of this approach. He believes that contents cast light on historical records (1972:58). In this regard he refers to the
writings of Ebiegbere J. Alogoa (1968) who says that all oral literature, including proverbs, provides insights beyond those gained from written sources alone and from historical traditions. Alogoa also saw value in the proverbs for discovering traditional ideas about cultural patterns and institutions, about cultural contact with external sources, and about origins. Gray (1944:102) and Doke (1947:104) also saw possibilities in tracing Bantu migration by means of an in-depth study of African proverbs. Doke, for example, mentions that one proverb common to many Bantu-speaking peoples describes the monkey which has difficulty seeing its hollow eyes, own tail, hinderparts, buttocks, and overhanging brows. He suggests the origin of this proverb was at a single geographic-historical point before Bantu dispersal. However, Doke did not study proverbs purely from the historical viewpoint. He was in fact more aligned with the third school of thought - the literary approach.

The literary approach to the study of proverbs is distinct in its interest in the form and structure of the proverbs themselves. There are said to be three basic styles: the literal, simile and metaphor (Finnegan 1970:395). Doke (1947) was an early proponent of this method. His own research upon the Lamba of Zambia (1927) led him to distinguish structural features such as parallelism, cross parallelism, double positive propositions, negative axioms and propositions, rhetorical questions, reduplication, negative commands, and others. George Fortune and Dan Ben-Amos are more recent proponents of this approach. Using this methodology, George Fortune (1975) studied the literary qualities of Shona proverbs under the two-fold aspects of
form and imagery. His conclusions centered upon observations of paradox, correspondence and cross-correspondence. He commented,

Study of the [Shona] proverbs reveals a remarkable skill in manipulating abstract structural patterns in order that the comparison of selected images may take place with the desired effect of 'comic surprise' and without distractions (1975:55).

My own comparison of the literary forms of the proverbs of the Bemba people and the Shona people (1981) shows a marked contrast as to literary preference for the two peoples. For instance, the Bemba showed preference for negative axioms and propositions in contrast to the Shona who also had a high incidence of such statements - but balanced with frequent use of double positive propositions. Its results have yet to be compared with those of George Fortune. It began with an intriguing quote from Patrick P. Essien who said, "An oral culture such as that of the Annang, not only puts its knowledge into mnemonic patterns but also thought it out in mnemonic patterns" (1978:98).

Finally, there is the anthropological approach. Abrahams (1968:143) says,

... the anthropological folklorist is more interested in audience values in most of his forays in the areas of esthetics. He is usually concerned with the public nature of symbolic action and representation within specific groups, or with the public values and practises depicted.

The "forays" of the anthropologists have been many and varied. Herskovits (1930) and Arewa and Dundes (1964) are often depicted as exemplary in their analytical approach to the contents of proverbs. However, Kulah (1973:4-5), another proponent of the anthropological approach, points out that the work of Herskovits "was mainly with a single informant, Tagbwe, far removed from his culture for an extended period
of time, studying at the University of Chicago." As for Arewa and
Dundes, Arewa himself was the main informant in that study. He was a
student of Dundes' at Berkeley. Seitel (1969:143) credits George
Herzog and C. C. Blooah (1936) with their ethnographic approach to the
study of the Jabo of Liberia as being the best in the field. Another
early proponent of this approach was James Christensen (1958). Later
proponents have included Bergsma (1970), and Messenger (1965) and
various students (Okezie 1978, Eastman 1972).

Within this approach a variety of methods have been employed to
analyze proverbs in their context. Carol Eastman's method was to
elicit Swahili proverbs from speakers while reading Swahili literature
to them (1972:202). Kulah used a method he calls, "a similarity dis-
tributional technique" in his study of Kpelle proverbs (1973). His is
a psycholinguistic approach, useful in determining if the proverbs are
organized into groups according to any conceptual or thematic schemes.

Of all those who have studied proverbs from the anthropological
perspective, Carolyn Ann Parker's "content-context hypothesis" in her
thesis at the University of Washington sets her apart in the field.
She saw a great need for scientific study of the field. In spite of
the long history of study, she was bothered by the shallowness, super-
ficiality, and casualness of that study. Basically, her thesis pro-
poses that the proverbs cannot be known outside their context. In-
fluenced heavily by Forster's (1968:16) presentation of the three
levels of context which she names literal, micro- and macro-, she
further developed this hypothesis in her 1974 dissertation. It is a
worthy approach to the study of proverb content and is holistic when
used in its entirety. Typical of the anthropological school, however, Parker concentrated on the micro-context of the Swahili proverbs she explored and ignored the other two contexts. She listed eight common features of micro-context: 1) attention is focused on behavior, 2) comparison between metaphor and situation, 3) there is always a source, an object and a receiver, 4) evaluation occurs, 5) status is understood, 6) a value judgment is made, 7) ambiguity as to roles is apparent, and 8) concise timing of proverbial expression is important (1974:136-137).

In summary, the study of proverbs in Africa has been represented by collections and by content analyses. The collections vary considerably in terms of quantity and quality. The content analyses are affected by four schools of thought: the rhetorical, historical, literary, and anthropological. They likewise vary according to quality and extent of study. These factors needs to be considered by the investigator of any one corpus of proverbs.

THEORETICAL BASIS OF THE PAPER

Having considered proverbs, their nature and their study, with particular emphasis upon those found in Africa, it is necessary to state the theoretical basis of this paper. My approach is basically anthropological, rather than rhetorical, historical or literary. Yet, I have found great value in considering the contributions made by the other approaches. My emphasis is, of course, upon the linguistic branch of the anthropological study, and since I have a specific interest in what has been identified as world view, my interest goes
beyond the social fabric of the societies in question.

Edward Sapir (1929) was one of the first to describe language in part as "a guide to social reality." He is quoted as saying,

Though language is not ordinarily thought of as of essential interest to the student of social science, it powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached (Hoijer 1964:142).

Commenting on this marked change in the status of linguistics in the social studies as perceived by Sapir, Hoijer, a later follower, comments on Whorf who followed Sapir's lead. In a representative paper, Whorf said,

The ethnologist engaged in studying a living primitive culture must often have wondered, "What do these people think? How do they think? Are their intellectual and rational processes akin to ours or radically different?" But thereafter he has probably dismissed the idea as a psychological enigma and has sharply turned his attention back to more readily observable matters. And yet the problem of thought and thinking in the native community is not purely and simply a psychological problem. It is quite largely cultural. It is moreover largely a matter of one especially cohesive aggregate of cultural phenomena that we call a language. It is approachable through linguistics, and, as I hope to show, the approach requires a rather new type of emphasis in linguistics, now beginning to emerge through the works of Sapir, Leonard Bloomfield, and others, though Boas enunciated it decades ago in his introduction to the Handbook of American Indian Languages (1956, as quoted in Hymes 1964:129).
In that same paper, Whorf describes how he found in the Navaho language "... a covert classification of the whole world of objects based partly on animation and partly on shape. Inanimate bodies fall into two classes which linguists have styled 'round objects' and 'long objects'" (ibid. 131). Whorf went on to show how these objects in the Navaho language are identifiable by certain important verb stems.

Viewing these early contributions of Sapir and Whorf to world view studies, another observer says,

The critical analysis of Benjamin Whorf's "collected Papers on Metaphysics", of Harry Hoijer's attempts to reconstruct a typical Amerindian metaphysics starting from American languages shows that inferences from linguistics data to the existence of a world-view are extremely uncertain. It is however deplorable that nothing similar to Whorf's... or Hoijer's attempts for Amerindian... has been done in the Africanist field. We strongly recommend with the aid of the new disciplines of psycholinguistics and socio-linguistics a controlled and careful repetition of this seminal work for African languages (Apostel 1981:179-180).

While Sapir, Whorf, Hoijer and others have been the source of much interest in world view and language for this student, it must be confessed that their primary attention to grammar (Kearney 1975:257) defused that interest somewhat.

Another way to glean much world view information from linguistic data such as proverbs is to give attention not just to grammar but also to lexicon. Werner (1970) has taken this view in a new approach to world view studies (Kearney 1975:257) and says,

The argument has thus shifted from grammar proper to the categorizations available in the lexicon. Therefore, cultural information, knowledge, or world view resides largely or even exclusively in the organization of the lexicon (1970:159).

Kearney summarizes Werner's position: "the thesis therefore is that
categorization is a lexical problem, and accordingly the task is to find the 'linkages' between words in taxonomies on the assumption that these linkages will reveal aspects of world view" (1975:257). Having looked at some of the linkages and taxonomies that Werner describes, it must be stated that the thesis of this paper, though interested in lexical material, does not attempt Werner's depth of analysis.

In acknowledgment, then, of the contribution made by Sapir and Whorf and students of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, and of the contributions of others who are looking at the linguistic data in slightly different ways from these pioneers, it is necessary to return to the theoretical base of this paper.

My focus is obviously upon only one small part of the linguistic data - proverbs. I agree with Ruth Finnegam who reminded readers that proverbs need to be regarded as but one facet of a people's concept of truth (1970:416). When this is the viewpoint, she said, it is possible "to appreciate more fully the flexible and subtle way in which through a whole series of overtones and depths of meaning, proverbs represent the 'soul of a people'" (emphasis mine). Later students of proverbs have been more specific in their commitment to this perspective that sees a direct correlation between proverbs and the basic outlook of a people upon life.

Austin J. Shelton (1971) made a careful study of the proverbs of Igbo people in Nigeria with the intent to discover aspects of world view. He reported,

Although Igbo proverbs have attracted the attention of Africanists, much of this interest has resulted largely in collection, description of the most general sort, and ex-
planation of the employment of proverbs traditionally or by modern Igbo writers. There has been very little detailed analysis either of proverbial form and structure or of the content of proverbs. This paper is an attempt to contribute to the study of certain recurrent themes in Igbo proverbs, to illustrate some important aspects of the Igbo Weltanschauung (1971:46).²

He went on to show the place of relativism, pragmatism and reciprocity in those proverbs - according to his understanding of them.

African students themselves are combining the study of proverbs with the study of world views, as revealed in more recent projects:

The oral literature is a reflection of the Ga people's cosmic world-view, their cherished ideals and beliefs, values, fears, hopes and aspirations. In this respect, the literature is not unlike any other traditional African art. Writing about the place of the arts in the emotional life of the African, Adeoye Lambo says: '... It is conceivable, and in fact probable, that African traditional art was the emotional and intellectual peg on which tribal cultures hung spiritual truth' (Abarry 1978:50).

Proverbs are the kernels which contain the wisdom of the traditional people. They are philosophical and moral expositions shrunk to a few words, and form a mnemonic device in societies in which everything worth knowing and relevant to day to day life has to be committed to memory (Essien 1978:10, quoting Obiechina).

Okezie (1978) likewise expressed this commitment in her study of proverbs, reporting that Albert (1972) saw an interdependency between themes or value systems and patterns of speech. She also described how Evans-Pritchard related the way sanze in Azande society reflect the two dominant themes of Azande culture: witchcraft and superordination as manifested in its class structure.

²The weaknesses of Shelton's approach were ably pointed out by Echeruo, an Igbo, in the same volume (1971:63-66) and some of Echeruo's observations will be noted in the chapter on methodology and in the conclusions of the paper.
An especially interesting study by an investigator with a greater depth of experience in these matters is that of S. H. Irvine among the Shona people - one of the subjects of this paper. Irvine (1974:255-257) found that the Shona proverbs were a great asset in understanding the thought patterns of those people. He listed three proverbs and then went on to discuss them and others. The proverbs in question are translated as 1) A woman must not sit on a hearth stone; her husband might die, 2) Do not express admiration for natural objects; you might develop an antipathy to marriage, and 3) Do not destroy the eggs of a crow; you may cause no rain to fall in your area. Irvine classified the statements according to two criteria: the kind of knowledge necessary to the listener and the kind of consequences expected if the Shona do not observe the injunctions stated. Then he graphically shows that Shona knowledge as set forth in proverbs dwells first on natural objects and animals, then on objects with social functions or functions specific to one or another of the sexes, then on one's personal habits, and finally on utensils and utilities. Failure to observe injunctions had consequences first on self, kin and community. In contrast, according to Irvine, little or no conscious control seems to be exerted on the environment. Thus Irvine effectively relates proverb study to world view study with particular interest in three universal elements: Self, Other and Causality.

Increasing attention, then, is being given to the combined studies of oral literature and world view. Proverbs have an important place in that study since they have such a unique position in the oral literature of the peoples of Africa.
There are, of course, attendant problems with this approach. Kearney (1975:256), upon viewing T. C. Blackburn's work (1975) from a large corpus of Chumash oral narratives in which he convincingly demonstrated how principles of life could be derived from such material, wondered "how closely oral literature [proverbs in our case] reflect, or possibly distort, actual social and psychological conditions." Kearney also called attention to another essay in which M. Hollis (1970) considered the problem of distinguishing between literal and metaphorical native utterances. He reported Hollis as saying,

If any piece of literal nonsense can be taken metaphorically, then anthropology rapidly becomes impossible. For there is no way of telling which of rival accounts of ritual beliefs is the right one - the literal nonsense which one anthropologist interprets in one way can always be given a different metaphorical sense by another anthropologist (1975:264).

Nevertheless, in spite of these objections, the attempt must be made to discover a way to make the most use of these proverbs as tools for understanding the world views of the peoples of Africa. In answer to the objections just raised, which call into question the ability of one to discover "valid principles" and properly interpret data, it can be stated that this paper is not an attempt to state principles on the basis of a few proverbs. Instead, it attempts to define attention to Self, Other, and Relationship, on the basis of all the available proverbs from two African peoples. Principles of life can be established after perceptsives on life are known. This paper is interested in the perception that provides the foundation for principles. Likewise, this investigation is not an attempt to interpret the metaphors so characteristic of the proverbs. Instead of an interpretation, it is an attempt
to merely present certain elements of a people's world view as revealed by the people themselves in their proverbs.

An attempt must also be made to overcome the objections of certain anthropologists. For example, Parker (1974) asserts that archival sources of proverbs (the primary source of the proverbs in this study) cannot provide enough information for one to understand the meaning or function of individual proverbs. I agree with this assertion; contextual knowledge is essential for the understanding of meaning and function. But meaning and function need not be the only objectives of research. Parker's contention is that the archival sources do not provide enough information at the micro-context level for one to properly interpret the proverbs and establish accepted principles among the people studied. That is acceptable. But information about the literal context and the macro-context of proverbs can be adequate for the investigator to arrive at an understanding of the perspectives underlying presuppositions and assumptions upon which the meanings and functions of proverbs are built. Literal context is provided in the proverbs themselves; macro-context is provided in the literature on the cultures of the peoples in question. Parker implies that since information about the micro-context is not available in the archival sources, then the archival sources are useless and the serious researcher should bypass them completely and go to the field to do original study. The only value she sees in such data is that they show the long history of the proverbs being studied. However, I believe there are other values in those sources, and that she short-changes both collections and collectors.
I contend that proverbs contain a wealth of information for worldview studies. This information is contained in the very words with which they are comprised. A careful count, analysis and comparison of those words can reveal many underlying dimensions of a people's worldview. The literal context of the proverbs, when combined with their macro-context can reveal important data about respective viewpoints on universal categories of worldview. Even if these contexts were to reveal data in only one or two dimensions of worldview, that revelation would add significantly to our knowledge of the whole. For example, Kearney has said,

Self, Other and Universe may be the only universal categories. But both the ways in which a particular worldview orders these categories and further compartmentalizes them is revealing and has implications for other dimensions of that worldview (1981:120).

Actually, it will be seen that the proverbs studied in this paper reveal important information about three major elements of worldview. They do not provide a total picture of those elements but they do provide important aspects and dimensions in the picture.

In search of significant scenes in two distinct worldviews in Southern Africa, it is now expedient to relate the theoretical perspectives on worldview and proverbs just defined to practical methods of research.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The theoretical field for both world view studies and the study of proverbs is complex. Because of this it is necessary to state in summary form the theoretical basis of this paper.

1. World view lies at the core of every subject, whether individual or people with their distinct culture, being affected by and effecting the patterns, performance, and panorama characteristic to that subject.

2. World view is the basic assumptions and presuppositions with which people look out upon their world, systematized and integrated so as to bring order to their thinking about the world.

3. World view is comprised of significant categories which require individual analysis. Seven such categories are Self, Other, Relationships, Time, Space, Causality and Classification.

4. World views have common features as well as distinct characteristics. A study of both attributes reveals important dimensions in the world views of various peoples.

5. The proverbs of a people contain a wealth of information about the world views of those people. They provide this
6. The literal context and the macro-context of a corpus of proverbs provides information for the delineation of certain dimensions of the world views in question.

7. Certain aspects of these dimensions can be established without becoming immersed in the problems of interpretation of metaphors and functions of individual proverbs.

8. World view studies and proverb studies can be effectively combined to present an original and stimulating study of peoples of Africa such as the Shona and Bemba.

Theoretical considerations give rise to methodological infrastructures for the study of world views. This was the challenge of Jack Berry (1970) who, from his perspective of cognition and personality studies, called for the serious application of linguistic theory to the study of world view. In his opinion, the African linguist could contribute "an endless range of possibilities" for such research. Many methods of study were envisioned. Biesheuvel (1972:104-106) also called for methodology based on linguistic theory: "It would seem that no complete understanding of the thought processes of African peoples is possible without a psychological analysis of their language...". The first two values of such an analysis has to do with world view: "gaining an impression of the manner in which reality is apprehended, and, of the kind of symbolism which is used to represent it."

Biesheuvel referred to an investigation carried out by others upon the Akan language of the Guinea Coast of West Africa. It was found that
there was a correlation between the language's richness in nouns denoting particular objects and the culture's emphasis upon the sensual world. A correlation was also seen between the language's use of verbs and the unique way the people distinguish position in time and space. In another study already referred to, O. Werner (1970) attempted the categorizations of world view after careful study of lexical material. His objective was to find relationships between words in taxonomies, thinking that those relationships would reveal significant aspects of world view. So these and other theoretical considerations have given rise to the suggestion and the implementation of various methodologies.

These methodologies are not without their opponents. Dorson (1972:35-36) says that valuable studies often "run the risk of emphasizing a mirror relationship between the folklore and the culture - the Boasian concept - through emphasis on a single genre within a single society." Dorson's opposition must be carefully considered. He goes on to state:

... An example of this anthropological-sociological approach to folklore is afforded in studies by Thomas O. Beidelman of hyena and rabbit tales among the Kaguru of East Africa. Beidelman states explicitly the premise of the great majority of anthropologists when they deal with folk materials: 'I begin my analysis of them (the tales) with the assumption that any such popular belief must owe its popularity to the fact that it reflects certain important beliefs and values held by the society.' This fallacy of correlating folklore with values is the particular blind spot of the social anthropologist guilty in Herskovit's phrase of 'secondary ethnocentrism' in the possessive attitude he maintains toward his tribe. Some folklore does indeed reflect cultural values, but again the same folkloric item may be found in many different and quite dissimilar cultures. The mirror approach may work if it is joined with the comparative approach. Thinking comparatively, the folklorist wants first to establish the chain of variation of the texts he considers (ibid.).
Opposition to methodologies arising out of world view studies is also expressed by African scholars. Several have complained about the limitations of language knowledge for the researchers. Patrick Essien, for example, found ten scholars who warned that statements saying one thing literally could say something entirely different tonally (1978: 27). Echeruo (1971) soundly criticized Shelton's 1971 analysis of Igbo proverbs on the basis of faulty translation and misunderstanding of the subtleties of word usage in the proverbs. Abu Abarry develops the same theme:

... there are certain esoteric zones of sensitivity in African literature - those that Bernth Lindfors has called the 'inner sanctuaries and sacred groves' which are closed to strangers and accessible only to those who have grown up learning the passwords (1978:6).

My summary statement of theory also gives rise to the method pursued in this project:

1. Acquire a corpus of the proverbs of the Bemba and the Shona peoples, with English translations.

2. Extract all references to words associated with people and their relationships, and compile lists of this data.

3. Categorize objects according to four key elements of world view: Self, Other, Time and Space, along with the integrating principles of Relationships, Causality, and Classification.

4. Analyze referents that fall in the range of one category of the world view or another, by considering their literal context in individual proverbs as well as in all the proverbs in which they are found.
5. Make tables so that comparisons can be made of the various nouns falling together in a given element or part of an element.

6. Make comparisons about the various features within the elements for the two peoples in question.

7. Perform Chi-square tests to recognize the presence or lack of statistical significance of the differences noted in the comparisons.

8. Relate findings to information available in the literature about the macro-context of the proverbs for both the Bemba and the Shona.

9. Relate findings to available information from the micro-context of the proverbs - a limited application of personal experience and specific findings of authorities on the Bemba and the Shona.

10. State general perspectives recognizable or suggested by the research which could be the foundations upon which later principles are stated.

11. Write a brief description of the world views of the Bemba and the Shona, their common features, their differences, and the significance of this information to researchers.

12. Make recommendations for future investigations.

Some defense of this method is necessary, because there are difficulties centering around translations, categories, comparison, and statistics. The first difficulty that becomes apparent concerns translations (steps 1-2). In terms of methodology, this project considers
similar terms in three different languages. The problem of translation concerns the equivalency of these terms. For example, the English term "elder" is used together with the Bemba word, umukalamba, and the Shona word, umukulu. The question arises, are they equivalents?

Cultural features of translation work need to be understood in order to fully appreciate the problem of equivalency. Eugene Nida (1964:90) refers to four factors that obscure these cultural features in most translation work: 1) the failure to recognize that most translation work -- and thus most discussion of its problems -- rises within the Indo-European language family, 2) translation is usually of interest to people with complex cultures themselves, and this complexity gives a warped view of translation work, 3) words are discussed in terms of psychological entities instead of social ones, and 4) emphasis upon style and literary factors take precedence over social factors. With cultural features of translation work obscured, Nida says, two errors are commonly made. In the first place, literal translation is made. Secondly, foreign words are avoided. It is the first error that needs to be guarded against in a work such as that in this thesis. Nida goes on to say,

... Words are fundamentally symbols for features of the culture. Accordingly, the cultural situation in both languages must be known in translating, and the words which designate the closest equivalence must be employed (op. cit., 91).

It is to be noted that he says the cultural context in both languages is important. Finally, Nida describes difficulties in finding equivalency in ecological matters, material culture, social culture, reli-
tion and language. His comments on the social culture are of special significance to this paper, concerned as it is with Self and Other.

In defense of the thesis, it can be stated that this project was not entered in ignorance of these translation difficulties. Having recognized the existence of the problems, however, certain actions can still be taken. Moreover, they must be taken, for to fail to do so is to give up on the essential task of improving communication with people whose language and culture is different from our own. Therefore, the translations in this paper were made, as Nida advises at the conclusion of his article, so that the words which designate the closest equivalence known to the author have been employed (see Appendix C for a record of these words).

The second kind of problem encountered in the methodology concerns the categories into which the various objects were placed (steps 3-4). It has been clearly pointed out in Chapter 2 that a theoretical stand has been taken for this thesis that defines and describes world view and its categories in certain prescribed ways. This stand is based upon the viewpoints of others who have taken similar stands, and has particularly relied on the most current and most thorough discussion of world view known to the author - the work of Michael Kearney (1981). Kearney himself says,

... the degree to which these categories exist in the thought and languages of other world views is problematical. This is immediately apparent when we attempt translation from Western European languages into some non-Indoeuropean languages. If words for such concepts as Self, Other, and Time are not present, it is possible that these concepts are absent. But in dealing with this problem I have argued that such categories must of necessity be present (1981:327).
If Kearney, in his thorough study of world view, determines that this matter of categories is problematical, then it would be naive to act as though it is not for this project. Yet, the problem did not keep Kearney from going further in his study, and it need not hinder this project either.

The problem of imposing classifications upon the data is acknowledged, however. Alfred Kulah points out that Herskovit's classification of Kru proverbs (1970) is an example of this kind of imposition. Herskovits maintained that the classification he found reflected themes of importance to Kru (e.g., deference, a concern with thrift, the centrality of fishing, etc.). Kulah goes on to say,

... While this work is a very useful illustration of the analysis of proverbs as a key to understanding culture, it suffers the limitation of imposing the classification of proverbs (and consequently the set of cultural themes) on the data. They are in no way demonstrated to exist in the data (1973:5).

For this paper it has been suggested that it would have been better to have simply looked for the elements important to the peoples concerned. In other words, instead of discussing mouths and hearts under the category of Self, to simply have studied them as mouths and hearts, categories in themselves. But to have done so would have resulted in a series of disconnected facts. Instead, it was determined to assume the existence of a category called Self with various elements making up this category - including mouth and heart. Nevertheless, the data gathered from the proverbs can stand alone without the category imposed upon it by the author. Those who wish to look at it in this way are free to do so, and are even encouraged to do so if that helps them to understand the people in question. But, readers of
this thesis need to know the theoretical base of the author and how his methods were built upon that base. The author has tried to be transparent about both.

The third difficulty concerns comparisons (steps 5-6). This, too, is a worn-out subject of debate among anthropologists. Pertti Pelto, in his survey of anthropological theory, drew attention to various comparative approaches well-known in the anthropological field (1970:276-318). Edward B. Tylor (1889) is credited with comparative studies presenting the first statistically oriented papers in the field. Franz Boas (1948) and the historicalist school aimed at showing differences in the processes of culture history in their comparisons of small numbers of societies. Pelto points out that George P. Murdock (1949) moved to comparative studies of large numbers of societies. During this same time period when there was much focus on comparative studies, S. F. Nadel wrote his well-known "Witchcraft in Four African Societies" (1952) using comparison to show causal relationships.

What becomes evident in these comparative studies and even in Pelto's own perspective is that methods were used to prove theories. In contrast, this thesis is not trying to prove any theory, defend a school of thought, or discover causes. Even the model for world view with its seven categories is not defended as the final word on the subject. The model is merely a tool to be used for understanding people better. The comparisons of this paper are for descriptive purposes only - not for theoretical purposes.
The fourth area of difficulty in the methodology of this study concerns the use of statistical data (step 7). Thomas (1976:4) points out that, of the four branches of anthropology: archaeology, physical, cultural and linguistics, the latter branch receives the least attention from statisticians. He states, "Most linguistics still proceed in purely qualitative fashion, without recourse to either mathematics or statistics" (ibid.). The introduction of statistics into this paper is in itself an unusual practise, since the paper does have a linguistic base. But these statistics were not introduced as a challenge to acceptable behaviour among cultural anthropologists and linguists. They were introduced as a matter of personal interest and curiosity and to merely provide one more perspective on the data being considered. They are not the core of this analysis. Readers may draw their own conclusions from the statistical data. The author has made some observations.

Choice of the chi-square test for statistical significance was not uncommon. Pelto reports,

The chi-square test . . . is a particularly widely used statistical computation because it can be applied to data which are assigned simple, categorical values. That is, the chi-square test requires the theoretical minimum of measurement sophistication. . . . (1970:182).

Observations on the results of these tests are made with an appreciation for the warnings made by David Hurst Thomas about the use of statistical data (1976:457-468). His "ten commandments" are applicable to use of the chi-square test. In particular, he warns against inferring causal relationships from statistical significance. Once again it can be stated that there was no intention in this paper to
discover causal relationships. No "universals" or "laws" discoverable by statistical analysis are the objective of this project. The statistics used in this thesis are for descriptive purposes, not inferential purposes. They were used simply to show contrasts and similarities—being but one perspective on these contrasts and similarities, the content of the proverbs themselves and their three levels of context being the most important perspective.

Thomas' third commandment "Thou shalt not confuse statistical significance with substantive significance" is likewise applicable—a point made again and again by advisers and friends as well. Thomas said of this pitfall to statistical analysis:

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The term significance test can be a culprit creating problems with statistical results... Naroll urges us to call our statistical tools insignificant tests, emphasizing that only irrelevant relationships can be established with statistical authority... (1970:463).
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"Significance" obviously has different meanings to different people. Not wishing to enter into that debate, it is necessary to state that "significance" as used in this paper has to do with the relatedness of the statistical results to the thesis itself—that proverbs serve as tools for world view studies. As will be seen, the chi-square tests do show some aspects of this serviceability of proverbs as tools. This use of significance may not fall in line with the commonly accepted use of the term, a factor pointed out again by Thomas' "commandments" four and five which state that statistical significance should not be confused with strength of association and should be used for scientific validation, not scientific exploration, but, this is a useful way to look at the significance of the chi-square tests for this paper.
In no way have the methodologies of this thesis sought to place "mathematical elegance before anthropological relevance" - a cardinal "sin" according to Thomas (1970:467). He goes on to say, "The objectives of social science are worthy in themselves and need not be subverted by a seductive technological or statistical reductionism" (ibid.). The interests of this thesis are anthropological - centered upon people - not mathematical - centered upon numbers.

Thomas concludes his helpful volume on statistics with the reminder that "Anthropologists should practise just enough statistics not to hurt their anthropology" (op. cit. 468). It is hoped that this was the practise of this paper. To be sure, there will be those who will say that not enough reference was made to the statistical data. Others will say too much attention was given to this dimension of the study. For the author, it was "just enough."

Having acknowledged the difficulties faced in the methodologies pursued, it is necessary to attempt what one can. As another student of the concept of world view has stated,

... Such a transposition of a [world view] from one universe of thought to another can never be a complete success, but it should be attempted. Not to try it would be to give up any hope of communication between different cultures (Maquet 1964:17).
CHAPTER V

SUBJECTS: THE BEMBA AND SHONA PEOPLES

A culture as a whole is partially reflected in the corpus of proverbs which it has created, borrowed, and maintained; the culture provides a unique macro-level context in which only this corpus of proverbs could occur (Parker 1974:16).

Carolyn Ann Parker describes the macro-context of a corpus of proverbs as the cultural context itself including beliefs, values, social behavior, structure, categories and plans. In this paper, macro-context will be defined according to Kraft's model of world view presented earlier (p. 12). There are three features of this macro-context: cultural patterns, cultural performance, and cultural panorama.

Applying each of these levels of macro-context to the study of the chosen subjects of this paper, attention will be given to the Bemba and the Shona: the peoples and their panoramas, their cultural patterns and performance.

THE BEMBA

People and Panorama

The Bemba are a Bantu-speaking people residing in Zambia (see Figure 4). Their prominence in that country began around 1650 when a large contingent of people broke away from the Lunda-Luba Empire which was centered in present-day Zaire, and migrated east. Crossing the Luapula River, separating present-day Zaire and Zambia, this group of
Figure 4. Present-day Bembaland, showing its geographical location in Zambia and Southern Africa.¹

¹Adapted from G. Kay, A Social Geography of Zambia, 1967, page 84.
people began a military campaign that eventually saw them overwhelm peoples already residing in that countryside: the Bisa, Lungu, Itabwa, Mambwe, and others. Consolidating their rule, they gained virtual control of Northern Zambia and were in this ascendancy when the colonially expanding British appeared in the late nineteenth century.

Today the Bemba number about 250,000 people. Another 250,000 neighbors speak their language. That which distinguishes them from other Bemba speakers is their subjection to the Bemba paramount chief, Chitimukulu - Chiti the Great (Roberts 1973:xxvii). They are also distinguishable by an identifying tattoo mark (Mushindo 1976:xv): a vertical line in the middle of the forehead, ending between the eyebrows, and two crossed marks on either side of the cheeks.

The Bemba are a people who have been the subject of considerable study. David Livingstone, well-known explorer, travelled through Bembaland in the mid-1800s and was the first European to make contact with the Chitimukulu (Roberts 1973:3). His literary accounts, along with similar accounts from Portuguese, French, Arab, and other English travellers, provide invaluable information about early years of Bemba presence in Northern Zambia. In 1911, just sixteen years after the Roman Catholic Church established itself among the Bemba, Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane wrote the first ethnography of the Bemba people. Audrey I. Richards is credited as being the anthropologist who has most capably described their life (1935, 1939, 1956).

Bemba language, history, religion, and music have received special attention by different observers. Besides the various grammars and dictionaries that have been published, contributions
toward language study have been made by Dorothea Lehmann, John Sherman, Irvine Richardson and Michael Mann (Frost 1977:23). An analysis of Bemba parables and stories has been most recently contributed by Mary Frost (1977). Various historical accounts of the Bemba people have been attempted, but none as successfully as Andrew Roberts (1973) and Paul Mushindo (1976). Religious patterns and performances have been considered by Douglas Werner (1971), and Bemba songs have been collected by Isaiah Mapoma (1970).

Bembaland is an area 22,000 square miles in size. Politically it is called the Northern Province of Zambia, and contains four administrative districts: Kasama, Mpika, Chinsali, and Luwingu. The Chitimukulu resides in Kasama District - the Bemba heartland: Lubemba.

The panorama which is Bembaland is a great, wooded plateau lying south of the equator and at an elevation of 4,000 feet above sea level. It is bounded by Lake Tanganyika on the north, Lake Bangweulu on the west, and the Luangwa Escarpment (Mucinga lubemba) - the great wall of the Bemba country - on the east. There are no natural boundaries on the south. The plateau is characterized by three kinds of forest: high veld or savannah, old forest evidenced by taller trees, and evergreen groves in the marshes that intersect the forests. The Chambeshi River is the greatest river passing through the country which, as a whole, is well-watered by this and other rivers and streams. Temperatures are mild, ranging from an average of 50°F in the dry season (May to October) to an average of 90°F in the rainy season (November to April). Certain ecological features hamper productive life on the
plateau. The topsoil, for example, is shallow and sandy. Various insects and parasites also hamper fruitful living. Gouldsbury and Sheane said that country like this is "the paradise of the parasite":

... In a land of such vast distances it may seem paradoxical, but it is none the less true that the tiniest things are those that count the most, and the most important in ultimate analysis (1911:122).

His assessment is true of the plateau on which the Bemba live. Tsetse flies, mosquitoes, ticks, maggots, and snails thrive in this terrain, bringing the consequent fevers, boils, bilharzia, skin diseases, diarrhea, dysentery, and leprosy - diseases which constantly plague this people.

Cultural Patterns and Performance

Bemba cultural patterns and performance center largely on one dominant institution - chieftainship. Audrey Richards says,

... On a man's relationship to his chief depends his residence, his use of land, the economic group he works with, the way in which his food is distributed, the religion and magic beliefs that sustain him in his work, and his social ambitions (1939:24).

The village of the paramount chief called the Chitimukulu is the most prominent village in Bemba eyes. It is the center of power because the Chitimukulu is an autocratic ruler who is believed to be the owner of everything and who bears an authority believed to have direct impact upon the prosperity of the land and the welfare of the people. Supernatural power emanates from the village, as the chief ascends to his autocratic position as intermediary between the people and the spirits (imipashi) of all former rulers and as owner of the sacred relics (babenye).
Inhabiting and frequenting the capital village (umusumba) are various personalities besides the Chitimukulu. Forty to fifty councilors (bakabilo) assigned to the capital are the repositories of traditional law and custom. Though they do not necessarily live in the capital, they attend it quite often for court and ceremonial duties. One or two subordinate chiefs (bacilolo) who have villages of their own in this district also frequent the capital. In pre-colonial times, these subordinate chiefs were additionally assigned quarters (ifitente) in the capital from which they led young men to war. Finally, commoners among the Bemba frequent the capital bringing tribute of beer, grain and meat.

The paramount chief's messengers, well-known men easily recognized in days past by the guns they bore and their distinctive headdresses and recognized today by their well-pressed khaki uniforms, are key individuals in the village. They relay messages to the chief and deliver messages from him. It is through these messengers that the paramount chief maintains contact with territorial chiefs and subchiefs in this sparsely populated, wide-ranging kingdom, where villages can be sixteen to twenty miles apart.

Two territorial chiefs (imfumu) have capitals (imisumba) in Kasama District along with the Chitimukulu. They are Mwamba and Nkolemfumu. Nkula is a territorial chief in Chinsali District. These territorial chiefs have subordinate chiefs under them and, in some cases, assign sisters and maternal nieces (banamfumu) to hereditary positions. These and other territorial chiefs inherit their offices
and, like the Chitimukulu, have a retinue of councillors attached to them by heredity.

Beneath the sub-chiefs in this hierarchy of power are the village headmen (abene mushi) who usually inherit their positions. They may also acquire their positions by nomination of the chiefs or by personal initiative. Their purpose is to maintain law and order, settle disputes, and act as an intermediary between the villagers and the chiefs.

Traveling from the chief's village, where all centered upon him, to the surrounding villages where ordinary people live, other social patterns can be noted. The average Bemba village (umushi) consists of 30 to 50 houses with side buildings for kitchens and granaries. Each village has at least one rest shelter (insaka) built by young men and elders who gather there with a kind of "membership" involved (Richards 1935:234). The villages are composed of different kin segments rather than one extended family.

Kinship among the Bemba follows the matrilineal line. The Chitimukulu knows his line back 25 to 30 generations; councillors know theirs back twenty generations, and the common people know theirs back four generations (Richards 1956:223). These matrilineages are totemic and hierarchical in nature. Forty clans (imikowa) have identifiable totems and are characterized by a name, legend, a praise-name, and a reciprocal relationship to a complementary clan (umunungwe). Joking relationships, reciprocal burial activities and preferential marriage characterize the reciprocal nature of the clans. The lineages are further described as hierarchical in that the royal clan is known as the people of the crocodile (abena nandu), and proximity to this clan
determines the social significance of other clans. In addition, the kinship lines are exogamic and dispersed. Clan members marry outside the clan, and clans themselves own no land and take no corporate action among the Bemba.

Marriage is preferred between cross-cousins on both sides of the parents and between a man and his classificatory grand-daughter. The impact of the matrilineal system upon marriage is seen in many ways. A man is required to provide only a small gift (impango) for the hand of his wife - a distinguishing characteristic of Bemba marriages:

... The impango gave the father those limited rights he secured over his children, although it did not, in this matrilineal society, give him complete control over his son or daughter, and never gave him or his lineage control over his wife's reproductive powers as does the cattle lobola among the Southern Bantu (Richards 1956:44).

The matrilineal impact upon marriage is further seen in that it is matrilocal, though Richards says it would be more fitting to call it "marriage with delayed right of bride removal" (1950:225). A man can eventually establish his own village. A second marriage is often viriloclal, and a polygynous household is not a single social unit but is as many units as there are wives. The divorce rate among the Bemba is high.

The basic domestic unit for the Bemba can be described an an older middle-aged man, his wife, their married daughters with husbands and children. But arrival at this unit is often a frustrating journey for both men and women. Men do service for their fathers-in-law for the first few years of marriage until a number of children are born to the union. Upon the birth of these children, men seek to found a village of their own, but are discouraged from doing this by the
matrilineal system. Their loyalties are usually to the villages of their sisters where, as maternal uncles, they have much authority. Women likewise suffer through these times, experiencing several marriages and divorces before they become matriarchs of large villages. It appears that the social stability experienced by the Bemba people in political patterns and performance are not a part of the social experience in matters pertaining to family. There is a fluidity of village association.

Turning now to patterns and performance in the areas of language, technology and religion, other important features of Bemba culture can be noted. The Bemba language has been widely adopted by a large number of people in Zambia. Compelling features of the language include the symmetry of its concords, the intricacy of its tense system, its vocabulary of reversive and intensive verbs (Richards 1939:303), its unlimited capacity for forming derivatives, and its minute attention to certain phenomena in the cultural panorama. The author has been impressed with such things as distinct names for thirty to forty varieties of mushroom and distinct verbs for different ways to perform common activities such as walking. Oral and written Bemba literature includes proverbs, proverbial phrases, songs, historical narratives, stories and parables.

The Bemba economy is based on agriculture, hunting and fishing with no pastoral tradition. There are four basic tools: the axe, hoe, spear, and bow. They are shifting cultivators, having perfected a slash and burn process called chitemene, whereby trees from an area six and one-half times the size of the eventual garden are lopped and
cut down with branches piled on the selected garden spot and burned at a signal originating from the Chitimukulu. Alternate crops are planted in the gardens for a period of three to four years, then a shift to a new site occurs. Finger millet, sorghum, bulrush millet, beans, pumpkins, edible gourds, cucumbers, melons, ground nuts, maize, cassava, sweet potatoes and yams make up the complete garden variety. The Bemba staple is finger millet, and preparing it occupies a large part of every woman's day.

Though they are said to be a hunting and fishing people, the Bemba presently do little of both. Hunting by means of nets, pits, snares, traps and firearms has been drastically reduced by the reduction of the game itself and by protective laws. Fishing by means of poison, dams and nets is engaged in as a sport more than as a livelihood, with the exception of a few fishing villages along the larger rivers.

The primary way the Bemba acquired their goods and food in pre-colonial days was by raiding, conquering and demanding tribute. The Senga people provided them with tobacco, the Bisa with fish and salt, the Wiwa and Winamwenga with hoes, livestock, grain, etc. Wealth to these people was considered in terms of the amount of labor that could be commanded (Richards 1956:47).

Since the Bemba have not pursued with any diligence the three main economic activities attributed to them, it should not be surprising that they do not pursue skills at various other economic and technological activities either. Desiring few material possessions, they do not seek to improve the skill of trading as an essential way to
acquire possessions. Having no desire to pass on inheritable wealth, they pursue arts and crafts as a matter of expediency not of esthetics. A few women make plain pottery by the coil method, using the simplest of designs. Men make baskets and mats — but with very little pride in workmanship. They quickly put aside the task of making bark cloth with the coming of cotton long ago. Their work as iron smelters and makers of drums and tools is likewise engaged in with little enthusiasm.

House building seems to be one occupation in which men do take some pride in, the large, round pole and mud houses of the past with their distinctive verandas giving way to rectangular houses of today built with adobe and burned bricks.

Ending this look at the macro-context of the proverbs of the Bemba people, attention is turned to religious patterns and performance. Once again, the chieftainship takes center stage.

... . . .The Bemba worship of the dead chief's spirit is the essential element of Bemba religion: war under his leadership was formerly the dominant ambition of each individual: and, in a community without any storeable form of wealth such as cattle, rank and social status were determined, not by the number of a man's possessions, but by his kinship with the chief, or by the services he had been able to give him (Richards 1935:231).

Mention has already been made of the importance of his access to the spirits of dead chiefs through possession of the sacred relics. Richards says that the burial of a chief calls for the most elaborate religious rites among the Bemba, and that the ceremonies by which a new chief acquires the relics are the most important religious rites of the Bemba people (op. cit. 247). Additional religious factors associated with the chieftainship include protection of the chief from contact with death, the requirement of strict sex taboos upon him, special
huts for the keeping of the sacred relics and special keepers of those huts, a sacred fire that burns day and night in a special hut at the paramount chief's capital, and a sacred grove called Mwalule which is the burial ground for major chiefs. This sacred grove is guarded by a priest called Shimwalule and becomes the scene of animal sacrifices if drought plagues the country.

At the core of this whole religious system is the Bemba belief in the proximity of the spirits of the dead (Whiteley 1950:29). It is their understanding that the spirits of the dead go up and down the land, are present in the huts of descendants at dusk and dawn, linger in burial groves, and frequent old village sites (Richards 1939:240). This belief is of greater importance to the Bemba than their belief in Lesa, their high god who lives in the sky, controls thunder, sends children and is the source of magic power. The traditional Bemba person appeases the spirits of the dead relatives at small huts called imfuba but does not worship the high god. It is this belief in the proximity of spirits that also gives rise to other distinct features of the Bemba religious system: shrines to a hunting god called Mulenga, veneration of snakes, knowledge of evil spirits, and rites near unusual objects of the landscape like waterfalls for ngulu, who are secondary divinities. It is probably this belief that lies at the root of elaborate purification ceremonies for a man and wife following conjugal relations.

Just as power is attributed to the unseen forces of the dead, power is likewise attributed to the unseen forces of the living, though the power of the latter is far inferior to the former. The power at-
tributed to the living leads to witchcraft and sorcery in a negative vein, and to Bemba doctors (inganga) in the positive vein. The former is acknowledged out of fear, the latter is sought out of desperation. The Bemba doctors are said to have been aided in their search for medicine by two mythical personages Lucele nganga and Kampinda. Today they are said to be aided by Lesa, the high god. Two kinds of medicine (imiti) are known to the doctors, 1) medicine that is direct from the plants, and 2) medicine that is activated by charms which usually have attributes of the effect sought. The first kind of medicine is widely known by many Bemba people, but the doctors are the ones who have the greatest store of knowledge. These medicines are often effective against headaches, stomach aches, diarrhea and other common illnesses, though they often have harmful side effects as well. The second kind of medicine is known especially, and sometimes solely, by the doctors who offer it to correct fertility problems, change one's luck, provide protection, and help the Bemba person through crises.

It is hoped that this brief overview of the Bemba people, their world, cultural patterns and cultural performances provides an adequate introduction to this people of Southern Africa. A similar overview of the Shona peoples to the south provides a basis for delving into the proverbs of both groups and ultimately their respective world views.
THE SHONA

People and Panorama

The Shona are a Bantu-speaking people residing in Zimbabwe and parts of Botswana and Mozambique (see Figure 5). Bourdillon (1976:19) points out that it is the origin of these people that makes them Shona. Bushmen (San) and a first wave of iron-using, possibly Bantu-speaking settlers from the north in A.D. 300 preceded the Shona peoples to this part of Africa. The Shona themselves originated from a second wave of Bantu-speaking people who came down from the north in A.D. 1000. Their migration continued for several decades and soon they became the dominant people of the region (Bourdillon 1976:20).

These early Bantu-speaking migrants to present day Zimbabwe and Mozambique had no common name at the time of the migrations, but as they settled into the region, the name Karanga (possibly from the word, kuranga, to punish\(^1\)) began to distinguish them from the surrounding peoples. A Karanga political state emerged around A.D. 1200, giving greater prominence to this name. This Karanga state was founded upon their economic and technological prowess, and the famed ruins of Great Zimbabwe give testimony to their strength.

After decades of glory, the Karanga people began to lose influence. The land could not maintain their growing number of subjects. Further migrations occurred out of which more power structures emerged, so that the name Karanga became one of only several identifying terms. An invasion of Ndebele people from the south in 1830 further divided

\(^1\)Suggested by Chinyandura (1945).
Figure 5. Present-day Mashonaland, showing its geographical location in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa.
these early settlers. Geographical, social, political and religious
distance had effectively separated them from each other and they could
not unite against this common intruder from the south. The Ndebele
settled in the region, taking a position to the west of the main Shona
body. To compound the complexities of that nineteenth century when
Karanga and Shona influence as a whole was waning, the British appeared
on the scene. Finding the Karanga and related peoples seemingly over-
powered by the Ndebele, the British by-passed them in establishing
treaties and agreements with the residents in their own settlement of
the land.

As the British began to administer the new colony, they belatedly
recognized the inter-relatedness of the Karanga and other peoples. The
colonizers then established a common identity in their own thinking for
these peoples and called them "Shona". The new name, says Bourdillon
(1976:20), "is of recent origin and was applied to all the Shona-
speaking peoples only after the British colonization of the country."

The word Shona was first used by these administrators in 1931 to
identify a language group. Several dialect groups were unified into a
common language based on the Zezuru dialect, the dialect of the Shona-
speaking people living closest to the political powers of the British.
Other groups of related peoples involved in this linguistic unifica-
tion were the aforementioned Karanga, as well as the Manyika, Korekore,
Tavara, and Ndau.

The recognition of linguistic similarities led of course to a
recognition of cultural similarities of the same peoples. But there
are distinctive differences. For example, the Zezuru are characterized
by great religious cults and material prosperity. The Karanga are distinct in certain religious and political practices, and the Kalanga are at a geographical distance from the others, being cut off by the 1830 invasion of the Ndebele. The Tavara, though politically incorporated into Shona society generations ago, maintain a unique kinship system. And the Ndau, living near the Shangaan, have been influenced by this neighboring people and are characterized by a distinct politico-religious structure. Yet, the common cultural patterns and performances lead scholars to assert that these six million people are distinctly Shona and as such, deserve distinct study (Bourdillon 1976:32).

The study of the Shona peoples has been as broad as it has been intense. Bourdillon's bibliography (1976) refers to more than 200 articles and books about the Shona. Those accounts are sandwiched between two primary ethnographies: Bourdillon's own ethnography (1976) and that of Charles Bullock's in 1928. Bullock's first book (1913) about these peoples actually dealt with judicial aspects of their life. He was later joined in this interest by J. F. Holleman (1952). In 1949, Holleman also presented an elaborate study of Shona family relationships that has added greatly to our knowledge of the peoples. Language has been the focus of attention for several authors: C. M. Doke is credited with standardizing the Shona language (1931); M. Hannan (1961) produced the Standard Shona Dictionary; and more recently, Hamutyinei and Plangger's collection of proverbs (1974) has sparked added interest in linguistic aspects of the culture (Fortune 1975). Two knowledgeable sources on the religious aspects of the culture are Crawford (1967) and Gelfand (1956, 1959, 1962, 1964, 1968). The Shona
political system has been well covered by Garbett (1960, 1963). A recent addition to the study of these people is that of Shona music by Berliner (1978), and the most recent study relates to world view itself (Bucher 1981).

The homeland of the Shona in Zimbabwe has been called Mashonaland (see Figure 5). Since some Shona peoples (Manyika and Ndau) actually spill over into Mozambique, the total area involved is more than 150,000 square miles, nearly seven times the size of the area in which the Bemba people live.

Three types of sparsely forested grasslands characterize Mashonaland. First there is the High Veld, a fertile, rolling plateau running 400 miles long and 50 miles wide, north to south between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers, and at elevations ranging from 3,000 to 5,000 feet above sea level. This High Veld rises to the eastern highlands with heights exceeding 6,000 feet, Mt. Inyangani (8,515 feet) being the highest point. Then there is a Middle Veld lying on either side of this plateau at elevations ranging from 3,000 to 4,000 feet. Finally, the Low Veld lies on the eastern and western ends of the Middle Veld, dropping to the Indian Ocean and the Kalahari Desert. The Kalanga and Ndau inhabit these lower plains, being linguistically and culturally removed in varying degrees from the greater body of Shona peoples. The Korekore, Tavara, Zezuru, and Karanga have remained on the higher plains and represent the main body of the Shona.

As can be expected, the climate varies considerably in this landscape. A rainy season from November to March is followed by a dry season from May to September. Rainfall varies from 15 inches per year
in the Low Veld to 55 inches per year in the highlands. The Low Veld is hotter than the High Veld, but overall, the temperature is mild, ranging between 54°F for an average in the cold season to 85°F for an average in the warm season.

The terrain identified with Mashonaland also varies in terms of vegetation, soil and pests. The savannahs are covered by a variety of grass and forest. The High Veld, with its rich, fertile soil, is characterized by an abundance of grass and forest. In contrast, the Low Veld, with its sandy soil, is characterized by a scarcity of both. The amount of streams and rivers flowing through the three grasslands also varies considerably, with constant flows enjoyed year round in the high places, and seasonally dry rivers in the low areas. It is said that the High Veld is free of pests such as the tsetse fly so common in the Low Veld. Nevertheless, all levels of the terrain share the more common insects and parasites: mosquitoes, ticks, maggots, and snails - making Gouldsbury's comment (page 71) applicable to the Shona as well as the Bemba. One additional feature of Mashonaland that makes it distinct and which has had a great impact upon the peoples living there is its mineral wealth. This wealth has greatly influenced the Shona in the past and continues to have its influence in the present.

Patterns and Performances

From reading the various ethnographies and accounts of the Shona, and having lived among them for a brief time, it appears to this writer that the land is of paramount consideration in their lives. As Bourdillon (1976:85) says,
The Shona do not see their land simply as property, simply as an economic asset; the land is ultimately associated with the history of a chiefdom, with the ruling chief and with ancestral spirits who lived on it. The relationship of the people to the land is seen very keenly in their social, technological/economic, and religious patterns and performances.

Taking first the social aspects of Shona life, it will be seen that kinship, family and politics are tied in with relationships to the land. The Shona kinship system is patrilineal - the patrilineage being a genealogical hierarchy. The patrilineage is further characterized by strict classification: the oldest males always having superiority. Clan names (imitupos) distinguish the patrilineages from each other as do sub-clan names (zvidao). Marriage is exogamous, virilocal, and involves gift exchanges involving large numbers of cattle and money.

The most evident manifestation of this patrilineal system is in residential patterns. The typical residential group (chizvarwa) consists of a male family head with three to five generations under him: his brothers, sons and nephews, grandchildren, and great grandchildren. This extended family group works together, supports each other in court cases, acts together in marriage arrangements, and performs ritual together in honor of deceased members of the lineage. The strongest bond within the group is that between father and children (Bourdillon 1976:44); upon the father's death, it is believed that his spirit continues to protect his children and grandchildren.

Kinship ties with the land are seen in that land cultivated by a given male is most likely an inheritance from his father. In years past, the Shona man could farm this land for five to twenty years,
depending on the quality of the soil, then expand the farm or move elsewhere. In the present, the large population, scarcity of lands, and land tenure laws require that he continue cultivating this same plot as long as he intends to farm - or buy land in an expensive market. When his sons are ready to farm, he can apportion some of the land to them. When he dies, they inherit the land.

The political system of the Shona rises out of the kinship system - and clearly shows the complexity of the latter. Lines in the lineages often become entangled. Chiefs inherit their positions, but there are frequent conflicts, debates, court battles, and feuds over this inheritance.

Connections between the political system and land center around the chiefdom (nyika) - a tract of land with which each chief is identified. Boundaries for the chief's land may be vague, but ritual responsibilities of the chief for the prosperity of the land lend importance to this tract. Bourdillon says,

The boundaries of a chiefdom are usually clearly defined by natural features such as hills and rivers well known to its inhabitants, but precise agreement over these boundaries are not always shared with the inhabitants of neighboring chiefdoms. The country within the boundaries of a long established chiefdom usually has a traditional name apart from the dynastic title of the chief who rules over it, and the people distinguish themselves from their neighbors by using the name of their chiefdom: thus the people from the Korekore chiefdom of Diwa (under Chief Makuni) call themselves Shona as opposed to Malawians on the farms, Korekore as opposed to other Shona groups, but at home they call themselves vaDiwa distinguishing themselves from their Korekore neighbors (1976:12). The chief's ritual responsibilities have to do with his appeasement of spirits that are identified with the country he rules.
Attention to matters of land in the political realm of the Shona is seen again in the boundaries and responsibilities assigned to wards (dunhu), the sub-divisions of a chiefdom, and villages (imisha). The average ward covers an area 25-35 square miles in size. In contrast to the chiefdom in which it is located, its boundaries are clearly marked by natural features such as rivers, streams, and hilltops. This clear designation of boundaries gives greater permanence to the wards, and that fact, combined with burial practices within the ward, gives the ward a special place in Shona thinking. "The ward is 'home' to them, where they can always return and obtain cultivation rights, and where they hope eventually to be buried" (Bourdillon 1976:123). There are usually twelve to twenty villages in a ward, with a population ranging from single domestic units to as many as 200 people. These villages are established upon permission of the ward headman (sadunhu) who drives a peg into the ground where the house of the head wife of the village headman (sabuku) is to be built. Later, the same village headman allocates garden plots to eligible members of the village (Holleman 1952:6).

It should not be assumed, however, that all activity of these three political leaders (chief, wardhead and village headman) is centered upon the land. In their various other functions, an extension of patrilineal activities is seen. The chief (ishe) is like a father looking after his people, appeasing the spirits of dead ancestors, settling disputes and receiving work parties. His primary task is to preside over the court, for his court is the last court of appeal for the people in his chiefdom. Elders in the community help him in this
task and their objective is reconciliation rather than judgment, although witchcraft and murder are dealt with harshly. The wardhead, most likely a personage of the chief's lineage, is likewise fatherly in his functions. His task is to protect, arbitrate and perform ritual involving his lineage. He usually assigns core members of his own kinship group to be village headmen in his ward. The village headmen, then, represent the third level of political organization. They act basically the same as heads of families, making sure there is sufficient land, settling disputes, and organizing workparties (nhimbe) which have great social import to Shona life.

While all three of these personages in the political structure of the Shona have significant ritual duties as heads of various patrilineal units, the chiefs have special roles to play. They are the guardians of Shona life and strength (Bourdillon 1976:131). Life is associated with the land, and the chiefs are considered the owners of the land by right of succession. Strength comes from their status and their succession rituals, and much is done to highlight both. Both life and strength are intricately woven together with the religious beliefs and personages of the area. As Bourdillon says, "The traditional Shona chiefship is associated with the spiritual powers which are believed to control the chiefdom" (1976:129).

Religious patterns and performances are also associated with the land. Spiritual powers - namely tribal spirits (mhondoro) through mediums (svikiro) - are believed to control the chiefdom. They are believed to do so in various ways. An especially active time for the spiritual powers is during the succession rituals of chiefs. Beyond
succession ritual, they are believed to have continuous influence upon events in the chiefdom. This influence is usually expressed through the chiefs who mediate between their people and the tribal spirits through the offices of mediums for those spirits. Such mediation is especially needful during times of drought and pestilence and during important ceremonies of thanksgiving for crops and well-being. Sometimes the influence of the spiritual powers surpasses the powers of the chief himself, and the mediums take a more direct hand in religious and political matters. Bourdillon describes the power of these mediums as cultic, often serving a unifying purpose for the Shona peoples.

Spiritual power is also recognized through other kinds of spirits and their mediums. Gelfand (1962) describes the ancestral spirits or family spirits (vadzimu) and the alien spirits (mashave) and their respective mediums. The ancestral spirits are the ones of greatest concern to the average Shona person. They are unpredictable right after death, but by appeasement, are believed to gradually become settled into the community structure as the spirits of dead persons. The worst consequence would be for them to become revengeful spirits (ngozi).

Shona doctors (nganga) assist the people in proper behavior toward the spirits. They, too, rely on spiritual powers, being mediums themselves at times. Their assistance is also offered for practical medication and counsel.

At the pinnacle of this entire religious system, the Shona believe there is a high god, Mwari or Musikavanhu. He is so far removed from the people, though, that he is only given secondary consideration. The high god they believe in is not concerned with any of the daily
features of their religion, so the people feel no compulsion to involve him. They would rather involve themselves with the spiritual powers that have a daily influence upon their lives - the spirits of the dead.

It is in the technological and economic patterns and performances that one would expect to see relationships to the land most obviously expressed. This is true. The Shona are very much peoples of the land. They are primarily subsistence farmers, though many in recent years have become commercial. The basic economic unit is the household, with the man and his wife or wives having separate fields. The average field is five acres located near their homes. The main crop is maize and millet with supplements of a wide variety of vegetables, melons, ground nuts, beans, etc. In the division of labor, the men do the heavy work, leaving the lighter work for the women to do. Work parties result in reciprocal obligations in the farming enterprise.

In addition to subsistence farming, the Shona are herdsmen, keeping cattle, sheep and goats. They attribute significance to the cattle by associating them with the patrilineages; 50% of the men are said to own cattle. They use the cattle for food, to bind marriages, appease ancestral spirits, and to measure wealth. They also keep poultry and pigs.

Even this brief consideration of these technological and economic patterns and performances shows the importance of the land to the Shona. Bourdillon fittingly summarizes by saying,

The land as a productive resource remains of crucial importance to the Shona even today, whether it be for subsistence during life or simply for security in old age. But it is far more than simply a productive resource. Since
the Shona believe that the productivity of the land is in the power of its deceased owners, the land emphasizes their need of contact with their deceased ancestors. The land is thus important for the continuity of a people with its traditions. The land links past and present, the dead and the living, the chief and his people, and it binds the people together. . . . (1976:88).

The Shona express their own impressions of these matters through a now unified language. Like other Bantu languages, it is rich in vocabulary and distinct in character. The different dialects bring complexity and variety to this language.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Carolyn Ann Parker said that the culture of a people provides a unique macro-level context in which [a given] corpus of proverbs could occur (1974:16). These brief glimpses of the Bemba and the Shona have shown the distinctive characteristics of each. They dwell in different environments, have developed distinct cultural structures and behavior, and speak different languages. Seeing the culture prepares the way for studying the proverbs.

Ruth Finnegan attributed three characteristics to proverbs in Africa; they are short, make sense and have "salt" (see discussion on pages 32-33). Of these three characteristics, comments pertaining to the Bemba and Shona proverbs can only be made concerning the first one. Shortness is apparent in the data being considered. The sense and "saltiness" of the proverbs must be judged by the people themselves. Speaking of the brevity of the Shona proverbs, Hamutyinei and

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2 See Appendix A and B for the collections which are the focus of this paper.
Plangger say, "No words are wasted and all propositions are stated as succinctly as possible with the common grammatical forms curtailed or changed" (1974:16). Though referring specifically to the Shona proverbs, Hamutuyinei and Plangger's comment could be equally applied to the Bemba proverbs.

Though short, the Bemba and Shona proverbs do not lack for rhythm. This rhythm is easily grasped by the people whose proverbs are being studied for their languages make great use of alliteration and assonance that is based on the repetition of concords. It is not so easy for the foreigner to recognize this rhythm though, and to assist the foreign student, collectors have inserted symbols in the text. For the Bemba, Hoch shows this rhythm by inserting his own symbol ($) so as to separate two propositions in the proverbs. Hamutuyinei and Plangger insert their own symbol (/) in the Shona proverbs to show the same thing.

Some comments can be made concerning the styles and structures of the proverbs in question. There are said to be three basic styles for African proverbs: literal forms, simile and metaphor (Finnergan 1970: 395). A detailed study of the presence of each of these styles in the proverbs of these two peoples of Southern Africa provides helpful information. The Shona use the literal form of proverb very sparingly and usually to communicate instruction and give warning. The Bemba are likewise sparing in their use of the literal form and communicate facts when they do so. An example of this style is Shona proverb

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The author has done an extensive comparison of the literal context of the Bemba and Shona proverbs. See his 1981 paper.
number 264: Akura/ataurwa - One who has grown is talked about. No simile or metaphor is used. Simile is defined by Webster as "a figure of speech in which one thing is likened to another, dissimilar thing." (Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary). The simile is distinct from the metaphor in that there is an explicit comparison for the former, and an implicit comparison for the latter. The Bemba and Shona ways of expressing simile are just as clear as the English use of like and as -- to the one knowing the languages. Those expressions were found more frequently in the Shona proverbs than in the Bemba proverbs. An example in the Bemba corpus is number 457: Insoni: mwenso - Shyness is fear.

Metaphor is by far the most common style used in the proverbs of both peoples. In fact, 90% of the proverbs are seemingly of this kind. Structures become complex within these metaphoric statements.

Seven kinds of structure are apparent in the proverbs of both groups. The first kind to be considered is parallelism. Hamutyinei and Plangger's comments about this structural feature for the Shona can be equally applied to the Bemba:

Parallelism is a very common feature applied to express simple analogies but also paradox or contrast. This is possible because proverbs usually have a balanced structure and fall naturally into halves (1974:15).

Parallelism occurs far more frequently in the Shona proverbs than it does in the Bemba texts. An example from the Shona collection states, "Kurava mbudzi nedzisipo/ kurava nedzava matoo" - Counting absent goats means counting dead ones (#67).

Cross-parallelism is another common structure though the Bemba use it more frequently. Hamutyinei and Plangger state that "in cross-
parallelism similar forms are not in corresponding positions in each half of the proverb but in transposed positions." Statements of this kind may be for analogy, paradox and contrast. It appears that both groups use this structure most frequently to make statements of contrast.

Both Bemba and Shona express themselves quite frequently in the proverbs by saying one thing in two ways, the second way reinforcing the first. In doing this they make use of what is called the double proposition (Doke 1947:106-111). The Shona make use of this structure more frequently than do their neighbors to the north. Doke (ibid.) states that double propositions are usually of an explanatory nature. A review of the proverbs reveals that this is, indeed, true. However, all were not equally explanatory and it seemed that other words were necessary to describe the differences. Therefore, it was discovered that some were illustrative - when only one example of many possibilities was used; consequential - when a warning was involved; contrastive - when two differing objects or persons were compared, and advisory - when didactics were clearly meant. The Shona, in particular, made great use of these other forms of double proposition.

The fourth kind of structure that is prominent in the proverbs is called negative axiom of proposition. Do not, cannot, will not, should not, is not - these are all ways of stating a negative proposition or making a negative axiom in English. Not surprisingly, the Bemba and the Shona, likewise, have their ways of expressing themselves negatively. What is surprising is the prevalence of this structural form. It appears that as much as 20% of the Shona proverbs
are of this kind, while as much as 28% of the Bemba proverbs are. An example: "Mhizha mbiri hadziwirirani" - Two experts are never on good terms (Shona #716).

Ruth Finnegan suggested that rhetorical questions be added to Doke's 1947 list as an important structural form in African proverbs. It is an easy structure to identify and one would not think there would be much variety in its usage. Yet the two groups under investigation do show significant diversity. The Shona resort to this kind of question - a question for which there seems an obvious answer - more frequently than do the Bemba. Number 150 serves as an example: "Dai pasina nyimo/ makunguo aizodyei?" - If there were no groundnuts, what would the crows eat?

Reduplication is a common feature of the languages of southern Africa. It is often used for emphasis, paradox and humor. An example from the Bemba text suffices to show the reader its place in the collection: "Muli sekaseka: e mutula lilalila" - Foolish laughter ends in tears (#628).

Finally, negative commands are an important structure form. Neither Finnegan nor Doke included negative commands in their lists of structural forms common to the proverbs of Bantu languages. But it seemed intriguing to investigate their usage of this form often identified in the translations as "Do not....". The Shona use it more frequently than the Bemba, but neither use it very much.

Both the Shona and the Bemba proverbs have within them other structural forms deserving of consideration. Many of the proverbs contain only two words. Both groups make a play-on-words at various
places in their texts. A Bemba example is #426: "Insaka yasaka: abalipo" - The rest shelter has its use for those who are there at the right moment. Rhyme, represented by number 545 of the Bemba text is common to both collections: "Ku lupwa ni ku mupya: takuluba mbule" - A family is like a place cleared by fire. Exaggeration, also common to both collections, is represented by number 698 in the Shona readings: "Unokama gava wakarinyengedzera nechitswanda chetsubvu" - In order to milk a jackal you have to divert its attention with a basket of tsubvu fruit.

There are certain forms preferred by either one group or the other. The Shona preface many of their proverbs with the word, "Hapana" - There isn't, there aren't. Another favorite of the Shona is to preface the proverb with the word "nhamo" - Trouble. A third form favored by the Shona includes the word, "hazvienzani" - Is better than, in the middle of the proverb. The Bemba, on the other hand, have their own favorites. The Bemba are unique in the comparisons in making use of the first personal pronoun in their proverbs. Another favorite way for the Bemba to begin a proverb is with the statement, "apali" - Where there is. Finally, an observation was made that the word "kano" - If, except - occurs quite frequently in the middle of a proverb.

These matters pertaining to proverbial style and structure among the Bemba and the Shona, then, conclude this overview of the people who are the focus of this project. The proverbs must be seen in the cultural context of their respective societies. They will now be seen as sources of much information regarding the particular perspectives
that cause the Bemba and the Shona to look out upon and interpret their worlds in distinct ways. Delving yet further into the literal context of the proverbs, it is now time for a detailed look at this data.
CHAPTER VI

SELF ORIENTATIONS

The African cosmos is like a spider web: its least element cannot be touched without making the whole vibrate. Everything is connected, interdependent. Everything cooperates to make up a unity. Nevertheless, man occupies a special place in this universe: he is the center of it and everything converges toward him (Erny 1973:19).

An investigation of the world view of a people should begin with that people's view of the individual within their cosmos. In spite of picturesque, stimulating, and concise descriptions of such views by worthy investigators, it remains a difficult task to discover a subject's place in the universe as conceived by that subject himself. The investigator is tempted to say that this position is vague and blurred to the man looking out on the world (Erny 1973:212). The fact is, however, that the view is blurred for the investigator.

Nevertheless, there have been many attempts to present the "African" view of the individual in both general and particular terms. Many of the generalizations have concentrated upon contrasts with Western views, and have been generated by both African and Western investigators. Most of these contrasting generalities point to the corporateness of the African person and the individuality of the Western person. For instance, Jomo Kenyatta, first president of an independent Kenya, said that individuality is the European ideal of life, while for Africans, "the ideal is the right relationships with, and behavior to, other people" (1961:105). So common is this generalization on the part
of African observers, that novelists and writers often have their heroes and heroines struggling with this basic difference between the two peoples (Cohen 1970:41). Scores of Western observers have joined the chorus, stating that, in contrast to the Westerner, Africans cannot conceive of man as an individual, as a force existing by itself and apart from its "ontological" relationships with other living beings (Tempels 1959:103). Erny neatly summarized the contrast by saying the African is ontological - concerned with the metaphysical aspects of being, while the Westerner is psychological (1973:14). It will be left to these various authors to defend their own observations.

Studies of particular peoples on the African continent go beyond the surface generalizations and reveal much deeper levels of self-orientation. Marion Kilson placed human beings in the middle of a pyramidal hierarchy of being for the Ga of Ghana, contrasting those beings as either created or creative, immortal or mortal, rational or irrational, mobile or immobile. Human beings, according to Ga world view are created and mortal, thus differing from the supreme being and divine beings above them; they are rational and mobile, thus differing from animals and plants below them (Abarry 1978:42). Busia, another investigator, sought the Ashanti view of people and discovered that they consider the individual as both biological and spiritual. The biological is inherited from the mother, while the spiritual is a two-fold gift from the father and the supreme being (1972:79). Delving yet further into an African view, Mercier (1954) and Herskovits (1948:352) analyzed the Fon of Dahomey. Their conclusions differed slightly, but both revealed the complexity of the Fon view of the individual in
their society. As Herskovits reported, "... all persons have at least three souls, and adult males have four." The Dogon of West Africa, on the other hand, view a person as having eight souls, four dealing with the body and four dealing with reproduction (Fortes In Fortes and Dieterlen 1965:18-19). Maquet (1954) likewise describes the Banyarwanda in more depth, showing how they distinguish the human being from animal, and how they describe human nature before and after death. His conclusion was that these people "do not make any clear-cut distinctions between the concept of body and mind," and "although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider the unit rather than its components" (1954:174).

Generalities and particularities also exist in the descriptions of persons by both the Bemba and Shona. It will be helpful to consider observations made by anthropologists and others before considering the data contained within the proverbs of the two groups.

The Bemba have been characterized as a cheerful, light-hearted people, quick to express sympathy, adaptable in human relationships, courteous, having a high sense of etiquette and a great way with speech (Richards 1939:28-30). They are good workers at tasks that require daring and sudden exertion, are great walkers, and are noted for the heavy loads they shoulder (op. cit., 43). Gouldsbury and Sheane observed that they take great pride in personal cleanliness, have a keen sense of hearing and smelling, concentrate on the control of their emotions, and like a person who is quiet, easy-going, unemotional and slow to anger. They also credited them with honesty, fidelity and generosity.
Negatively, the Bemba are said to be inefficient at hard, continuous work, touchy and quarrelsome, aggressive toward other peoples, "obsessed with problems of status and constantly on the lookout for their personal dignity, as is perhaps natural in a society in which so much depends on rank" (Richards 1939:28-29). Richards says that this latter trait is observable even in Bemba children at an early age: "Children who consider that they have been corrected over-harshly announce that they do not like the offending relative anymore, . . ." (op. cit., 144).

Both Richards and Gouldsbury are apologetic in their descriptions of the Bemba person, admitting that their viewpoints are subjective and limited. It is unfortunate that the extent of their description is so limited, for little is said elsewhere. Both authors discuss values held by the Bemba but, typically, those values are presented in connection with cultural patterns and performances which predominate in importance. Little has been done to describe the Bemba subject himself, particularly as he sees himself.

Michael Gelfand does a much more acceptable job of presenting the Shona subject as he sees himself. If Gelfand's contributions can be considered to adequately portray the insider's viewpoint, his descriptions are very helpful. For example, he writes,

The Shona begin by considering a person's personality or makeup, which they call hunhu. A man who has hunhu behaves in a decent, good, rational, responsible way. A worthy man has hunhu. One who fights with others or steals can be said to be without hunhu (haana hunhu). He is not human. A person possessed of hunhu can control himself, his passions and instincts, but should his desires overcome him he has no hunhu. An individual with hunhu has good morals. Morality is equivalent to maturity. According
to the Shona the difference between a human being and an animal is his possession of hunhu (1968:53).

Gelfand goes on to describe other characteristics of hunhu (op. cit., 53-56). For instance, it increases in a person's life as the person matures. It is characterized by politeness and respect to parents, elders and neighbors. It is further characterized by a lack of harshness to young or old, quietness, dignity, pleasantness, and a readiness to laugh with others. It includes foresight and an ability to comprehend changing circumstances. Hunhu is keenly sought after for it describes a person who is good - meaning he has good manners and morals and is intelligent - is right (chakanaka), perfect (kururama), expresses sympathy (urombo), enthusiastically welcomes the success of others (kukorokotodzana), has mercy (tsitsi), is unselfish (munhu asina hukukutu), and generous.

There is undoubtedly an element of subjectivity and limitedness in Gelfand's account of the Shona, just as there was in the accounts given by Richards and Gouldsbury for the Bemba. Yet his account does give a fairly good picture of what the Shona consider the ideal person.

The ideal person in the eyes of the Bemba and the Shona may also be recognized in their proverbs. In fact, this is one of the reasons the respective collectors classified the proverbs: recognized values of the peoples become more apparent to onlookers. Hoch (1968) merely alphabetizes the values along with other outstanding elements, and sets off with a list including ardour, carefulness, character, charity, etc. Hamutyinei and Plangger do a more acceptable job, by including good behaviour and integrity, generosity, humility, gratitude, per-
severance, confidence, preparedness and optimism under the major category of human nature (hunhu) already alluded to by Gelfand. Much insight into self-orientation can be gained, then, by going to these proverbs and recognizing the classifications.

Dependence on the existing classifications, though, means dependence on the classifiers. Hoch's reliability among the Bemba may not be as high as that of Hamutyinei among the Shona for the simple reason that he is an alien to the Bemba while Hamutyinei is himself Shona. Both collectors interpret the meanings of the proverbs and cannot help but bring an element of subjectivity and limitedness to the study. There is little the classifiers of the proverbs can do about this problem without bringing in a wealth of contextual data. Hamutyinei and Plangger provide some of this data, but Hoch provides none for the Bemba.

Ethnographers and linguists, then, have provided some basis for knowing Bemba and Shona self-orientation, but more remains to be discovered. This paper attempts to provide yet another basis for delving into this aspect of world view. My contribution attempts to get beyond the generalizations of the ethnographers to the particularities of certain aspects of this orientation. It attempts to get beyond the relatively subjective classifications of the linguists by simply recognizing prominent words that have to do with the human being in the proverbs.
DATA AND ANALYSIS

The 1,556 Shona proverbs analyzed in this research referred to munhu - person - a total of thirty-three times. The 1,276 Bemba proverbs referred to the equivalent term, muntu, a total of only sixteen times. An analysis of these occurrences for both groups shows that the proverbs in question (see Appendix B) describe either human nature or human capabilities.

Bemba and Shona give roughly the same attention to human nature. The Bemba refer to it in ten of the proverbs that mention muntu, and the Shona refer to it in nine of the proverbs that mention munhu. As suggested by the generalities made by Kenyatta (n.d.), Cohen (1970), and Tempels (1959), the only quality commonly referred to by both peoples in their proverbs is a reliance on and security with others. The Bemba state this negatively by saying, "Umwikalano: taubipa muntu" - Living together does not allow a person to do wrong (#1167), and "Umuntu umo: ushisalangana" - One person cannot disperse (#1060). The Shona similarly state, "Munhu haarasiki kuna vanhu" - A person never gets lost among people (#1256).

There are many qualities of human nature that are not commonly referred to directly by the two peoples. The Bemba say that the individual is created for God (#425), that a little evil in the person often leads to more evil (#1058), that the individual is dependent on the ear (#1162), is subject to death at which time he will be replaced by other humans (#719), and that the person is especially vulnerable to the spirits which can destroy life (#1068). Two additional refer-
ences to man's nature provide some depth of understanding of the Bemba view. One reference says, "Utulaala twa munda ya nama: utwa munda sha bantu tatulaala" - That which sleeps in an animal doesn't sleep in people (#1178). Hoch (1968:134) explains that this is an allusion to man's conscience. Whether conscience or not, this is an important statement of man's nature as opposed to animal nature. The second reference of seeming importance is number 13: "Abantu lisabi: likonka menshi" - People are a fish, it follows water. Though not so obvious in this single proverb, it will become obvious that the proverbs as a whole reinforce a hierarchical concept of mankind, with careful attention to leadership. It appears that fish could easily represent the majority of Bemba people who get caught in the on-rushing, forceful, spiritually encompassing stream of Bemba life.

The Shona also describe human nature in their proverbs. They do not reveal all aspects of that nature through this one medium, but they do reveal important features. A path, not a stream, is associated with this nature: "Nzira hairasi munhu" - A path does not lead a person astray (#1257). Along this path, the Shona say that a person develops only under right circumstances (#533), has limited abilities in that development (#1211), and is subject to rejection, misery and misfortune (#795 and #1006) as well as to errors (#1123). A person dwells in the company of many people, and all, including children and witches (#1449 and #278) should be respected.
A person's capabilities are viewed differently in the proverbs of the two groups.\(^1\) The Bemba limit their description of these capabilities to five observations: the individual is capable of self-protection (#932), bad behavior and a demanding demeanor (#1056), improvement (#1057), and discernment: "Uwenda ne mbwa abepa: uwenda na bantu tabepa" - He who goes with a dog lies; he who goes with people does not lie (#1253). The Shona mention far more capabilities on the part of the individual. Speaking of his capacity to do evil, they recognize that a person can be deceptive (#776) and miserly (#1190). On the other hand, the individual is capable of overcoming laziness (#45), freeing oneself (#304), making choices (#305), overcoming bad luck (#1197), and can even avoid death (#1007). The successful person to the Shona view is the man who speaks well: "Miromo ya vanhu haiwiri pasi" - The mouths of people do not fall down (#1253).

A review of these observations about human nature in the proverbs of the two peoples reveals both similarities and differences, although no conclusions can be drawn. Both groups view the self in conjunction with others and give relatively equal attention to human nature, though they express different facts about that nature. The main contrast that can be recognized in this limited amount of data is that the Bemba directly list but few capabilities attributable to an individual, while the Shona mention more capabilities, including the capacity of free-will, self-determination, and of victory over many obstacles.

\(^1\)See Table III, page 133, "Activity related others" to gain another perspective on differences related to capabilities.
Alongside the proverbs that refer to the individual, both Bemba and Shona refer to many parts of a person's anatomy. Although researchers like Maquet (1954) have stated that Africans may prefer a holistic view of individuality rather than an anatomical view, it seems proper to analyze the proverbs for what they say about the component parts in order to see how the parts fit into the overall self-orientations of the two peoples. It is recognized, of course, that these components are metaphors, and the proverbs, in most cases, are not to be taken literally. Yet, it is the thesis of this research that, metaphoric though they may be, these proverbs reveal observations of the real world as seen by the two groups.

Therefore, armpits, beards, cheeks, ears, eyes, faces, necks, noses, teeth, wombs, and other parts of the body are subsumed under this study of self-orientation. The Shona refer to these various components of the self a total of 231 times in the 1,556 proverbs analyzed. The Bemba refer to them a total of 210 times in 1,286 proverbs. The former refer to 52 parts of the self, or associations with the self, and the Bemba refer to 49 such components.

A comparison of the references made by the two groups in their respective proverbs provides information on the way they see themselves in their worlds. Erny (1973:8) says that each people has their "own specific mode of self-discovery." Applied to the Bemba and the Shona, it would seem that partial self-discovery would occur as a result of reflection upon different components of the self.

Table II shows the statistical data for the components given greatest attention by the two groups. It is significant that all six
### TABLE II

**FREQUENCY OF REFERENCE TO INDIVIDUAL COMPONENTS OF THE SELF AND $X^2$ RESULTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Bemba References</th>
<th>Shona References</th>
<th>$X^2$ Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4.1672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>.5287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.2460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.9260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hands</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stomach</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.2372</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*df = 1*  

*alpha = 0.05 is 3.84146*  

*a + b = 235*  

*c + d = 200*
components are given prominent attention by both groups, with mouth and eye at the top of the list. Yet, attention is not given in the same proportion. The chi-square tests show significant differences between Bemba and Shona references to the mouth, heart and head. Although the chi-square test does not show significance for other components, hands seem to have a more prominent place in the proverbs of the Shona than in the proverbs of the Bemba and stomach seems to have this position for the Bemba.

The chi-square tests provide only one perspective on the data. A more valuable perspective is gained by a detailed look at each of these prominent components of self. Consider first, the mouth, given significantly more prominence by the Shona who say, "Miromo ya vanhu haiwiri pasi" - The mouths of people do not fall down (#1253). The Bemba reinforce the corporate nature of people with the proverb, "Akanwa kamo: takomfwa nshama ukupya" - One mouth can't taste the peas cooked (#58). Both groups have many interesting things to say about the mouth, speaking of either its nature or its function in relatively equal proportion.

Both groups say that the mouth, by nature, cannot do certain things. The Bemba say it cannot forge hoes (#608), whistle and play the flute at the same time (#59), be trusted alone (#58), or lie if it is bearded (#55). The Shona say that the mouth cannot despise things because the eyes do that (#1511), give (#328, 722, 723), be stopped by a river (#329), or be stopped if guilty (#56). There is mention by both groups of various actions directed toward the mouth. The Bemba say it must be controlled like a dog (#63), and it must be served to
avoid its having a bitter taste (#1198). The Shona say that the mouth needs to be held so as not to allow it to laugh (#1396), needs to remain quiet no matter what the eyes see (#1124), and needs to be cleaned (#1290). The Shona identify saliva with the mouth #40), pointing out that a finger will get saliva on it every time it is placed in the mouth; the Bemba identify the mouth with the nose, saying that it is in line with that part of the face (#57) and always gets water into it before the nose does. There are other observations related to the mouth. The Shona say that once it is open it is hard to close (#331), it behaves habitually (#756), and it eats for only one person (#1434). The Bemba point to the dual nature of the mouth when they say it burns you but also takes away the pain (#60); and they state that it can be insolent (#829). Finally, in connection with the nature of the mouth, the Shona say that it dies when a man dies (#616), implying that attention should be paid to the living (Hamutyinei and Plangger 1974: 190). The Bemba mention that the poor man and the stranger alike have a small mouth and a big stomach (#1022, 1149).

In terms of function, the Shona recognize that the destructive power of the mouth (#897, 898, 1138) is directed toward others. This destructiveness is often seen in loud and boisterous talk (#142, 1414), an idea that is reinforced later by my discussion of the attention this group gives to witches. The Bemba, on the other hand, state that the mouth contains a stumbling block (#3294), a reference to the tongue. They fault it for being exposed in an open stare that shows lack of sensitivity (#1190), and for being that which holds all the words of a poor man so that he dies with them (#1021). Mention of the poor man
ties in with the observation that Bemba hierarchical society sometimes overwhelms the individual.

There are, of course, positive functions for the mouth. Both groups attribute the natural functions of eating, drinking, speaking, feeling and the containment of teeth and saliva to the mouth. The Shona refer to the witch when they say that the mouth is capable of answering a witch (#344). One proverb that seems to stand out from all the rest in the Shona collection states, "Miromo ya vakuru inoreva zviera" - The mouths of the elders say sacred things (#1255). Consistent with what is being learned about the Bemba concept of status, they say, "Umwele wa mulanda: waba mu kanwa" - The knife of the poor man is in his mouth (#1147), associating mouth with one's status.

The eye, too, is considered in terms of its nature and its function. Both groups refer to obvious aspects of the eyes: they get red, are irritated by smoke, widen in the sun, become ill and are made well, suffer from dirt and blows, shed tears, need to be cleaned, and have their own function (seeing). Various traits are identified with the eye: the Shona mention anger, suffering, grief, and ugliness; the Bemba mention grief and suffering. Both groups speak particularly of the eye in connection with spatial-orientation. The Shona say the eye has no path (#1502) and no boundary (#1501). However, the eye sees more than what is accessible to man in spite of the services of the foot (#163). Other proverbs say "Mudya na meso/ musvita wapamawere" - Only the eyes are fed by (an inaccessible) tree on a slope (#212) and "Chataidya no muromo/ nhasi chava chokudya na meso" - What we used to eat with our mouths is now eaten with the eyes (#583). Though it sees a lot, it
does not perceive all that the ears do (#1223). The Bemba say the
eyes, though permanently located in the anatomy of a person, see many
places (#120); and, like the Shona, state that the eyes see more than
the legs can reach: "Ukufike linso: ulukasa teti lufikeko" - That
which the eye encompasses, the leg won't reach (#905).

As for function, the Shona assign special functions, both nega-
tive and positive to the eye. Negatively, they show obnoxiousness
(#1511), and lust (#1151). Positively, they are used by old people to
"pass the buck" (#585), by mothers to guardedly watch the child while
listening to the advice of the witch (#844), and for meeting in rela-
tionship (#392). This last proverb contributes to the emphasis upon
corporateness among the Shona: "Meso asangana/ hwava ukama" - Eyes
which have met have relationship. The Bemba, too, assign both nega-
tive and positive functions to the eye. Negatively, they say that it
is the eye, not the head, that lies (#187), it sometimes misses impor-
tant things (#309), and at other times perceives things that ought not
to be seen (#342). Positively, the eyes are used by Bemba old people
for begging (#937) and by all for protection (#392). The Bemba, like
the Shona, use the eye to call attention to the need for unity:
"Ilinso limo: mutulu" - One eye - eyefilm, i.e., dependence on one eye
will be handicapped by film developing in that eye (#355).

This look at the eye as a component of the self reveals how the
Bemba and the Shona see this part of the self in their total orienta-
tions toward humans. As to nature, both groups recognize the conflict
brought to the life of an individual by the ability of the eye to see
more than what a person can acquire. They state this premise in dif-
ifferent ways, but with definite allusions to spatial-orientation an
element of world view not analyzed in this project. As to function, it
is recognized by both groups that the eye of an elder has special in-
fluence and power, and this corresponds to the special place tradition-
ally given to the elders by both societies. Perhaps an observation by
Holleman upon the Shona may equally apply to the Bemba and show the
position of this component of the self in their respective self-orienta-
tions. Speaking of the Shona, he said that they like to express them-
selves "in terms of a concrete action or by means of a tangible token,
rather than by abstract words or formulae. Or, to put it more simply:
seeing and feeling is more important than hearing" (1952:135). Eyes
are at the top of the list in terms of prominence in the proverbs of
both groups while references to ears are not numerically prominent at
all.

Next, consideration needs to be given to the three components of
Self that follow mouth and eye in prominence for each of the two groups.
The proverbs indicate that the heart is the seat of emotions for the
Shona, and judging by chi-square figures, in proportions which signi-
ficantly contrast to the Bemba (see Table II, p. 109). It is associ-
ated with disappointment (#352), kind-heartedness (#381), and love
reveals a number of ways in which umwoyo - heart - is used: umwoyo
unotsvira - a heart burning with desire, -dzora mwoyo - reassure,
-bata mwoyo - restrain, -rasa mwoyo - lose heart. A deep depth of
feeling, then, is associated with the heart for the Shona. Proverb
number 218 states, "Chinonzi rekeru ngechiri mumaoko/ chiri mumwoyo
ningofa nacho" - The thing to be dropped is in the hand, this in my heart I will die with it. Furthermore, this deep feeling of the Shona heart is a private affair: "Chiri mumwoyo/ chiri muninga" - What is in the heart is like that which is in the cave - it is unseen from the outside (#1422). Only the dweller within the cave knows its contents, and that is the individual. Parrinder (1969:79) warned against thinking that traditional African societies were so tightly knit that there was no individual freedom of thought. The Shona seem to assert this in their own way: it is a matter of the heart.

The Bemba likewise give attention to the heart - umutima. Reference to it, however, is less frequent than for the Shona. The occurrence of this word is always in association with emotions and feelings ranging from sadness to sickness. Number 165 states, "Cakwebwa ku mubiyo cikalifyo mutima" - To be rebuked by your companion hurts the heart. This proverb is more understandable in view of Audrey Richard's comment that the Bemba are very sensitive to criticism and take a slight very personally (1939:144 note). Gouldsbury and Sheane add yet further understanding to this attention of the Bemba to the heart:

The Bemba person, they say,

... will attribute the baser emotions of which he is ashamed to an external source. 'Fear,' he says, 'seized me, and my heart said Pwa-a!' ... 'Anger gripped me by the neck, and shame disturbed my breath.' The more noble moral qualities are, apparently, conceived as residing in the larger organs of the body, but are capable of being dislodged by lower impulses. thus, the seat of bravery is in the heart. ... (1911:134).

In addition to the association of feelings with the heart, the Bemba also include the stomach. These authors went on to say, "...
yet the heart itself is literally said to be driven down on occasion into the stomach" (ibid.). Two proverbs reinforce this observation. Number 1178, already referred to, states that there is something in the stomach of a person that is not in the stomach of an animal - that something being the conscience by Hoch's interpretation. Number 636 states, "Munda ya mubiyo: tamwingilwa" - The depths of your companion's stomach are not entered. The stomach, then, is considered important to the emotional well-being of the Bemba.

Primarily, however, the Bemba associate the stomach with hunger and physical strength. Gouldsbury says, "vigour and strength proceed from the abdomen" in the world view of this people. Audrey Richards observed,

Food and beer are without doubt the most exciting and interesting topics of native conversation, with the exception of money, in areas affected by white contact. Anyone who can follow the ordinary gossip of a Bemba village will be struck at once by the endless talk shouted from hut to hut as to what is about to be eaten, what has already been eaten, and what lies in store for the future, and this with an animation and a wealth of detail which would be thought to be quite unusual in this country... (1939:44).

Later, Richards evaluated all the Bemba rituals and discovered that all the major ones reflect the importance they attach to fertility and the supply of food (1956:147). The most common greeting among the Bemba is Mwalileni?" - Have you eaten? It is not surprising, then, to discover this concern with the stomach reflected in the Bemba proverbs. Number 33 simply says, "Akafumo katikila: uko'lya" - The little stomach feels a sensation where it is normally fed, i.e., at home.

Turning next to references to heads and hands, it is noted that these components of the Self are likewise mentioned relatively fre-
quently. For the Shona, bald heads - though referred to six out of sixteen times in reference to the head - are not held in high esteem. To these people, bald heads are a misfortune (#533) and it is not wise for a bald man to seed the garden because the seeds may not germinate (#661). In contrast, the Bemba consider bald heads as assets: "Ukusebe pala: kutesha, kutekanya" - If one wishes to become old (bald), he must listen and be careful (#959).

Going back to the Shona mention of heads, shaved heads - baravara - are referred to in one proverb: "Heya baravara ndiwo mugariro/kutuka mwene wechisvo ndiwo mano?" - Do you think that the shaved head stays permanently shaved and to scold the owner of the razor is wise? An account by Michael Gelfand suggests a reason for this unique attention by the Shona:

... An interesting ritual performance by these people (the Korekore) is the shaving of the heads of all the children of the family as soon as a death occurs. The sahwira is shaved too. If a man or woman dies, only the children are shaved, but if a child dies the parents are also shaved by the sahwira. Children can be shaved by any villager (1962:124).

The sahwira is a ritual friend, and more will be said of this person in Shona society at a later time. The point here is simply that the shaven head has a prominent place in Shona outlook from the perspective of self-orientation and this needs to be taken into consideration as one searches for clues to their world view.

Additional insights on the prominence given to the head in the self-orientation of the Shona are gained by yet other proverbs. Contradicting advice comes from numbers 267 and 760. Number 267 says, "Kudzorera mumwe/ Kuisa musoro mumakwati" - The best way to take re-
venge is to withdraw one's head into one's shell like a tortoise.

Number 760 says, "Anorwira soro/ anorwira rake" - He who fights for a head, fights for his own head. Regardless of the contradiction, the head is associated with struggle among contemporaries in both cases. Proverb number 339 humorously says that the owner knows the ticklish head. Proverb numbers 680, 681 and 682 are variations on the same theme: the head is lifted when one bows his head first to get what he wants - like a bride. Proverb number 1963 is interesting in that it shows a distinctive Shona view of, not only the head, but also the stomach. It states that the person in authority should have a big head, not a big stomach.

It would be interesting to know how the Bemba, with their attention to the stomach, would respond to this latter Shona proverb. Their own proverbs partially reveal their orientation to the human head. To the Bemba, the head is alluded to in terms of personal ownership; even a husband has no right over it for his wife (#318). Like the Shona, they associate the head with an expression of humility (#488). They also associate it with a mother's fond attention (#1286), and with brains or wisdom (#649 and #1110). Of particular interest in the Bemba proverbs is number 1023: "Umulanda alulubalo mushishi ku mutwe: munda nawikala" - Although the poor man's hair is unkempt, his stomach is at peace. This proverb, like others considered in this evaluation of self-orientation, associates an important component of the self with the status of a person in Bemba society.

The Shona definitely give more attention to the hands of a human in their proverbs than do the Bemba. The emphases of the two peoples,
however, is basically the same. One proverb in each of the collections describes something of the nature of hands. The Shona say that it is of their nature to be washed (#260) even when in misery (#796). The Bemba note that the two hands of a human body always work together; what one does, the other does, too (#25). The functions of the hands mentioned by the two groups are not unusual. The Shona say that hands express respect (#236), are the actual givers, not the mouth (#328, 722, and 723), provide protection, though sometimes unwisely (#66), and never tire (#1200). When the Shona wanted to describe the importance of family and corporate relations, they said, "Hama macko" - Relatives are hands (#1160). The Bemba also see the hands functioning in simple everyday activities. In addition to their being the seekers of help (#122), the Bemba see the hands as the helpers (#732). The prominence given to the function of the hands by this group is seen in proverb number 1010: "Umubili ni ku muboko" - The body is dependent on the hand. Two proverbs show hands involved in the struggle of relationships: number 535 says that the hands or arms of the stubborn need to be twisted and number 961 says that hands that end up tied behind a person belong to a person who has finally been convinced.

Before summarizing these findings on the self-orientations of the Bemba and the Shona, a glance at the total picture of individual parts of the self reveals that certain parts occur only in the proverbs of either one group or the other. For example, the Shona alone refer to the back of the head, bowels, breasts, calves, chest, face, face markings from sleep, fat, feet, the fontanelle, saliva, scars, sweat, tattoo marks, the temple, the top of the spinal column, and the uterus.
The Bemba are alone in their reference to the buttocks, excreta, eyelid, fingernail, groins, hunch of a hunchback, lips, loins, neck, placenta, ribs, shoulder, and toe. Perhaps the relative frequency of reference to bowels, feet, scars and sweat is deserving of attention among the Shona. The same could be said for the concern of the Bemba for the neck, mentioned seven times. The author is aware from personal experience that the neck is sometimes the residing place of spirits. Gouldsbury and Sheane mentioned the neck in connection with anger, quoting a Bemba person who said, "Anger gripped me by the neck" (1911:134). The White Fathers report that one belief among the Bemba is that the brains of a hyena when rubbed into scarifications on the neck give power of prophecy (1954:37). The proverbs of the Bemba do not provide any insights for any one of these assertions, but they do show that the neck is associated with life. Number 118 says that it is time to turn around in a river when the water reaches the neck. Number 713 says that hair will grow on the neck of a man who doesn't listen, i.e., as it does on a corpse. Number 851 is a warning not to lag behind; those who do receive a fatal blow to the neck. Number 755 is straightforward: "Songo mukoshi: ubulungu tabubula" - Take care of the neck, the beads won't be lacking. Thus, four out of six proverbs that refer to the neck, do so in reference to life, its continuation and protection.

CONCLUSION

Daryll Forde (1954:xvi) points out that the outlook of African peoples upon the individual in society differ markedly. He calls attention to the contrasting views of the hierarchical Banyarwanda,
Lovedu, Ashanti and Fon and the laissez-faire outlook of the Shilluk, Lele and Abaluiya. There is variety of outlook and these differences challenge the discerning student. The challenge has been recognized in the differing outlooks of the Bemba and the Shona upon the individual in society.

Meeting the challenge of discerning study of differing self-orientations, ethnographers have described subjects in helpful ways. But their descriptions inevitably focus in on patterns, performances and panoramas, rather than the people themselves. Consequently, a lot of written material may be available on peoples such as the Bemba and the Shona which does not lend itself to an intimate knowledge of the subjects themselves. Though helpful, the ethnographers do not give the necessary inside view: how the Bemba and the Shona see themselves amidst the patterns, performances and panoramas that distinguish their cultures.

The proverbs of the two peoples help one to arrive at this inside view. Classifications of the proverbs, based on variously successful and accurate interpretations may provide some insights into the self-orientations of the peoples. But a careful analysis of the literal contents of the proverbs provides a more objective basis for recognizing this and other orientations.

The search for particularities rather than sweeping generalities may not result in profound statements. Satisfaction with singular words and their natural associations rather than classes or themes and their interpretations may not result in all-encompassing conclusions. But both the search for particularities and the attention to singular
words can result in specific contributions to a growing understanding of the world views of peoples studied. Particularities and singular words in the corpus of Bemba and Shona proverbs do result in just such contributions.

Bemba self-orientation as revealed in the proverbs centers upon the person inter-dependent with other persons in a rigidly hierarchical society. That person follows along in the forceful, spiritually encompassing stream of the society - like a fish following the flow of a rushing river. The Bemba individual is not directly ascribed many capabilities in the proverbs, although proverbial interpretations in proper contextual consideration may ascribe many that are not directly visible.

Even Bemba attention to various components of the human anatomy in their proverbs allow for the repeated emphasis of the above features. Twenty-six proverbs that refer to the mouth include several that reinforce the accepted hierarchy (#1021, 1022, 1147) and two that reinforce corporateness (#58, 607). This same emphasis is seen in twenty-seven references to the eye. Corporateness is important just as two eyes are important - one eye may suffer disease while the other eye still sees (#355). Acceptance of the status quo - meaning a strong political hierarchy among the Bemba - may be reinforced by the reminder that the eye sees more than it can have (#705), implying that one should be satisfied with what he has. References to the heart likewise support this view of the self in close inter-relationship with others - but in a definite hierarchical standing. Proverb number 165 confirms the Bemba person's heart reaction to defend whatever status he or she has.
References to the head in Bemba proverbs yield yet further support for this dominating theme. Number 1023 says that the poor man's head of hair is unkempt, but that his stomach is at peace.

This last proverb (#1023), with its contrasting reference to the head and stomach may point to a significant aspect of Bemba self-orientation that comes to the foreground in this study of the proverbs. The head, may in a sense, be considered a special component of the Bemba individual in that it is associated with individuality (see #318 for example), but the stomach may be seen as a very private domain. This is important especially in view of the number of references to it in the proverbs. Indeed, proverb number 636 points this out very explicitly: "Munda ya mubiyo; tamwingiwa" - The depths of your companion's stomach are not entered. Viewing himself in a strict, hierarchical society with much attention to corporateness, the Bemba person focuses on the stomach, associated as it is with food and deepest emotions, for comfort and satisfaction on a personal basis. One of the most prevailing impressions I have of the Bemba is the privacy with which they eat - quietly and quickly, and then they are gone. Perhaps the most noted occurrence of such privacy is in the evening when a man sits alone in his house eating the special dish of food prepared by his wife.

Shona self-orientation as revealed in their proverbs centers upon the person inter-dependent with other persons in a society marked with care, men forcefully but discernedly guiding the individual down a pathway of life fraught with spiritual forces. The Shona person recognizes the individual as capable of many self-assertions but who, in the end,
avoids death, mankind's destiny, only by luck (#1007). The Shona, like the Bemba, reinforce these predominant themes in proverbs that refer to various components of the self. The mouth, eye, heart, head, hands and stomach receive the most references, suggesting that these components have a primary place in their self-orientation.

The thirty-eight proverbs that refer to the mouth contain some that emphasize the corporateness of Shona life by showing the potential destructiveness of the mouth to social situations (#897, 898, 1138). Number 1255 supports the paternal role of the elders in spirit-oriented guidance: "Miromo ya vakuru inoreva zviera" - The mouths of the elders say sacred things. Proverbs about the eye, referred to twenty-five times, say the same thing in different ways. For instance, the Shona person is warned that the eye has no path (#1502), no boundary (#1501) and sees more than the foot can reach (#163). The instruction is that care be taken - the path of life pointed out by the elders be held to. The eye is also referred to in regard to corporateness (#392). Looking at references to the hands and head, the same reinforcement of theme is noted. There is a sense in which the Shona see the head closely and protectively identified with the individual (#760), but proverbs about the heart (referred to twenty-two times) reveal that this organ is considered the one component of the self that is especially set aside for the Self. Not only does number 1422 with its attention to the resemblance of the heart and a cave support this conclusion, but other proverbs do the same. A person dies with that which is in his heart (#218), hangs what he wishes upon it (#280), watches it germinate when it wants to - like a tree (#968) and like a seed (#970), and recognizes
that it has the power of a doctor (#983) and a chief (#984) within him. Conclusions about the self-orientation of the Shona, then, must include the perception that the individual is a person inter-dependent with other persons in a paternalistic society that forcefully but discernedly guides the individual down a pathway of life fraught with spiritual forces, and the perception that there is a component of self identified very strongly with the individual himself, that component is the heart of the Shona man or woman.

Michael Kearney summarized his section on self-orientation in general world view studies by saying, "... There is considerable potential for cross-cultural variation in the concept of self" (1981: 105). This cross-cultural variation has been found true in the comparisons of the Bemba and the Shona. The question now rises, does this same variation occur in other orientations?
CHAPTER VII

OTHER ORIENTATIONS - OVERVIEW AND KINSHIP

Just as God made the first man, as God's man, so now man himself makes the individual who becomes the corporate or social man. It is a deeply religious transaction. Only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of his own being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities towards himself and towards other people. . . . Whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual. The individual can only say, "I am because we are; and since we are, therefore, I am." This is a cardinal point in the understanding of the African view of man (Mbiti 1970:141).

John Mbiti's reference to "other people" in the world view of his characteristic African must be seen for what it is: a reference to others like himself, to the exclusion of many. In other words, Mbiti's generalization could be stated not simply, "I am because we are," but, "I am because we, the people, are" - and "the people" have traditionally been the multitudinous, exclusive ethnic groups, large and small. Bourdillon, for example, calls attention to the way the Shona distinguish themselves from all others:

. . . . the people from the Korekore chiefdom of Diwa (under Chief Makuni) call themselves Shona as opposed to Malawians on the farms, Korekore as opposed to other Shona groups, but at home they call themselves vadiwa distinguishing themselves from their Korekore neighbors (1976:121)\(^1\)

This reference to the ethnic groups with which a given African identifies, be he Shona or of some other group, has been surmounted in recent

\(^1\)See page 87 of this paper.
years by the rise of nationalism and - in some small circles - pan-Africanism. Yet, the "average" person still refers to his ethnic group when he says, "we are." So it is not strange - except to the Western ear - to learn in Peter Abraham’s autobiography that a young man, running away from an industrial job replies to the question, "But what will your people think?" by saying, "But I am my people" (Cohen 1970:41).

Looking generally at the ethnic groups, the other orientation of African peoples is characterized by "strong community sense." Vincent Mulago (1969:139-148) says this in different ways:

Thus the family, clan or tribe is a whole, of which each member is only a part. The same blood, the same life which is shared by all, which all receive from the first ancestor, the founder of the clan, runs through the veins of all. Every effort must be directed to the preservation, maintenance, growth and participation of this common treasure. The pitiless elimination of everything which hinders this end, and the encouragement at all costs of everything which furthers it: this is the last word in Bantu customs and institutions, wisdom and philosophy (p. 139-140).

... The key to an understanding of Bantu customs and institutions would thus appear to be the fact of community, unity of life (p. 143).

... For the Bantu, beings maintain an intimate ontic relationship with one another, and the idea of distinct beings, side by side, completely independent of one another, is foreign to their thoughts (p. 148).

This unique commitment to other orientation is expressed by various ethnic groups in their own ways. Jomo Kenyatta expressed it for

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2Ralph Tanner (1967:186) states that discussion of African personality is popular to those espousing nationalism and pan-Africanism, while discussion of tribal personality "would be taken as reactionary and would almost certainly cause unfavourable, political comment." This issue will be briefly addressed in the conclusions.
his own Gikuyu people:

... his uniqueness is a secondary fact about him: first and foremost he is several people's relative and several people's contemporary. His life is founded on this fact spiritually and economically, just as much as biologically; the work he does every day is determined by it, and it is the basis of his sense of moral responsibility and social obligation. His personal needs, physical and psychological, are satisfied incidentally while he plays his part as member of a family group, and cannot be fully satisfied in any other way. The fact that in Gikuyu language individualism is associated with black magic, and that a man or woman is honored by being addressed as somebody's parent, or somebody's uncle or aunt, shows how indispensably kinship is at the root of Gikuyu ideas of good and evil (n.d.:297-298).

John Mbiti describes the other-orientation of the Yansi of Tanzania.

They express their commitment to community in specific rites. For example, they throw the placenta and umbilical cord of the afterbirth into a nearby river. This shows that the child belongs to the Yansi community, not just the mother: "... any ties to one person or one household are symbolically destroyed and dissolved in the act of throwing the placenta and umbilical cord into the river. Such ties are to be remembered no more" (1970:147-148). Ralph Tanner contrasts the independence of the Westerner with the inter-dependency of the Sukuma people of Tanzania:

... Dependence on others would be classified as weakness or lack of character, but the Sukuma value interdependence rather than dependence, and this is not so much a desirable cultural trait but rather the basic system by which their society holds together. They do not see mutual give and take as a series of independent events having little or no bearing on each other, but as a continuum in which people are bound together by debts and demands over a period of years and possibly even over generations (1967:157).

Mary Douglas observed village solidarity among the Lele of Kasai in old Belgian Congo and concludes that, although the underlying principle
which could produce unity is difficult to see, this solidarity is a major occupation of this ethnic group (1954:14). Mulago (1969:142) goes into great detail for the Rwanda and Burundi peoples:

The name abaguma among the Bashi, abamwe among the Rwanda and Burundi - the one - is given in the strict sense to all, living or dead, who descend from the same eponymous ancestor, all in whom the same life, the same blood circulates in the paternal line; hence, all members of the same family or clan.

By marriage, each of the contracting parties, with all his baguma or bamwe, enters the family of the other party. Marriage is a bond between two families, who thereby become co-families. Those united in this way by marriage are identified with the baguma or bamwe.

Blood brothers are also included in the category of baguma or bamwe.

Roots in the same soil, the use of the same means of life, subjection to the same authority, produce a similar result to the baguma (cinyabuguma) or bumwe; not a merely legal, political or social result, but one which influences being (ntu) itself, and modifies it intrinsically.

The whole of society, the family, the clan, the tribe, the nation, can thus be considered from the point of view of participation. It is even the degree of vital participation which determines the hierarchy of beings and social rank. The Muntu's value, in his own eyes and in those of society, is measured by the extent to which he shares in life and hands it on (1969:142).

Included in this attention to community among the peoples of Africa are the spirits. Tempels (1959:88) reminds the student that the influences of the dead upon the living "are daily bread to the Bantu," for the living are in constant communion with the spirits of the ancestors and others. Someone has said that life among Africans can be likened to a tree. The living are the branches which can be seen. The dead are the roots which cannot be seen. Without the roots, the tree dies. Others have described this phenomenon in more scientific ways. Radcliffe-Brown and other British anthropologists point out
that, of all religions, those involving ancestors are most closely interconnected with social structure - other orientation. Welbourn (1968:12) attempts to show the relationship of the living and the dead in "Bantu" thinking by means of a three-dimensional model; horizontal lines indicate living individuals and the bonds between them, vertical lines indicate bonds from the living to the ancestors. Both horizontal and vertical bonds are necessary, he says, to the stability of the whole social structure.

It is recognizably clear, then, that the African who says, "I am because we are," is referring to others like himself when he says, "we." The "we-ness" extends to the dead as well as the living. But many others are excluded in this aspect of other-orientation. I remember a conversation with a young Shona man named Edward Ndube in which we were discussing the Shona orientation toward others. He was explaining who was a munhu - person. I asked, "Am I a munhu?" at which he laughed uproariously - to my chagrin. I could not be a person in his other-orientation, I could only be muzungu - a European person. Parrinder said the foreigners are regarded with suspicion because no one knows what relationships can be established with them (1969:89).

John V. Taylor observed,

The traditional African community, for all its solidarity and the truth of its vision of Man, is corrupted by a twofold mistrust - mistrust of the stranger because he is outside the kinship bond, and mistrust of the unknown witch because he is outside humanity (1963:192).

Since reading Taylor's observation I have often hoped that Edward and his contemporaries saw me as a stranger, not as a witch - and I would still desire that he know me as a munhu.
Other-orientation is, then, an extremely important aspect of African world views. Watching my small son grow alongside Bemba children in his toddler year, I observed that he became more adept than they at his orientation toward things. He could manipulate toys and tools in ways that surprised Bemba onlookers. But I also observed that the Bemba children were more adept than he at their orientation toward others. My son’s contemporaries in Bemba society were gradually learning respect, roles and relationships. By the time he (ideally) had mastered involvement with technical things, they (ideally) would have mastered involvement with people.

Aware of distinctions, then, the question which is now addressed is, how can we understand the orientations towards others that characterize the societies of Africa. In particular, how can we recognize the other-orientations of the Bemba and Shona peoples?

W. T. Jones has said that folklore, humor, dreams, legends, myths, riddles, music, chants and proverbs may provide inside views on the world view orientations of various peoples (1972:87). The thesis of this paper is that proverbs provide just such views on the Bemba and the Shona. Attention is now turned to the proverbs of these two people with the anticipation that they will indeed provide important information on some, though not all aspects, of the other orientations characteristic of these peoples.
DATA AND ANALYSIS

Excluding proverbial references that require interpretation and explicit contextual data, the Shona make 557 references to others. The Bemba make 421 such references, 24% fewer than their neighbors to the south. The difference looks significant to the naked eye, but a chi-square test on this difference of frequency shows that $X^2_{0.05} = 0.2945$—far below the tabled value of $X^2_{0.05} = 3.84146$. Therefore, it appears that the difference may be due to randomness of the sample rather than any independent variables. However, significance does occur within the samples, and this is a case where good anthropology must take over from statistics.

For the sake of further analysis, the references in both sets of proverbs were divided into eleven categories. Let it be noted that these categories represent divisions established by the analyst, not the peoples themselves. They include: kin, women, men, authorities, elders, spirits, God, people associated with specific activities, others identified with roles, and then an eleventh category concerning contrasts of people. Table III shows how these references compare for the two peoples.

The data in Table III should be viewed in two ways. First, it should be considered for the information it provides about the categories of people both groups refer to in their proverbs. It shows that Bemba and Shona alike give repeated attention to kin persons, men, women, elders and authorities, spirits and God. Both groups refer to people who can be identified according to roles they play in the
TABLE III

AN OVERVIEW OF OTHER ORIENTATIONS SHOWING THE
FREQUENCY OF REFERENCE TO ITEMS IN
ELEVEN CATEGORIES AND X^2 VALUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>x^2</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>1.8229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.1232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.3708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authorities</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.5585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.8439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity Related</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19.2234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Identified</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>10.4057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrasts</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.0291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTALS 540 414

NOTE: df = 1

alpha = 0.05 is 3.84146
respective societies, i.e., brides, neighbors, adulterers, etc., and both groups look out upon people in terms of contrast, i.e., strangers as opposed to residents. Besides these general observations about common categories, the data also points to common emphasis. For example, both Bemba and Shona give paramount attention to the kin group in their proverbs. There is also relatively equal reference to authorities and to spirits. So the data provides information on commonly shared viewpoints of the two peoples.

Secondly, the data should be considered for what it says about the differences between the two groups. The kinship group, though given priority by both Bemba and Shona, receives more references in the proverbs of the latter group. Although the chi-square test does not reveal that this difference is statistically significant there is adequate reason to investigate this situation further for what Thomas calls substantive significance (1976:461). There are differences in the way the two peoples look out upon women, men, elders, and people identified with either activities or roles. Chi-square tests indicate that all these differences are statistically significant, i.e., are attributable to independent factors that need further investigation.

Therefore, having viewed Table III and having looked at its contributions to general perspective on the commonalities and differences of the orientations of the two peoples toward others, it is now necessary to turn to each of the categories within the orientations and give detailed attention to the data therein. The statistics give only one perspective, context gives yet further perspective. Members of the consanguine group receive first consideration.
Kin and The Nuclear Family

John Mbiti observed that,

Almost all the concepts connected with human relationships can be understood and interpreted through the kinship system. This is it which largely governs the behaviour, thinking, and whole life of the individual in the society of which he is a member (1970:135).

In other words, that which is known about the kinship system of a certain people is certainly going to help in one's knowledge of human relationships in general as viewed by that people. Such is the case with the Bemba and the Shona.

Proverbial references to kin far outnumber all other references to people for both the Bemba and the Shona. Those references include both consanguines - those related by blood - and affines - those related by marriage or sexual union. It has also been observed in Table III that 220 Shona references far outnumber the 136 Bemba references. Both the commonality and differences of these references are intriguing.

A quick look at nineteen Shona proverbs which refer to persons (hama, munhu, vohwo) in this category shows the general Shona outlook upon kin. Deep ties are associated with these members: they cannot be purchased (#808) or given away (#809). True security is found with them - expressed very succinctly in #423, "Yeuka hama/ mutorwa ane hanganwa" - The relative remembers, but the stranger forgets - and in #1160, "Hama maoko" - Relatives are hands. That kin relationship is the ideal for yet other relationships is evidenced in #228, "Akupa dhamba (rengavi) ndowako" - He who gives you a tame ox is your relative. Hamutyinei and Plangger explain that this proverb is used to
instruct the Shona that anyone who treats you well should be treated like a relative (1974:94).

The Bemba make similar statements about kin whom they refer to as ulupwa and uobe in the proverbs. However, they make only seven references compared to the nineteen references of the Shona. These fewer Bemba references reflect a lesser emphasis upon this subject by this people - an observation made earlier in the comparison of total references in this category. This smaller emphasis on kinship among the Bemba is even graphically portrayed by proverb #977, "Ukwangala, kwacilo lupwa" - Playing with friends surpasses the family. Nevertheless, the security of kinship is evidenced in such proverbs as #545 where the family is likened to a place cleared by fire where nothing can be lost, #933 where it is stated that one doesn't buy a one-eyed cow from relatives, and #934 where it is stated that one is not beaten where the family is found.

Besides these references to kin in general, particular attention is given by both groups to various personalities within the group. The Shona make 187 references to twenty-two different kin categories. They are especially profuse when referring to children, mothers, wives and fathers. The Bemba, on the other hand, make 117 references to eighteen different kinds of people, giving considerable attention to the same members, i.e., children, mothers, wives and fathers.

Some will immediately object to the use of terms such as "children, mothers, wives and fathers." Obviously, the Bemba and Shona terms for these personages do not correspond to our English terms. For example, certain men in Africa may consider their brother's children as
"my children," and men may have many mothers (Gluckman 1956:61). The reader is referred to the ethnographic literature for clarification of this terminology among the two peoples in question (Richards 1939:114-118; Bourdillon 1976:39). Bourdillon, for example says of the Shona, In their use of kinship terms people distinguish members of their own patrilineal group only by generation, age and sex, and not according to genealogical distance. Thus the term baba ('father') can mean a father's brother or any man in the patriclan belonging to the father's generation. ... (1976:39).

Understanding the different use of terminology, this paper attempts only to call attention to the terms themselves as they occur in the proverbs.

Viewed graphically, the common Bemba and Shona attention to members of the nuclear family or basic domestic unit in their societies reveals important dimensions of other-orientation (see Table IV on following page). Although chi-square tests do not show significance for the differences in frequency between the two peoples, important features of other-orientation are observable in the data. For example, the frequent reference to children by both groups cannot help but be noticed. It is interesting that mothers are referred to more frequently than wives, and that both of these are referred to more frequently than fathers. The fact that other kin are mentioned less than five times each - a frequency too low to even attempt a chi-square test and too low to even consider for the tabular representation also deserves attention. The graphic view provides several insights, then, and provides an overview for looking at the data in yet greater detail.
### TABLE IV

**FREQUENCY OF REFERENCE TO MEMBERS OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY AND $X^2$ VALUES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0.2583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.0460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.9840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** Tabled value of $X^2$ at 0.05 = 3.84146

\[ a + b = 161 \]
\[ c + d = 108 \]
Children. Children are given far greater prominence in the proverbs of both the Bemba and the Shona than are mothers/wives and fathers/husbands. In fact, when the various kinds of children are combined, they are given more prominence than any other single entity in the entire corpora of proverbs. Even reference to a child in general (umwana - in both Bemba and Shona) is very frequent: 59 times for the Bemba, which represents 44% of all references to others, and 52 times for the Shona, which represents 25.7% of all references to others for this group. These facts indicate that in the basic orientation toward others in the world views of both peoples, children figure very prominently. Erny has concluded that, more than other societies of the world, African societies see children "to be impenetrable beings, beings apart" (1973:90-91). They are certainly "beings apart" in the proverbs of both the Bemba and the Shona.

A careful analysis of all the proverbs in which the child is referred to shows that their natures, functions, status and treatment, and passive roles are described in varying degrees. The analysis also shows that parents acquire status because of children. A third result of analysis is an understanding of the analogous character of children.

The Bemba devote relatively more attention to the nature of children, referring to it in 25 proverbs as opposed to the Shona twelve. The chi-square test shows that this difference is significant ($X^2 = 4.6262$). Bemba attention to the nature of children results in

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3 Erny develops this idea quite extensively in his book and the reader is referred to it for further elaboration.

4 See Appendix D, Table VI.
observations typical of many children: they are always around, always need attention, are young but once, learn by their mistakes, are gullible, careless and thoughtless at times, learn by their successes and grow slowly. Two engaging proverbs about children are #1284, "Uwaice balemulango mweshi: alemono munwe" - a child to whom the moon is pointed out, sees the finger - and #1127, "Umwana kasembe: nelyo kakukoma, wakobeka pa kubeya" - A child is like an axe, even though it cuts you, you still put it on your shoulder (the common carrying place of the axe). A final aspect of the Bemba view on the nature of children is that this people make a special case of the natures of children belonging to widows (#5) and children who are related by consecutive marriages (#7).

The Shona describe the child's nature in much the same way as the Bemba, adding some comments about their crying and mentioning that they are straightforward when asking for something. A representative Shona proverb about children is #710: Ndezvomwana mudiki/ kubata nhengu anonzi rasa izizi - it is the way of a small child: In catching a drongo (small black bird) he is led to believe it is a crow. These people of Zimbabwe make a special case of the children of adulterers and paupers. The former are destructive (#652) and the latter are wasteful (#833).

Significantly absent from either view of the nature of children are statements that would lend credence to the views alluded to by some that African personalities become fixed at an early stage. Some proponents of these views (Ritchie 1943; Ombredane 1954) state that the African personality is rooted in early childhood experiences with the
time of weaning having an especial impact upon the result. Verhaegen (1959:248) states that a "client mentality" is formed during the childhood years and is greatly effected by the time of weaning. Other proponents of this view take a different tack and in a more positive way say that the weaning experience can "serve as a powerful stimulus to ego development" - a view taken by two researchers after studying Zulu children (Carothers 1972:111-112). Although generalizations have been made by researchers about the nature of children as compared with the adult nature, neither the Bemba nor the Shona make this connection in their proverbs.

The treatment and status of children is given relatively equal attention in the proverbs. Fifteen Bemba proverbs refer to these aspects of childhood, and thirteen Shona proverbs do so. The Bemba say they are not to be traded, reflect the respect due their parents, are never forgotten by their mothers, are inadequate by themselves but very necessary to the life of a village, are not to judge their elders, and become equal to mothers when grown. A warning about the status of a child because of the child's support group is #1134: "Umwana ushaf-yala: mukulu mubiyo" - A child you have not borne is your equal. The Shona seem to give children a bit higher status, saying that if a child takes something, it is like a chief taking it (#827), and by likening children to the top of the spinal column (#855) and a diviner (#1103). The Shona see the child in a communal sense, saying that he is like a blanket shared by all (#854) and though belonging to the mother when in the womb, belongs to everyone once born. The reality of this latter status - belonging to all - especially becomes apparent
at weaning time for children - a decisive, harsh, shocking time according to many analysts. Erny, referred to earlier, has said, "If weaning does not essentially modify the child's deep nature, it constitutes a crucial turning point in the psychological level. From now on the child participates in the life of his community" (1973:176).

Functions of various kinds are performed by children and the proverbs attest to some of these functions. The Shona give more attention to these functions than do the Bemba, saying especially that they make journeys for others and bring respect to the elders. The Bemba also refer to children in regard to journeys. This might be the place to call attention to the frequency of reference to girls, daughters and young women in the two societies. The Shona make such references twenty-four times, while the Bemba do so only twice. It is obvious that the difference between the two groups is significant and this significance may have to do with function. Hamutyinei and Plangger state that daughters are a greater liability for the Shona than sons (1974:285) but they do ensure future wealth for the family (op. cit., 237). Proverbially, these views on children by the Shona are stated: "Kubereka mwanaikana/kuchengeta mangava" - To bear a daughter is to store up troubles (#825) and "Mwansikana ndimapfumise" - A daughter is wealth (#790). These two conflicting views on the place and function of daughters have apparently led the Shona to dwell on them in their proverbs in what Carolyn Parker has called an attempt to lessen "cultural ambiguity" (1974:127-128). Perhaps the lack of conflict among

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5Parker relates this theory to Claude Levi-Strauss' theory that "the purpose of myth is to provide a logical model capable of overcom-
the Bemba is the reason daughters are only mentioned twice in the Bemba proverbs, for Richards points out that every man wants as many daughters as possible (1939:112). Daughters make it possible for the Bemba man to acquire much power during his lifetime. This is a case where a proven purpose of proverbs (to resolve cultural ambiguity) may point out the limitations of studying them for purposes of understanding world views. Cultural data indicates that the Bemba man gives much importance to daughters in his world view, yet the proverbial data does not indicate this importance at all. Taking this as a warning, it can be recognized (with great care) that the proverbs of the Bemba and the Shona people reveal some aspects of their orientations to others who are the children of their respective societies, their natures, statuses, and functions - but that they don't reveal all aspects of that orientation.

The passive roles of children as they are viewed by the two peoples are also expressed in their proverbs. The Shona speak of children in such roles a total of thirteen times, while the Bemba do so seven times. Turning first to the Shona, commonalities such as the birth of children, the wiping of their noses, their being cuddled, fed, watched over, sheltered and caressed are referred to. But one is struck by the general attentiveness of Shona to children as evidenced in the proverbs. For example, this attentiveness is recognizable in their interest in girls, an interest already touched on. Proverb #10 says

[Note: The text contains a typographical error and is punctuated as if interrupted or incomplete.]

girls mature only when fed and #1243 says that a person should not
dare beat a girl in the presence of her mother. The attentiveness is
striking and is further enhanced by the fact that the Shona give dis-
proportionate attention to orphans, referring to them thirteen times
as compared to their mention only twice by the Bemba. Admittedly,
several of the proverbs that mention orphans regard them as a nuisance
"Kurera nherera/ kupakira mavhu muchitende" - to rear an orphan is to
fill a calabash with dirt (#225)]. The frequency of reference suggests
an unusual interest; although it should not be assumed that the atten-
tiveness, whether to children in general or orphans in particular,
should be considered as it is often considered from the Western view-
point. It should be considered from the African perspective, and the
Shona concern with the passive roles of children gives some opportunity
for analysis of this viewpoint.

Perhaps the Shona viewpoint on the passive roles of children can
best be recognized in the limited data being considered, by comparing
it with the Bemba viewpoint. The Bemba reference to the passive roles
of children also has its commonalities: their birth, being fed and
taught. But in a limited frequency of reference, they say nothing of
their being cuddled, caressed, watched over, and sheltered. Audrey
Richards observed that the

\[\text{LeVine has properly warned students of African personality from}
\text{viewing this attentiveness as sentiment and humanitarian concern (1970:}
\text{294-296). This, he says, is the Western view, and he goes on to con-
\text{trast what he calls "separation anxiety" in the two societies. Afri-
\text{cans, in general, find separation far less upsetting and cause for emo-
\text{tional expression than do Westerners: "Africans are not immediately}
\text{drawn into an attentive and solicitously caretaking attitude by the}
\text{sight of a weak, enfeebled or helpless person or creature."}]}\]
women care for their children devotedly, but rarely give up any time to them exclusively. Babies are washed with warm water and massaged each morning and fed with gruel twice a day. but otherwise they are slung on their mother's back wherever they go - to work or to a beer drink - but are not definitely 'amused' for any period of time. (1939:102).

In contrast to the Shona attentiveness suggested in their proverbs, the Bemba proverbs hint at an independency of childhood. In speaking of the child's nature, the Bemba say, "Mulekele umwaice sembe: nga aikoma alelipoosa" - Leave the child with an axe, for when he cuts himself, he will throw it away (#624). Now, in proverbs referring to children in a passive role, the Bemba speak of the child rescued from hunger by an onion along the path (#285) - not the intervention of parents. A second proverb says, "Umwana kweba aleba,: umwana kukana nga akana" - Tell a child; if he refuses, he refuses (#1129). These are, of course, tempered with proverbs that do show attentiveness to the needs of a child, but there is another dimension of their orientation that is missing in the Shona outlook. It appears that the Bemba orientation toward children allows them - and expects of them - an independency that is not alluded to in the Shona proverbs. It is common for Bemba children to be separated from parents for lengthy times, often commencing at the time of weaning. At such times they live with maternal uncles and grandparents. Independency is reinforced.

A hopefully helpful sidelight to these contrasting views of the passive roles of children comes in regard to a study reported by J. W. Berry. According to Berry (1974:132), responsibility and obedience are emphasized in agricultural and pastoral societies where there is a high food accumulation and that achievement, self-reliance, and independency
are emphasized where there is low food accumulation. This seems to be confirmed among the peoples being studied. The Shona, being agriculturalists and pastoralists, emphasize the passive roles and refer to those roles more frequently in their proverbs. The Bemba; being the hunters, speak of the passive roles less frequently and when doing so, give the impression that the child is more independent. Thus, a significant contrast is seen in the other-orientations of these two peoples.

To continue the analysis of references to children, it becomes apparent that parents receive a certain amount of status as a result of their children. The Bemba say that a dance can't turn bad for a person with a child - the child will always admire it: "Mwana pabo: tabipilwa masha" (#662). They also say that one cannot join the clan unless he has begotten a child (#971). The Shona make the same emphasis on parenthood. They say that a child brings beauty to a woman: "Unaki hwemukadzi huri pamwana" (#931), and make a special point of saying that the man is involved in the birth process: "Zviri kumvana/ kubara mwana sina baba" - It is up to a woman to bear a child without a father. Bourdillon provides some ethnography on the subject matter:

... The importance of children to Shona marriage is illustrated by the custom that the wife got her own cooking stones... only after the birth of her first child: prior to this she shared the kitchen and the food supplies of her mother-in-law... (1976:64).

Bourdillon went on to discuss the impact of barrenness and sterility in this society, concluding that "parenthood is necessary to establish status among the Shona" (op. cit. 65).

Finally, mention must be made of children and analogies that are made of them in the proverbs of the two groups. Do these analogies re-
veal anything about their orientations toward others? Pierre Erny says that

... traditional African thought has a tendency to relate the child to everything in the universe which has analogous status, everything which is growing, entering into the state of maturity, coming into existence - to all reality which is in the inchoative stage. The child is thus integrated into the universe by the play of analogies and becomes himself a cosmic symbol (1973:24).

Bemba and Shona orientations may have a similar view of the child, but the proverbs do not attest to that possibility. The Bemba liken children to flies, trees, courtyards, loins, gardens and axes. Two of the six analogies are growing things (trees and gardens) but nothing definite can be said about this view on childhood, relying as this research does, solely upon the proverbs. The Shona compare children to fewer things than do the Bemba and say they are like mouths, blankets, and the tops of spinal columns. None of these Shona analogies reflect growth or maturing. The analogies as a whole, then, allow for no obvious pattern, though they do provide some dimension to the total orientation toward children.

Three statements can be made, then, concerning the orientations being sought. First, children have a prominent place in the world views of both peoples. Perhaps another quotation from Pierre Erny will solidify a thought that has been planted in this section on children:

... In the Western world, the psychological dimension is stressed above all, whereas in Africa it seems the mind finds rest only in ontological apprehension, in exploration of being. Thus the question "what is a child" or more concretely, "who is that child" can appear odd and somewhat idle in the Western context. By contrast, it is primordial in Black Africa (1973:14).

The thought that has been planted is that, of all the personalities
available for comment in the proverbs of the two peoples, both peoples chose children to make the most comment on. This should make clear to the student of African cultures that a good place to begin a study of these cultures and their people is, surprisingly, with the children!

Secondly, a major difference in the orientations of the two peoples toward children is that the Bemba give more attention to the nature of children than do the Shona and the tests show that this difference of attention is free of dependent factors. In other words, there is a difference in emphasis here that needs to be delved into further. The proverbs, in themselves, do not provide enough data for further analysis, but they point the way! Thirdly, the Shona see children in more of a passive role than do the Bemba who see them in an independent role. This passivity on the part of the Shona and independency on the part of the Bemba is in keeping with research carried on in other parts of Africa - but seems to be at odds with conclusions drawn for the self-orientations of the two peoples. The self-orientations revealed the Shona person as one who was capable of many things as long as he followed a rather fearsome path in life. Those orientations revealed the Bemba person with less capabilities in a strict, hierarchical society. This incongruity needs to be dealt with in further detail. 7

These conclusions concerning children in the other-orientations of the Bemba and the Shona are but the first observations made in this large feature of world views. They are but the first observations on but one category within this feature - the kinship system. Therefore, attention is now turned to other entities within the kinship system.

7 See conclusions to the paper (page 234).
Particular attention is given to mothers/wives and fathers/husbands, since these entities are referred to most frequently after total references to children.

**Mothers/Wives.** Women of all societies enjoy a certain status by reason of their nearness to children in the formative years (Schneider and Gough 1961). This status has been observed and analyzed in several societies. For example, Ombredane says,

> The relationship between the Congolese African child with his mother is close, that is to say, almost exclusive. During the first two years, if not more, he lives, in a sense, glued to his mother - astride her haunch when she moves about and eventually goes back to work. Available when he wants it is her breast, which remains within reach of his mouth and his hands; he remains coiled against her body when she sleeps and even when she lies in a hospital bed. This situation of complete possession is guaranteed by the taboo which chastity imposes on the mother as long as the child has need of nursing, that is to say, well beyond the time when he can walk, play and talk. . . . (1954:21-22).

Ombredane, like many others, attributes great importance to the time of weaning for an African child. It leaves a lasting impression on the child. Some go so far as to say that the mother is actually dominated by the child prior to weaning (Erny 1973:90-91) and she herself is indulgent and non-restrictive. Some observers go even further and assign these experiences between mother and child to Freudian concepts of hostility in later life (Ritchie 1943:11-12). Carothers reports that mothers in Senegal even discouraged independence in their children because they did not want the breast-feeding to stop (1972: 97-98). My observation of Bemba mothers breast feeding their children

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8 For a reply to Richie and others who have made these Freudian assertions, see Wickert 1967:318. Carothers, too, thinks that Ritchie is too deterministic at this point, failing to recognize the possibility of change in adult life.
was that, at least to a certain age, the mothers genuinely enjoyed the experience, receiving emotional, mental and physical satisfaction from it. Of the two groups being studied, the Shona have the proverb that probably comes closest to describing the close mother-child bond that is established in breast-freeding. They say, "Chinozipa chinoregwa/zamu ramai takarirega" - That which tastes good is left, we left mother's breast (#1263). The ethnographic literature for this group also states that the mother-child bond is "the most intimate, cordial relationship in the Shona kinship system" (Holleman 1952:67).

Bourdillon observed that

... The relationship between a mother and her child is considered to be extremely close in spite of the fact that the child belongs to a different clan and lineage from that of its mother, and sometimes different even from the lineage of the mother's current husband (1976:46).

Recognizing, then, the high status given to mothers in all societies and to mothers in the Bemba and Shona societies in particular, attention is now turned to the proverbs of these two peoples. Do these proverbs add any dimension of knowledge to one's understanding of their other-orientations?

"Mother" is mentioned 39 times in the Shona proverbs (mai, wabara, wabereka, mvana, mungozva, wabata mwana, muzvere) and 24 times in the Bemba proverbs (nyina, noko). As was seen in Table IV, there seems to be no significance to this difference between the frequencies. That is to say, variation in number of references to "mother," in itself, does not require further study for the intent of this paper. There seem to be no independent factors involved. However, as mentioned before, the very mention of these persons in the proverbs of both peoples
should alert the student of world view to the prominence of their position. The fact that the references occur as frequently as they do for both groups points to the significance of these persons in the other-orientations of the two groups.

A close reading of the proverbs reveals that mothers are described by the two groups in terms of their natures, functions and statuses. A mother's nature is referred to in seventeen Shona proverbs and twelve Bemba proverbs. The Shona say she is like food that needs no seasoning to be liked (#842), requires patience with the children she bears (#860), is compassionate, even nursing a child not her own (#876), cries over her own children (#1022), and is knowledgeable in matters of child-rearing (#841 and #843). She is caused by her own spirit to continue marrying even after divorce (#562), and is kind to the one who is kind to her child (#418 and #419). The nature surrounding a mother who has just given birth for the first time is especially intriguing to the Shona who refer to such a person eleven times in the corpus of proverbs. Bourdillon calls attention to the way the young girl is supposed to return to the home of her parents for this first birth and the young man is supposed to give further ritual gifts to her parents at that time (1976:59). Later, he pointed out that both parents are allowed greater independence after this time and that they both achieve full adult status with the birth of their first child, signified by the fact that they can begin praying directly to family spirits (op. cit., 255). The Bemba do not give this kind of prominence to the mother with her first born child. She is, however, in their orientation, inextricably bound up with her children so that
loving her, one must also love her children (#302). It is of her nature, though once young and pretty, to become old (#707). She doesn't forget her own child (#715), and she won't allow another child the privileges she allows her own (#709). This applies, not only to children when they are young, but also to children when they are adults. Audrey Richards says,


A son may always return to his mother's village if his wife dies or leaves him and he will be certain of a welcome. Men say that their wives often leave them at a time of famine and go home to their own people, but that a mother would never refuse to cook for her son. . . . A woman has no legal obligation to feed her married son, since he belongs to his wife's local group, but the emotional attachment continues strong and a son will always be given preference if he returns to his mother's community (1939:140).

In a later volume, this same author reminds readers that the most important tie in Bemba theory is the one between mother and daughter (1950:228).

Besides the natures of mothers, the proverbs of both groups also describe their functions. The Shona do so in eleven proverbs and the Bemba do so in six. Besides bearing children, mothers clean, help, carry, feed, discipline, guard, comfort and caress them in the two groups.

It is in regard to proverbial statements about status, though, that the subject matter returns to the introductory remarks about the strength of the mother-child bond. Something of the status of the Shona mother can be seen in the proverb that contrasts a girl and a mother: "Usikana ishonga kamwe/ chikuru umvana" - Girlhood is beauty once, motherhood is greatness forever (#1307). It is seen again as confidence is said to become the characteristic of a woman who has just
given birth for the first time. A mother, the Shona say, can even quarrel with a traditional doctor (#312), and strangely enough, she can't be forced to marry (#1277). Moreover, the Shona mother's status is recognized in that she is mourned if she dies in birth (#462), and her wealth can't be fought over (#1280). This last element of her status is reinforced by number 800 which says that relatives on the mother's side do not fight - an observation made of patrilineal societies such as the Shona in general (Gluckman 1956:62-63). Finally, the status of a Shona mother is further seen in that an unmarried mother presents special problems for the Shona as evidenced in four of the fourteen proverbs that describe her status. The conflict may perhaps best be seen in number 1058 which mocks the unmarried mother for thinking she can give birth to a second child without the aid of a man.

High status is likewise attributed to the Bemba mother in twelve of their proverbs. No complaints are made if she has dirty fingers (#708). Flour not ground by her is likened to ashes (#843). Even bad children don't forget their mothers (#1130). Of special interest in the Bemba references are references that seem to equalize mother and child. For instance, number 440 states that the passing of days results in this equality, number 1131 states that a big girl becomes like her mother, and number 1135 states that the first born child is equal to its mother. In addition, there is a reciprocity in the Bemba relationships that is not seen in the Shona proverbs: number 592 is a statement from the child, "Mayo mpaapa: na ine nkakupaapa" - mother
carry me and I will carry you. Finally, it appears that the Bemba take a unique stance on motherhood in the proverbs of the two peoples by equating it with their country: "Lubemba na noko; wabula noko lwakubembula" - Bembaland is your mother and without your mother it will harm you (#582). Motherhood and country are bound together, one a feature of other-orientation and the other a feature of space-orientation - both a feature of their world view.

Going on to discuss the second role of the woman in the nuclear family - that of wife, background information is provided in the literature. Speaking of the Shona wife, Bourdillon points out that one's perspective on her must encompass her lineage and the lineage into which she marries (1976:53). Providing considerable detail, he adds,

...The wife, who remains a member of the wife-providing lineage, has to live among the women of her husband's family and is expected to respect and serve them. The young wife, a newcomer to the group in which she is living, has to do the unpleasant chores around the homestead. Her subordinate position, which is extended to other women of her lineage, is expressed in the term vamwene (owner) which she applies to women of her husband's family. The inequality between the women of the two families is partly explicable in terms of the residence patterns according to which the young wife is an inexperienced foreigner to the group in which she has to live, and partly in terms of the transference of bride-price cattle: the marriage of the vamwene theoretically provided the cattle with which the new wife is married.

Audrey Richard's conclusions concerning the important Bemba initiation rite for girls (chisungu) offers an excellent overview of the perspective of this group upon the woman as wife. She relates her observations to "tribal dogma and values" (1956:140-152). Interest-

9 It should be recalled that one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Bemba language is the flourishing use of reciprocal verbs. See page 64 and Richards (1939:303).
ingly, she recognized that the combined attention to pottery figures, pottery floor models, wall designs and songs identified with this rite, pointed first to the social obligations of husband and wife, and secondly to sex and fertility, followed closely by the domestic duties of a wife (op. cit., 140). Perhaps Richard's summary is most telling as to the Bemba perspective on the wife:

It seems clear that the maintenance of a stable family group is a difficult matter among the Bemba. There is the desire of the girl to stay with her own people which is opposed to that of the boy who wishes to return to his, and there are no economic links to bind them to one village rather than another. This type of contract may account for the chisungu ritual which stresses the link between husband and wife; the supernatural sanctions against adultery; and the constant admonishment of the girl to submit to her husband, to give him honour and also to give honour and food to her in-laws. The series of presentations of food to the son-in-law might also be listed as part of the whole process of winning the young bridegroom and persuading him to stay in his wife's village (1956:160).

The category of "wife" (umukashi - Bemba; umukadzi - Shona) receives less attention than that of children or mothers in the proverbs of the two peoples. It receives the most attention in the proverbs of the Shona (15 occurrences versus the Bemba seven). Unlike the proverbs about mothers and motherhood, the proverbs about wives do not describe their natures or their functions in much detail. Instead, attention seems to focus on their status in the eyes of men.

The status of the Shona wife, as presented in the proverbs, must be seen in connection with previous observations made upon their roles (p. 132). In this regard, proverb number 1340 says, "Kupa mukadzi banga: kuzvikohwera rufu" - To give the wife a knife is to seek one's own death. Thus, it is the husband's (and his lineage's) obligation to watch out for the wife - he is responsible for her actions. The Shona
wife is in the passive role - the role described for her by Bourdillon (1976:53). Yet, high status is ascribed to the Shona wife in many ways. One interesting proverb for this people states, "Kure ndokuna amai: kune mukadzi unofa wasvika" - The mother may be too far away to reach, but you will die trying to reach the wife (#239). Another proverb is an indirect warning made to children when they are told that the woman is father's wife (#853) and his most beloved (#852). The wife's status is referred to again when adults are warned of the consequences of adultery (#119, 120, 639, 955), and when the poor bachelor is pitied as he makes a mortar as though he actually has a wife (#639). The highest status is conferred upon the wife who has borne children (#929, 930, 931); she is "good" and "beautiful." The opposite is true, of course, if she fails to bear children (Hamutyinei and Plangger 1974: 274).

Bemba proverbs give far less attention to wives than do the Shona. The status of the Bemba wife, like the status of the Shona wife, is recognized in different ways. If she is in trouble, the Bemba man goes to her aid (#485). If care is not taken, she can be lost to another man more ambitious and concerned (#748). Both these initial proverbs refer to a man's responsibility for his wife, a responsibility that seems to be discharged with genuine care. Some rights come with the responsibility. For example, a reference is made to the right of men to beat their wives - but not on the basis of hearsay in the rest shelter (#357). Unlike the Shona proverbs, however, no reference is made to the wives of other men.
Similar to other African societies, the Bemba and the Shona both attribute high status to mothers and wives. Their proverbs affirm this observation and reveal an important aspect of their other-orientation. The status of mothers is referred to not only in specific proverbs about that status but even in other proverbs that deal with their nature and function. This is most clear in the Shona collection. There, for example, the mothers are likened to food that needs no seasoning (#842). Mothers giving birth for the first time are highly esteemed by these people and reference is made to this event in several proverbs. Bemba esteem for mothers is recognizable in proverb #582 which equates them with the land. Significant in the proverbs that refer to wives is the fact that all of them refer to her status in some way or other.

What is compelling in this review of proverbs that refer to mothers and wives is association of this emphasis upon their status with an observation made by Ruth Finnegan in her definitive work on African oral literature. Finnegan observed that proverbs are specifically suited to the resolution of conflict in human relationships (1970: 412). Carolyn Parker (1974) sees this as the paramount purpose of proverbs in African society. Three ethnographers lend support to this thesis and give particular emphasis to the domestic unit or conjugal group. Frank A. Salamone studied the Hausa people of Nigeria and discovered their use of proverbs in settling conjugal fights (1976). J. Cornet worked among the Woyo people of lower Zaire and reported the way women use sculpture to represent proverbs which criticize their husbands in public (1974). James Boyd Christensen (1958) studied the
Fante of West Africa and learned how they emphasize collective responsibility and cooperation among kinsmen. Touching on many areas of Fante culture, Christensen provides many proverbs that relate to domestic units within the kinship system. For instance, "It is a house where there is no male that the female speaks" - showing the authority of men over women in that culture, or, "A maggot has its own route" - to illustrate the way uterine kin inherit in the system (1958:235). Applied to the Bemba and the Shona, this would mean that the constant reference to the status of mothers and wives could be a reference to a conflict that exists in the minds of these peoples. Both groups elevate the mothers and wives deliberately, but both groups recognize that much tension in the domestic unit, simply because of the limited participants, centers around them. The proverbs may be an attempt to resolve these tensions by being a constant reminder of their high status. This has important bearing on the other-orientations of both groups.

Husbands/Fathers. Schneider and Gough's authoritative comparison of matrilineal and patrilineal societies (1961) provided the backdrop to the above discussion of mothers and wives. It can also provide the backdrop to the present discussion of husbands and fathers. One of their criteria for comparing the two kinds of societies is the relationship between husband and wife. A strong, long-lasting institution of marriage with intense solidarities is not compatible with the matrilineal system, they say. Bonds of descent command the greatest loyalty whether it is the man or the woman who is considered. The marriage bond is especially delicate because of the men whose authority is thwarted and limited in many ways. Patrilineal societies, on the other
hand, may experience strong bonds of marriage and a stable institution. The strength depends somewhat on the kind of break the wife makes with her descent group. In these societies, the man is consistently the one in authority, whether for the descent group or for the marriage. Women abide by this consistency (Schneider and Gough 1961:16-20).

The man's loyalty, among the patrilineal Shona, is to his descent group. His ambitions are to gather an increasing number of descendants and dependents, who are united with him for economic reasons and during times of crisis and tension, during court battles, for marriage, and for purposes of ritual (Bourdillon 1976:40). The descent group is also very much concerned with the man, and this concern extends to his marriage. Holleman reports that marital conflicts and quarrels are not confined to the husband and wife. Family elders, he says, offer counsel and, beyond that, enforce disciplinary measures where necessary (1952:155-156).

This involvement of the man's descent group in the affairs of the marriage is one thing that helps to stabilize Shona marriages. Holleman reported on this stability in 1952, when the divorce rate in the southern Sabi Reserve was .05% (1952:155). Another reason for this stability, he said, was the fact that cattle involved in the bride-price are often used by the woman's brothers to marry wives, so the cattle end up in other kraals and may even move on to still other kraals. It becomes difficult to get the original cattle back if divorce is sought, and this difficulty discourages divorce proceedings (ibid.). Dissolution of marriage when it does occur is usually over sterility and lack of sexual relations (Bourdillon 1976:66).
The marriage bond for the Shona people is further strengthened by the authoritative position of the man, reinforced by his position in the lineage, and the submissiveness of the woman to that authority. Holleman says that there is no conflict over authority. A woman will never disagree with her husband in public (1952:207), and she accepts beatings for neglect, disobedience and insubordination, having the right to complain only if maltreatment is obvious.

Several things work together to destabilize Bemba marriages. The loyalties of both husband and wife lie outside the marriage bond to their respective descent groups. The ties to individual descent groups may result in neglect of obligations and responsibilities to the marriage partner's group. Karla Poewe's description of matriliney in the Luapula Province of Zambia, (1978) though of the neighboring Luba people, is likewise fitting for the matrilineal Bemba. Squabbles are frequent, husbands and wives each accusing the other of devoting more attention and help to his or her own descent group (Poewe 1978:211). Poewe also observed how women want to maximize immediate matrilineal loyalties, and how the husband and wife are both continuously reminded of their separate interests, loyalties and commitments. Richards observed (1940:23) that a husband and wife that spent too much time together were laughed at and ostracized.

The Bemba husband's authority is definitely undermined in the marriage. The marriage begins with his submission and economic dependence on his wife's people (Richards 1956:40). When he comes to the time when he wants to leave that situation and try to start elsewhere on his own, his wife may decide to stay with her mother and simply
breaks the marriage ties. Thus, conflict over his authority is never resolved. In fact, Richards points out that Bemba women take advantage of this divided authority. For instance, they often threaten the husband and compare their position with those of their brother (Poewe 1978: 211). Inconsistencies, however, do occur. Richards says that the wife is very definitely under the authority of her husband (1950:225). The man takes the initiative in sex and associated ritualistic acts. The woman is to act submissively— even when in the village of her parents—and wife-beatings are common. Richards points out that these inconsistencies are recognized by the Bemba, and suggests that the ensuing conflicts are worked out ritually in the Chisungu initiation ceremony of girls (1956:50). For example, the women who are initiating the girls repeat the necessity of submission again and again during the course of the rite. The proverb often referred to is #552, "Kwapa takucila kubea"—The armpit is never above the shoulder (op. cit., 72).

Divorce is common among the Bemba. In fact, in anticipation of divorce, many women demand money and gifts from their husbands, while they can, for distribution to their kin (Poewe 1978:357). Richards found that divorce rates varied from 20.5 to 44.0% in the 1940s. Poewe learned that the rate was 97% in the village in which she worked (1978: 209), and, though a Luba village, shows the kind of situation being viewed among the Bemba. On the Copperbelt, an urban-industrial center in Zambia, men of other ethnic groups call Bemba women, "Fierceness itself" (Richards 1956:49). Yet, there is inconsistency in this experience, best revealed in a proverb overheard by Audrey Richards in 1939: "Cupo asenda pa mutwe weseshya mukoa"—She carries her marriage on her
head, it is her clan which is dangling below (1939:192). In other
words, during a time of food shortage, the woman shows deference to the
man's family and allows them to remove food from the granary.

The question now arises, do the proverbs reveal these differences
of viewpoint on husbands? Neither group make much reference to hus-
bands. The Shona refer to these persons three times and the Bemba do
don't refer to them even once.

For the Shona, the authoritative position of the man is upheld in
two of the proverbs. Number 726 states that the husband is killed by
the one who commits adultery with his wife, thus asserting the serious-
ness of this encroachment of authority. Finnegan referred to the way
Shona people use proverbs to speak about and warn against adultery:

... a dog may be called by the proverbial name 'Things
which change from day to day' in allusion to a capricious
wife, ... similarly, a dog's name may be 'home-wrecker',
given him by a suspicious husband to warn off his wife's

Holleman, too, discusses adultery and the man's right in such cases,
referring to his ability to collect compensation from the other man.
A proverb evaluated this situation and these people: "Mukadzi nzenza
ndi na pfumise" - An adulterous wife makes me rich (1952:216). The
Shona proverb that really catches the eye at this point is #792:
"Muroyi haaroyi murume wake" - A witch doesn't bewitch her husband. Or,
another way to make this statement is, even a witch doesn't bewitch her
husband - a clear reference to his authority. The reader should remem-

10It will be recalled that another Shona proverb (#790) is simi-
lar, but refers to the value of daughters (page 142). Also it should
be remembered that a special case is made of the children of adulterers
(see page 140).
ber that Holleman asserted that there is no conflict over authority and a woman never disagrees publicly with her husband (1952:207).

Moving on to consideration of fatherhood in the world view of the two peoples, attention can be drawn back to Schneider and Gough's work. They point out that bonds between mothers and their children are universally good for obvious reasons. They went on to say that bonds between fathers and their children may vary from people to people (1961:21-24).

In the matrilineal society, the father has to compete with the authority of the descent group of the children and limits are placed on his relationships with them. Any political positions the father may attain or any economic cooperation he may foster within the family poses a threat to the descent group. The patrilineal society has a different view of the whole matter. For these people, the bonds between fathers and children are inherently strong and there is no competition with the descent group nor the mothers. Since the women are not politically motivated and economically subjective, no threats come to the relationships from these quarters.

Turning again to the societies in question, we note that the most important relationship possible in the eyes of the Shona is that between father and children (Bourdillon 1976:44). Holleman states that the term "baba" (father) more than any other kinship term "implies respect, obedience, and recognition of authority" (1952:61). The lack of competition is recognizable in the roles of the mother and her brother. The mother-child bond is "the most intimate and cordial relationship in the Shona kinship system (Holleman 1952:67), but there is no structural aspect to it that would pose a threat to the father. Her brother may
come closest to presenting competition to the father, but he reportedly has no authority over the child; he merely shows "affectionate interest" and gives aid when needed in a non-superior way (Radcliffe-Brown 1950:35-37). This purely sentimental attachment is seen at the death of the brother when the wife's children receive small inheritances from him called misodzi - tears (Holleman 1952:337).

The situation of the Bemba father is a real contrast. He is truly limited in his relationships to his children because he must share authority and affection with his wife's brother. Richards points out that the father has authority during childhood and can maintain that if he becomes a man of personality, status and birth (1950:226, 227). But this is difficult to maintain, as we have seen. The wife's brother usually comes into the picture more forcefully during the youth of the children. Formerly he had rights to the life of the sister's children, even being able to sell them into slavery if it was an economic advantage to the lineage. He could intervene in their marriages and receive part of the bridewealth (ibid.). Poewe observed that the mother's brother is not all-powerful, though, because as we have seen, children often move about as they wish, and, if an uncle becomes too demanding, a child may simply move away from his grasp (1978:364).

As can be expected, there is much tension in these Bemba relationships. Richards says that this tension is inherent in the system (1956: 40-41). The tension remains through the years and emerges again in later times when the children have become job-holders. Mothers and kinsmen receive benefits from the children, and fathers become bitter.
The Shona do not have similar conflicts because the women are not motivated to subvert the relationship between fathers and children, neither politically nor economically. It is to their advantage to encourage strong bonds because that means that the fathers will be well-cared for in old age - and they, too (Bourdillon 1976:64). The inherent conflict among the Shona, as Holleman sees it, is that which occurs because of children born to different wives (1952:325, 341).

The ethnographic literature, then, is replete with information about fathers and fatherhood. Do the proverbs provide supportive insights and additional viewpoints of help to the person attempting to understand these two peoples? There is slightly more mention of fathers by the Shona (9 times) than by the Bemba (6 times). Not being able to discover statistical significance in these differences, we need to look at the proverbs themselves. Remarkably, seven of the nine Shona proverbs refer to the father's status. One could then read these proverbs and discover the position the father has in the Shona world view concerning others. He has his own home (#7), is never scolded directly (#43), and is never referred to as old - only dogs are considered old (#999). A young man is warned to marry only a girl whose father's status is known in the community (#822). The one proverb that seems to revert all this ascribed status is Number 877: "Baba muredzi: mwana kuchema anodaidza mai" - Father is just a nurse, a child, upon crying, cries for its mother. However, this proverb needs to be seen in connection with Holleman's report (1952:67) and Bourdillon’s apparently conflicting report (1976:44). The former states that the mother-child relationship is the most intimate relationship for the Shona, while the
latter says that the father-child relationship should be characterized this way. Going back to Schneider and Gough's remark that bonds between mothers and their children are universally good for obvious reasons (1961:21-24), it can be concluded that Shona proverb number 877 in no way casts doubt upon the high status of the Shona father.

The prominence given to Shona fathers is reinforced by Number 1058 which says, "Zviri kumvana: kubara mwana asina baba" - It is up to a woman who is proud of her first birth to bear a child without a father. This proverb very clearly states the high status of the father in the conception and birth process. Ethnographers have called this the "ideology of descent" (Schneider and Gough 1961). The Shona do believe that it is the blood of the man that is important (Holleman 1952:242), and the woman is merely a receptacle, a field. Intercourse is allowed and encouraged up to the seventh month of pregnancy because the semen is believed to nourish the baby (ibid. 215).

The Bemba do not have a proverb comparable to this Shona proverb which gives expression to the "ideology of descent." In regard to this subject, however, Richards states that the Bemba understand that the blood is passed through the women, and that metaphors of the kinship system stress the ties between people of the same womb. Fathers are believed to only quicken the foetus already formed in the uterus (1950:207). In another vein, however, it is recognized that the proverbs do reinforce an emerging view of the Bemba father. Richards says that "the Bemba dramatize the rivalry of father and mother's brother in proverbial folklore (1940:34). Later, she described the attention given to the brother-sister relationship in folklore and proverbs (1956:82-83) - at-
tention which adds to the "drama" (or trauma?) of the Bemba man's situation. Indeed, the relationship of brother and sister is referred to three times in the data at hand (#492, 710, 711) and possibly as much as seven times with the frequent mention of sisters (#29, 661, 759 and 876). In two proverbs about maternal uncles (#710, 711), this person is seen in a favorable light as helper and protector. These proverbs, along with the proverbs about sisters of male members of the society reinforce the rivalry between father and mother's brother. The emerging view of the Bemba father is that of a person in an inferior position in the Bemba village.

Nevertheless, high status is allowed the Bemba father, in a recurring pattern of contradiction in the proverbs. His skills must be acknowledged as his own (#74), his place of burial is a place in which his children would want to be buried (#140), and he is to be feared by a careless child (#1123). The third proverb which mentions the maternal uncle also speaks to the status of the father in a positive way - as opposed to the uncle: "Kakokotwa na yama: aba ni tata nga ampelako" - My uncle ate it, father would have given it to me (#492). Note the tension possible in the Bemba orientation, however. This tension comes to the forefront again in #160: "Butata: kutatishanya" - Fatherhood is reciprocal" or, as it has been interpreted by the collectors, "the duties of father and children are reciprocal" (Hoch 1968:23).

The limited number of proverbs that refer to husbands and fathers in the corpora of both groups, prevents one from extracting large amounts of data on their respective other-orientations. But the proverbs do provide enough information to show that the outlooks of the
two peoples are different. Conclusions drawn from the data on husbands and fathers are included in the general conclusions to this section.

Other Kin. Siblings, grandmothers, grandchildren, nephews, maternal uncles, and affines are likewise referred to in the proverbs of the Bemba and Shona peoples. Some of these kin have been referred to in the discussion of members of the nuclear families. All these other kin persons have one thing in common in the proverbs - they are referred to less frequently; they are not given the prominence which members of the nuclear family receive. The reader is referred to Appendix C for references about them.

CONCLUSIONS

Two kinds of conclusions can be drawn from the data that has been analyzed thus far. First, there are conclusions concerning the various orientations of the Bemba and the Shona toward kin. These conclusions lead toward the understanding of their respective world views. It is clear that there is a common focus on members of the nuclear family or basic domestic unit in the proverbs of the Bemba and the Shona. Children are given greatest prominence in this attention to these kin, being spoken of more than any other single entity in the entire corpora of proverbs. Children are described in terms of their natures, statuses, functions, treatment, parental association and analogous character. There is a significant difference between the way the Bemba describe the nature of children and the way the Shona do so, and one is led to look for independent factors that would explain this difference of attention. Though not so obvious in proverbs referring
to the nature of children, some explanation for this difference is recognizable in proverbs about their status, functions and treatment. As to status, it is clear that children belong to the community, not just birth parents - an observation made in other cultures of Africa as well. Functions are described in varying ways by the two peoples, the Shona giving this aspect of childhood more attention in their proverbs than the Bemba. Girls need to be considered along with the Shona interest in the function of children because of disproportionately high reference to them (twenty-four times versus the Bemba mention of them twice), and because of the association of daughters and wealth. In looking at the treatment of children, there is a reasonably clear distinction discernible in the proverbs. Shona attentiveness contrasts with the Bemba lack of it, the former leading to passive, dependent, responsible and obedient children, the latter leading to independent, aggressive and self-sufficient children. Both groups give parental association high priority, recognizing that children mean adulthood and status in the community. And finally, while the analogies made of the children were interesting, they revealed no identifiable pattern for further comment.

Mothers and wives likewise receive prominence in the proverbs of both groups. References to them are relatively equal in number. High status is assigned to these personalities of the nuclear family, being described both directly and indirectly as their natures and functions are described. Their status especially becomes observable when, after recognizing it in proverbs about mothers, it is the only subject referred to in proverbs about wives.
Conclusions about the husbands and fathers can also be drawn.
The Shona see the husband/father in a position of high status with no serious conflict between himself and other members of the nuclear family over authority and affection. Wives are supportively submissive. The Bemba see the husband/father in a position of less status than his counterpart among the Shona. His is a status that is encumbered with serious conflict between himself and others of the conjugal group over authority and affection. Adulterers and adultery seem to be less of a threat to the Bemba husband/father. However, the maternal uncle seems to pose a threat to the Bemba man. While the Bemba wife is supposed to be submissive to the husband, that submissiveness cannot be linked to the submissiveness of the Shona woman. It seems to be more of a begrudging kind of submission that characterizes the relationship of the Bemba woman to her husband and the father of her children.

Finally, some initial observations about proverbs and world view studies can be made. The most obvious observation is that the proverbs reveal some but not all aspects of this orientation. This is important to keep in mind as one studies something as broad and all-inclusive as world view. The proverbs may reveal some viewpoints on children in the two societies, but it should not be assumed that they reveal all aspects of that outlook nor that they reveal even the most important aspects. They simply reveal some aspects of the orientation. It is necessary, then, to weave those aspects together with other observations made in other ways to get a total picture. However, the amount of attention given to children for example, should be carefully considered by the researcher in other areas. Erny (1973:12) said that
proverbs would not be good for a collection of data on children. It seems that he has been adequately proven wrong. Secondly, study of the proverbs to discover dimensions of world view needs to be carried on in recognition that this is not the indigenous purpose of proverbs. Those purposes have been discussed elsewhere and have been dutifully acknowledged. It is necessary to be reminded of this aspect of the study as one gets into the middle of a flood of data and tries to make sense out of it. In this study of kin, two related purposes of proverbs have come to the foreground and key points of discussion. The resolution of cultural ambiguity (Parker 1974:127-128) came to the foreground as the question was raised concerning the frequency of reference to girls and daughters in Shona proverbs. The resolution of domestic conflict (Finnegan 1970:412) came into the foreground as questions were raised in regard to the relationships of husbands and wives.

The Bemba and Shona proverbs do, in varying ways, provide important information for understanding the respective Other Orientations of these two peoples. The thesis of this paper - that proverbs are an invaluable tool for delving into the world views of the peoples of Africa - is being confirmed. Attention is now turned to others who are not referred to in terms of kinship.
CHAPTER VIII

OTHER ORIENTATIONS - COMMUNITY DIMENSIONS

Man is not created to be alone. He is created to be a being-in-relation. The whole existence from birth to death is organically embodied in a series of associations, and life appears to have its full value only in those close ties. These close ties will include extended family members, the clan and village, the various societies and organizations in the community together with the close ties to the ancestors and gods who are interested in the day-to-day life of man (Lowery-Palmer 1980:63 quoted by Kearney 1981:109-110).

Having looked at extended family members in the Other Orientations of the Bemba and the Shona, it is now necessary to look at the other side of this dimension of World View - people in the villages, societies and organizations in the community, ancestors and gods. This chapter will consider respective outlooks on women and men, elders and authorities, spirits and gods, activities and roles. All these are part of the larger community with which the African seeks harmony.

WOMEN AND MEN

Numerous observations have already been made on the position of women and men in the world views of the two peoples. Discussions of mothers and wives, and fathers and husbands, in the conjugal group required those observations. Further observations are in order, though, since both groups give considerable attention to these complementary sides of society.
Women

Schneider and Gough (1961) have already provided insights on the status of women as mothers and wives. The ethnographic literature has provided yet other material and material on the Bemba and the Shona in particular. It is clear that Bemba women, being members of a matrilineal society have a different kind of place in the world view of their people than do the Shona women in their society. Richards tells of senior princesses who have their own districts, junior princesses who act as village heads, senior women in the royal clan who have important ritual functions, and all women being elevated in esteem during the time of the girls' initiation rites (1939:24). Legally, the Bemba women enjoy higher esteem than their Shona counterparts, being able to plead their own court cases (Richards 1956:48-49). In general, Bemba women enjoy a relatively high status - a status that is ascribed in their society.

Shona women, on the other hand, must achieve certain status as mothers and wives. Husbands call them by their lineage names until they have children and are socially elevated. They never attain legal status in the traditional system, and must depend on men to speak for them in court cases. Yet, they slowly achieve status as more children are born to them and they become the ancestors of growing families. Bourdillon says that the status of Shona women comes not with their positions as wives, but their position as providers (1976:69). They

1Emphasis must here be put on "certain status," not all status. Little (1973:6) says, "We can say without much fear of contradiction that in African traditional society the greater part of woman's role is ascribed rather than achieved."
can also establish their own "matri-estates" consisting of "motherhood cows" received from men who marry their daughters, and goats from the husbands as children are born to the marriages. They may also achieve status as they acquire livestock from their labors and trade (Holleman 1952:351), retaining complete control over these personal possessions while alive and knowing that they will be distributed by family at death. The final rise to status occurs at death when the family will continue to remember them out of fear of the spirits (Bourdillon 1976: 47).

Turning now to the proverbs, it is seen that they provide additional data for understanding the views on women held by the two groups. The Shona make 39 references to women (avakadzi) with the majority of those references to women in general, but with special reference to barren women, divorcees, "girl friends" (Hamutyinei and Plangger 1974: 40), and old women. The Shona reference to old women (chembere, mbuya) is especially interesting in that it occurs almost as much as reference to women in general - showing the special status given these people and elders in general. The Shona references to old women is also intriguing because the Bemba don't refer to them with specific terminology even once, although their general term for elder (umukalamba) includes women. The Bemba, then, refer to women (abanakashi, abakota) only twelve times, mentioning only barren women in particular. The data in the proverbs, then, provides ample material to study yet further this feature of the other-orientations of the two peoples.

Thirty-nine references to women in the Shona proverbs provide an "inside view" on these personalities in the whole broad range of others
in this society. The Shona, for instance, assert the difference between men and women in their own interesting way. Three proverbs provide this data (#399, 755, 1058), with #755 being the most succinct: "Chakadya ndebvu dzavakadzi/ ndichowo chakadya mazamu evarume" - What ate the beards of women is also what ate the breasts of men.

Although women are associated with quarrelsomeness in the Shona proverbs (#464, 465) and contribute to the dangers of adultery (#726), women are seen in a favorable light in this collection of proverbs. This favorable attitude should be expected in view of previous conclusions made about women in the nuclear family - conclusions which stated that tensions exist (p. 158) but that the tensions do not center upon male authority and affection (p. 167); women offer no threat to male status. Not surprisingly then, nine proverbs refer to the attraction and beauty of women. However, it is just this attraction and beauty that the society must watch out for. Number 333 says, "Kuona chembere yodzinga shiri/ zviyo zvaibva" - To see an old women chase birds means that the grain is ripe (an allusion to young girls coming of marital age). Beauty and attraction can be deceptive (#701, 736), enticing when belonging to someone not your own (#955), and accessible - like fruit to be picked (#989) - like a hoe handle (#990) - like a forest with wood to be cut (#991) - and like figs on a tree (#992). Number 111 reveals the extent of a woman's appeal: "Mhosvakadzi/ muripo mwene" - A woman's fine is her very self, i.e., in the last resort, she always has herself to offer. Seen in this favorable light, with special attention to their beauty, women attract men other than their husbands and therein lies the danger of adultery, a danger already re-
ferred to (p. 167), and a danger that is said to be mortal for man (#726).

The Shona proverbs give particular attention to barren women (understandable in view of the necessity of parenthood), divorcees, "girl friends" (understandable in view of the above discussion), and old women. It is this attention to old women that supports what has been said in the literature about their status once they have acquired "matri-estates," "motherhood cows," and other evidences of prestige. Perhaps the old women become an enigma in patrilineal Shona society and the proverbs provide a way to lessen tension as Parker suggests (1974). Whatever the reason, the proverbs do give information on the Shona view upon these oldsters. They are wise and need to be listened to (#20, 21), yet they have definite limits because of their age (#456), 482, 713, 1186, 1187, 1399). The limits are tolerable though: "Chembere mukadzi/ hazvienzani nokuvata mugota" - An old woman is better than sleeping alone (#528). Death, of course, lingers around the old women (#649, 650, and 1153). One proverb says that they shouldn't be fed bream because they may try to fish for it in the morning and die in the river (#1342). But, in the final analysis, the old women with their high status are to be respected, "Kutuka chambere/ kutuka une nhekwe yefodya" - If you scold an old woman, be sure you have a snuff gourd to give her as an offering (#699)! The references to old women are undoubtedly one reason there is a significant difference between the Bemba proverbs referring to women and the Shona proverbs.

In stark contrast to the Shona view, the Bemba see women in serious tension with men - a view that has already been noted in the dis-
cussion of kin (p. 167). The Bemba contrast men and women in ways that seem to belittle the latter. They are not strong (#105), can't make a net like men (#114), and don't even enjoy the same status as male companions: "Bepo mwanakashi: mwaume mubiyono, mwenda nankwe" - Lie to a woman, but travel well with your male companion (#155). Their gossip "burns" (#338) and brings about evil things (#746).2 Speaking of their gossip again, number 333 says it is silly - but he who doesn't listen to it is a fool! Even comments about the role of women (#10, 1091, 1145) leaves a negative image in spite of #1076 which says the advice of women can be helpful at times. For example, they are to be submissive (#1091) not aggressive (#1145). Two of the proverbs that deal with the role of women do so in what is considered by this student a coarse, unseemly way: they are the dung of duiker (#10), and urine (#1091). Throughout the Bemba proverbs that refer to women, there seems to be an aura of tension. This tension is recognized again in #1282, "Wituka mwanakashi talafuula" - Don't insult a woman before she undresses.

It appears that the Shona respect for old women and the contrasting views of women in the two societies may be important factors accounting for differences in reference in the proverbs. The literal context provides this perspective and the statistical data supports the perspective.

2This reference to Satan "Shetani" is obviously of Christian tradition, and leads the reader to wonder if Hoch, a Roman Catholic, did not insert the name if not the proverb.
Men

Men, too, are referred to in contrasting ways in the corpora of proverbs. Table III (p. 133) shows that there are twenty-six Shona references and only six Bemba references – a difference that is significant ($x^2 = 8.1967$, where the tabled value of $x^2$ at 0.05 = 3.84146). This statistical data is not being used to prove things concerning world view but it is being used to prod one to further research.

Further ethnographic comments set the stage for looking at the differences noted in the comparisons. Much attention has been given to Bemba men in the nuclear family, but they must be seen outside this group as well. They must be seen as the maternal uncles to whom the wives of other men (their sisters) turn for help, counsel and protection. In this role, Bemba men have unquestioned authority. Radcliffe-Brown (1950:41-42) reminds us that it is the men of the matrilineage "who form the corporate group, holding rights over land and acting collectively in various ways." Yet, as Audrey Richards says, they are "born in one village, move to another to marry, go to a third to inherit a title, or to join some of [their] own relatives, or [set] up a new village. . . ." (1940:35). The patrilineal Shona men likewise enjoy unquestioned authority, but arrive at this authority on a different basis. They, like men in other patrilineal societies, cooperate all their lives with their male relatives, engaging in common tasks, and working the same piece of ground (Richards, ibid.).

How do the proverbs present men in the two societies? Do the presentations provide information that leads to a greater acquaintance with
their world views? The answers to these questions come with a careful analysis of the contents of each proverb.

Male camaraderie seems to be alluded to in the proverbs of both the Bemba and the Shona. This camaraderie is not like that described by Maquet of various male associations in Africa with their masks, dances, beliefs, myths, public ceremonies, furtive practises, philosophies, and brutality of action (1971:219-220). But it is camaraderie that is distinctly Shona and Bemba.

The Shona say, "Varume ndivamwe/ kutsva kwendebvu vanodzimurana" - men are all the same; when their beards burn they help each other to extinguish the fire. Elaboration on this idea of camaraderie is possible by recognizing the three proverbs that refer to old men in this society. One proverb says that two old men won't kill each other, but will instead help each other survive (#442). A second proverb lends indirect support to the idea of male camaraderie by stating that two old men can't help each other cross a river - as they once used to do. The third proverb expresses remorse when camaraderie breaks down: an old man refuses to share his maize cob although he has no teeth with which to eat it (#135). Supporting this idea of camaraderie are proverbs that discuss men in various roles. Six proverbs refer to the work that they do (#412, 413, 782, 1204, 1451, and 1452). This last proverb might be considered representative of these references to work: "Murume-murume/anoti chamuka inyama" - A man is a man, he considers anything that comes up as meat - a reference to his willingness to do what is necessary to eat. Besides reference to work, the Shona also refer to the taboos imposed upon men (#663), their contrast with women (#755, already referred
to), their appeal to women other than their wives (#956), their status (#999), and their relationships (#1411 and 1475). A pathetic fellow in the eyes of the Shona people - and a person deserving frequent mention in their proverbs (seven times) - is the bachelor (tsvimborume, pfunda). The bachelor is different: he gets ready for bed then decides he is hungry (#31), makes a mortar as though he has a wife (#639), can't be satisfied (#1409), and pays attention to unmarried mothers although his real desire is for a young girl (#1533). The other proverbs about this person (#318, 322, 325) present him in the same light. Perhaps it is the difference of the bachelor that calls for such frequent reference to him in the proverbs of the Shona because one thing that contributes to camaraderie is sameness of role and function.

The Bemba also give attention to this feature of relationships among men. Only three proverbs refer to men, but two of those proverbs give some dimension to camaraderie. Number 155 has already been quoted, but it states this camaraderie so aptly that it is worth repeating:

"Bepo mwanakashi: mwaume mubiyo, mwenda nankwe" - Lie to a women, but walk well with your male companion. Number 1146 states that the man who is unsociable, avoiding the men's rest shelter, ends up being hungry himself. However, the Bemba proverbs say very little about men by direct reference to them. There is no mention of their work, relationships, taboos and status. It is only observed that, besides the camaraderie, they are numerous (#16). Reference is also made to bachelors (#781), old men (#37), and bald-headed men (#959) who, unlike bald-headed men in Shona proverbs, are seen in a favorable light.
While no conclusions can be drawn on male camaraderie as expressed by the proverbs of the Bemba and Shona peoples, enough has been seen to recognize that this is an important feature of their respective Other Orientations. It will be observed in a later section that this feature is reinforced in different ways by contrasting attention given to friends and friendship (see page 199). Besides the common interest in camaraderie, it has been noted that the Bemba make very little reference to men in particular and the Shona give considerable attention to the work that men do and to bachelors who seem to be an enigma in this male-oriented society that is concerned with the continuation of male lines. These various insights point the way to further research in these areas - research that goes beyond the scope of this paper.

ELDERS AND AUTHORITIES

Hierarchy, power, status, wealth, function, conflict, conformity, adulthood, and leadership come into the picture in varying ways as one considers elders and authorities in two contrasting African societies. The features related to these personalities have likewise been studied in various ways, being described according to the interests and the training of outside observers.

A look at some of the studies on elders in some African societies sheds light on this study of elders among the Bemba and the Shona. For example, LeVine (1970:286) describes the formality of behaviour in which African eldership is often steeped:

There is a degree of social prescription and pro-scription in African families and other primary groups that we are accustomed to only in organizational or bureaucratic settings. Furthermore, the adherence to institutionalized
norms of behaviours act as a barrier to what westerners regard as "intimacy," that is, the sharing of innermost thoughts and feelings, the giving and taking of emotional support, the private regression to childish means of expressing affection, the experience of temporary union (loss of ego boundaries) with another person. It seems that intimacy in this sense, and the individualized relationships that accompany it, are of less importance to Africans than other goals of interpersonal relations. . . . So the relative formality of behaviour, like the customs of avoidance and segregation, maintains social and emotional distance between persons (1970:286).

J. F. Ritchie explains the roots of this formal behaviour described by LeVine by reference to child-rearing procedures that are prevalent on the continent (1943:12), stating later that

... A quantum of dread remains not far below the surface of consciousness, and eventually, under the influence of later infantile experiences, it becomes mixed with other emotions and expresses itself as a vague embarrassed uneasiness. This mixed emotion commonly remains permanently the dominant attitude towards figures of authority. . . . (op. cit., 15).

LeVine and Ritchie's attention to the formal behaviour usually associated with elders in many African societies is just one focus of attention. And, as is always the case, generalities are too broad to encompass the whole of this continent and its millions of people. Specific studies can offer a different kind of help to this consideration of elders. LeVine offers such help by reference to several examples of formal behaviour centered around elders: among the Zulu a newly married wife must avoid certain topics in the presence of her senior in-laws, various peoples of Western Kenya require that young men avoid a wide range of interpersonal situations with their "fathers" - from touching

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3 The author does not subscribe to Ritchie's Freudian, colonially-biased viewpoints. His views are simply referred to as an example of research done.
to jointly hearing sexual matters discussed. He points out that among some peoples (the Hausa of West Africa and other groups in the Western Sudan) the oldest child must be raised so as not to have contact with one or both of the parents at certain times (LeVine 1970:284-285).

Studies by other observers provide yet a broader base for looking at the eldership as viewed by the Bemba and the Shona. Tanner (1967:157) contrasts European and Sukuma ideas of status as it is associated with elders. The European, he says, views status in connection with private space around the subject. As one's importance mounts, his space increases. The Sukuma view status in just the opposite way. For these people of Tanzania, the status of elders is connected with the presence of many people around them. This is most clearly seen in the trips made by the chief among the people: he is often immersed in the crowd. Placide Tempels (1959:101) shows hierarchical contrasts which the BaLuba of Zaire see in their orientation toward elders. This group refers to a person of "middling importance devoid of real force" as muntu mutupu, while the truly powerful elder is called a muntu mukulumpe. Tempels explains this classification in terms of his understanding of the place of "vital force," known in anthropological circles as power or mana. There is a "gradation in the essential quality of men in accordance with the intensity of their vital force." Another perspective on elders in African communities is provided by Victor Turner's observations among the matrilineal Ndembu of Zambia who attribute great significance to the attainment of adulthood by a woman (1968:198).

Consideration of elders in African society provide a basis for looking at leaders in particular. Leadership involves a broad range of
men and women, usually elders, in political roles. Middleton (1970:79) points out that anthropologists have classified these leaders according to three main types: leaders of simple bands such as the Bushmen, leaders in societies that lack centralized authority but which depend on lineage systems, age-sets and associations, and, leaders in societies with clearly defined central chieftanships characterized by confederations, kinship, homogeneity or heterogeneity, and confederations united by ritual and religion.

There are, then a variety of ways to look at authorities and political leaders in Africa. The viewpoints vary according to the political structures of the societies. References to the leaders in the local languages cannot so easily be translated chief, headman, ward head, etc., with complete uniformity of meaning. This is where "equivalency" as discussed in Chapter IV becomes a problem. Let it be noted that proof of equivalency is not the burden of this paper. Instead, terminology is being used that hopefully helps the reader understand the people in question and which also represents the people themselves in a fair way.

In looking at leaders and authoritative personalities in the political realm, several observations have been made that should be borne in mind as a study is made of any particular groups. For example, Le-Vine (1970:291-292) refers to the "functionally diffuse role relationships" common to traditional societies. Few leadership roles are defined by single functional contexts. Chiefs may be law-makers, judges

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4 Recent research has cast doubt on the concept of "leaders" among the Bushmen (San).
and administrators all combined, rather than just one or the other.

LeVine goes on,

... In Africa, when someone is in a position of authority there are characteristic demands and expectations he makes of others and has made upon him. He expects that his followers will obey his commands, not only concerning the function that may have originally brought them together but for any other purpose he deems significant. They must, for example, help maintain and enhance his social status by providing him with the conspicuous leisure appropriate to someone of high rank. In other words they must perform menial tasks for him and serve him so that he can appear unencumbered in public and can offer a degree of hospitality that is beyond his private means.

Parrinder adds another observation concerning traditional African leadership. He remarks that relationships were static and unchanging in the political arena and were renewed in rituals and sacrifice (1969). Deviations and individual assertions did not change this basic understanding of leadership. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, adds a personal note to this study of leadership as seen in Africa:

... For us, to talk of ourselves as the 'servants' of the people is more than a political platitude. It is a precious part of our culture and tradition. The essence of servanthood is surely availability, openness to the demands of all those who have a claim upon one's services. This seems to be in marked contrast to the Western tradition of leadership. The symbol of rank in Western society appears to be unavailability. The more important you are, the more difficult it is for anyone to get access to you unless they are important, too. In our tradition, to be known by name to others is to "belong" to them in a very real sense, and therefore the more widely you are known the greater the number of people of all kinds who have the right of access to you... (1966:33).

Generalities aside, the ethnographic literature provides innumerable examples of varying orientations toward leaders. Doob, for example, observes that there is no unequivocal orientation toward the chief in the Fanti culture of Ghana (1961:266). There, the chief may be viewed as having ultimate power or as having limited power.
These and other observations on elders in general and leaders in particular prepare the way for a more minute look at these personalities among the Bemba and the Shona. The observations help one to anticipate the differences of outlook and emphasis, a uniquely expressed formality of behaviour, culturally understood hierarchies that do not resemble one another, and the different places of men and women in the eldership roles. The brief review of some literature on leadership prepares one to anticipate different leadership roles with functional diffusion most likely, non-equivalency in terminology, attention to status and conformity in African perspective.

Looking first at the Bemba orientation toward elders in general, Richards points out that attitudes towards these individuals begin in childhood (1939:197-198). Children learn to always give deference to elder brothers and sisters. Moreover, this deference is acknowledged with affection and pride. The attitude is expressed in adult years in a variety of ways from taking what one wants from younger siblings to presenting gifts to older ones. Conventional greetings express the attitude as do avoidance rules and practices. At the apex of this attitude is the Bemba grandfather. Richards says,

... it is certain that the position of a Bemba grandfather is one that gives great power and authority and is in some respects more enviable than that of the grandfather in a typical patrilineal Bantu community, since the head of a Bemba grand-family has established his rule by individual effort and not through the help of his brothers or his patrilineage. ... (1950:228).

Attitudes towards political leaders among the Bemba must be viewed in light of the general attitude toward elders. Then again, those attitudes must be viewed in connection with the political system that
characterizes the Bemba. Maquet (1971:90) considers the Bemba system as one of the well-known chiefdoms of Africa, and Richards, using Linton's description of "orientations" as a society's chief focus of interests and social institutions, states that "military ambition under an autocratic chieftanship is the orientation of the Bemba [people] (1939:25). The chief (imfumu), then, is the paramount leader of the Bemba people and all thought of leadership centers around the chieftanship (ubufumu). Thus, it is necessary to know what the Bemba believe about his predecessors and successors, his centrality to ritual and economic life, his place in times past in migrations and wars, his ownership of the land, his status, and his distributive powers. Moreover, it is necessary to recognize the people associated with him, from messengers to councillors.

Elders and political authorities are likewise closely connected in Shona society. The literature is replete with examples of respect for age, submission to seniority, and recognition of authority. Bourdillon, in explaining the roles of village headmen, ward heads, and even chiefs brings the reader to a picture of protective elders in extended families. For example, he says that "The traditional role of the chief is an extension of the ideal patriarchal system . . . " (1976:133). Of the chief (ishe) in particular, Bourdillon says,

The chief is traditionally guardian of the fundamental values of rupenyu (life) and simba (strength, vitality, well-being). Life comes from the land of which the chief is the 'owner', and strength or power comes from the chief's status and his accession rituals. Both life and prosperity are necessary for the prosperity of his people and particularly for the land and its produce. . . . (op. cit., 131).
As with the Bemba, details for the Shona are endless. These limited references, however, provide a backdrop for looking at the data provided by the proverbs of the two peoples. It will at once be noticed that the Bemba refer to elders considerably more times than do the Shona. As to authorities in general, there is a numerical equivalence of reference in the two groups (see Table III, page 133). Using the statistics simply as prods once again to further ethnographic research and as but one perspective on the date, the question is raised, Do the proverbs reveal anything about respective orientations toward these leaders that can supply information on respective world views?

Elders

A careful analysis of the Bemba proverbs that refer to elders (abakulu, abakalamba) shows that twelve of them point to their status, seven reveal conflicts associated with elders, four of them deal with conformity, and two each refer to camaraderie as discussed in the section on men (page 181) and limits that must be attached to eldership. The status of elders is expressed in typically picturesque style. Several proverbs speak of their knowledge and wisdom for court cases (#129), to guard against famine (#521), to remove honey (#744), to keep a fire (#1037), and to speak precisely (#1014). Number 1016 may express the high status of elders in a representative way: "Umukalamba talangwa cintelelwe" - An elder isn't shown the shade, i.e., he knows where it is. The status of elders among the Bemba people is sometimes expressed in terms of relationships. Number 55 says that a mouth that is bearded cannot lie to others. Hoch explains that number 131 - where an elder is there is dimness of sight - is often used when an elder has been care-
lessly overlooked in a social situation (1968:19). Two proverbs refer to their ability to acquire food and things they want by simply looking at the people involved (#399, 937). One proverb reveals the generosity expected of elders themselves: "Umukulu alaipampa" - The elder feels himself all over to see if there is anything remaining on him that he can give away (Hoch 1968:117). Finally, the elders' status is remarked upon when it is said that their bows hit an animal from where they lie, i.e., they always get their share of the meat even if they don't go on the hunt any longer (#864, 865).

Conflict is a second matter addressed in the Bemba proverbs about elders. Most of these proverbs threaten those who disrespect elders, proverbially called "Lukanya bakulu" (#587), with early death. These contradictory, rebellious people don't get old (#587), grow beards on their necks, i.e., in their graves (#713, 714), fail to delay their end (#1184, 1185), and die when they reach puberty (#1203). Only one proverb in this group that pictures conflict allows for a view from the side of those contradicting the elders; number 789 states, "We did not chase the elders, they chased themselves" from the meeting. The complement to this conflict is conformity. There are three benefits of this option as expressed in the proverbs: no disillusionment (#255), acquaintance and notoriety (#293), and getting old (#1194). The way of conformity is, in fact, the way to overcome the elders: "Ukufutulo mukulu: kunakilila" (#913).

Two final observations on elders by the Bemba reveal them as part of male camaraderie and as limited in some ways. As to camaraderie, a seemingly important feature of male association, expression is given
negatively: anyone who deceives a fellow elder will be deceived reciprocally (#201), and, a thorn is gladly removed from the foot of a stingy elder - because it gives one an opportunity to squeeze him hard (#1015). Limits are expressed in terms of physical condition. Old age doesn't strengthen the brain - "Ubukulu tabukwasha mano" - (#835), and according to number 37, a proverb that refers to the legs of an old man, an elder can dance the dance requiring a lot of tremulous body motions, but afterwards they meet in order to hold each other up.

The Shona give similar treatment to some of the same features they observe about elders. In addition to the nineteen proverbs that refer to elders (vakuru) fifteen proverbs that refer to one particular kind of elder - grandmothers (vambuya) must be brought into the picture. Old men (harahwa), referred to three times, should also be considered. When this is done, the significant difference between numbers of Bemba references and numbers of Shona references disappears. There are, however, some distinguishing characteristics.

The combined Shona references to elders, old men and grandmothers refer to their status seventeen times, their limits ten times, camaraderie three times, and conflicts only once. An analysis of the proverbs referring to status reveals an immediately recognizable distinction of the Shona references. The Shona make a distinction between adults (akura) and elders (vakuru). The former are obviously younger and socially immature. They are recognizable if they have a crying child (#8), and identifiable in that they play while supposedly caring for things (#840). The contrast is most clearly seen in three proverbs (#263, 264, 265) which basically say the same thing: "Akura/ ataurwa" -
a grown up is talked about, and which are set off from number 659 which talks about the elder and says he is not to be talked about: "Mukuru haataurwi." In addition, the elders' status is talked about in terms of knowledge and wisdom, relationships and actions. But unlike the Bemba, very little is said about their status in regard to knowledge and wisdom. What is said, is in reference to the old women (#20, 21, 699, 333). Relationships, as they are effected by this status are referred to in four proverbs: elders give as they desire to give, not as they are coerced (#109, 110), they are not disciplined for that is limited to children (#997), and to continue playing with the tail of an elder can result in emotional trauma (#1221). Unique to the Shona corpus of proverbs is number 1054 which reminds elders to act like elders: "Mukuru mukuru/ hanga haigari pfunde" - An elder is an elder, the guinea fowl doesn't sit on sorghum stalks - it is too big.

Inclusion of the old women in this consideration of the Shona view on elders, gives a slightly warped picture of eldership because weaknesses and limitations are likewise associated with them. Seven proverbs that refer to these personalities mention their limitations (#456, 482, 528, 713, 1186, 1187, 1342, 1399). Three proverbs refer to their death (#649, 650, and 1153), number 1153 stating that an old woman dies because people were arguing about their responsibilities toward her. It seems, however, that such limitations are often associated with old people. The three proverbs that refer to camaraderie all do so in a negative way. It seems that old men aren't as capable of expressing this apparently culturally valued association anymore (#135, 442, 1293).
The single Shona reference to elders and conflict that arises because of their status is interesting. To shun their words is to refuse advice (#86). What makes this reference interesting is that it is alone in this expression. This is totally different from the Bemba proverbs which deal with this conflict in seven proverbs with four other proverbs complementing them by attention to conformity. There is no threat of death to those who shun the words of the elders and this fact likewise makes it a contrast to the Bemba focus.

A summary of the Shona and Bemba orientations toward elders in their respective societies brings together the various threads that make up this part of the screens which are their world views and also prepares the way for a look at authorities. Elders, obviously, have a prominent place in the world views of both peoples.\textsuperscript{5} At first glance, it appears that the Bemba proverbs give more prominence to these personalities than do the Shona proverbs, but when all the personalities that might be considered in this category for the Shona are brought together, no such statement of more prominence for the Bemba can be asserted. The corpus of proverbs from both people, however, present different views on these personalities. While status is equally identified with elders for both groups, there are distinctions in regard to who are included in the category. There are also limitations, and conflicts that center around this subject. The Shona proverbs give disproportionate attention to old women, a feature recognized earlier. They also give more attention to limits suffered by elders. The Bemba, on

\textsuperscript{5}Previous proverbs have also confirmed this. For example, in discussing self-orientation, it was noted that "the eye of an elder has special influence and power" in both groups (p. 96).
the other hand, give disproportionate attention to conflict and conformity as it occurs between elders and their juniors, reinforcing this somewhat with relatively high reference to the wisdom and knowledge associated with elders - a reference not made by the Shona except in connection with old women. Thus, a recognizably different view on elders appears for the two groups. These differing views prepare the way for looking at authorities within this orientation.

Authorities

The Bemba refer to individuals with political and social authority thirty-eight times and the Shona refer to them thirty-six times. Chiefs are the most frequently referred to individuals, though the words used for these personages should not be considered equivalent in translation. Besides the chiefs, different leaders are mentioned according to the political system that is being described in the proverbs. Other differences can be noted as the contents of all the proverbs are carefully studied.

Chiefs are referred to twenty-one times in the Bemba proverbs and an additional nine references to the chieftanship provide a good quantity of data to consider. Status, associations, tasks, qualification, conflicts, and limitations are presented in ways that are distinctly Bemba. For example, the status of chiefs is described in terms of their places, their nature, wealth, and power. Three proverbs associate their status with their residences: their palaces are wherever they are (#142), their habitats are like a man's private parts - respected and strong (#546) and like a watering place where nothing is left wanting (#547). Most attention to status is given in regard to their power.
Five proverbs describe this power in differing ways: they don't eat vomit (#369), i.e., they never swallow again what has already come up, they are not begged for meat (#990), have powerful, large fires (#1040), and are the metaphor for an insatiable earth (#1089). An interesting proverb that describes the power of chiefs but mentions only the chieftanships, not the chiefs themselves is #824, "Ubufumu busheta amenshi" - the chieftanship chews water, being able to do whatever it pleases. Status is again referred to in one proverb about the nature of chiefs (#152) and two complementary proverbs that refer to the chieftanship (#820, 823). The wealth of chiefs, according to number 213, also lends to their status, and this wealth is never too small.

The associations that chiefs have reinforce their status in Bemba society. Six proverbs describe these associations. Three refer to subjects in general: the person who was full and foolishly gave his granary to the chief (#21), the person who is ill and thus should not visit the chief (#1193), and the whole village which is admonished to follow the chief so that it won't be eaten - "Konke mfumu: umushi tauliwa." Three other proverbs describe associations between chiefs and servants. One says that the person serving a chief doesn't strike (#94). Another says such a person doesn't run around naked (#501), and the third says that the person who boasted he would not leave the chief filled his pants (#712).

Tasks of the Bemba chiefs are alluded to in one proverb directly and four proverbs indirectly. They are advised to be energetic so that the country will be strong (#531). Four proverbs that actually mention the chieftanship rather than the chiefs liken these persons to speaking
itself (#821), saying this work causes red eyes (#822) and is not something enjoyed (#825, 826).

The final references to chiefs have to do with their qualifications and limitations. The Bemba say that chieftanship is something given, not something taken, and it should not be treated foolishly (#827). Limitations are noticeable in that even bad food can keep them alive if need be (#227), and they cannot beget fellow chiefs (#370). Like the Fante of Ghana, then, Bemba chiefs do not have unequivocal power (Doob 1961:266).

Additional personnel in this category of leadership are mainly supportive personnel to the chiefs. Thus, there is mention of the chief's headwife (#609), judges (#484), headmen (#77, 605, 671, and 1088), soldiers (#334, 672), and stewards (#656). 6

The Shona likewise consider their chiefs in terms of status, associations, tasks, qualifications and limitations. Status is referred to a total of eight times. Their status is clearly stated and distinguished from others in numbers 191 and 192, for in the former they are contrasted with servants and in the latter they are contrasted with headmen. Being chiefs is a position sought after by Shona people. For example, when a person is drunk he thinks he is a chief (#287). A second proverb encourages listeners to work diligently by stating that a person may leave a place a beggar and return a chief (#619). Power is associated with the status of Shona chiefs in four proverbs. Two of them say they are like witches because they can have whatever they want

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6 As with other terminology, these words are not necessarily equivalent with English translations, nor with Shona counterparts.
One proverb compares the Shona chiefs to hearts for the same reason (#984). The fourth proverb that describes status in terms of power is number 997 which states that an elder is a chief who cannot be disciplined like a child.

Significant in the Shona proverbs about their chiefs are references to their associations with subjects in general and with servants in particular. Proverb number 137 states the close association of chiefs and their subjects: "Ishe/vanhu" - The chief is people. Other proverbs refer to this kind of association in picturesque language: they grow as the numbers of their subjects grow (#136), they look out for the poor (#154), children (#827), those who visit their courts (#420), those who work in their fields (#1107) and those who have been to the sanctuary forest of the chiefs (#1108). The importance of subjects associating with the chiefs is seen in the proverb which states that the reason the tortoise lives so long is because it met a chief (#485). Limits, however, are placed upon these associations. Number 1228, for example, states that one should stop mixing his own cattle with those of the chief. Associations with servants are mentioned twice in the Shona corpus of proverbs: servants eat where the chiefs eat (#147) and servants often become wealthier by their association with chiefs, while chiefs just suffer for their jobs (#644).

Four proverbs that describe the task of chiefs can be summed up in the statement that everything - all kinds of situations - come to them. Three proverbs say they are like trash heaps upon which everything is tossed (#1072, 1073, 1074), and one says they are like a well into which everything is thrown (#1075).
The Shona, like the Bemba, refer to that which qualifies a citizen to be a chief. In their case, the proverbs say it is respect for the ancestral spirits (#896). Limitations upon the chief are also referred to by these people. They say, "Rufu haruna ishe" - death doesn't know the chief, it comes to all. Number 1069 is an interesting proverb which says the chief stopped the servant's journey, but rain stopped the chief's. Thus, though powerful and held in high esteem, the Shona proverbs reveal the Shona as looking upon this figure in their world view with recognition of his limitations.

Finally it can be noted that, along with their chiefs, the Shona refer to other leaders in their proverbs. They refer to councillors (#1067, 1068), judges (#1121), headmen (#146, 192), sons of the chief (#201, 463, and 1065), and tribal wards (#254).

A review of the references to leaders in the two collections of proverbs, especially chiefs who are given the primary attention, reveals a common reference to associations. Maquet (1971:8790) states that many Africanist anthropologists have erred in describing African political systems by first describing functions whether in terms of the control and regulation of physical force (Radcliffe-Brown), the assurance of social order (Middleton and Tait), or the maintenance of internal cooperation and external independence (Schapera). Instead, attention should have given over to associations: "The ruler-subject relation is the basic tie found in all the numerous interactions between members of a society." The proverbs being considered in this study have pointed out that, in the eyes of the Bemba and Shona people themselves, associations indeed are important. This fact adds another dimension to
the growing dimension of other-orientation in the respective world views of the two peoples - and points out the value of studying proverbs for this purpose. Such studies can bring out viewpoints easily missed by the most well-trained observers.

SPIRITS AND GODS

In his overview of relationship in Africa, Maquet (1971:17) calls relations between individuals and entities such as spirits and gods "relations of magic or religion, of cult or possession." Maquet admits that the subject of spirits and gods is an important field of human behaviour, but as a sociologist, cannot find an objective way to study the subject as a part of community life for the people of Africa. He says, "Important fields of human activity do not fall within the scope of sociological analysis as such. Exclusion is the price of keenness of analysis" (op. cit., 20). Others have been a bit more courageous in this endeavor.

First, some generalizations about the subject of spirits and gods in Africa. In addition to introductory references to this subject (page 114), several Africanists have delved into this subject. Placide Tempels was among the first to attempt a sensitive assessment of these important others in African world views. He said,

... vital influences of the dead upon the living, are daily bread to the Bantu. In a greater or less degree these phenomena are familiar to every muntu: they live in communion with their dead and this living influence of the dead should not be adjudged super-normal according to the canons of our philosophy, but as a natural occurrence, as the normal ordering of events in the world of forces of Bantu philosophy (Tempels 1959:88).
Tempels ably makes the point that the dead need to be considered in any study of community dimensions in Africa.

Janheinz Jahn is another person who has taken a sympathetic look at a generalized African view on spirits and gods. One of his comments might likewise prove helpful in this look at the kinds of generalizations that have been and are being made. Jahn referred to relationships between the living and the dead (or the "living-dead" as Mbiti would have it [1970:110]), and said,

Sacrifice is above all a way of entry into relations with the ancestors, the dialogue of Thee and Me. Food is shared with him; its existential force is to give him the sense of life. And this communion extends to identification in such a way that, by an inverse movement, the force of the ancestor flows into the sacrifices and into the community which he embodies. Sacrifice is the most typical illustration of the interaction of the vital forces of the universe.

The individual dead are therefore of different "strengths" according as they have many or few living descendants who honour them and sacrifice to them. . . . (1961:112).

Obviously, generalizations are dangerous. Tempels speaks from his perspective in Central Africa and Jahn speaks from his perspective in West Africa. Both men attempt to speak for all of Africa. But what is true for one small part of this vast continent need not be assumed true for it all. For example, in 1940, I. Schapera pointed out that for the Kgatta of Botswana, "Ancestor worship itself has virtually disappeared" (1940:309). In 1960, M. J. Field, working among the Ashanti of West Africa, describe the reliance of a third generation Christian on ancestral spirits (1960:48).

Tempels and Jahn are just two of many observers who have attempted to view spirits and gods in Africa from the perspective of the Africans.
They have aroused the interest of this researcher, though it is difficult at times to really understand what they are saying! Other names also come to mind, however: Busia, Nadel, Middleton, Dieterlen, Evans-Pritchard, Wilson, Rattray, Parsons, Forde, Idowu, Parrinder, Lienhardt and Little. These, and others provide considerable volumes of material on spirits, both generally speaking and in particular cases.

Specific cases from various peoples of Africa provide yet further background to this consideration of the Bemba and the Shona. Of the Sukuma in Tanzania, Tanner reports that it is believed

... A potential ancestor spirit is in the blood of every man and becomes active after death. It is all that remains after death, when the human being dies; there is nothing left when an animal dies, even a cow specially consecrated to the ancestors of a family. All the spirits of his ancestors are in his blood and the blood of his relatives. If a man dies without child, the spirit of the dead man goes to his brothers, by reason of the blood relationship through father and grandfather; it is not necessary for him to die in order that his spirit be present in the body of his son, and they allege that a living man, by this means, is able to affect another living relative (1967:13).

Monica Wilson (1959:5-6) studied this phenomenon among the Nyakusa in Southern Africa and determined that there was a close identification between the spirits and semen in the world view of these people. To them, spirits "are identical with the procreative principle." In a similar way, Bradbury (1965:101) observed that for the Edo of Western Nigeria, the dead are viewed as ancestors and as the "reservoir from which the group renews itself." Fields (1960:55) observed possession as it is associated with spirits among the Ashanti and explained: "A person in the 'possessed' state is in the condition known in psychiatry as 'dissociated personality'." Jahn observed the same phenomena in West
Africa and poetically described it as a "sinking into oneself" (1968: 40).

God and gods are also referred to in general and in specific ways in the literature. Speaking generally of Africa, Geoffrey Parrinder (1969:40-41) says that, in African thought, "God is both the creator and the principle of unity that holds everything together. He is the source and essence of force, Ntu, which inspires the whole vital organism." This viewpoint, he says, is in stark contrast with Greek thought which could banish the creator and do no damage to its "logical architecture." The African would not attempt to banish God from its world view. As is to be expected, Parrinder is challenged. God, in the African schema, is not Ntu, says Janheinz Jahn (1968:105). Instead he is "the 'Great Muntu, First Creator and First Begetter in one." Specific references to God and gods in the various cultures of the continent provide data on which to get objective viewpoints. Little, for example, described the Mende concept of God in Sierra Leone (1954:114). There, he is the creator of human beings, animals, plants, and inorganic matter, and is also responsible for the existence of a non-material kind of power known as hale. Parrinder points out that the Ashanti are distinctive in that they have temples, priests, and altars to their supreme being, a feature of their religion that is shared by the Kikuyu of Kenya (1961:15). Data and descriptions could go on and on. These few details have been presented to show the Bemba and Shona attention to these matters in a continent wide context.

The numerous volumes published by Michael Gelfand on Shona religion (1959, 1956, 1962, 1968) are proof enough that great detail could
be entered into for a description of Shona attitudes towards spirits and God. That, however, is not the purpose of this paper. The reader can look at those for that purpose. The present study simply considers the broader picture in order to prepare readers for the picture of spirits and Gods as revealed in the proverbs.

To that end, Michael Gelfand's description of the spiritual hierarchy of the Shona is most helpful. Table V is a reproduction of Gelfand's description. At the top of this spiritual hierarchy is the creator called Mwari, also known as Nyadenga, Dedza, Musikavanhu, Chikara, Dzivaguru, Chirazamauva, Mutangakugara (Bourdillon 1976: 320-327). This Creator God among the Shona is one whose nature and relevance is unclear to the people. He is rarely spoken of or spoken to; and there are few myths and legends about him in their literature. Although he knows all, sees all, and is responsible for the weather, the fertility of the land, the wild forest, the personalities of people, natural death, thunder and lightning, still it is believed that he is indifferent to the people themselves, not even allowing for the mediation of their spirits. "He is not the old, old man of other Bantu [people]," says Charles Bullock (1928:144). On occasion, it has been said that mhondoro have appealed to him for the people. Basically, he is understood to be the cause for widespread events, anything that is ordinary, and anything that is terrifying. There is a localized Mwari cult group in the southern part of Zimbabwe, centered in the Matopos Hills. This group is characterized by priests and priestesses, a cave shrine, shrine-keepers, messengers, tribute, the offering of millet beer and an occasional black ox, singing, dancing and consultation.
### TABLE V

THE SPIRITUAL HIERARCHY OF THE SHONA
and the place of witchcraft beliefs in the Religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MWARI (the Creator)</th>
<th>indifferent, all-powerful</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MHONDORO (tribal or clan spirits)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VADZIMU (spirits of family)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASHAVE (alien spirits conferring various talents on the host)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAROYI (evil spirits)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAROYI WEDZINNZA (hereditary witch)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAROYI WA MASIKATI (day-witch including the category of the witchdoctor who practises evil)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VADZIMU (family spirits)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healing spirit of NGANGA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOZI (angered mudzimu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within this enclosure are the suggested influences which constitute witchcraft beliefs among the Shona.

---

7Gelfand explains his viewpoint that witchcraft includes the evil of the *varoi* as well as the good of the *vadzimu* and *nganga*. 
The mhondoro or "lion-spirits" referred to earlier in the text (page 75) are next in the hierarchy. But the attention of this paper is going to shift down to the vadzimu or family spirits. Bullock says,

If it is not all human nature, it is certainly Shona nature to regard that which touches the intimate life of the family as being of infinitely greater importance than national welfare. The prolonged illness of his son will affect a man more than the crowning of a chief, or even the semi-starvation he may have to endure in a drought. Mwari permits the drought; the tribal spirit sanctions the appointment of the new chief, but it is the family spirit or mudzimu who is interested in his own particular children, and governs, guards and sometimes punishes the members of his family. . . . (1928:152).

Bourdillon combines the accounts of several authors on Shona religion to give his readers an idea as to what the Shona mean by reference to this spirit (1976:232), describing it in terms of a "white shadow" that becomes the spirit of a person when he or she dies. Great care is taken in funerary ritual to ensure that the proper things occur to this spirit. Right after the funeral, the spirit is believed to be somewhere in the veld, the air, the ground, or commonly in a large tree. The intent of the community is to keep it "cool" and away from the homestead itself.

It is the spirits of senior members of a family that become the family guardians. Bourdillon says "... their continued presence is so real to the Shona that they can aptly be called the 'spirit-elders' of the community" (1976: 41 note). These spirits may be paternal spirits or maternal spirits. The latter are often "strongly influential and sometimes dangerous," too (op.cit., 71). In particular, maternal spirits are important for the protection, fertility and pregnancy of daughters. Gelfand points out that none of these family spirits
possess adherents, they simply cause illness and trouble to befall the family (1962:74).

Appeasement is an important matter. If there is sickness, either paternal or maternal spirits can be responsible. If there are problems with fertility and pregnancy, maternal spirits are appeased. However, most formal rituals are addressed to paternal spirits (Bourdillon 1976: 48). The nganga comes into the picture as the family tries to discover which spirit needs appeasing. Offerings usually include millet beer, cows, goats and oxen.

Although there are several studies on spirits and gods among the Shona, few are available for the Bemba. A table similar to Gelfand's for the Shona might be helpful for comparative purposes. The spiritual hierarchy of the Bemba seems to be simpler than that of the Shona. There seems to be no reference to "alien spirits," witches are not associated with spirits, and doctors (nganga) don't have special healing spirits, but instead invoke Lesa as they give prescriptions.

The high god of the Bemba is known by a number of names such as Mwanda-Lesa, Lesa Mukulu, Lesa wa Fimbulumbulu, Icona-Lesa and others. He is understood to live in the sky where he controls the thunder. He is said to be the original source of magic power and is the one who sends children. Gouldsbury and Sheane (1911) pointed out that he is not the object of any cult. The Bemba people did not traditionally address him directly or sacrifice to him, although they did invoke him with the mention of his praise names and his attributes. Mostly he was known for his aloofness and lack of concern for people.
TABLE VI
THE SPIRITUAL HIERARCHY OF THE BEMBA

**LESA** (the high god)
aloof, source of power

**MILUNGU**
(secondary divinities
sometimes called ngulu)

**IMIPASHI**
(family spirits with hierarchical arrangements)

**IFIWA**
(afflicting spirits also believed
to be angered imipashi)
The Bemba recognized a number of secondary divinities (milungu): Mulenga, Chewe, Cikompe, Cishimba, Kabwe, Mwaba, Nondo and others. The most famous of these is Mulenga, a hunting god and the spirit of a forgotten ancestor (Whiteley 1950:29). Some of these secondary divinities were "worshipped" at caves and waterfalls. For example, Cishimba is identified with a series of waterfalls north of Kasama, and a python in the falls was said to represent this divinity.

The Bemba, like their Shona neighbors to the south, however, express their greatest interest in the family spirits (imipashi). Whiteley said that the part played by ancestral spirits is the core of Bemba religion (1950:29). Gouldsbury and Sheane said that contentment is found in the appeasement of these entities (1911:84). These spirits go up and down the land, are present in the huts of their descendants at dusk and dawn, linger near burial groves, frequent old village sites, return to guard new-born children, and are acquired through succession rites after the death of a person in the lineage. An hierarchical arrangement of the spirits, of former chiefs is an important feature of Bemba religion. In fact, Audrey Richards says that "the chief characteristic of Bemba religion is the place it accords to the worship of the spirits... of dead chiefs" (1935:246). Beyond the family rituals, these spirits are worshipped at economic functions such as tree-cutting, sowing, and reaping the first fruits. They are also addressed at times of calamity, whenever the people are gathered at the burial groves, and at relic shrines in the chief's capitals. Appeasement is sought by the correct calling of praise names, offerings of
prayer, and material offerings as well. Beer, flour and fowls are the most common types of material offerings.

The afflicting spirits (ifiwa) are the spirits of people who have died in a neglected state, injured, or having been wrongfully accused. The Bemba understand that the high god lets them return to cause sickness and suffering. "Fear of their vengeance," says Richards, "is so powerful that it still acts as a constant sanction for the keeping of Bemba kinship obligations" (1935:248).

Having established the macro-context for looking at data as it relates to spirits and gods in the two societies being studied, it is now time to turn attention to the proverbs. The Shona refer to spirits fifteen times and to God just twice. The Bemba refer to spirits sixteen times and to God thirty-two times. The equality of attention given to spirits is interesting, but the greatest interest is in the great amount of attention given to God by the Bemba. It appears that this is a major difference.

The Shona make only two references to God. They say that to demand payment from a poor man is to abuse God (#152,153). That is the entire representation of God in the Shona collection. Truly, he is represented as indifferent and detached from the human situation. On the other hand, the Bemba have twenty-two proverbs that deal with his nature, six that deal with his work, and four that deal specifically with his relationships to people. How are these to be interpreted?

The desire is to simply report the references as with other entities and draw conclusions. Plenty could be said about his nature from these proverbs. No pattern appears, however. One endearing pro-
verb says, "Apo Lesa atebeta: tapafuuka cushi" - where God prepares food, smoke doesn't blacken the walls (#138). Another says, "Lesa Mukolokolo" - God is a clever, skilful craftsman (#566). Others refer to his provision (#284), sustenance (#563), equity (#565), ownership (#569), revenge (#570), wisdom (#575), and wealth (#578). His work is described in some detail: he judges (#540), cares for children (#544), makes medicine effective (#553), and gives strength to the weak (#579). This last proverb states, "Lesa tuula: uwatuulile mulondalonda nga aliputwike" - God is the helper who assisted the wasp so it wouldn't break in two. His relationships with people is described in four proverbs: just as the pot is ruled over by the fire, so people are ruled over by God (#425), he comes to take people in death (#559,560), and he sends people where he wants them to go (#561). This appears to be an unusual collection of proverbs about God, especially in view of the ethnographic literature, all of which states that he is considered aloof and indifferent to the affairs of people.\(^8\) This collection gives the impression that its source group has an intimate knowledge of God, a fact worth looking into further.

The fifteen Shona references to spirits seem to express greatest interest in the ritual act of appeasement and the subsequent receiving of requests. Number 230, for example, says "That from the forest is luck; that from the spirit is yours by invitation." In number 321, a

\(^8\) Gouldsbury and Sheane say, "throughout the numerous tribes from [Tanzania] to the Zambezi, although we find the same word Leza indicating the existence of a supreme being, yet this term does not connote any clearly defined idea of God" (1911:80).
question is raised, "Why does the spirit give rain when no one asked for it?" Hamutyinei and Plangger explain that the Shona suspect all gratuitous acts (1974:113). Number 327 encourages someone to go ahead and give something to a poor person - with the reminder that the person's spirit is what makes him wealthy. Number 896 expresses the greatest tie-in between the ritual act of appeasment and what one receives; it says, "To be crowned chief is to respect spirits." The proverb that probably sums it all up says, "Chawawana batisisa/ mudzimu haupi kaviri" - hold tight to that which you have, a spirit doesn't give twice.

Appeasement is also part of the reference in the sixteen Bemba proverbs (#1065, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070). A distinctive feature of these few axioms is a reference to a clear difference between good spirits and bad spirits. This is said very succinctly in number 1066, "Umupashi tawenda na ciwa" - the (good) spirit never goes with the (bad) spirit. Eight proverbs describe the imipashi and four proverbs describe the ifiwa. The most intriguing proverb in the Bemba collection is number 200, "Fikolwe ne calo" - spirits and country; Hoch adds, "are one."

In review, it is clear that the proverbs provided very little information that was not already available in the ethnographic literature. They simply show how the respective groups express some of the things observers have expressed in their academic ways. In view of that, the proverbial way of learning some of the facts stimulates further interest in these and other expressions of the people themselves. Both groups mention spirits and God - entities in their spiritual hierarchies - and the very mention of them indicates a place for them in the community
dimensions of their respective other-orientations. Moreover, all the references deal with matters of society. Additionally, the Bemba, give significant attention to God. The author admittedly is of the opinion that this high incidence of reference to God may be attributable to the 100 year presence of Catholic missions among the Bemba in forceful ways (politically as well as spiritually). Then, again, both Shona and Bemba reference to Satan, number 746 (see note, page 177), was of obvious Christian origin. This is an opinion that can only be tested on the field, however. Then, again, both Shona and Bemba refer to spirits in connection with ritual acts of appeasement and the consequent receiving of requests made. The Bemba make a clearer distinction between spirits most often associated with good happenings and spirits most often associated with bad happenings, expressing, of course, the greatest interest in the former.

**PEOPLE IDENTIFIABLE BY ACTIVITY AND ROLE**

Diviners, farmers, hunters, midwives, messengers, teachers, sentinels, slaves, shepherds, thieves, traders, weavers, witches and workers have a common characteristic: they are all engaged in activities that we would call occupations. Adulterers, blindmen, brides, crowds of people, enemies, experts, fools, friends, "hooligans," cripples, neighbors, owners, patients, personages, possessed persons, predecessors and foreigners also have a common characteristic: they fulfil roles in their societies that are not necessarily associated with occupations. All of these people - those fulfilling activities and those fulfilling roles have been mentioned in the proverbs in question.
Rather than spend a great amount of time on these various personalities as they are referred to in the proverbs and as they take their places in respective world views of the Bemba and the Shona, attention will be given to a simple overview of these categories. People identified with activitives are referred to 85 times in the Shona corpus of proverbs and 27 times in the Bemba collection. This is an obvious difference, asserted again by recourse to statistical analysis. The Shona refer to fourteen different kinds of people and are distinct in their mention of messengers, farmers, shepherds, traders and weavers. The Bemba mention thirteen kinds of people and are distinct in their reference to teachers, sentinels, and workers. Some reflection of cultural pursuits can be seen in the separate reference to sentinels by the militarily-oriented Bemba. Those personalities in the other-orientations of the Bemba and Shona who are commonly referred to in the proverbs include doctors, hunters, messengers, midwives, servants, thieves and witches. These same personalities are the ones receiving greatest attention in the proverbs and would normally call for added comment. The very lack of references to people in one group's proverbs is sufficient reason to recognize considerable importance for these people when the other group makes frequent reference to them. This would also help to account for the significant difference that is measurable for the category in general. In other words, the Shona seem to give considerably more attention to activity-related people in their culture. In particular, they give obvious prominence to witches,

9 See Table III, page 133.
doctors and farmers in that order. The first two of these prominent personalities has to do with the spiritual hierarchies of the Shona people and, as was seen earlier, these individuals play an important part in that hierarchy, having spirits accessible just to them.\textsuperscript{10}

The Bemba do not give such prominence to either of these personalities in the proverbs, and this feature of their other-orientation has also been acknowledged in the ethnographic literature. A careful analysis of the Shona proverbs, concerning witches, doctors and farmers should reveal important data for inclusion in a description of this feature of their other-orientation. A look at hunters and slaves or servants as they are referred to in the proverbs of this group would also prove helpful. The Bemba proverbs could be analyzed for what they say about hunters and slaves or servants in that society.

The same kind of an overview of role-identified people contributes to the proper understanding of other-orientations. These people are referred to a total of 64 times in the Shona proverbs and 84 times in the Bemba proverbs. Chi-square tests show that this difference is significant, with the Bemba showing the greatest interest. Although factors of causality are not sought in this paper, an overview of the category helps the reader to recognize important direction to further research. The Shona are distinct in their references to brides, experts, "hooligans," possessed people, predecessors and witnesses. The Bemba are alone in their reference to crowds, a reference they make four times. Table VII calls attention to three personalities that could be studied

\textsuperscript{10} Refer to page 203, Table V.
TABLE VII
FREQUENCY OF REFERENCE TO ROLE IDENTIFIED
PEOPLE AND $X^2$ VALUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.4670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner/Master</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.8316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personages</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
more carefully by a careful analysis of the proverbs that refer to them. Differences between the references to two of them in the two collections cause one to delve even further into the analysis. For example, the greater number of times the Bemba refer to friends in their proverbs is significantly different from the number of references made to these people by the Shona. References in both collections, however, cause one to remember the attention given to camaraderie among the men of both groups. It is also interesting that the Shona give more consideration to owners and masters than do the Bemba and that the latter refer to twenty-one different personages in their proverbs while the Shona refer to only two.

Though it will not be proven in this paper, there is every reason to believe that a careful analysis of the proverbs dealing with people identified either by activity or by role will shed light on important dimensions of other-orientations in the World View of these two peoples.

CONCLUSIONS

Some conclusions can now be drawn concerning the emerging picture or other-orientation in the world views of the Bemba and the Shona and also about the proverbs as tools for discovering those pictures. First, some conclusions about the other-orientations.12

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11 Refer back to page 180.

12 A complete analysis of other-orientation would include a section on Non-Human Dimensions, i.e. animals, plants, etc. That section has been excluded from this study since it would have greatly extended its length.
The analysis of proverbs that refer to women pointed out that the number of references to them, in itself, is an important factor to consider. The greater number of references to them in the Shona proverbs is still another factor to be considered. They are given more prominence in significant proportions. The Bemba give much less consideration. The statistics only point to possibilities, though. Information lies in the proverbs themselves. Comparing the content of the proverbs, it becomes clear that the Shona and the Bemba have distinctive ways of expressing the differences between men and women. Combining this new data on women with what was learned earlier about mothers and wives, it is significant that the Shona do not refer to women in any kind of tense situations, whereas these kinds of situations are primary for the Bemba. The Shona are unique in their reference to the beauty and attraction of women but associate this somewhat with the dangers of adultery which strike a mortal blow to society and men in particular. The Shona are also unique in their reference to old women.

Camaraderie is the keystone of discussion in proverbs referring to men for both groups. This is seen along with the significantly greater Shona attention to this category of others as well. Another distinctive of the Shona view is their inclusion of concern for the work men do and the enigmatic bachelor.

Elders are prominent in both collections of proverbs, but this prominence takes on features characteristic to the two groups. The Shona, for example, give disproportionate attention to old women in their consideration of elders. They also make careful distinctions between those who are mere adults and those who are elders - distinc-
tions that would seemingly be important to people concerned about rank in the lineages. The Bemba proverbs reveal that conflict and conformity are big issues with this group - issues that may be reinforced by frequent reference to the wisdom and knowledge of elders. These issues can be seen, perhaps, in connection with the emphasis seen in the analysis of children whereby independency and self-sufficiency were recognized as important dimensions of childhood.

The analysis of proverbs talking about various political authorities showed unmistakably that chiefs are given prominence in this category of other-orientation for both groups. For the Shona, the focus of chieftanship is around the lineage. For the Bemba, the focus is upon the position with its status, power and places. Emphasis upon chiefs and their associations is observed in the corpora of proverbs for both groups.

References to spirits and God showed that these entities were understood in both Bemba and Shona thought to have an important place in community dimensions. The frequent Bemba reference to God was unexpected in view of the comments made by all of the ethnographers about the seemingly indifferent place of God in their religion.

Finally, the brief look at people identified with activities and roles convincingly showed that there was still a wealth of data in the proverbs - data that would reinforce some dimensions of Other Orientation already taking affect and data that would introduce yet other dimensions.

In all of this, it is obvious that the proverbs have provided invaluable information concerning this aspect of World View. Some new observations about their use as tools for world view studies are in
order at the end of this chapter, too. Certain characteristics become increasingly noticeable in the proverbs. For example, it seems to this author that the proverbs of the Bemba can be both "coarse" and "sublime" - though not at the same time. Their coarseness was noticed in this chapter when women were likened to the dung of a duiker and urine on a mound - metaphors that are not endearing. Their sublimity was noticed in the proverbs about God where in brevity of words they could describe his character and mark those things that distinguish him from all else. Furthermore, the proverbs studied in this chapter have shown that they can often suggest the direction of further research. For example, Shona proverbs about bachelors and male work suggest further research in these areas. Another observation about proverbs is that they can often point out features of a culture over-looked by observers set in academic ways. The example that comes to mind here is that of the importance of associations between chiefs and subjects. Perhaps Richards, Roberts, Gouldsbury, Sheane, and Whiteley refer to this in some way. Even if they did, the Bemba reference to this factor provides an inside look on the subject. Then again, proverbs in a collection such as that of the Bemba have to be used with the awareness that they may not, in fact, represent the general public. This became evident as the proverbs about God were considered. The frequency of reference to God seemed "out-of-character" with other observations on the continent and on the Bemba. The content of the references sounded, to this student to be very Christian-oriented, they were similar in structure. Ruth Finnegan warned that collections sometimes could represent the corpus of one individual (see page 40). The similarity, frequency and content of
proverbs about God causes one to wonder if this is, in fact, what happened in this particular case. Finally, it became clear once again in this chapter's analysis that the proverbs speak to some but not all aspects of world view and the particular orientation that is being considered. In this case, the centrality of the chieftanship in Bemba society provides for a lot of information on this institution and its personalities. Although the proverbs provided some helpful information, it did not cover the whole broad subject. It seems that proverbs are tools, but they are not the only tools for world view studies.
CHAPTER IX

RELATIONSHIPS

...Let the West have its technology and Asia its mysticism! Africa's gift to world culture must be in the realm of Human Relationships! (Kaunda 1966:22).

Having considered the self- and other-orientations of the Bemba and Shona peoples as revealed in their proverbs, the natural consideration to follow is relationship. Michael Kearney says that Relationship is a "universal" of world views because of the necessary interaction of Self and Other. And he adds that this interaction can take various forms and be viewed in different ways. "The particular manner in which one perceives their relationship vis-a-vis the Other," he says, "is in effect a stance toward the world" (1981:108).

One thing that can be said about this category is that it is very broad. Of Redfield's (1952) three kinds of possible stances toward the world (harmony, subordinance, or dominance), the general African perspective has most often been described by harmony, and that, harmony with the whole. Janheinz Jahn represents this generalization:

In African thinking, the universe consists of a network of living forces. The universe is a field of forces. Man and woman, dog and stone, even yesterday and east, beauty and laughter - all these are forces related to each other and in continuous interaction. The universe is a unity, in which each part depends on the others and no part is changeless. If you take possession of a part of a thing, you thereby participate in its life force. If you tear a leaf from a tree, not only does the tree quiver, but the whole universe if affected, since nothing stands alone (1964:56).
While the generalization may help, it is necessary to see that this harmony is expressed in a variety of ways - and there are undoubtedly exceptions. Some examples from across the continent show some of this variety. Lowery-Palmer studied the world view of the Yoruba of West Africa and found that group relations were a central theme in their account of creation.

Man is not created to be alone. He is created to be a being-in-relation. The whole existence from birth to death is organizationally embodied in a series of associations, and life appears to have its full value only in those close ties. These close ties include extended family members, the clan and village, the various societies and organizations in the community together with the close ties to the ancestors and gods who are interested in the day-to-day life of man. These ideas accord with those of Lambo . . . who observed that the basic need of the Yoruba individual is that of attachment to other human beings. The need to belong rules his entire attitudes throughout his life (1980:63 as quoted by Kearney 1981:109-110).

Across the continent in East Africa, Beidelman observed the outworking of African relationships among the matrilineal Kaguru (1981:61-73). A major problem faced by this society concerns different relations between men and women. Men have the authority in this society, but women are the link of men to men. It is worked out, he says, by the reciprocation of aid and support between men of the group and their sisters' sons. Another observer, Levi-Strauss, sees harmony expressed in yet a different way in the clan system he observed on the Luapula of Zambia (1966-61-62). Kenyatta declared that "It is with personal relations, rather than with natural phenomena, that the Gikuyu education is concerned right from the very beginning" (n.d.). Erny (1973:24) sees this occurring with children in various societies of Africa. Finally, John V. Taylor sees the interest in harmony expressed in
reaction to witchcraft and divination - or anything out of the ordinary:

... happiness is not to be sought through a rapacious individual grasping of the power-force latent in other beings. That way lies witchcraft. A man's well being consists, rather, in keeping harmony with the cosmic totality. When things go well with him he knows he is at peace, and of a piece, with the scheme of things, and there can be no greater good than that. If things go wrong then somewhere he has fallen out of step. He feels lost. The totality has become hostile and, if he has a run of bad luck he falls prey to acute insecurity and anxiety. The whole system of divination (even) exists to help him discover the point at which the harmony has been broken and how it may be restored. In this primal view, man's position vis-a-vis the world, therefore, is not one of exploitation, but of relationship (1963: 74-75).

The harmony of Self and Other, then, is a strong drive for many Africans. The search for this harmony takes on many diverse characteristics though. The Bemba and the Shona are included in this search for proper relationships. A brief look at the ethnographic literature on them will reveal some features of this drive.

Audrey Richards again provides ample evidence for the Bemba understanding of Relationship, referring to such things as the non-human, kin, villages, and men and women. An indication of the Bemba understanding of relationship to the non-human is recognizable in her account concerning maize. "There is a curious belief," she said, "that the cobs should not be stripped off the stalk... but the whole stem cut down and carried out." In this way, she added, they show "respect" to the maize (1939:310). In another account she tells how a gardener did not thin out seedlings of sorghum because all of them, not just some of them, had been given to him by the spirits (op. cit., 306).

Speaking of kin relationships, Richards says,
The kinship group to which the [Bemba] constantly refers in common parlance is the lupwa, a relatives on both sides of his family who join in religious ceremonies, matrimonial transactions, in mortuary ritual and inheritance. This group is more important to the MuBemba sociologically than his matrilineal clan (1935:238).

Another interesting feature of Bemba understanding of Relationship has to do with men and women. The Bemba believe that sex, blood, and fire have magical influence and can be highly dangerous if brought into contact with the wrong people at the wrong time (Richards 1950:30). Babies, young children, and chiefs are especially vulnerable. And, underlying all this attention to Relationship, one must remember the basic Bemba temperament as viewed by Richards: "In their relations to others the Bemba are considered to be touchy and quarrelsome" (1939:29). Those relations are especially true with members of other groups, but they are likewise quick to take offense among themselves.

Other observers have likewise remarked on different aspects of Relationship as understood by the Bemba. Gouldsbury and Sheane remarked on the size of the villages before 1900 and their cohesiveness at that time (1911:274). At the same time of their writing, they said, "the village is still, to the native mind, far more of a living entity, corporate and spiritual, than can be realized by any European. . . ."

Whiteley (1950:16) observed the place of clans among this people. Characteristic of the clans are hierarchy and reciprocity, important features of Relationship.

Relationship among the Shona is also highlighted in the literature. Family, marriage, parenthood, friendship, the contrast of rich and poor, kinship and courts can be considered in this assessment.
Bourdillon points out how the Shona marriage is a "contract between groups rather than between individuals" (1976:56). After going into details of the contract he says that the obligations of the two families toward each other are nullified when the couple has been married for a number of years and has several children. Parenthood is another form of relationship that comes into this consideration of the Self and Other. Children are the goal of every couple and it is necessary that a man have sons who can carry on the family line (op. cit., 64-65). It would seem that migrant labor would upset Shona relationships, but Bourdillon points out that it has sometimes strengthened it because the young men must make more of an effort to retain ties with kin and community (op. cit., 108). Referring to the Shona court system, the same author says that their whole purpose is to discover the reason for conflicts and to reconcile people (1976:152). At another place he points out how some think that "personal relationships are more important in determining residential choice among the Shona than are kinship relations" (op. cit., 79). Even a "quasi friendship" is possible among the Shona. This special relationship is called usahwira. The individuals in this relationship perform certain funerary ritual functions. So these and other observations in the literature provide a background for looking at the proverbial references to Relationship.

In addition to what has already been said about relationships among the Bemba and the Shona in the chapters on self- (pages 89, 91, 96, 102) and other-orientations (pages 102, 103), this chapter discusses two features. First it discusses references to the words translated relationship, friendship, and marriage. Proverbs describing
these matters could shed light on already observed features of self- and other-orientations. Secondly, it discusses a special feature of relationship: that of binary oppositions or contrasts that seem to take on importance in some proverbs.

An analysis of Shona proverbs dealing with relationships in general does not reveal any important pattern. It simply states the importance given to relationships by drawing attention to the reference. The word is *ukama* and *ushamwari*, and it occurs thirteen times. Various things are said about relationships: they can be refused (#171, 172), are established with the meeting of eyes (#392, 393), are like bird lime that doesn't disappear even after being broken (#798), are like big things, and are like vessels half-full that have to be filled up (#799, 912). Relationships result in no inheritance fights if on the mother's side of the family (#800, 801), they cannot be assumed (#803), and they leave a scent easy to follow (#804). Ten of these Shona references seem to refer to general relationships and three of them refer to kinship relationships in particular. They could variously be applied to relationships of all kinds in the interaction of Self and Others. Additional perspective on the Shona emphasis on relationship is seen in three proverbs that point out the advantage of crowds: An enemy arrow may land on one of the others instead of you (#1142, 1143), and you can be helped with the abscess on your back (#1144).

Bemba references to relationships in general are represented by a variety of words, the most prevalent feature of those words being their reciprocal nature: *balapalama*, *umwikalano*, *palama*, *iciikalano*. The reciprocity is seen in the verb stem -*ana*. The content of the pro-
verbs, like the content of the Shona proverbs does not provide any pattern to note. Three refer to friends in general, saying that the one you travel with is your friend even in death (#1176), friendship can be destroyed by death (#314), and it often gets started with a small thing (#174). Four proverbs refer to kin relationships saying, they who eat together belong together (#4), and, being together means not lying to each other (#177, 1167, 1168). Number 1245 states the case for the kind of thing that can be expected from the Bemba reference to relationships: "Uwaumina umo: e waumine babili" - He who beats one beats two. One Bemba proverb refers to friendship, saying that it starts with a simple request, "fetch me an arrow" (#174).

Marriage is referred to in only two Shona proverbs. Number 784 says there is nothing that cannot result in a marriage, "Hapana chisingawanisi." Number 785 says it is a path which all girls walk upon. Three Bemba proverbs about marriage reveal a prevalent orientation toward this relationship: marriage is for things of the back, but things of the head belong to the one with the head (#318), marriage at the beginning tastes sweet like honey (#319), and, marriage at the beginning makes a pleasant sound, later it makes a very unpleasant sound (#320). Tension is noted in these proverbs about marriage just as it has been noted in proverbs about the spouses and men and women in general.

Special relationships exist between certain people in binary opposition. There are in fact three such oppositions: 1) residents and strangers, 2) mountain dwellers and veld dwellers, and 3) rich persons and poor people. The Shona refer to all three oppositions; the Bemba refer to the first and the last only.
In the contrast between residents and strangers, neither group referred to resident very often. In fact, the Shona proverbs speak of this person only once, and the Bemba only four times. Included in these proverbs, however, is one in each language that refers to the opposition. The Shona say, "Mweni kudyeza hunge aona vohwo vachiita gapa" - the stranger (Mweni) eats a lot when he sees the resident (vohwo) doing so (#1157). The Bemba contrast the two in a different way, "Mweni, celelo mukaya: tondwe alila ku beni" - stranger, greet a resident; the woodpecker eats with strangers (#668). The Bemba proverbs make two other references to residents that imply a comparison to strangers. Number 304 says it is up to the resident to say whether or not one stays longer. Number 316 says that the village wealth is put into the hands of a resident - not a stranger.

Strangers themselves are referred to quite frequently in both collections of proverbs. The Shona refer to this personality in their other-orientation a total of twenty-six times; the Bemba refer to his complement in their language a total of twenty-four times. These numbers compare favorably with numbers of references to the most prominent personages in the proverbs. For the Shona, mention of strangers would be ranked third after children and mothers, together with owners. For the Bemba, mention of strangers would also be ranked third behind children and God, sharing this rank with the Bemba mention of mothers and elders. So, it is clear that strangers take no small place as a category in the other-orientations of the two peoples.

There are probably a variety of ways to analyze the proverbs to see what they say about strangers. A simple question was asked as each
proverb was studied: does it sound as if the stranger is welcome or not. That question for the Shona proverbs resulted in only four proverbs of twenty-six sounding as if the stranger was welcome. In those four proverbs, the stranger is welcome because he somehow increases the food supply (#332), provides a way for residents to enjoy a slain goat (#1516), and provides an excuse to simply cook a meal (#1518). One proverb says it very directly: "Usatuke verwendo/ rutsoka ndiMarashe" - (#1443) which is explained by Hamutyinei and Plangger as, "A passing traveller should be given the best possible hospitality because you never know, one day you might pass through his area and expect to be treated well" (1974:414). The rest of the Shona proverbs that mention the stranger, however, do so in negative ways. The picture is one of tension yet tolerance. For example, relatives are killed so that the strangers recognize how fearsome you are (#46,47), and what one has should be shared with relatives because strangers forget: "Chawawana idya ne hama/ mutorwa ane hanganwa" (#421). Violence upon the stranger is mentioned in two proverbs (#466,467) although the resident gets into trouble right away, too. There is frequent mention of the fact that the stranger never stays long: he leaves soon after eating (#145), and doesn't stay long enough to empty the granary (#1433). Finally, it seems that the stranger appears at bad times: when residents are suffering hunger - "Nzara ishuramweni" - (#144).

The same question asked as the Bemba proverbs were analyzed resulted in similar results. Only two proverbs indicated that the stranger was welcome. He is given the guinea fowl - the village's best food (#172), and he is compared to the rack for putting good kitchen
things on - "Umweni mukulu: lishiko" (#1155). Like the stranger to Shona villages, the stranger to Bemba villages brings forth toleration and tension. Number 254 states the case very succinctly: "Icikupempula: e cikulya" - the one who visits you eats you. Violence upon the stranger is not mentioned, but there is frequent reference to his short stays: he is like germinated millet that quickly disappears (#19) and like the leg of a duiker that also disappears rapidly (#1153). The Bemba make more mention of the stranger in connection with disharmony between residents. For example, he doesn't enter into family affairs (#631), doesn't try to settle a case (#1158 - Hoch 1968:132), and leaves the cases (imilandu) at the doorpost of the home he stayed in (#1161). Like the stranger to the Shona village, the stranger to a Bemba village often comes at a bad time: the path does not announce him (#448), and it is helpful if he arrives at night time to allow the bone all day to cook (#1154). Finally, the stranger is described in difficulties of various kinds - gets seated in the smoke (#556), throws the grind stone into the flour (#1150), and draws dirty water because he doesn't know the waterhole (#1152). A bit of camaraderie is helpful among strangers in these kind of circumstances. Number 20 says they should be like strips of bark tied together for strength: "Abeni ni nkwa: bakakilwa pamo."

The rich and the poor are also seen in binary opposition in the proverbs. The Shona refer to the rich person (mupfumu) only one time saying it is better to move with the snakes than with the rich (#202). The Bemba refer to the rich (mufyuma) two times, noting that the rich are overrun - "Bafyuma: babutukilwa" (#143) and that they look good in
their special clothes (#1169). Both groups give considerably more attention to the poor. The Shona refer to them fifteen times and the Bemba refer to them eight times. Both references show the poor person in association with the rich and bad luck. The Shona say he is looked out for and the Bemba say he looks out for himself.

Poor and rich are seen in opposition both directly and indirectly in the Shona proverbs. Number 617 states the distinctions clearly: "Beggar, control yourself, milk belongs to its owner." Number 386 warns the chief that eating with a commoner makes him a servant. A more beneficent attitude is apparent in four proverbs that say that claiming a debt from a poor person is like insulting God (#152, 153), eating the food of a poor man is the same as eating the food of a chief (#154), and that giving to a poor person can help him, but that his spirit is what will make him wealthy (#327). A final proverb describing associations involving poor people among the Shona is number 385 which warns a man from marrying a girl with poor parents because he will end up feeding a lot of people.

Six Shona proverbs describe the bad luck experienced by the poor. They never kill large animals (#549), and are always wishing for what they don't have (#568, 569, 570). They are often short-tempered (#1407) and moreover, the children of the poor are wasteful (#833). Bad luck can turn to good luck for the poor: they are ridiculed when they begin a journey, but return bringing many things with them (#618). Another proverb states this turn of luck in this way: "Rombe ngerichaenda: rodzoka ndimambo" - beggar when he leaves, chief when he returns (#619).
The Bemba make an indirect association of the poor and the rich in a proverb that states, "Fwe bapabi, tuli mbule: tatubipilwa pa buta" - We the poor are the arrow that doesn't miss its mark on the bow (#205). The poor are likened to the arrow and the rich are likened to the bow. Both are needed. Number 589 in the Bemba corpus of proverbs is a reference to association also. It warns a man from marrying a poor woman lest he catch himself red-handed. Bad luck is referred to three times. Poor people see but one thing (#635), die with their words in their mouths (#1021), and have big stomachs but not big mouths (#1022). Like the Shona person who can leave on a journey and come back a different person, the Bemba state that no pauper travels (#782), meaning it is up to him to succeed in a good way, and they further state that the knife of the poor is in their mouths (#1147).

While Bemba and Shona alike share comparisons of residents and strangers, and rich and poor, only the Shona refer to comparisons between mountain dwellers (vari mugomo) and plains dwellers (vari pasi). The Shona state that it is mockery for the mountain dwellers to ask the plains dwellers for hearth stones (#185,186) and for the plains dwellers to ask the mountain dwellers for water (#187).

Once again conclusions can be drawn about world views and proverbs. The data in this chapter show the complexity of Relationship as an integrating factor of self-and other-orientations. Relationships can be expressed in a multitude of ways from society to society. What is significant to this study is that relationships themselves are referred to. It is not the experience of this author that the Bemba and the Shona give much prominence to abstract words. But, "relation-
ship," an abstract word, is given considerable attention in these corpora of proverbs. In saying that the African gift of world culture would be in the realm of human relationships, Kenneth Kaunda (1966) was expressing something over which he and his countrymen have given much thought and attention. The word that sparks their interest is not happiness, prosperity, love, - all abstract words - but relationship. If Kaunda and his countrymen can avoid the rhetoric of those who have not succeeded so well at human relationships, it is possible that this will be one of Africa's gifts to the world community.

Two additional observations can be made about the emerging world views of the Bemba and the Shona. First, this chapter has shown the recurrence of a theme noted earlier - tension in Bemba society. Significantly, every Bemba proverb that discusses marriage, even so minutely as it must in one small proverbial sentence, presents this institution as a scene of tension. Undoubtedly, this is an important feature of Bemba other-orientation that must be taken into consideration.

Secondly, attention has been called to certain contrasts. Maquet states,

It is sometimes said that traditional societies could not have been but homogenous, since differences of occupation, wealth and standards of living were slight. In the first place, this objection reveals a naive ethnocentrism - these differences only seem unimportant and superficial to an outside observer. Furthermore, only two conditions are necessary for the foundation of a stratification system: first, that all members of the society could be classified into two categories according to any criterion whatsoever (not necessarily that of wealth); secondly, that anyone of these categories are considered to be superior to the other. Both these conditions can be met in any society (1971:140).

Strangers and residents are contrasted, as are the rich and the poor,
in both societies being studied. The Bemba reinforce a hierarchical outlook upon life by likening stranger and poor man in #1022 and 1149. In addition, the Shona refer to a contrast between those who live in mountains and those who live on the Zimbabwe plains. Disproportionate attention seems to be given to strangers and the poor. The former are seen as untimely guests who are tolerated in tensions they themselves create in situations which otherwise have carefully spelled out rules and regulations for relationship. The latter are seemingly pitied for their position and encouraged to rise above those positions if possible.

One conclusion can be drawn about the use of proverbs for the study of world views. This chapter has pointed out that certain recurring themes in many different contexts can take on significant meaning in the analysis of just one set of references. The theme spoken of is the theme of reciprocity that has occurred again and again in the Bemba proverbs - in reference to the status of mothers (page 162), the status of fathers (#160) and the position of elders in Bemba society (#201). Reciprocal relations are mentioned a small number of times in these contexts. But, finally, as the study turns to Relationship - that which speaks of the interaction of Self and Others - reciprocity stands out as an important dimension of Bemba interaction. It occurs several times in regard to Relationship, thus confirming the earlier observations of its importance. The study of proverbs has brought this theme to the forefront in its own time and in its own way, proving that this kind of study can lead to significant findings - even without the aid of ethnographic literature.
CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of data contained in 1,556 Shona proverbs and 1,286 Bemba proverbs as it pertains to three aspects of World View is at an end. The contents of those proverbs have revealed invaluable information concerning self-orientations, other-orientations (excluding the non-human), and relationships. Those contents have been scrutinized according to a methodology that considers theoretical matters pertaining to both world views and proverbs and that acknowledges the great extent of Africanist literature for the entire continent and for the Bemba and Shona in particular. It is time to make some observations on the world views of these two peoples, draw some conclusions about the use of proverbs for this kind of study, and make some recommendations for the future.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WORLD VIEWS OF TWO PEOPLES

At the beginning, it must be acknowledged again that only one-half the picture can be presented. This study has focused on only three of a possible seven important dimensions of world view, and describes only one-half the third dimension which concerns Others. The study goes into great detail for self-orientation, other-orientation as it deals with kin and community dimensions, and relationships which represent the interface of these two features of world view. There re-
mains an equally important and equally as large a study to be made of the other half of other-orientation - the non-human, time-orientation, space-orientation, classification, and causality as the interface between Time and Space. Nevertheless, this study has provided helpful information on the world views of these two African peoples and provides helpful data for future studies.

The best way to look at this comparative material is in a tabular form (Table VIII).

Two qualifications are necessary for this comparative overview of the world views of the Shona and the Bemba. First, these are but "dimensions" of the world views, they are not the world views as such. There is without doubt much more involved for the three categories of Self, Other and Relationship. But the observations made here are important considerations for those categories. These dimensions, then, require further testing. They are not principles in themselves. Instead, they are perceptions upon which principles may be established. For example, a Bemba perception in the category of Relationship may be that of reciprocity. Looking out on their world and its inhabitants, reciprocity would enter into their thinking. But reciprocity is only a perception upon which principles may be established. The principle may state something like, "Reciprocity should be a feature of all human relationship," or, "Reciprocity should be a feature of some human relationships." This overview has simply pointed out the fact that reciprocity is within the Bemba vision.

Secondly, these are but dimensions of world view as seen in the proverbs. The material presented here - and it is substantial - has
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>SHONA</th>
<th>BEMBA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self Orientation</td>
<td>Interdependent with others in a society marked with care.</td>
<td>Interdependent with others in a rigid hierarchy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Led along a path fraught with spiritual forces, by means of forceful and discerning guidance.</td>
<td>Swept along in a forceful, spiritually encompassing stream of society - like a fish in a river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequent direct reference to self-assertion and capabilities.</td>
<td>Little direct reference to individual capabilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prominent components of anatomy confirm orientation (mouth, eye, head, hands, stomach) - especially corporateness and the need for guidance.</td>
<td>Prominent components of anatomy confirm orientation (mouth, eye, head, heart), - especially corporateness and status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heart is a private domain.</td>
<td>Stomach is a private domain associated with status.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE VIII (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>SHONA</th>
<th>BEMBA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other Orientation</td>
<td>Domestic unit (mother, father, children) is most prominent unit of reference.</td>
<td>Domestic unit (mother, father, children) is most prominent unit of reference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Children</strong> given greatest prominence among persons.</td>
<td><strong>Children</strong> given greatest prominence among persons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Belong to community; no particular emphasis discernible.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Belong to community; emphasis upon the nature and functions of children.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Great attention to girls.</strong></td>
<td><strong>No distinctive attention to either sex.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**Much attentiveness to children leading to passive, dependent, res-</td>
<td>**Comparatively less care for children reinforcing independency, aggres-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ponsible, and obedient children.</td>
<td>siveness, and self-sufficiency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>High parental status</strong></td>
<td><strong>High parental status.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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TABLE VIII (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>SHONA</th>
<th>BEMBA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers/Wives given high status.</td>
<td>Mothers/Wives given high status.</td>
<td>Wives are supportively submissive to husbands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives are supportively submissive to husbands.</td>
<td>Wives are supportively submissive to husbands.</td>
<td>Mothers/Wives given high status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers giving birth for first time given unique attention.</td>
<td>Mothers giving birth for first time given unique attention.</td>
<td>Wives are supportively submissive to husbands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All references to wife concern status.</td>
<td>All references to wife concern status.</td>
<td>Reciprocity occurs between mother and child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husbands/Fathers given high status.</td>
<td>Husbands/Fathers given high status.</td>
<td>Mothers identified with country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No conflict over authority and affection.</td>
<td>No conflict over authority and affection.</td>
<td>Husbands/Fathers - status amidst conflict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adultery threatens.</td>
<td>Adultery threatens.</td>
<td>Serious conflict over authority and affection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very prominent in references.</td>
<td>Very prominent in references.</td>
<td>Prominent in references.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No tension with men</td>
<td>No tension with men</td>
<td>Tension with men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty and attraction noted</td>
<td>Beauty and attraction noted</td>
<td>Beauty and attraction noted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIMENSION</td>
<td>SHONA</td>
<td>BEMBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty leads to adultery.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old women are prominent.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men</strong></td>
<td>Very prominent in references.</td>
<td>Significantly less prominent in proverbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camaraderie</td>
<td>Identified with work.</td>
<td>Camaraderie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors are enigmatic.</td>
<td>No identification with work.</td>
<td>No enigmatic males.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elders</strong></td>
<td>Very prominent.</td>
<td><strong>Elders</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great attention to old women.</td>
<td>Very prominent.</td>
<td>No attention to old women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to women bring in limitations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict with young not paramount.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict with young is paramount with attention to conformity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VIII (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>SHONA</th>
<th>BEMBA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Careful distinction</td>
<td>Careful distinction between adults and elders.</td>
<td>Status related to children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Status related to children.</td>
<td>Frequent reference to wisdom of elders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Authorities</td>
<td>Paternalistic leadership</td>
<td>Political Authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chiefs are primary figures. Focus is on lineage</td>
<td>Chiefs are primary figures. Focus is on position/status/hierarchy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Associations with chief are important.</td>
<td>Associations with chief are important.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td>Spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of community</td>
<td>Part of community</td>
<td>Part of community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little reference to.</td>
<td>Little reference to.</td>
<td>Significant references that raise questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity-Related People</td>
<td>Activity-Related People</td>
<td>Activity-Related People</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE VIII (Continued)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>SHONA</th>
<th>BEMBA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Witch is paramount, followed by doctor and farmer.</td>
<td>Slave/servant is paramount followed by hunter and doctor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slave and hunter equal with doctor.</td>
<td>Role-Identified People</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Role-Identified People</strong></td>
<td>Keen interest in these people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner/master given great attention.</td>
<td>Personages given great attention, also friends and owner/masters.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends given some prominence.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relationship</strong></td>
<td>Complex and family-oriented.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highly valued.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paternalism and dependency.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Important binary oppositions:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stranger/resident</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rich/poor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mountain/veld dwellers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIMENSION</td>
<td>SHONA</td>
<td>BEMBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger needs special attention; is tolerated amidst tension.</td>
<td>Poor associated with rich and bad luck.</td>
<td>Characterized by reciprocity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
been gathered from the proverbs only. But, since the proverbs alone were the source of this material, it should not be assumed that this is the final picture. This material should be woven in with yet other studies of the world views of the Shona and the Bemba. Some of it will be substantiated elsewhere and by other methods of research. Some of it may be brought into question and challenged. Nevertheless, the proverbs of the two peoples have provided a wealth of information.

Since this is a comparative observation on world views, similarities and differences should be noted. Forty-five to fifty observations on world view categories have been made on each group. One-half the features are shared features; that is, both groups make reference to the same feature in their proverbs. For example, both groups give greatest prominence to children in their proverbs. The other half of the features are not shared. Taking children as the example again, though both groups give prominence to them, they do so in different ways. The Shona very attentively watch over children according to their proverbs; the Bemba do not portray this kind of attentiveness to children in their proverbs. Thus, the proverbs show both similarities and differences in world view perceptions.

These findings should be viewed alongside generalizations made about world views in Africa. For example, it has been suggested that since language is an expression of cultural orientation, then, "Where there is homogeneity of language, there is homogeneity of world view." The spokesman went on to say that since there are four major phyla of

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languages in Africa: 1) Semitic, 2) Chari-Nile, 3) Niger-Congo, and 4) Khoisan, then each of these phyla should reveal different world views. Accordingly it might be possible to say that since both Shona and Bemba are Niger-Congo languages their world views should be similar. But the proverbs alone have definitely shown many differences between the two. It seems, then, that even within the phyla there are going to be many different world views. The distinctions are just as important as the commonalities.

These findings should also be seen alongside in-depth studies of other peoples. For example, Kiernan, after his study of the Zulu, said, "It may no longer be permissible to speak of, e.g., the Zulu world view without qualifications. There is no single Zulu world view, but many" (1981:10). Thus, the distinctions not only exist between peoples, but they may also exist within the peoples themselves. This may be true for the Bemba and the Shona. It has already been stated that these observations are not the last word on either world view. Moreover, it has been recognized that all these observations were gathered from the proverbs; other data would undoubtedly provide yet other insights. The final gathering together of all the findings might result in a final description of the world views - but then it would quite likely occur that variations would begin to appear.

Other observations need to be briefly noted. The question arises, for instance, how representative of the Bemba and the Shona are these proverbs and thus these world views? It has been said by some that pro-

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2It should be noted that these language classifications have been revised in recent years.
verbs are the domain of the men in these societies (Frost 1977). Are the findings of this project then limited to a male view on the world? Some of the Bemba proverbs in particular give this impression, e.g., those concerning men and women. Yet, Richards relates how the women use the proverbs in initiation ceremonies for the girls (1956). Another issue of representativeness has to do with the time period. How old are the proverbs? Do they represent the people of today? Some proverbs indicate recent formulation, e.g., Bemba proverbs about God and Satan. Others indicate ancient formulation, e.g., their proverbs about bark cloth, since this technology was set aside with the coming of cotton clothing. Therefore, care must be taken in stating that these observations represent the Bemba or the Shona. They are but one set of observations. They must be recognized within the limitations allowed them by the data.

It should also be pointed out that the data in the proverbs raise some questions in regard to world view that the proverbs themselves could not answer. For example, the incongruity between findings concerning self-orientations (pages 89-90) and findings concerning children (page 148) remain a puzzle. Under self-orientations, the proverbs pointed out the Shona emphasis upon one's capabilities, and the Bemba lack of such emphasis. In contrast, proverbs about children pointed out the dependency of Shona children and the independency of Bemba children. It would appear to the reader that capabilities should be identified with independency and a lack of capabilities with dependency. This incongruity has not been resolved by further study of the
proverbs. It is the type of thing that has to be considered in other contexts.

Referring to Kenneth Burke's statement that proverbs can be regarded as "fragments of a vast and complex dialectical structure," Merriam and Armstrong (1954:267-268) point out that the fragments should be recognized for what they are - pieces of the whole. Quoting Burke again, they report,

The fact that the various groupings do receive different stresses, however, should not be overestimated. It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that there are other factors to be taken into account such as the adequacy of the sample or the fact that some categories may be regarded as more self-evident than others, as conceptualized by the Banyaruanda. More important, however, is that other areas of experience may be more regulated by formal law and sanctions. Thus, for example, the fact that only one proverb falls under strength of kinship would perhaps suggest that since such behavior is ordinarily regulated by legal, religious, economic or other group sanctions, there is little necessity for proverbs dealing with problems in this area. The proverbs which do concern family situations all involve those family activities and conditions not ordinarily legislated. Finally, the fact that religion figures infrequently in the generalizations seem to afford additional illustration of this specialized use of proverbs (Burke 1947:67 In Merriam and Armstrong 1954:268).

Burke's comment is applicable to the observations being made on the world views in question. Those categories given prominence in the proverbs may be given prominence because regulations and sanctions concerning them may be absent in other structures. This, for example, may be the reason for Bemba attention to conflicts between men and women, husbands and wives, elders and youth. For those categories given little attention, the opposite may be true; they may be given prominence elsewhere. The Shona may give evidence of this occurrence in their lack of reference to God in the proverbs. Unlike the Bemba, they have a local-
ized cult of God (Mwari) which may provide them with adequate viewpoints on this personality in their other-orientation. Thus, another reason for further study arises. Not only do the proverbs serve as tools for world view studies by providing information on the world views, but also by providing incentives for the studies themselves.

Finally, it must be admitted that this study of world view falls short of the expectations of others in the field. Kearney said,

There are three basic problems in the study of world view. One is, what are the necessary and therefore universal types of images and assumptions which are part of any world view, and what are the specific contents of these universals in any particular world view? The second problem with which any theory of world view must come to grips is, How are these images and assumptions formed; that is, what relationship do they have with the world which they represent? Finally, and most important, is the question of a world view's influence on behaviour, on practical affairs.

This study only attempted to delve into matters of the first problem; the types and contents of categories. There remains much more to do. Perhaps it can be said at this point, that this thesis has not attempted to be definitive but has attempted to be exploratory. It invites criticism and challenge.

**OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF PROVERBS**

It has been proven to this researcher that proverbs, are, indeed, excellent tools for studying the world views of the peoples of Africa. This conclusion has been drawn for a number of reasons. Chief among these is the fact that the study of a people's proverbs can lead to a keen understanding of the people themselves. A lot of written material may exist on a people - material that describes patterns, performances, and panorama - but material that fails to leave the reader with the
feeling that he knows the people studied. Moreover, the data for this written material is itself interpretation based on outside observation. Proverbs are data provided by the people themselves—observations they have made. Thus, they help one arrive at an "inside" view that satisfies a desire to genuinely know people.

A second reason for concluding that proverbs are excellent tools lies in the objectivity that can be brought to bear upon data that has lain dormant for years because there was no way to confirm interpretations, classifications, etc. Careful analysis of literal contents of proverbs—without interpretation—provides objective data for studying various orientations. As was said earlier, "The search for particularities rather than sweeping generalities may not result in profound statements. Satisfaction with singular words and their natural associations rather than classes or themes and their interpretations may not result in all-encompassing conclusions. But both the search for particularities and the attention to singular words can result in specific contributions to a growing understanding of the world view of people studied."

Finally, some lesser reasons are just as valid. The proverbs do reveal some but not all aspects of various orientations. As Ruth Finnegan has said, proverbs "are but one facet of a people's concept of truth" (1970:416). This has been testified to again and again in the paper. The proverbs also suggest directions for new research. For example, the keen but varying interest in children for both groups suggests a focus for research that has not been considered by previous observers. Another good reason for using proverbs as tools for world
view studies lies in the fact that they can sometimes point out features of a culture that are overlooked by the most astute observers. A case in point is the keen interest shown for the association of the Bemba and Shona chiefs with their subjects. Attention to this matter has not been observable in the ethnographic literature, yet it occurs as a prominent theme in the proverbs of both the Bemba and the Shona. A final reason for using proverbs as tools is that it has been shown that a study of them can lead to a confident declaration of certain themes. Among the Bemba, reciprocity was mentioned in the ethnographic literature and was recognized at different points in the data. But when the study of relationships was made, reciprocity stood out as an obvious value, there was a new confidence that this theme could be further investigated, as, for example, Shelton did among the Igbo (1971).

Two observations suggest a cautious approach. It has been brought to my attention in this paper that the purpose for which I am using the proverbs - as tools for world view studies - is a long way from the indigenous purpose for proverbs. For example, Parker's explanations about cultural ambiguity (1974) and Finnegan's explanations about the resolution of conflict (1970) seemed especially appropriate as some of the matters were pursued, e.g., the ambiguity and conflict centering around the roles and functions of Bemba men. The thought crossed my mind, "What if the proverbs give prominence to these people only because of problems in the culture? How would that change my conclusions?" But having considered that possibility, I determined that even if that were the case, information gleaned from the proverbs was
definitely worth it, and at no place in this thesis has the assertion been made that the proverbs can give a clear and accurate picture of the entire world view. They can only provide a glance at the total picture. Yet, their perspective may open up many new possibilities as we have just seen.

The other problem that needs to be considered by the student of world view and proverbs is one mentioned in the text. Any collection may represent, not the collective thought of a large number of people, but the intensive thought of only a few who may be adept thinkers (see note on Finnegans, page 40). This was especially brought home to me in reflection upon the Bemba references to God in their proverbs. I asked myself, "What if this list is simply the imaginative contribution of a discerning Bemba catechist in the Catholic church?"

Yet, in spite of the need for caution, the study of proverbs as a way to further understand the world views of diverse peoples is a study worthy of more attention.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary recommendation that would be made at the conclusion of this thesis is that further studies of this sort be carried out. Having come this far in the comparative study of the Bemba and the Shona, it is definitely worth the effort to go on to further analyze these same proverbs for what they say about non-human Others, Time, Space, Classification and Causality. Beyond the Bemba and the Shona, similar studies could be made using the proverbs of yet other people.
Alan Dundes (1971:103), fostering the use of "folk ideas" instead of world view categories as spoken of in this paper, has expressed a desire that world view "take its proper place among the 'applied' social sciences." His reason is that communication between peoples can be improved and the number of misunderstandings which arise can be reduced when scholars aid in the task of identifying the complex dimensions of world view. The task is essential, he said, for when two cultures contact each other, it is the conflict of these world view categories which causes the greatest amount of difficulty. Yet, he said, "it is almost impossible to place one's finger on the specific details of the conflict" as long as these perceptions are unconscious, unstated premises. Though not qualified to speak out as boldly as Dundes to the personnel of the social sciences, I am in agreement with his proposal. There is a practical place for all this study, and I hope that this thesis has contributed to that end.

Nevertheless, the project is ended - to this point. It has been a stimulating experience. The most enjoyable part of it to me is the satisfaction in knowing that something has been done to know - not just about some people living in Africa - but something has been done to know them. And, my knowing them will definitely contribute to our knowing and understanding of each other.
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APPENDIX A

BEMBA PROVERBS WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

1. Abaice ni balunshi: batatatata fye.
   Children are flies, they just hum around.

   Children are the lupapi tree, it is never finished being lopped.

3. Abaima: tabateba nkuni.
   Those who rise and go do not gather firewood for them.

4. Abalye mbulu balapalamana.
   Those who eat the monitor lizard are always near to one another.

5. Abana ba kusanga mu ng'anda: tabapwa mukamfu.
   The children found in a house have not reached perfection.

6. Abana ba mbwa: tabapishanya meno.
   The young of dogs do not chase one another with teeth.

7. Abana buko: ni nsamba sha tulimi tubili.
   Children related by marriage are the water monitor lizard which has two tongues.

   Children are the courtyard, strangers are germinated grain which always "disappears."

   Children are the back or loins, slaves are the germinated millet that always "disappears."

10. Abanakashi: mafi ya mpombo.
    Women are the dung of duikers.

    Those of another rest shelter do not smell the beer.

The following proverbs represent Hoch's 1968 collection. He provided an interpretative translation in English. However, we have provided a literal translation.
   Two people, two brains, one person, one brain.

   People are a fish that follows water.

   People are not gathered in one place like fish.

15. Abaonta: ebo oca.  
   Those who warm themselves are the ones burned.

   Men are maize, they never end (kubuta).

17. Abekala mu mupundu: e bomfwa uko mpundu shilepona.  
   Those who sit in the mupundu tree are the ones who hear the  
   mpundu fruit where it falls.

   Those who travel are the ones who bring the footprints of  
   the lion.

   Strangers are germinated millet that always disappears.

   Strangers are slabs of bark, they are tied together.

   He was satisfied (and) gave his granary away to the chief.

22. Akabangilile: katamba masha ya cungulo.  
   The little one who hurried stood watching the masha dance  
   in the evening.

   The little one who hurried killed the mongoose.

   The little razor 'missed the beard.

   The little arm follows its companion.

26. Akabomba akabiye; ka munda.  
   The little worker's companion is a thing of the stomach.

27. Akabufi kaba munda: kasuka kasokoloka.  
   A little lie is of the stomach, in the end it will appear.
   The little goat on the opposite side of the river is wanted
   for the skin.

   The little rock of the village - the one with a sister
   throws it.

   The little thing that returns always eats.

   The little tail of the goat sweeps where it lies.

32. Akafumbe: kantu kali pa bwali.
   The little rat - the real one is in the stiff porridge.

33. Akafumo katikila: uko'lya.
   The little stomach twitches where it eats.

34. Akafupa utemenwe: e kakushe micene.
   The little bone you loved is what caused the "space between
   the teeth" to enlarge.

35. Aka kubika: kalasasa.
   The little thing put aside always gets sour.

36. Aka kuiteka: kaya keka.
   The little thing that governs itself leaves by itself.

   The little leg of the old person dances the masha dance,
   a dance with tremulous body motions is the little squeezer.

38. Akakunyelele: takalabwa.
   The little one who thrashed you is not forgotten.

   The little one who caused to forget dug a pit (so that)
   the days would always fall into it.

40. Akalayo walaile: tabalaba.
   The little promise made they don't forget.

41. Akalimba kawashima: takapwa misango/ akalimba ka mwine:
   takapwa misango.
   The little discoloured musical instrument does not finish
   the kinds (of songs it plays).
42. Akalimo bashikupele: icilambu lupi.
   The little work they did not give you (has) the reward (of)
   a palm of the hand.

43. Akalimo ucito mulele: kalakupemba.
   The little work you do lazily always waits for you.

44. Akalimo ushishi: takatwalwa ku buko.
   The little work you do not understand is not taken to the
   in-law.

45. Akalwele wishibe: takafya kuteta.
   The little sickness you may know does not cause moaning.

46. Akalyo ulili: ni ntimbwa nako.
   The little food you ate is your strength.

47. Akampubo: takaillea.
   The small quantity of relish does not bring itself.

   The little stick you hold is what they beat the dog with.

49. Akana ka mfubu ukwibila: ni nyina akalanga.
   The young of the hippo upon diving - it is the mother that
   shows it.

50. Akana ka nsha: takaluba muti nyina alileko.
    The young of the duiker does not forget the tree at which
    its mother ate.

    The young of a snake does not lie in the path.

52. Akanani: kantu kali pa bwali.
    The little relish - the real one is in the stiff porridge.

53. Akansonzi: kafwilile mwi'funda.
    The little shy person died in (with) the bundle.

54. Akanwa bukota: kalapokako.
    The mouth is an advocate, it is always received.

55. Akanwa ka mwefu: takabepa.
    The mouth with a beard does not lie.

56. Akanwa kali imilandu: kalaibalabala.
    The mouth has cases, it is touchy without reason.

57. Akanwa kalungamene ne myona.
    The mouth is in accordance with the nose.
58. Akanwa kamo: takomfwa snhama ukupya.
   One mouth does not taste the cooked peas.

59. Akanwa kamo: ulishemo mpulu no munsoli.
   One mouth (and) you play the whistle made from the stone of
   the kaminu fruit and whistle.

60. Akanwa kamo: upyamo uipula.
   One mouth (and) you are burned as well as you remove the
   pot from the fire.

61. Akanwa katali: kaletelele mfungo.
   The long mouth brought trouble to the civet cat.

   The mouth twitches where it eats.

63. Akanwa ni mbushi/ ni mbwa: balakulika.
   The mouth is a goat/dog, they always tie it.

64. Akanwa takafina: uwafina mutembo.
   The mouth is not heavy, That which is heavy is the pole on
   which a double load is carried.

65. Akanyelele kasumo mukaya: we mweni, cenjela.
   The little ant bites the resident, stranger beware.

66. Akanyelele: kamusenshile.
   The little ant carried the load for you.

67. Akanyelele pa myabo: kaba no bushipa.
   The little ant has courage at its own place.

68. Akape kakota: tabakasula.
   They don't despise an old basket.

69. Akapeni katikila: uko'lya.
   The little knife twitches where it eats.

70. Akapeshi kuwame ngala: kwiminina.
   The coqui francolin's feathers are pretty upon standing.

71. Akapiso kapya: kasamuna no tulele/ kemuna no tulele.
   A small piece of wood burning deposes those lying.

72. Akapunda bapita bacimbwi: bansofu'kuselebenda.
   The hyenas passed by the small hole, (and) the elephants
   wobbled.

73. Akasabi ukulya akasabi kabiye: e kunona.
   A little fish eating its companion - that is getting fat.
74. Adasemb akakete wiso: bakatasha ukutwa.
   They praise the sharpness of the little axe your father has.

75. Akasense ng'anda: kashibula mwisanoo.
   The cricket is not lacking in the chief's place.

76. Akashama kali kamo: twasanguka twaba tubuli.
   The little groundnut was alone, they became two.

77. Akashi kalapya no mwine kashi/no mwine kashi apilemo.
   The little village burns together with its headman.

78. Akashi walilile: takalabwa.
   The little village in which you ate is not forgotten.

79. Akashiliilwa: kalatambwa.
   The little thing that is not eaten is always admired.

80. Akashinda ka mbushi: kasengula apo kalele.
   The little one not holding him says, "Throw him down, let's go."

81. Akashinda ka mbushi: kasengula apo kalele.
   The little tail of the goat cleans where it lies.

82. Akashishi kaingile mpundu: shicili ubuluba.
   The little insect entered the mpundu fruit when it was still a flower.

83. Akasuba kapusene no mweshi.
   The sun missed the moon.

84. Akasuba tontela nakashima.
   The sun that warmed (us) is tied.

85. Akatanshi kulowa: bwato no muntumo.
   The first little thing observed is the boat, then the person in it.

86. Akatanshi takalisha: akalekelesha kalalisha.
   The first little thing does not cause crying, it is the last thing that causes weeping.

87. Akatanshi ukunwa: takanwa mfundwa.
   The first one to drink does not drink the dregs.

88. Akatungumutolelako: takabulwako.
   "The strip of land" in which you picked up something is not taken away.

89. Akaya myâbo: takelilwa.
   The one going to his place is not overtaken by darkness.
90. Akefupa katanishe: aka munofu.
   The small bone refused to give anything - meat without bone.

91. Akeso ka mulembwe: kakonka akabiye.
   The little one that comes with relish of dry leaves follows its companion.

92. Ako’lile: ni ntimbwa nako.
   The little thing eaten is your strength.

93. Ako wikete: eko bomako imbwa.
   The little thing you hold is what they beat the dog with.

94. Akombele mfumu: takoma.
   The one who serves the chief does not strike.

95. Akoni kaikala pa ciscolo ca buta: apakulashila pabula.
   The little bird sits at the extremity of a bow without struggling at all.

96. Akoni kamene nsuka: umulomo mu mbali ya linso.
   The little bird grew a tail (and its) mouth was beside its eye.

97. Akoni kekalo muti katemenwe.
   The little bird sits in the tree it likes.

98. Akoni kelilwe: na ku muti malalo yeka.
   The little bird overtaken by night (finds) a tree that is just a sleeping place.

   The little bird does not try its wing, it (just) goes.

100. Alya imo: ashika no bucinga.
    He ate one (animal) and put dirt back in the pit.

    Wiping a child after a stool is the vexation of a spouse.

102. Amafuta ya kulomba: tayakumana mubili.
    Oil that is begged for is not sufficient for the body.

103. Amafuta ya kupula: yalabutulusha.
    Oil that is begged for always makes (things) white.

104. Amaka ya bukoloci: tayapela apatali.
    The strength of extreme old age does not go far.

105. Amaka ya bukota: tayapela apatali.
    The strength of old age does not go far.
106. Amaka ya buweka: tayapela apatali.
The strength of loneliness does not go far.

The strength of your companion is not aroused.

108. Amakanga ayengi: yaipoka ku mbwa.
May guinea fowls help themselves against a dog.

109. Amakanga ayengi:
Many guinea fowls ward off danger.

110. Amano mambulwa.
Brains (wisdom) is taken.

111. Amano manika.
Brains are wide meadows.

112. Amano ni mbuto: balalondola.
Brains are seeds which they always look for.

113. Amani ya buweka: tayapela apatali.
The brains of loneliness do not go far.

114. Amano yaba mu ficila mu ficila.
Brains are marked by differences.

115. Amano yafuma mwi'fwasa: yaingila mu culu.
Brains came out of the little anthill and entered the large one.

Ears are beggers: they just beg for things all the time.

117. Amenshi balinga no bunga.
Water is according to the flour.

118. Amenshi yafika ku mukoshi: bwelela kunuma.
Water arrives at the neck, return.

Water that is spilled they don't pick up.

120. Amenso yaikalila mumo: nomba ukumona tayamwena mumo.
The eyes dwell in one place but seeing does not occur in one place.

121. Amenso yakula pa kasuba.
Eyes grow in the sun.

122. Apakumo kuboko: pabula.
A place to knock there is not.
123. Apabilimino mulilo: tapacepa.  
Where the fire flares up is not a small place.

124. Apabolele Bunde: ne micila ya kwa Bunde.  
Where Bunde rotted is (also the place where) the tails of Bunde rot.

125. Apabuluma umulilo: tapacepa.  
Where a fire roars is not a small place.

126. Apafwile Shimundu: no mundu wakwe.  
Where Shimundu died (is where) his Mundu died.

127. Apakamaile nondo: pali ubuluba.  
The place where the hammer falls repeatedly is where the mistake is.

128. Apakuwa: palapitwa.  
The place where there was greatness is always passed by.

129. Apali bakulu: insengo tashipotama.  
Where there are elders, horns are not twisted.

130. Apali icikote: e pali icipyu.  
Where there is something old there is something new.

Where there is an elder there is a little darkness.

132. Apali munwe: e pali ibala.  
Where there is a finger there is a garden.

133. Apasamike umutali: umwipi teti asamune.  
What a tall person has placed up high on a shelf, a short person cannot take down.

134. Aphasintuka amenshi: pali ng'wena.  
Where the water recedes there is a crocodile.

Where the water redounds, there is a rock.

Where God prepares food, smoke does not blacken the walls.

137. Apesula citundu: tapesula lupe.  
What fills a small basket does not fill a large basket.

Where God prepares food, smoke does not blacken the walls.
139. Apo lusengeleke: taluputuka.
   Where it is thin (the bow string), it does not break.

140. Apo tata afwile: nefwe epo tukafwila.
   Where father died is where we will die.

141. Apo ulāla: palāle nkwa.
   Where you sleep, there sleeps a slab of bark (bark cloth).

142. Apo wasange mfumu: e pesano.
   Where you may find the chief is where the chief's place is.

143. Bafyuma: babutukilwa.
   Those with riches are overrun.

144. Bakolwe baishibana: bapelana mabungo.
   Monkeys which know each other give each other the mabungo fruit.

145. Bamukolwe nga bafula: tabuca bwangu.
   If there are many cocks, the sun does not rise quickly.

146. Bakolwe tabatana: umushitu umo.
   Monkeys do not hold each other in one grove of trees.

   Marriageable young women do not leave the forest.

   Hurry, lest it is slippery in the path.

149. Bangoshe babili: tabekala culu cimo.
   Two green mambas do not live in one anthill.

150. Baponenwa ne mpundu: ishibansha ukutola.
   The mpundu fruit fell upon them which prevented them from taking them.

151. Bása bása: tabashisha bwino.
   The one who worked any-old-way did not work well.

152. Bashamfumu ni mpili shalekana kasuba: shacimbana bushiku.
   Chiefs are hills which differ in the day time but resemble each other at night.

153. Batila, "Kafyalweni": tabatila "Kapalaneni."
   They said, "Give birth," they did not say, "Resemble one another."

   The lake eats what dies in it.
   Lie to a woman. Your male companion, travel with him.

156. Buce buce: komba no kunaka.
   Slowly, slowly, work and do it carefully.

   Skill is not gathered, it is something learned.

158. Bukwe, bwela: mano.
   Brother-in-law, return: that is wisdom.

159. Bulapo: te kupela.
   Take is not giving.

   Fatherhood is fatherhood reciprocated.

   Good treatment if (you want) good eating.

162. Butete: bufuma ku cikondo.
   Luck at games comes from the big toe.

163. Bwamba bwandi, lāla: tumone milile ya bakaya.
   Sleep, my weir, that we may see the eating habits of the residents.

164. Bwana bwa nsato: bulaisatula.
   The young of the python always come and (go).

165. Cakwebwā ku mubiyo: cikalifyo mutima.
   The scolding of your companion hurts the heart.

166. Calila ndubwi: na mu fyalo bacitesha.
   The rumor spreads and in the countries they listen.

   The small lemur-like animal which was late, they laughed at.

168. Ca pa menso: aciba mu myona nga nacifyona.
   It is in the eye, if it was in the nose I would blow it out.

169. Capōta: ashile ng'anda.
   Mr. It-is-impossible left the house.

170. Cayansha: ashile ng'anda.
   Mr. It-is-difficult left the house.

171. Cendaeka: musha wa nshila.
   The one who travels alone is the slave of the path.
172. Ceni eni: e ciliishe kanga lya musuma.
   The stranger is the one who is fed the good guinea fowl.

173. Cibinda mwaice alya imo: ashika no bucinga.
   The childish hunter ate one (animal) and put dirt back in
   the pit.

174. Cibusa cafumine: muli "mfwaisho mufwi."
   Friendship began in "Fetch me the arrow."

175. Cicili cilepya ngo mulilo: tacilayambilisha.
   It is still smouldering like a fire; it has not yet begun to
   blaze.

176. Cifula mulilwa: na bwangu bwa kumutendwa.
   The rain season is what is wanted and quickly it is something
   with which you are fed up.

177. Ciikalano: tacibifya muntu.
   Living together does not harm a person.

178. Cikokola pa kwisa: tacikokola pa kuya.
   It is tardy upon coming, it is not tardy in going.

179. Cikutukutu ca kulya: no kutintilila.
   The cikutukutu of eating is the pulling hard and constantly.

   "It doesn't matter" is what made the leg swell up.

   It is the cause of dissension that dwells in the middle of
   the road.

182. Cimpampa: uwaitobeka mu mitondo.
   It it the cimpampa tree growing singly among others which
   settled among the mitondo trees.

183. Cinci wa babili: te kuba cinci uli weka.
   The work of two does not become the work of one.

184. Cinshe nafwa: no bunkungilo.
   The rat living in ant hills died upon "the bait."

185. Cintomfwa: tekala ku mubu.
   The one who does not listen does not sit in the council of
   elders.

186. Cintomfwa: apulikilwe mulemba mu kutwi.
   The one who does not listen will suffer sore ears.
    It is the thing in the hand, eyes always lie.

188. Ciombo tanaka: icinaka musashi.
    The beaten bark is not tired, the one that is tired is the
    person who makes bark cloth clothes.

189. Cisongo ukwalye landa: tabulwako.
    Where the bushbuck ate lentils is not taken away.

190. Citala munshonda: abene matala bashala mipalapata.
    The big granary does not get thin, the owner of the granaries
    they leave as a skeleton.

    The big granary does not get thin, the owner of the granary
    remains as skeletons.

192. Citiciti camutungo munwe mu linso: camulengele mona akupompa.
    The busybody got a finger in the eye so that the nose ran.

    The ciya tree does not bear fruit, (just) flowers.

    The bush pays the one walking (in it).

    The frog moved its lips and let out what it ate.

196. Cula afika: pa lwakwe.
    The frog arrives at its place.

197. Cula afwila: pa mwenshi yakwe.
    The frog died at its water(hole).

198. Cula cintomfwa: apulikilwa mulemba mu kutwi.
    The frog that did not listen suffered a sore on its ear.

199. Cula pa menshi yaciko: taciyi.
    The frog does not go from its water(hole).

200. Fikolwe ne calo.
    Ancestors and country.

201. Finsha mfinsha: ukufinsha mukulu mubiyo, kufinshanya.
    Deceive a deceiver, deceiving a fellow elder is to be
    reciprocally deceived.

    The tortoise upon dying scatters the fire.
203. Fulwe talapya: acili kutomatoma twa munda.
   The tortoise is not cooked, it is just little tastes in the stomach.

204. Funda kanyelele: ununang'u aifunda kale.
   Teach the little ant, the large black ant with a stench taught itself already.

205. Fwe bapabi, tuli mbule: tatubipilwa pa buta.
   We the poor are the small piece of wood used for an arrowhead, we are not to be separated from the bow.

206. Fwe bashama: ciwa citukonka na mu kupula.
   We the unlucky ones, the evil spirit follows us even to work.

207. Fwe bashama: tatukonka nguni aitulanga mupepi.
   We the unlucky do not follow the bird that shows us it is nearby.

208. Fwe bashama: tatutebela inona.
   We the unlucky are not accustomed to the ------.

   Everything can be tried; my wife, cook an axe - that I may eat it.

210. Ibonge liponeshe pompo.
   The overripe fruit caused the green fruit to fall.

211. Icabu ca kale: cilabunsha.
   An old ford in the stream always causes drowning.

212. Ica bukwe bukwe: capwishishe ubuci pa lupako.
   Things concerning the brother-in-law finished the honey in the hole.

213. Icafuma ku mfumu: tacićopa.
   That which comes from the chief is not small.

214. Icafwa: tacilāla na mwina.
   That which died doesn't sleep with a person.

   That which refuses is thrown away.

216. Icakuľwala cimo: cilatendusha.
   One thing that is worn always is tiresome.

   That which follows you in a hurry, you may follow it in a hurry.
218. Icalo cimo: tacisala nda.
   One big fingernail doesn't pick up a louse.

   The country (is like) a plain.

220. Icalo masamba ya nshiku.
   The country (is like) the western sky of the day.

221. Icalo lifupa: wakolokotako.
   The country is a bone - you just pick on it.

222. Icalo mukunku: tacisalila umo.
   The earth is an anvil for beating bark - it does not beat
   for one only.

223. Icalo tacitalala: ngo musunga.
   The earth does not rest quietly like thin porridge.

224. Icalo te cakukwikila meno luse.
   The earth is not a place to establish the teeth the way a
   handle is established to the hoe.

225. Icanyanta insofu: calala.
   That on which the elephant treads lies flat.

226. Icatwala ensa: na yambala cikamutwala.
   That which drives away yensa locusts also drives away
   yambala locusts.

227. Icibi: cibakile mfumu umweo.
   A bad thing took care of the chief's life.

228. Icibolya ca butumpe: caba cimo.
   The old abandoned village of silliness is one.

229. Icibomfuma: e citulika.
   That which is soft and tender is what is pierced.

   The wall leaves me.

231. Icifu ca ngulube: citemwo mwine/ cilya uutemenwe.
   The one who has the stomach of a wild pig eats it because he
   likes it.

232. Icifu ca ngulube: katupane ne nghumba.
   Marrying a barren woman is like liking the stomach of a pig
   (it is up to the individual).

233. Icifulo cimo: cipwe mpeta.
   One place may finish the mpeta seeds.
234. Icifulo cisuma: cilakola.
   A good place always intoxicates.

235. Icifupa waminine ubupangalume: na pa kuciluka bupangaluma.
   You swallowed the big bone with great energy and the same
   energy is necessary to vomit it back up.

236. Icikabile e citalele: icitalele e cikabile.
   That which is hot becomes cool and that which is cool
   becomes hot.

237. Icikalilwa pa nsaka: musumba wa bwali.
   That which let a few days elapse at the rest shelter is the
   large basket of stiff porridge.

238. Icikalipa: cumfwo mwine.
   That which hurts is felt by the owner of it.

239. Icikate cibiye: cikulo mutwe.
   That which holds its companion is that which shames the
   head.

240. Icikate mpuku: tacifutuka libili.
   That which catches the rate does not spring again.

241. Icikete ngoma: no kupilibuka nacipilibuka.
   That which plays the drum definitely turns as well (in
   dancing).

242. Icikete ngoma: no lwimbo cileshi.
   That which plays the drum also sings a song.

243. Iciko: tacikata mumí.
   Dirt does not hold life.

244. Icikolwe ne ngala: cikolwe ne milandu.
   The big monkey with the feather headdress is also the monkey
   with the demanding affairs.

245. Icikolwe: tacikolwa bowa.
   The big monkey is not made drunk by mushrooms.

246. Icikomo lwendo: ni nshiku.
   That which prevents a journey is days.

247. Icikondo aciba cimo: nga taciipununa.
   If there is only one big toe, it would bot be stubbed.

248. Iciku tacipalamana: na mulilo.
   A worn out piece of bark cloth does not draw near to the
   fire.
249. Icikulu, butala: inganda taikula.
   The big thing is the granary - a house is not important.

250. Icikulu cilya cimo: tacilala.
   The big thing eats alone, he does not idle around with the commoner.

251. Icikulu tacalulwa.
   The great thing is not shunned.

252. Icikulu tacilabwa.
   The great thing is not forgotten.

253. Icikupe mpuku: cibala ku cisu.
   What gives you a rat first gives the bladder.

254. Icikupempula: e cikulya.
   What visits you is what eats you.

255. Icikutika abakalamba: tacikutuluka.
   What listens to elders does not recollect as one absent-minded.

256. Icikutilwe: tacumfwa ndibu.
   What doesn't listen doesn't hear the bell of the dog.

257. Icwanka: bacimona ku mumpalanya.
   What helps you they see in the art of imitating.

258. Icwana: cilakupalamina.
   What helps you always draws near to you.

259. Icikwi: tacipalamana na mulilo.
   The old bark cloth does not draw near to the fire.

   That which is known doesn't eat you nor finish you.

261. Icila na nsaka: umo acileta.
   One person brought the cila dance to the rest shelter.

262. Icilafi: e butani.
   Forgetfulness is the refusal of something.

263. Icilangililwa: cafumishe mpungu umusula.
   Imitation caused the eagle's anus to come out.

264. Icilapungula: casha ba ntenda.
   What diminishes things leaves a sickly person.
265. Icilefye nshila: mulele wa kwenda.
That which lengthens the path is the laziness of the walker.

266. Icilekumyangamyanga: cilefwayo kukumina.
That which pays you constant attention wants to bite you.

267. Iciliba cateya Lesa: cilapumikisha.
The trap set by God is always unexpected.

268. Icilobololo muntu: ni nsala.
That which reveals a person is hunger.

269. Icilobolole ndao: menshi.
That which cleans the small tubers eaten by wild pigs is water.

270. Icilola umo: e cabo bufi.
That which is seen by one only is a lie.

271. Icilu cibi: cilayoloka.
A bad pole for the house is always straightened.

272. Icilundo mukowa: kulya.
That which perpetuates the clan is eating.

273. Icilye fupa: cilekatilila.
That which eats a bone holds on to it.

274. Icilye nama: cilekatilila.
That which eats meat holds on to it.

275. Icilye nkoko: cikalya mafi.
That which eats a fowl will eat refuse.

276. Icimone fyuma: mweo.
That which sees wealth is life.

277. Icimpwena cawishishe mplelembe mu bucinga.
The habit of staring at things caused the roan antelope to fall into the game pit.

278. Icinama cikwishiba: tackikulya acikupwishishisha.
The big animal that knows you won’t eat you or finish you completely.

279. Icinani: cisapule mpapa.
Anger wears out the skin in which a baby is carried.

Truly your sister (man's) sits on the bed with filth.
281. Icingala ca busole: bamufumbila kabela.
   The large feathered plume of the messenger they keep ready.

   The shade we are in the sun has (taken away).

283. Icintemwa teti cibe lubali.
   Love may not be on one side only.

284. Icipa Lesa: tacishibwa.
   What God gives is not known.

   The fruit of the path satisfies the hunger of children.

286. Icipashi citalele: cikolo bwikele.
   The small bee's (honey) is sweet and also makes you sick quickly.

287. Icipaye mpuku: tacifutuka libili.
   That which kills a rat doesn't spring again.

   The load of the child is heavy from the bark rope.

289. Icipe ca mwipi: ni mpao.
   The load of the short person is the rations for the journey.

290. Icipuba citilo muto: impanda yatobela panshi.
   The foolish person spilled the sauce and the kind, generous person (eats) it on the ground.

291. Icipyu: e cona cintemwa mu nganda.
   Anger is what destroys love in a house.

292. Icisalwa, masaka, abana tabasalwa, bana bonse.
   That which is selected is sorghum, children are not chosen, all are (your) children.

293. Icishibwa: cili ku bakalamba.
   That which is known is from the elders.

294. Icishiki baipununako mu kanwa: lulimi.
   The stump on which they stub themselves in the mouth is the tongue.

   That which doesn't want to remain says, something is stirring there.

296. Icishumfwa: capulikilwe mulemba mu kutwi.
   That which doesn't obey surprisingly has sore ears.
297. Icishumfwa nshintu: tacikala ku mūba.
That which doesn't understand allusive talk does not sit at
the council of elders.

298. Icisosa: cipa amano.
That which speaks gives wisdom.

299. Icitenenkeshe n'guni: munsoli.
That which causes the bird to sing is whistling.

300. Icitēko mutima: matwi.
That which governs the heart are the ears.

301. Icitemenwe nama: cilekatilila.
That which likes meat holds on to it.

302. Icitemenwe nyina: na bana.
That which loves the mother loves also the children.

303. Icitila lelele: kusangwa.
That which says, "take it easy" is the being found.

304. Icitila linda: cili ku bweni.
That which says, "stay," is from the host.

305. Icitila lumbwe nina: e citila lumbwe ika.
That which says, "son-in-law get up," also says "son-in-law
get down."

306. Icitondo ca bwalwa: ni nsokolola twebo.
The big pot of beer is the revealer of little words.

The wild onion along the path is what satisfies the hunger
of a child.

308. Ico babingo mushinku: cintu umwene.
What they measure the height of is something seen.

309. Ico ubikilepo umutima: cikusha mu menso poko.
What you may set aside for the heart leaves you and your
eyes appear sunken (grieved).

310. Ico utemenwe: e cikoshe mbafu.
What you like is what strengthens (your) ribs.

311. Icwishibe teti cikume: cikupoke amata ne sembe.
That which you know cannot beat you and cannot take your
bow and axe.

312. Icona ca ngulube: caipeneka.
The snout of a wild pig turns up by itself.
313. Icona nswa: citula ku mwela.
That which destroys the winged white ants comes from the wind.

314. Icona umuselwe: kubulapo.
That which destroys (friendship) is taking (things).

315. Icuma ca lukasa tabacisunga: basunga cili mu cimpompo.
Wealth of the leg they don't keep, they keep that which is in the round box made of bark.

316. Icuma ca mushi: babika no mukaya.
The wealth of a village they put with a resident.

317. Icungwa lya kwiba: licila pa lyobe ukulowa.
The orange that is stolen is sweeter than yours.

318. Icupo ca musana: icamutwe caba na bene.
Marriage is of the back, that of the head belongs to the owner (of it).

319. Icupo ca nomba: calowa ngo buci.
Marriage (right now) is sweet like honey.

320. Icupo ca pakubala cilila nje, nje, nje: cela cati cikokole cilila fukutu fukutu fukutu ngo muba.
Marriage at the first is like a bell ringing, nje, nje, nje, later it says fukutu, fukutu, fukutu like a bellows.

321. Ifibalala: tafitulila kumo.
Places denuded of trees do not all occur in one place.

322. Ififwita bakankala: abalanda babülula.
What the important ones reject, the poor receive.

323. Ififwita bankalamo: cimbwi atola.
What the lions reject the hyenas take.

324. Ifikali filatinana.
The fierce ones always frighten one another.

325. Ifikate nkoko: fyalifula.
Those things which catch fowls are plentiful.

326. Ifilala e fibuka.
Those things lying down are the things that rise.

327. Ifilyo tafIsa: nga meno ya mu kanwa.
Food doesn't grow like the teeth in the mouth.

328. Ifilyo: tafyaba ne cishala.
Food does not have a rubbish heap.
329. Ifintu abakilwako: fikasuka afimubukile cimbo.
   Things which he set aside will become the elephant tusk that
   turns against him.

   Those things that are squeezed out don't come out like
   castor-beans.

331. Ifishikumana: fiwa.
   Those things which do not meet are bad spirits.

332. Ifishimu fya muti utali: filaikola.
   Caterpillars on a high tree fall down by themselves.

333. Ifisosa abanakashi fya buwelewele: nomba uushiteshako cipuba.
   Things the women say are silly things, and he who does not
   listen in is a fool.

334. Ifita fya kukúta: tafilwa nkondo.
   Soldiers who are enlisted don't lose the war.

335. Ifitumba numa: tafishibikwa.
   That which happens later is not known.

   The fruit is what is finished.

337. Ifunda talicenjela: icicenjel, mwine funda.
   The bundle is not wise, the wise thing is the owner of the
   bundle.

   Things of the women burn/. Things heard from the women
   burn.

339. Ifya kubuko: fyafumishe kabundi amenso.
   Things of the in-laws is what caused the lemur's eyes to
   protrude.

   Things eaten at night are revealed from vomit.

341. Ifya kumbwa ku matwi: filoca.
   That which is heard by the ears burns.

342. Ifya kumona ku menso: filoca.
   That which is seen by the eyes burns.

343. Ifya kupula: tafikafya n'ganda.
   Things that are begged for do not make a house lively with
   noise.
344. Ifya kushimikilwa: filanguka.
    Things that are spoken about are very strong.

345. Ifya kwa Lesa: tafikatilwa maka.
    Things of God are not brought about by force.

346. Ifya mukali: Filâla apabutile.
    Things of a fierce person lie (scattered) about.

347. Ifya mu n'ganda: te fya kwasaukilwa mu lubansa.
    Things of the house are not things to be dishonored in the courtyard.

348. Ifya n'gumba: filasasa.
    Things of a sterile woman are always sour or bitter.

349. Ifyuma filanonkwa: abana tabanonkwa, bana bonse.
    Possessions are always traded, but children are not traded, all are (your) children.

350. Ifyuma tafitōlelelwa mumo nge nda.
    Wealth is not picked up in one place like lice.

351. Ikanga lilele fibi: no mutwe mukumpulo.
    The guinea fowl that sleeps badly (uses) the head as a stick to beat down the dew.

352. Ikanga likote: litalishe misolo.
    The old guinea fowl brings trouble upon the young guinea fowl sitting on eggs.

353. Ilanda lyapona mu mupâsa.
    A lentil fell from the enlarged basket.

354. Ilinso lyapola: liba nga lishalwele.
    The eye made well appears as one not sick.

    One eye (means) eyefilm.

356. Ilyashi lisuma: lyalalike cimbwi pa cishala.
    Good talk caused the hyena to sleep on the rubbish heap.

357. Ilyashi lya nsaka: taliuminwa mukashi.
    Talk of the rest shelter (does not result) in the beating of the wife.

358. Ilyashi mutwala: ciwa.
    The bearer of talk is the bad spirit.
359. Ilyashi ushiliko: litandulula kanwa.
   Talk (about events) at which you were not present widens the mouth.

360. Imamba taifyala mamba mbiye.
   A black mamba does not give birth to its fellow mamba.

361. Imbila ye pango: tayankulwa.
   The news of a musical instrument is not answered.

362. Imbuto nce: ipwile mwibala.
   The little seeds may be finished in the garden.

363. Imbuto nce: shiyana na bala.
   The little seeds correspond with the garden.

364. Imbwa taifwa: kuli shikulu wakwe.
   The dog does not die by its master.

365. Imbwa tayali ukulya buta: mukonkelelo lushinga.
   The dog was not going to eat the bow, it was following the bow string.

   The dog of a fierce person is not smart.

367. Imfula pa kuya: epo yone miti.
   The rains upon going destroy the trees.

368. Imfula taipelwa mpango.
   Rain is not given the marriage gift.

369. Imfumu tailya cilukwa.
   The chief does not eat that which is vomited.

370. Imfumu taifyala mfumu mbiye.
   The chief does not give birth to his fellow chief.

371. Imfwa nce: bailinganya na kalindi.
   A little death and they measure the grave accordingly.

372. Imfwa nce: iyana ne kalindi.
   A little death fits the little grave.

373. Imfwa ya mubiyo: ili akasekelo.
   The death of your fellow is an amusing event.

374. Imfwa tayaba na ntulilo.
   Death has no place of origin.
375. Imfwa tayaba na ku ntulilo.
Death has not place of origin.

376. Imfwa yaba nge shishi lya mumbu: uko lisendamina, eko liwila.
Death is like the vine of the yam: where it lies is where it falls.

Gray hair is not of the small antelope it is our own.

378. Imibombele: ne milile.
The way to work is the way to eat.

379. Imikolele ya nshe: ne milile.
The way you gather locusts is the way you eat.

380. Imilimo: isokololo busha.
Work reveals slavery.

381. Iminwe ikate fibi: ilasamba.
Fingers that hold dirt are always washed.

382. Iminwe iingi: isasho munani.
Many fingers (hands) make the relish sour.

Fingers (hands) do not hold what they do not cry for.

384. Impini ibili: yalishishe ngulube.
Two handles cause the wild pig to squeal.

Trees pointed out by the axe are not cut.

386. Imiti ikula: e mpanga.
Trees that have grown are the forest.

387. Imiti ili pamo: tailbula kushenkana.
Trees that are near to one another do not lack squeaking.

388. Imiti ipalamene: taibula kulila ng'wema.
Trees that are near to one another do not fail to make squeaking noises.

389. Impanda nga yaposa mano: icipuba cilatōla.
If an honest, straightforward person throws away wisdom, the fool always picks it up.

390. Impande yalubile: mu kwalaula.
The large, flat, triangular shell was lost in the constant turning over and over in hands.
391. **Impanga yafuta: uwendamo.**
    The forest pays the one going through it.

392. **Impapa balwila: intu ili pa menso.**
    The skin for carrying babies which they defend is the one before their eyes.

393. **Impapa taifyala musha.**
    The skin for carrying babies does not give birth to a slave.

394. **Impofu ishimona: ilanyanta.**
    What a blind person does not see he always walks upon.

395. **Impofu ishinyanta: mu nshiku ikanyanta.**
    What a blind man has not walked upon (yet) he will walk upon.

396. **Impofu yapokele ifyuma ku ulelola.**
    The blind person received wealth from the one seeing.

397. **Impulu mpya: isukulo mulomo.**
    The new whistle peels (the skin) off the lips.

398. **Impumi nkulu: ifumye nondo.**
    The big forehead brought out the hammer.

399. **Impumi ya mukalamba: yalombele sembe.**
    The forehead of the elder asked for an axe.

400. **Impu isula: taileka.**
    The anus that breaks wind does not stop.

401. **Impwila muto: tayonda.**
    The one who finishes the sauce is not thin.

402. **Inama ifwa mu mushi: mu mpanga wayatola fye.**
    The animal dies in the village, you go to the forest just to fetch it.

403. **Inama nkulu: taikuba mwibondo.**
    The big animal does not stop in the bone almost picked bare.

404. **Inama tailbula: ku cibuko.**
    The animal is not missing it is at the den.

405. **Inama ya mwaice: tainona.**
    The child's animal is not fat.

406. **Inama yapelelwa: yaingila mu cimpelesha.**
    An animal that is allowed to go enters a hole that leads nowhere.
The stomach which eats a guinea fowl is not spotted.

408. Inda kumbali: ilaisuma.  
A louse alone always bites itself.

409. Inda yaendo muno: ikakumana ne minwe.  
The louse that goes in here will meet fingers.

410. Ine ndi katiti: ndi mukulu pali yensa.  
I am the small warbler - bigger than the locust.

411. Ine ndi mpampa ishicepa: cikulu kukonkanya.  
I am the small broken piece of a calabash which is sufficient unless used continuously.

412. Ine ndi mubu wa nkula: nkasubwa na bambi.  
I am a ball of redwood powder and will (myself) be anointed by others.

413. Ingulube bakonke: ilile umumbu.  
May they follow the wild pig which ate the yam.

414. Ingulube ukuya mwibala: ne milile.  
The wild pig goes into the garden and that is the way it eats.

415. Ingulube yabulo mufyala: icena ne fwasa.  
The wild pig that has no cross-cousin romps with an anthill.

416. Ingulube yabula mufyala: icena ne nkashi no mwipwa.  
The wild pig that has no cross-cousin plays with its sister or niece.

417. Injili yabula mwana: baimona lukasa kwifwe.  
They see the tracks of the wart hog without children at the waterhole.

418. Inkalamo nga yapepelwa: ilye cani.  
If a lion is allowed to go it eats grass.

419. Inkalamo shibulumana.  
The lions call each other by growls.

420. Inkombe taikata pa cinena.  
The messenger does not touch the lower parts of the abdomen.

421. Inkose shibili: tashipusa.  
Two bird snares do not miss.

422. Inkuntu ya lupwa: itwala ku mfwa.  
The touchiness of a family leads to death.
423. Inkwale ya cilalu: taifwa ku nsala.
   An old francolin does not die of hunger.

424. Inkwale ye sala: taifwa.
   The francolin of an old deserted village doesn't die.

425. Inongo ibumbilwa ukutekwa peshiko: umuntu ena abumbilwa kukubombela Lesa.
   The pot was created to be governed by the fire, a person was created to serve God.

426. Insaka yasaka: abalipo.
   The rest shelter has its use for those who are there at the right time.

427. Insala ni ng'anane.
   Hunger is common to all.

428. Insala tabalwila nayo matakalo.
   They don't fight hunger with hips.

429. Insala taikongwa mwefu.
   Hunger is not enticed by a beard.

430. Insala taikwasha menso.
   Hunger does not cause one to have eyes.

431. Insala tailya uwatensha kanwa.
   Hunger does not eat the one who moves his lips (as in eating).

432. Insala tailya uwasakunya.
   Hunger does not eat the one who bestirs himself.

433. Insala tayaba na matwi.
   Hunger does not have ears.

434. Insala ya mubiyo: taifufyo tulo.
   The hunger of your companion does not hinder rest.

435. Insala yonsha ne misanshiko.
   Hunger makes the rods of the bedposts thin.

436. Insalu taikokola ku bupya: ikokoa ku bukote.
   Cloth does not hesitate (losing) its newness, it does hesitate at (becoming) old.

437. Insele tashitula kalonda.
   An insult does not come from a small wound.

438. Insengwa insengwa ya kuta: no kuibulika.
   The insengwa top spins and is taken away.
439. Inshiku e shimone fyuma.
   Days are what see wealth.

440. Inshiku shalingenye mwana wa nyina.
   Days equalized child and mother.

441. Inshiku shanashishe mpapa.
   Days softened the skin for carrying the child.

442. Inshiku shibikilapo: nga pa bukwebo.
   Days add things like articles to trade.

443. Inshiku ishingi: amano yace.
   Many days, little wisdom.

444. Inshiku shisuma: tashica shibili.
   Good days do not dawn two.

445. Inshiku tashilila pepi.
   Days do not weep soon.

446. Inshiku tashilingana shonse.
   All days are not equal.

447. Inshiku tashisabilwa.
   Days are not gathered.

448. Inshila iletulo mweni: tayeba.
   The path on which the visitor comes does not speak.

449. Inshimba cipasho: yapasha bana.
   The genet (?) is a likeness, it transmits hereditary traits
to (it) children.

450. Inshimba ishilanyela mupeto: ipamine nshila.
   The genet (?) not caught in the snare is familiar with
   the path.

451. Inshimba ukwima: ima ne cipala.
   The genet (?) rising, rises with an arrow.

452. Inshimu ishingi: tashibika muluba.
   Many bees don't set aside the pollen.

453. Inshita yanashishe impapa.
   Time softened the skin.

454. Insofu nkulu: taikuba mu ishimba.
   A big elephant does not stop yielding (fat) in the foot.

455. Insofu pa bwingi: kalulu.
   An elephant before a crowd is a rabbit.
456. Insofu yakulile: nomba ubwaice bwashele mu ishimba.
   The elephant grew but its childhood remained in the leg.

457. Insoni: mwenso.
    Shyness is fear.

458. Inuma ciliba: ilafwanta.
    A rat trap which always crushes is behind.

459. Ing'anda imo: tayafya kulamba.
    One house is not difficult to pass by.

460. Ing'anda ishibwelela mpango: ibusu.
    A house that does not return a dowry.

461. Ing'anda ushilala: baikumbwo mutenge.
    They desire a roof for the house in which you do not sleep.

462. Ing'anda ya buci balengilamo: cikali kutumpamo munwe.
    They may enter the house of honey (beehive) but it is
dangerous to plunge fingers therein.

463. Ing'anda ya cilema: taisalwa.
    One does not shut the door of the house of a cripple.

464. Ing'anga ishifwa: ilakuka.
    The traditional doctor who does not die always changes
    residence.

465. Ing'anga nga tailile: umuti uli ku lupili.
    If the traditional doctor has not eaten, the medicine is
    still on the hill.

466. Ing'oma ya kwashima: yashilile kolwe ulweko.
    The borrowed drum waited for the monkey to fight.

467. Ing'ombe ku Ilala: shaba na bene.
    The cattle at Ilala have their owners.

468. Ing'ombe shupana mwitanga.
    Cattle mate in the stable.

469. Ing'ombe uukossa lamba: kulya.
    Cattle (with) strong spleens is (their) eating.

470. Ingombe nkulu: ipaya cibinda.
    The big cow (is killed by) the owner.

471. Ing'ongo ifumino wacifutu.
    A hump on the back or the chest comes from a hunchback.
472. Ing'uni yacenjelo muno: taipikula cisansala acikosa.
   The bird that is clever in here does not weave a strong nest.

473. Ing'wena ishenda: ifwile tenga limo.
   The crocodile that does not go on dies in one hole in the river.

474. Ipompo lilapona: ibonge iyashala.
   The green, unripe fruit always falls, the overripe one remains.

475. Isembe talitwa: icitwa mutima.
   The axe is not sharp, that which is sharp is the heart.

476. Ishacepa: shingilo lupako lumo.
   They are few, they enter one hole.

   The chiefs of Katumba dies from cold.

478. Isuku lya lutolelwa: lipompo.
   The lisuku fruit that is collected is a green, unripe one.

479. Iyakula: tainukwilwa cani.
   It has grown and is no longer given grass that is pulled out.

480. Iyalemana: tailbulwa cilaso.
   He who is stubborn is not lacking wounds.

481. Iyalunga: ilabwela.
   It went hunting, it always returns.

482. Kaba kamana: kalaipitila.
   It is a small river that flows by itself.

   Go and lie at Ilala where they don't know you.

484. Kabilo wa nsoni: tapwa milandu.
   The shy chief of an inferior rank (or counselor) does not end a case.

   Go to dawn, it is your companion's wife that is caught.

486. Kabuce: twikushe icilele ne nsala.
   Go to dawn that we may not satisfy the (corpse) that is hungry.
487. Kabulumine kwisano: ne milimo sobulumine.
    Go and take from the royal compound, then go and take from the work.

488. Kabundi, cefyo mutwe: impako shili na bene.
    Kabundi, humble the head, the holes have owners.

    Kabungo, grow slowly and be well taken care of.

    The little-asker is not poisoned by mushrooms.

    Kafumbe, it is you you praise, today praise the vegetable with a bitter taste.

492. Kakokotwa na yama: aba ni tata nga ampelako.
    It has been chewed by my maternal uncle, if he had been my father, he would have given it to me.

    The pesterer for things of companions does not pester his own.

    The informer is not a wealthy person.

495. Kalando munshicilwa bulamu: nga wamucilo bulamu, waikombola mwansa pa kulu.
    The small log is not stepped over lazily, if you step over lazily, you chip some of the hair off the leg.

496. Kaluba, mupe bunga: uwalemwa emo alila.
    Kaluba, give flour, the lame one is the one who eats.

    The rabbit sent the elephant (saying), "give me that little thing."

498. Kalulu munshipuswa mu nshimi.
    The rabbit is never missed in the fable.

499. Kalulu: ng'oma pa yakwe.
    Rabbit is a drum on his way.

    Rabbit does not escape two burned places.

    The young male servant of the chief does not pay respect to the chief naked.
   Bitter cassava is in the garden.

   They caught the "let-me-finish-it-completely" person.

504. Kampanda akulile mushi: muli "Mwapoleni."
   Kampanda built the village in saying, "How is your health?".

505. Kampanda Katondo: ka kuipika no kuipula.
   Kampanda is a small pot which puts itself on the fire and takes itself off.

506. Kanang'ombe pa mwana: takaya.
   The little mother cow does not go away.

507. Kancindincindi: cindiko mwana wa mubiyo na iwe ng'akucindike.
   Respect one another. Respect the child of your companion and he will respect you.

   Mr. Let-me-lick-the-plate (Hoch 1968:63) they caught, the one who went was the one who didn't eat.

509. Kanokano akashiwa nge kubi.
   On and on it (the sun) does not fall like a vulture.

510. Kapanga nga apelelwa: engila mu cimpelesha.
   If a rat is allowed to go it enters a hole that leads nowhere.

   One who helps for a few moments is not given a calabash of beer.

   Very hard mush which is not soft is that which is softened in the mortar.

513. Kapose nsofu: panokol~me bali kuntanshi.
   Go and sell the elephant, your uncle is ahead.

514. Kaputula akokola mu fikamba.
   The pair of shorts last long in patches.

515. Kashama muliwa pa kufuka.
   You eat the little groundnut at the time of harvest.

516. Kasosa te mukali: kalundulula e mukali.
   The one who speaks (slanderer) is not the fierce one, the one who spreads (the slander) is the fierce one.
517. Kasosa te mwine cebo: kalundulula e mwine cebo.
The one who speaks (slander) is not the owner of the words, 
the owner of the words is the one who spreads them.

Kasumba, tie the belt, that we may be equal with those who 
have eaten.

519. Katende shinta lubilo: uli na munyina ashala.
Little heel reach the destination quickly, you have a 
brother who has remained.

520. Kolokondwe kuwamo musunga: ni nsala nkali.
The fibrous herb kolokondwe is better than thin gruel, it 
is hunger that is fierce.

Kolongwe, go with an old person if (you) see small little 
edible things.

522. Kolwe ali eka: tata ng'onso na bengi.
The monkey is alone it does not play the bark ball with 
many.

The monkey plays on the branch it softened.

The monkey that has never been cut goes with its head 
thrown back.

Monkey, spouse of an adulterer hated his parents.

You may show the monkey a pumpkin then you cause him to 
come down to see the cucumber.

527. Kolwe taba na mafundilo yabili.
The monkey does not have two places to cut meat up at.

528. Kolwe ubushiku alefwa: apuso musambo.
Monkey, on the day it will die misses the branch.

The old monkey has food gathered for it by the children.

530. Kolwe wafunda: washa pa cipato.
You skinned the monkey but left the callous on its rump.
531. Komba no kunasha: akombele mfumu takōma.  
Work quietly with no fuss, he is serving the chief, not killing.

532. Konke mfumu: umushi tauliwa.  
Follow the chief, the village won't be eaten.

First you throw the chaff, the fish poison follows.

Causing to shine does not darken the sun.

They twist the arm that is beating.

In-laws are the neck - they scratch it twice.

537. Ku bwaice: takubwelelwa.  
Childhood does not return.

Returning to the outside is the stomach that is hurting.

539. Ku bwito bwe pala: ni kwikoshi.  
The end of a bald head is in the neck.

The end of a bald head is from God and that is where to finish cases.

541. Ku cibolya: takubula mukaya.  
At an old deserted village site no resident is lacking.

542. Ku cupo ni ku mibengelele.  
Marriage is like the sun's rays.

543. Ku kulwala: takwaba nshita.  
For being sick there is no (set) time.

To have only one child is to do the same task as God.

545. Ku lupwa ni ku mupya: takuluba mbule.  
A family is like a place cleared by fire, there is no disappearing of the wooden arrow-head.

The chief's place is like the lap - important and heavy.
547. Ku mfumu ni kwifwe: takubulilila fintu.
The chief's place is like the spring, nothing is lacking.

548. Ku musumba takwabbikilwa nkwa.
At the chief's place you do not put a slab of bark in the
water to soak.

Submitting is his going with his ears.

There are no poisonous mushrooms here.

551. Kutea no kulengula.
Setting a trap is also going to check on it.

552. Kwapa tacila kubeya.
The armpit does not surpass the shoulder.

553. Kwimba kati: kusansha na Lesa.
Digging roots to use for medicine is mixing (them) with God.

The rat is alone (but) he brings trouble upon many by his
imprudence.

555. Lalilali: alalike bala.
The habit of putting off indefinitely (means) he abandoned
the garden.

556. Lango mweni ku cushi: alekulangako ameno.
Show a visitor the smoke and he will show you (his) teeth.

557. Lembalemba epeye nkalamo: ni mukunakilila.
The lembalemba spider killed a lion (in) being meek and
obliging.

558. Lesa afwa: abayafwa.
God helps those who help themselves.

559. Lesa alabansa.
God always takes grain out of the granary.

560. Lesa asekule nkoko shakwe.
God takes back his chickens which he put in safe-keeping.

561. Lesa atuposa ku kabanga nangu ku masamba, apo atemenwe.
God throws us to the east or to the west, where he wants.

562. Lesa lupe lwishibo kwela.
God is a winnowing basket that winnows well.
563. Lesa lushinga lwandi ulushiputuka/ muntaputuka.
    God is my rope which will not break.

564. Lesa mufimbwa na mpukutu.
    God is the one covered with dry leaves.

    God is the blacksmith; he does not forge for (just) one.

566. Lesa mukolokolo.
    God is the clever, skillful craftsman.

567. Lesa mukulu kampamba shimwatule ulu.
    God is the great thunder that pierces the sky.

568. Lesa mukunku: tausalila umo.
    God is the anvil block for beating bark cloth on, he does not beat for one (only).

569. Lesa ni kalungu, mwine nkuni na menshi.
    God is the blast furnace, the owner of the wood and the water.

570. Lesa ni malyotola.
    God is the avenger.

571. Lesa ni shimwelenganya.
    God is an inventive, contriving one.

572. Lesa tafilwa kantu.
    God does not fail (even) the small thing.

573. Lesa talaba iciimine.
    God does not forget the thing that is standing.

574. Lesa talombwa nama.
    God is not begged for meat.

575. Lesa talungusha mbuto shakwe.
    God does not burn his seeds in cooking.

576. Lesa tapingulwa.
    God is not judged.

577. Lesa tona cakwe.
    God does not destroy his thing.

578. Lesa Tumbanambo: mutima kayebele.
    God is well off and needs no one to advise him, his heart tells.
579. Lesa tūla: uwatūlile mulondalonda nga aliputwike.
God is the helper who helped the wasp lest he break in two.

580. Lipena fye: taliluba mukanda.
Even a made person doesn't forget the pit.

581. Lobolola nomba: wayobwela.
Set things rights now, you "caused disorder" (Hoch 1968:70).

582. Lubemba na noko: wabula noko lwakubembula.
Bambaland and mother - without your mother, it will entice you falsely.

583. Lubipa pa kuya: pa kubwela lwawama.
It is difficult to go, but on returning it is good.

584. Lufwinyemba aliwa na kantu.
The chameleon was eaten by a small thing.

585. Lufwinyemba apwishishe malonda: muli limo limo.
The chameleon finished the wasp in doing it a little at a time.

586. Lufwinyemba ukwenda amakololo: ni pa bamwishibe.
The chameleon's going about (with) dignity is among those who know it.

587. Lukanya bakulu: takota.
He who contradicts the elders does not get old.

588. Lukonko lwa kubamba: nga atemwa alebwela.
The tireless hunter returns when he wants.

589. Lumbwe ukupilo mulanda: kuicilikisha.
The son-in-law marrying a poor person catches himself red-handed.

590. Makunkutu tasosa ico bamutetele.
Amputated limbs do not speak (about) why they mutilated him.

591. Mangilile: mulamba talatulula.
Allow me to leave before the torrent reaches us.

Mother, carry me, and I will carry you.

593. Mayo ni mayo: abula nguba ya kumpāpa.
My mother is my mother, without her I would have no one to carry me.

I have no brother, I bore my own.
595. Mfunda buteshi: e iwa.
The illogical, inconsistent teacher is the one that falls.

596. Mpensa fikali: fikali nafyo filampensa.
I am courting danger and danger is courting me.

597. Mpyana ngo: apyana na mabala.
I inherit a leopard - he also inherits the spots.

598. Mubala kale: aleyafwilisha.
The one who starts early really helps himself.

599. Mu bwalwa muli ntopoti.
In beer there is noise.

600. Mu bwingi: e muli mfwa yobe.
In a crowd - that's where your death is.

The person who spins the top in the nsengwa game is not without a wound.

602. Mufisa mfwa: amalilo yalatumbula.
You hide death, wailing always reveals the secret.

603. Mufulilwa mubi: mubula kanwa.
The person for whom a tool is forged badly lacks a mouth.

604. Mufwaye shilu: alaluba.
The one who looks for a lunatic always gets lost.

605. Muka mwine mushi: tapāpa funda.
The wife of the village headman is not surprised by a bundle.

606. Muka mupwa: tasunta bwamba.
The spouse of a great woman doesn't walk clumsily because of poor dressing.

607. Mu kanwa kamo: tabalishamo mpulu na munsoli.
They do not play the mpulu whistle and whistle in one mouth.

608. Mu kanwa tamufulwa nkasu.
You do not forge hoes in the mouth.

609. Mukolo alombele akalesela.
The head wife of the chief asked for that which was dangling.

610. Mukolwe pa kukula: epo afune pindo.
The cock upon growing, that is when he breaks the wing.
311. Mukolwe uko asalilo bubenshi: eko akafwila.  
Where the cock scratched for white ants is where it will die.

612. Mukolwe wa musumba: tangala na wa mfula.  
The cock of the chief's capital does not play with the commoner.

613. Mukolwe wa musumba: talila nga wa mfula.  
The cock of the chief's capital does not crow like a commoner.

614. Mukolwe wa musumba: ushikompa nsenga.  
The cock of the chief's village does not peck at sand.

615. Mukolwe wa nkalahla: utoseshe mpanga umupamba.  
The red cock caused the forest to fall under a curse or bad omen.

616. Mukome-mukome: ni ku kasembe.  
Hit and kill, is of the little axe.

617. Mukonso, witeletenta: twafika kwa cimana bantu.  
Mukonso, don't oscillate, we have arrived at the torrent rushing over people.

618. Mu kubebeta: emu kutobolwa.  
In scrutinizing, that is the way to be troubled by things in the eyes.

619. Mu kuitungo bufumu: takwali wa kukoshapo.  
In................chieftanship, there was nothing to strengthen.

620. Mukunku: wipapa nkwa.  
The anvil block used for making bark cloth does not marvel at the slab of bark.

621. Mu kutongela: e mu kukumana makungu.  
In walking with care is the way to cover the large stretches of dry ground.

622. Mukutu ali eka: taikutulula.  
The lion which is alone does not enlighten itself.

The one who sleeps badly they will see him in the evening.

Allow the child the axe, if he cuts himself he will throw it.

625. Muli kandolekeshe: e mu kutobolwa.  
In "let-me-see-well" is the way to be troubled by things in the eyes.
626. Mulila-ndya: taba no mulandu.
   A poor, honest beggar doesn't have a case.

   A poor, honest beggar doesn't have a provocation.

628. Mulis sekaseka: e mutula lilalila.
   In laughing foolishly is the way to come upon crying without reason.

629. Mulondalonda apwishishe abana mu kusenda umo umo.
   The wasp completed the baby wasps by carrying them one by one.

630. Mulondola kakwe alalondola.
   The one who asks for his things which he had put in trust always recovers them.

631. Mu lupwa lwa bene: tabengilamo.
   In the family of others they do not enter.

632. Mumbwe aitile mpahsi: no kumubumba shamubumba.
   The jackal called the red ants and they really stuck to him.

   The jackal, when howling, leans its buttocks against an ant hill.

634. Mumembe eminene: asongeshe ishilele.
   The lechwe buck which is standing brings trouble upon those that are lying down.

635. Mumona kamo: mubusu.
   He who sees only one little thing is a pauper.

636. Munda ya mubiyo: tamwingilwa.
   The stomach of a companion is not entered.

637. Munda tamuli nkosho.
   In the stomach there is nothing that restores strength.

638. Munda ni mwisano: tamuyako na kamo na kamo.
   The stomach is the chief's place, you don't go there with nothing.

639. Munda ni mwisano: mulāla insoka atemwa nsoufù.
   The stomach is the chief's place in which lies either a snake or an elephant.

640. Mundu walila mu nsungo: mwe bana banama cenjeleni.
   The lion roars in the point of land at the juncture of two rivers, you baby animals beware.
641. Mu ng'anda ya mubiyo: tamubikilwa buomba.
   In the house of your companion you are not given the night
   porridge set aside specially for the husband.

642. Mu ng'anda ushilala: tabateya kutwi.
   In the house in which you do not sleep, they don't listen.

   The wild pig does not eat the wild fruit resembling egg
   plant, they (fight each other?) together.

644. Munshanya walalike bala.
   The ungrateful person abandoned the garden.

645. Munshanya wa kabwa: kasho kuboko ukupaleme, kafwenena ku kulu.
   The ungrateful little dog left the foreleg and scratched
   the rear leg.

646. Munshebwa: aile na mashinshi kwa banafyala.
   The person who stands no criticism went to his mother with
   filth.

647. Munshefika ku bwingi: tapelwe shina.
   The one who does not arrive at the crow is not given a name.

   The one who is not thrashed is not good.

649. Munshipingulwa: amano tayafula mu mutwe.
   The one who is not advised does not have a lot of wisdom
   in the head.

650. Munshumfwa ku bakulu: aile na mafi ku buko.
   The person who does not listen to the elders went the in-
   laws with dirt.

651. Munyela pebwe: tabula kubwekeshapo.
   The slag from a rock is not repeatable.

   The one who gives a little always satisfies hunger.

653. Mupanga cungulo: ulucelo capela mu kanwa.
   A person full of frantic schemes in the evening, in the
   morning gives the scheme to the mouth.

   The one who makes (something) in the evening, breaks (it)
   apart in the evening.

   You laugh at a cripple and he will laugh at you.
656. Mushika wa mfumu: tashika wakwe.
   The steward or officer of the chief does not bury his people.

   The one who clears a thicket in the middle of the forest, clears it to plant therein.

658. Muteya ciliba, cenjela: nga cakufwanta wilila.
   You set a rat trap, beware, if it bruises you, don't cry.

   The one who insults the chief does not insult one.

660. Mwamina ng'uni alanaka: mwamina abantu tanaka.
   He who scares away birds always get tired, the one who scares away people does not tire.

661. Mwana noko: awama libili.
   Your sibling is good twice.

662. Mwana pabo: tabipilwa masha.
   The child is there, the dance accompanied by tremulous motions of the body cannot turn bad.

663. Mwa ndema: mulaliwa.
   In the house of a cripple you are always fed.

664. Mwanya fili kwisaya.
   One is grateful (when) there is talking between the teeth (mouth full of food).

665. Mwapoleni akulile mushi.
   "How is your health?" built the village.

666. Mwenda bwino: alile kanga lya musuma.
   The one who behaved well ate a good guinea fowl.

667. Mwenda cungulo: tatobela muto.
   The one who goes in the evening does not eat porridge with relish.

668. Mweni, celelo mukaya: tondwe alila ku beni.
   Stranger, greet a resident, the woodpecker eats with strangers.

669. Mwikala patalala: mwine apatalalika.
   The one who sits quietly is the owner of quietness.

   The one who sits improperly, pierced the bark cloth.
671. Mwinemushi tapapa funda.
   The headman is not surprised by a bundle.

672. Mwita fita: alaitilila.
   The one who calls a soldier calls upon himself trouble.

673. Mwi tumba lyaka mukulu: tamubula kambala.
   In the pocket of a great person there is no lacking of a small lump of cold mush.

674. Myenu bafuluka: ne ibi.
   They long for home - even a bad one.

   The midwife wears a feathered plume.

676. Nakulu wakota: tabika nkunka ku beshikulu.
   The old grandmother does not treat grandchildren well so as to gain a good reputation.

677. Na pakulu palapitwa.
   Even a great one is passed by.

   The mother elephant does not go from its young.

   I am the dove destined only for pecking.

   I am the sun, I do not promise falsely.

   I am the fly, I wash (my) back.

   I am the wild dog which yields to the game pit.

   I am the thin porridge of the mpundu fruit, I get hard on the surface.

684. Ndi nengo: naikalila ne loba ku makasa.
   I am the ant bear, I live with clay on the legs.

685. Nga bwaca nkasabila, amyo: bwaca, maisabile.
   When dawn comes I will gather things, mother. The dawn - I collect for myself.
686. Nga cabula mu kutimpula: mu kukombelesha emo wikute?
   If it was lacking in the dipping of fingers into porridge,
   will it satisfy in the finishing off of the porridge
   completely?

687. Ni kalulu: wa matanda ayengi.
   It is a rabbit with many mats.

689. Ni ng'ombe na kati/ ni ng'ombe: ni mwenda na kati.
   It is a cow and a small piece of wood/ It is a cow, it
   is going with a small piece of wood.

690. Ni pa bwebe: apashoneka mpapa.
   It is in the groin of animals where the skin is not dest-
  royed.

   I am the lonely traveler, my messenger is the sun.

   I am personified poverty, I will make inquiries about
   everything.

693. Nine Kaling'ongo: mulāla kwacenama; te'ti cintu ciise cingile,
   kuti nacikanda.
   I am the large scorpion which sleeps with doors wide open,
   nothing can come and enter without (my) thrashing (it).

   I am the mythological person, Kaengele, who never returned
   with empty hands.

   I am the small meercat the little animal that digs and plugs
   the holes again.

   I am the spider which does not gather the winged white ants
   which bring themselves.

   I am the tete_bird which does not rely on the (wings) of
   the mung'omba.

   I-will-eat-tomorrow laid on his axe and burned himself.

   I-will-eat-tomorrow burned the back.

700. Nkalya: ni mu fibolya.
   I-will-eat-tomorrow ate in the deserted village.
The lazy person is always "pierced" where he sits.

702. Nkaya alele pe semba apya.
The one who said, "I-will-go-tomorrow" laid on the axe and was burned.

703. Nkaya-nkaya afufyo mulimo.
"I will go, I will go" hinders work.

704. Nkaya-nkaya apwile tunga twa mu katondo.
"I will go. I will go," finished the little bit of flour in the small pot.

705. Nkaya nobe: abale cungulo.
The one who says, "I will go with you," prepares in the evening.

706. Nkulange nshila ya lupili: nkulange no kulamba amabwe?
Should I show you the path on the hill and also how to avoid the rocks?

707. Noko akota: witila, "Taembele bulindu."
Your mother is old, do not say, "She was not pretty in a youthful way."

708. Noko tafita minwe.
Your mother's hands are not dirty.

709. Noko wa mubiyo: ushikatilwa pa lwino.
Your companion's mother - you won't take hold of the shelf placed above the fireplace in a house.

710. Nokolume taba bushilya bwa mumana.
Your uncle is not on the opposite side of the river.

Your uncle (maternal) is far away, he does not know the cases.

Mr. I-will-not-leave-the-chief wet (his) trousers.

713. Nshumfwa fya bakulu: amenene umwefu kwikoshi.
The one who does not listen to the things of the elders grew a beard on the neck.

714. Nshumfwa fya bakulu: amenene umwefu mu culu.
The one who does not listen to the things of the elders, grew a beard in the ant hill.
715. Nyina talaba mwana.
   A mother does not forget the child.

716. Nyina umo tafyala mwanda.
   One mother does not bear one hundred.

717. Ombela umo ombela: amenso ya bantu tayalya.
   Work as you work, the eyes of people do not eat.

718. Pa cabu: betapo uo wishibe.
   At the crossing place, call the one who knows (it).

719. Pafuma abantu: apashala abantu.
   People come out from there, people stay there.

   There was something that tempted (you), the muswema snake
does not run away by itself.

721. Pali umulilo kapashime/ kapalâle.
   There was a fire (let it) die out/sleep.

   At the mercy of a small dog, that is where I may die.

723. Pa menso ya mubiyo: tapema nkalamo aikulya.
   From the eyes of your companion a lion does not (leap) to
eat you.

724. Pamo pula: muka Mumpanga.
   Beating together - the spouse of Mumpanga.

725. Panonse palyafwa: pabo kufwa no kubola.
   Here on earth it is difficult, there is dying and rotting.

726. Pefwe tapafina cintu.
   At the spring nothing is heavy.

727. Pefwe tapafiswa cintu.
   At the spring nothing is hidden.

728. Pempulo musumba: wikala ifikala cimbwi ushikata.
   Visit the chief's place, do not sit the way the hyena sat
   which lay hold of nothing.

729. Pilikiti pilikiti tanasha fikali: kano malemale na yepi.
   Exaggerated efforts do not subdue a fierce thing, but
   precaution and "moderation."

730. Pita uko: te mubiyo wa nshila?
   Pass by there - this is not the companion of the path?
731. Pita umo wapitile: butanto bwa kanwa bukuleke.
    Pass by on the path you passed by on, that you may stop the
    mouth's (other story).

    Fall that I may catch you in the arms.

733. Pumbwe afwilile pa lyakwe.
    A he-goat died because of its thing.

734. Pungwa mulela mu cushi.
    The black kite soars in the smoke.

735. Pungwa uko afutatila: eko emina.
    Where the black kite turns back that is where it stands.

    The black kite suffering, he suffers because of a garden
    far away.

737. Pungwa ukunona: kano uo wipeye.
    The black kite being fat only if it is one you killed.

738. Saba lubali: bukula bukalamba.
    Gather on one side, it is a big garden patch.

739. Sakasaka: ni mwibumba.
    Being active and energetic is in a crowd.

740. Sango kwete: ngo yanga no kupa.
    It is the way of having rather than the way of giving.

741. Sankata noko acilipo: noko wa mubiyo ashikatilwa pa lwino.
    Play about in childish ways (because) your mother is still
    there, the mother of your companion won't allow you to come
    near the shelf above the fireplace in (her) house.

742. Sekeseke twakupandila amano, niwe nkayonena.
    Small mouse with bushy tail, we have set (our) brains to
    work, it is you I will (blame).

743. Sembe ashikwete wa kumukulika: alaikulika.
    The he-goat which does not have someone to tie it, ties
    itself.

744. Sha mwibwe: ishafilwa abakulu ukupanda.
    It (honey) is in the rocks which will not escape removal
    by the elders.

745. Sha mu mushi shafula: sha mu kwenda shinono.
    Things of the village are many, things of the going are few.
746. Shetani nga afilwo kumone co alefwaya: atumako umwanakashi.
Satan, if he fails to get what he wants, sends a woman.

747. Shilunga fye: shibwelele teko.
They (animals) are just hunting that they may return to
their dens.

748. Shimucita panini: apokele mwikalafye umukashi.
The one who did a little received the wife of the one who
just sat.

749. Shiwalilwa: onto buta bwakwe.
The one on whom the sun has gone down burns his bow.

750. Shiwalaya akakwe: tominwa mbila.
The one who eats his little bit of food is not beaten for
the news.

751. Shiwalaya akakwe: talimbwa mu ng'oma.
The one who eats his little bit of food is not made fun of
with the drum.

752. Shiwanina: uushisha cileka.
The one who climbs up is the one who leaves the thing behind.

753. Sokosoko: ushafwa kushimwina.
One who incites others to misdeeds and then leaves them to
the consequences does not help to put out the fire.

754. Sumbu lyandi laša: tumone milīle ya bakaya.
Rest my net, that we may see the ways of eating of the
residents.

Take care of the neck the beads are not lacking.

756. Tabalwila na mwine.
They don't fight with the owner.

757. Tabapakata mfumu shibili.
They don't pay respect to two chiefs.

758. Tabasha: balona.
They don't leave (having) destroyed.

759. Tabuca bumo: alubwile nkashi yakwe.
"Mr. He-bides-his-time" redeemed his sister.

760. Tabulumina nsupa nkulu.
It (beer) is not strong in the large gourd.
761. Tabunwa mwipi.
A short person does not drink (beer).

762. Tabupanda wa luse.
The merciful person did not remove the honey.

763. Tabsilila ushilile.
Night does not fall for the one who did not eat.

764. Tacilwa ng'anda ukufimbwa.
The house fails to be thatched.

765. Tacilwa nsanso kulungama.
Suggestions given to a person so that he may give the correct answers when cross-examined fail to correct the case.

766. Tafipwa kulowa alile: kamfipilile balimwikete.
He did not finish the sweet thing and left, they caught the one who said, "Let me finish them completely."

776. (These numbers were mistakenly excluded in the original numbering of these proverbs, and are here not included so as to help in the correct identification of the proverbs referred to in the text.)

777. Taifyala mulumba naiminina.
It (the animal) does not give birth (while) the hunter is standing there.

778. Takalabwa mwebwa: kalabwa uwasosele.
The one who was told does not forget, the one who forgets is the one who spoke.

779. Takaluba kuntu kasanshilwe.
One does not forget the place of origin.

780. Takuya mwabwe: abantu e bayako.
Stones do not go, people are what go.

781. Takwaba cibolya ca bashimbe.
There is no deserted village of unwed people.

782. Talwenda mubusu.
A pauper does not travel.

783. Tapafwa noko: apesa umbi.
Your mother cannot die and another come.

784. Tapakafimbwe: palaloka.
It (the house) cannot be thatched, it always leaks.
785. Tapalabwa mpuma: palabwe sembe.
   That won't be forgotten untouched, that forgotten is the axe.

786. Tapali icacishe mbwa ulubilo.
   There is nothing that surpasses a dog in speed.

787. Tata: kuta titana.
   My father - fatherhood reciprocated.

788. Tatusanga mpulumushu: yamene nsengo.
   We do not find a wrong-doer who grew horns.

789. Tatutamfya bakulu: bene baitamfya.
   We do not chase the elders, they chase themselves.

790. Te kubangulo munga: kutininkisha.
   It is not removing the thorn, it is pushing it in.

791. Tembe fulwe ngo mukake kulu.
   Treat the tortoise kindly if you intend to tie its leg.

792. Tembe nshiku: inshiku nasho shikutembe.
   Treat the days well and the days will treat you well.

793. Tembwe akupele: akulaya, akubepa.
   Tembwe gave to you, as he promised, so he lied.

794. Tete nsuka: mu calo ca bene tabenda na nsuka.
   Cut the tail (of a bird), in the country of a stranger they don't travel around with a tail.

795. Tete uushangila mwipinda lya mung'omba: kano mu lyakwe.
   The little tete bird is not strong in the wing of the mung'omba bird but in its own wing.

796. Tinta: ni munda.
   Pull, it is in the stomach.

797. Tobela, tobela: akafye ng'anda.
   Eat, eat warms the house.

798. Tondo ukumo mushita: ca pa luko.
   The small mouse with the long snout pattered along the path made by the reedrat is a thing of the family or clan.

799. Tubundi ukufuma kamo kamo ku lupako: e mukupwa.
   The little lemur comes out of the hole a little at a time and that is how it finishes.
800. **Tufunda cili mwifwasa: tatufunda cili mu culu.**
We teach that which is in the small ant hill, we don't teach that which is in the large ant hill.

801. **Tulebutanda: kano kashila wa ndala atontwelo.**
We will plant it as long as the one drawing lines in the field doesn't get tired.

802. **Tuli samfwe: tumenena kukubola.**
We are the *samfwe* mushroom, we sprout in order to rot.

803. **Tumba wa ciko: ushiliwa na mbwa.**
A bag of dirt is not eaten by dogs.

804. **Tumbe ndya, mwana shicilime: ukatumba nelyo ushilyako.**
Work hard, child of the gardener, you will (work) even though you will not eat.

805. **Twacilike kabundi mu lupako.**
We have shut up the little lemur in the hole.

806. **Twali ne mfumu: tapesha mupepi.**
We-had-a-chief does not end the journey nearby.

807. **Twa muli samfwe: tatupwa kusala.**
The little things in the *samfwe* mushroom are never finished in choosing.

808. **Twisha fye panonse.**
We just gasp here on earth.

809. **Ububamfi bwa mubiyo: tabulumbulwa mu mushi.**
The skill or luck of your companion is not praised in the village.

810. **Ubucende mafi: banya ukutali.**
Adultery is dung, they always go far away.

811. **Ubucenjeshi bumo: pamo no kupusa.**
One clever thing is the same as failing.

812. **Ubucenjeshi bumo: tabulilwa libili.**
One clever thing is not eaten twice.

813. **Ubucenjeshi bwa mpelembe: icifulukutu panuma.**
The cleverness of the roan antelope is that which struggles and kicks as a wounded animal.

814. **Ubuci bulalemvelwa no kutipwa.**
Honey is discovered and taken with the fingers.
815. Ubucishe nshila: tabucisha umo.
Helping one out does not help out one (only).

816. Ubucishe nshila: tabwaba bumo.
Helping one out does not help one (only).

817. Ubucushi: bwayana ne cilubo.
Suffering corresponds with the wrong.

818. Ubufi bulabwela.
A lie always returns.

819. Ubufi tabukumbwa musunga/ tabukumbilwa musunga.
They don't stir a lie (to make) thin porridge.

820. Ubufumu bucindika abene.
The chieftanship respects its owners.

821. Ubufumu e busosa.
Chieftanship is what speaks.

822. Ubufumu bukashisha amenso.
Chieftanship reddens the eyes.

823. Ubufumu bulafwaikwa.
Chieftanship is always desired.

824. Ubufumu busheta amenshi.
Chieftanship chews water.

825. Ubufumu bushili bwa kusansamukila.
Chieftanship is not something to be enjoyed.

826. Ubufumu tabwangilwa.
Chieftanship is not something played at.

827. Ubufumu bwa kupelwa fye: tababutumpila.
Chieftanship is something given, they don't make it foolish.

Fierceness goes first, fear comes last.

829. Ubukosa kanwa: tabutëka ng'anda.
Insolent talk of the mouth does not rule the house.

830. Ubukota: bufuma kunuma.
Helpfulness comes from the back.

831. Ubukota bwa mubiyo: tababulesha ibange.
They do not prevent the smoking of hemp (for) the companion of helpfulness.
832. Ubukota bwa nkonto: bukota bwa minyololo.
Helpfulness of the cane is helpfulness of chains.

833. Ubukula, mwana wa mbusa: tabukula bwangu.
A garden is a small new-born baby, it doesn't grow fast.

834. Ubukulu bwa nkoko: masako.
The greatness of the cock is feathers.

835. Ubukulu: tabukwasha mano.
Greatness or elderliness does not strengthen the brains.

836. Ubukwebo bwakokola: busanguke milandu.
An item of trade that is delayed becomes cases.

837. Ubulamu tabulish.a kasuma.
Laziness does not feed (you) good little things.

The skill or luck of your companion is not spread in the village.

839. Ubulimi bwa kale: tabutalalika mwana.
Old farming skills do not quieten the crying of the child.

840. Ubululu: bwatulile ku kana ka nama.
Hardheartedness and the neglect of kin came from the young of the little animal.

841. Ubumi tabwakwata cipimo.
Life does not have a measure.

842. Ubumulumba: tabumwensha calo.
Skill at hunting does not cause (one) to possess the country.

843. Ubunga bushipelele noko: mito.
Flour not ground by your mother is ashes.

844. Ubuomba: bubike mpanda.
Diligence in work puts aside the "evening meal."

845. Ubupalu bwa kuuminina: butula ukuibamba.
Skill in hunting that is persevering becomes a self-killing.

846. Ubupe tabucepa.
A gift is never small.

847. Ubunsengunsengu: bwabushishe ng'anse umukoshi.
The habit or liking of changing deprived the fresh water crab of its neck.
848. Ubunsengunsengu: bwatangulwile kambasa akanwa.
    The habit or liking of change widened the nightfar's mouth.

849. Ubushalilina numa: bulalya.
    Staying behind is always eaten.

850. Ubushalilina numa: bwabunshishe ng'oma.
    Staying behind drowned the drum.

851. Ubushalilina numa: tabubusha kapumba pe koshi.
    Staying behind does not prevent the losing of the neck.

    One day does not rot an elephant.

    One day does not make the work lie down.

854. Ubushiku bwa fiko: impombo tabulunda mu citungu.
    A lucky day (and) the duiker cannot avoid the net.

855. Ubushiku bwalubu mukote: na cimbi anye mfwi.
    The day of losing the old person (is the same as the day when) the hyena passed gray hair.

856. Ubushiku bwatwele ndema.
    Evening helped the lame person.

857. Ubushiku tabwenda mpanda.
    An honest, straightforward person does not travel at night.

858. Ubushiku usheme: waumwa ku kaice.
    An unlucky day (and) you are beaten by a small child.

859. Ubushiku usheme: ne cimbala ciloca.
    An unlucky day (and) a lump of cold mush burns.

860. Ubushiku washeme: wakolwa no mwela.
    An unlucky day (and) you are intoxicated by the wind.

861. Ubushiku wafyelyo mwana: elyo umone mpapa.
    On the day you bore a child that is when you may look for a skin to carry the child in.

862. Ubusuma tabayebela.
    Goodness is not announced.

863. Ubuta bumo: tabwisushe ng'anda.
    One placenta does not fill the house.

864. Ubuta bwa mukalamba bulashila apo bulele.
    The bow of an elder strikes where it lies.
865. Ubuta bwa mukalamba bulashila pa kapanda.
The bow of an elder strikes from the small fork in the tree.

866. Ubuta bwauma: bwaumina ukufunika.
A tight bow breaks.

867. Ubutala: mumino wa lusato.
The granary is the gullet of the python.

They do not equalize the refusal of something.

869. Ubutani tabona calo.
The refusal of something does not destroy the country.

870. Ubwaca bwakwata mano.
Dawn has brains.

871. Ubwaca: tabuluba ng'uni.
Dawn (and) the bird does not forget it.

872. Ubwaila: tabutungwa bulungu.
Nightfall (and) beads are not strung.

873. Ubwali bumo: bulonsha.
One (kind) of stiff porridge makes (one) thin.

874. Ubwali bwandipwawo: apo bwaponene mu muto.
My stiff porridge fell well - where it fell was in the sauce.

875. Ubwali bwa nsaka bulya: abalipo.
The stiff porridge of the rest shelter eats those who are there.

876. Ubwalima mwana noko: tabubashilwa mwiko.
The garden that your sibling farms does not make ladles for them.

877. Ubwalwa bwingi: ubucende no lubuli takuli.
Much beer (and) there is no adultery and fighting.

878. Ubwalwa bwasasa mukumbwa: ushilipo.
Sour beer (and) the one that is wanted is the one who is not there.

879. Ubwalwa tabunwa mwipi.
Beer is not drunk by the short person.

880. Ubwamba bwa mufila: bulalāla.
The fishing weir of a lazy person always sleeps.
881. Ubwamba ushifwika: tabumya mutima.
   Nakedness which does not wear clothes does not tyrannize
   the heart.

882. Ubwana nyina: ubushikonka ng'uni.
   Brothers do not follow the bird.

883. Ubwangu kanwa: bulomisha.
   Quickness of the mouth always "leads to trouble."

884. Ubwendo bwingila ngoshe: bamona ku mafute.
   The hole in which the green mamba enters they see from the
   trampled grass.

885. Ubweni bwapeteke akabwa umucila.
   Strangeness bent the tail of the dog between its legs.

886. Ubwikalo busuma: bulakola.
   Living well always makes (you) drunk.

887. Ubwikalo bwa nsaka: kusengushanya/ masengelano.
   The living of the rest shelter is to move from place to
   place.

888. Ubwikushi: tabubomfya kalimo.
   An abundance of food does not cause the little work to
   get done well.

889. Ubwile bwapika Lesa: tabupikululwa.
   The riddle which God declares is not responded to.

   Many is good, (but) it is bad at eating relish without
   stiff porridge.

891. Ubwingi busuma: nasango mukashi na kafumo.
   Many is food; I find (my) wife with a stomach.

892. Ubwingi bwa nshimu: bwashimisho mulilo.
   Many bees put out the fire.

893. Ubwite bubili: bulalike nsala.
   Two calls cause hunger.

894. Ucili uleimba fulwe: nakucenama.
   You are still digging for a tortoise (and) you left it open.

895. Ukacilika noko bulesuma.
   You will plug the hole and from it (the honey) will flow.
896. Ukakūlila kuto umukwa.
You will prepare a slab of bark for the frame built around the hole of bees.

897. Uko mukolwe atōla bubenshi: e ku busalilo.
Where the cock pecked at ants is where the fowls usually go to peck.

Where you are not, your dog does not run quickly to.

899. Uko uya citicititi: eko babwela mwanwanwa.
Where you go "provokingly" is where they return from crying.

900. Ukonke ngulube: ikulilile mumbu.
Follow the wild pig which ate the yams.

901. Ukubangilila mulamba talatulula.
Hurrying before the torrent floods (us).

902. Ukubilile cilu: e ku mwinshi.
Where there is a pole lacking for the house is where the door is.

903. Ukucile nshila: kutangalala.
To pass over a path is to stretch out the legs.

904. Ukucilo mulando: kutangalala.
To pass over a log is to stretch out the legs.

905. Ukufika linso: ulukasa teti lufikeko.
Where the eye arrives the leg cannot arrive there.

906. Ukufilwe mfumbe pa citutu.
Failing the mouse at the opportune moment.

907. Ukufulilwa uushili noko: kone milomo.
To anger one who is not your mother is to see the lips.

908. Ukufuma pa bwingi: kukaka pa menso.
To come from a crowd is to tie the eyes.

909. Ukufumyo kuboko mu lupako: kunakilila.
To take the arm out of a hole is to be submissive and careful.

910. Ukufundo mwana: kupalama.
To teach a child is to be near.

911. Ukufundo mwana: kusangwapo.
To teach a child is to be found there.
912. Ukufunde shilu: kuiakasha.
   To teach a fool is to cause oneself to suffer.

913. Ukufutulo mukulu: kunakilila.
   To knock down an elder is to be submissive and docile.

914. Ukufyala: kuliisha mafi.
   To give birth is to eat filth.

915. Umufungufungu: walalike kapolile nsala.
   The sausage tree caused the wild pig to sleep hungry.

916. Umufwi mu mulu ulunga fye: panshi e pamwabo.
   The arrow just hunts in the sky, the ground is where its home is.

917. Umufwi ukokola fye ku mulu: panshi e pamwabo.
   The arrow just loiters in the sky, the ground is where their home is.

918. Umufyala cibi: tapōsa.
   The one who gives birth to a bad thing does not throw it away.

919. Umufyashi taba na cinse.
   A parent does not have anger or irritability.

920. Ukuifwena e kuicusha: ukowa e kulomotoka ku fika.
   To scratch oneself is to cause oneself to suffer, to bathe is to "remove" the dirt.

921. Ukukana ilya mushi: kano uli na noko wakonkako.
   Refusing the (breast of) a slave only if you have your mother to nurse there.

922. Ukukokola pa nengo: malole.
   To linger in front of the antbear is an empty stare.

923. Ukukomene nsofu: kuli ulububa.
   To have hit the elephant there is a thicket.

924. Ukulāla ne yalele muka Mumbōlo.
   Sleeping the way the spouse of Mumbōlo sleeps.

925. Ukulengula kwa mipini: kwenendela.
   To explore for an axe handle is to go and look.

926. Ukuleshe sembe: kutangalala.
   To prevent the axe (from cutting you) is to spread the legs.

927. Ukulete nsense: e pa kufula.
   To bring small quantities of anything is to be abundant.
928. Ukuli nama: takubula makubi.
   Where there is meat, there is no lacking of vultures.

929. Ukuli nsala: kuli abakote.
   Where there is hunger there are old people.

930. Ukuli nsala: kuli tupumbu.
   Where there is hunger there are heartless, stingy people.

931. Ukuli nsoke: takumwa nka.
   Where there is one who comes to warn others of danger there
   is no end.

932. Ukuli nsoke: takufwa muntu.
   Where there is one who comes to warn others of danger a
   person does not die.

933. Ukuli uobe: tabashitako ng'ombe yatulika linso.
   Where your family member is they do not sell a cow from
   which the eye has come.

934. Ukuli uobe: takumwa nka.
   Where your family member is, there is no end (to you).

935. Ukuli ubukulu: bwine buyeba.
   Where there is greatness or eldership, it tells of itself.

936. Ukulombe cinono: kuti watula pa cikulile.
   Begging for a small thing you can begin at the big thing.

937. Ukulomba kwa mukalamba: menso.
   The begging of an elder is the eyes.

938. Ukulu undapa umulwele: eko akunyantako.
   The leg of the sick person which you healed is what kicked
   you.

939. Ukulingikilwa ne ng'anga: kushuka.
   To be made to be right by the traditional doctor is to be
   lucky.

940. Ukulya aka ntenda: kuyundapa.
   The sickly person eating the little thing is to be paid.

941. Ululya: kwalafishe lukufu.
   Eating distracted the tick.

942. Ukulye suku: kufipilila.
   Eating the fruit of the musuku tree is to suck on it.

943. Ukunaila abengi: kono bunga.
   To cook for many is to destroy flour.
944. Ukunaila abengi: kano uli no bunga.
   Cooking for many only if you have flour.

   Giving is putting aside.

946. Ukupakasha kwa kabundi: kutumbula menso.
   The saluting of the lemur is the opening of the eyes widely.

947. Ukupandilo muko cishololo: kano umwana nanaka.
   Preparing the larva of the wood borer for your in-law only
   if the child is obedient.

948. Ukupangila mukolwe ku lusoso: kano nukwata.
   To make a place for the cock at the place where the firewood
   is kept only if you have one.

949. Ukupangile nsofu: kano uli ne fumo.
   To prepare for an elephant, first have a spear.

950. Ukupata umubiyo: e kuipata.
   To hate your companion is to hate yourself.

951. Ukupēla ukucilo kupokelela.
   Giving surpasses receiving.

952. Ukupēle nshiku: takwishibwa.
   The giving of days is not known.

953. Ukupēlwe cintu ni pe lambo.
   To be given something is to have it on the shelf above the
   fireplace.

954. Ukupingule shilu: kuloshia umo lilefwaila.
   To counsel a lunatic is to mean what he wants.

955. Ukupeke cinsenda ku nkoko: kunakilila.
   To receive a worm from a chicken is to be submissive and
   careful.

956. Ukupoke nkwalé ku mwaice: watula kwikanga.
   To receive a bare throated francolin from a child begin with
   a guinea fowl.

957. Ukupokelela uwa matako yakulu: akakupoke cipuna.
   To receive a person with large buttocks, he will fetch a
   chair for you.

958. Ukupyana: kubula fyandalila.
   To inherit is to take fyandalila.
959. Ukusebe pala: kutesha, kutekanya.
   To become bald is to listen and take care.

960. Ukusendamina nsasa: e kuli ne ibiye.
   Where the nsasa plant sleeps, there is another.

961. Ukushinina wa fikan$: amaboko yali panuma.
   To convince an argumentative person (his) arms are (put) behind.

962. Ukushininako wa miya: kutalala.
   The convincing of an insolent person - quietness.

963. Ukushuka kwa musha: cungu cafūka.
   The good fortune of the slave is the gourd that is disgusting.

964. Ukusosho usherinkile: ninshi ulemufūkisha.
   To rebuke the one who ate the relish without stiff porridge, then you share with him (some more).

965. Ukusumina kwa wa miya: kutumbe nkanshi.
   The agreement of an insolent person is to frown.

966. Ukusumina kwa wa miya: kukāna.
   The agreement of an insolent person is a refusal.

967. Ukususha lungu: kwendapo.
   To despise the wide, marshy space on the shores of large rivers is to walk there.

968. Ukutangalila kubili: kwaipeye climbwi.
   Stretching the legs (between) two places killed the hyena.

969. Ukutema ubukula bukulu: kwenda mutende.
   Cutting a large garden is going (in) health or peace.

970. Ukutīnaka akampeshimpeshi: kulya aka-Lesa.
   Fearing the little bewildering thing - lightning.

971. Ukuma kwa muko: kumwena ukwafyalo mwana.
   The belong to the clan or family is to see where the child is born.

972. Ukupe ng'umba: kutemwa/ citemwo mwine.
   To marry a sterile woman is to want to.

973. Ukūpila ntuntusha: na bana ni bantuntushe.
   To marry a fat person includes the children who are also fat.
974. Ukuya ku ncito: kano munda muli lubango.
   Going to work only if there is that which strengthens in
   the stomach.

975. Ukwafumo mutwe: takutanta.
   Where the head is out there is no pain.

976. Ukwafwa imbwa: takuli misowa.
   Where the dog dies there are no tears.

977. Ukwangala: kwacilo lupwa.
   Playing surpasses the family.

978. Ukwangwa swelele: kano nulwalika.
   Caring about the owl only if there is a sick person in the
   house.

979. Ukwaye nongo: ne mIko.
   Where the pot goes, the "pallet" goes, too.

980. Ukwenda eka: taciyene.
   Going alone is not proper.

981. Ukwendele mpanga: kulengula kwa mipini.
   Traveling in the forest is to look around for handles.

   Sitting a lot is what pierces the bark cloth.

983. Ukwikusho mutali: kubangilila.
   To satisfy a tall person is to start early.

984. Ukwite mbwa: na kamuti nufumbata.
   Calling a dog and grasp a small stick in the hand.

985. Ulebushe mbwa: nge ifwele.
   You ask questions about the dog as if it wears clothes.

986. Uleitwike mituntula: amakome filyo.
   You are carrying the small mituntula shrubs, the amakome
   fruit (are eaten).

987. Ulemfuta lelo İine bamupele nkoko: apembela nga bamupele nsofu.
   The one who said, "You will pay me today" they gave a
   chicken to, if he had waited they may have given him an
   elephant.

988. Ulesanika: nga pafitile.
   You are making a light as if darkness fell.

989. Uletİne miti ya mpako.
   You are fearing trees with holes.
   You are the chief, you are not begged for meat.

991. Ulubansa: lulabepa.
   The courtyard always lies.

992. Ulubilo: talwebela.
   Speed does not speak for (itself).

993. Ulubuko: e cimpatanya icaikala pakati ka mushi.
   Divination is the cause of dissension that dwells in the middle of the village.

994. Ulubuli: mano ya fipuba.
   A fight is the wisdom (brains) of fools.

995. Ulubuli mute: nga aumutoba luma.
   A fight is perseverance if you smack him on the head.

996. Ulubuli talwabuka mumana.
   A fight does not cross a river.

   Firewood is not lost to the stranger.

998. Ulukasa ukulwimya mwangwe: ukuluteka male yakulu.
   The leg lifted is early millet; Putting it down is big millet.

999. Ululumi lwa mulanda: kukakata.
   The glory of the poor person (commoner) is to be stubborn.

1000. Uluni lulipo: pali ulupako.
   The honey-guide is there, there is a hole.

   The hills fall down on one side the remaining side has stood.

1002. Uluse lubwelela abaluse.
   Mercy returns to those who are merciful.

1003. Uluse Lwalile nkwale (mbulu).
   Mercy ate the francolin (monitor lizard).

1004. Ulushimu lubi: luntu lushele ku muluba.
   The bad bee is that one which remained at the pollen.

1005. Uluteka bule bukulu: ulwimya ni mwangwe.
   That which is put down takes big millet, that which is lifted (receives) early millet.
1006. Ulwambo lupemba cibinda.
   Slander awaits the expert.

1007. Umo ndebombela: emo ndelila.
   The way I work is the way I eat.

1008. Umuba ukulila: ni pa mafito.
   The bellows blowing is at the charcoal.

1009. Umubili mutaba: ulalemba.
   A body is the mutaba tree, it always puts on new bark.

1010. Umubili ni ku kuboko.
   The body is from the arm.

1011. Umucele ukufina: tuumfwa ku basenda.
   The salt is heavy, that is what we hear from those who carry it.

1012. Umucende tapoka ng'anda.
   The adulterer does not receive a house.

1013. Umucinshi wa nseba: kwimina pamo.
   The respect of the nseba bird is to rise together.

1014. Umukalamba apusa akabwe: tapusa kebo.
   The elder misses (with) a small rock, he doesn't miss with a little word.

1015. Umukalamba ashifukisha: kubangulo munga kutininkisha.
   The elder who does not share: removing the thorn (for him) is squeezing hard.

1016. Umukalamba talangwa cintelelwe.
   An elder is not shown the shade of a tree.

1017. Umuko wa kale: asanguke ndoshi.
   The in-law of long ago became a witch/ sorcerer.

1018. Umukowa wa kuli lunshi: cilonda.
   The totem of the fly is the wound.

1019. Umukowa wa pa nsaka: kape kalasapuka.
   The totem of the rest shelter is the little basket which is always worn out.

1020. Umukulu alaipampanta.
   An elder always feels himself.

1021. Umulanda afwa ne fyebo mu kanwa.
   A poor person (commoner) dies with words in the mouth.
1022. Umulanda akule fumo: takula kanwa.
   A poor person's stomach grows, his mouth does not grow.

1023. Umulanda alulubalo mushishi ku mutwe: munda nawikala.
   A poor person has long hair on the head (but) sits quietly
   in the stomach.

1024. Umulandu mani ya nkoko: uwamina mubili.
   A case (is like) the eggs of a fowl, it has a good body.

1025. Umulandu mume: tukumpula fye.
   A case is dew, we just beat (it) down.

1026. Umulandu nga wapitile pa mputi: na pa kuushimika epo upite.
   If a case passed by the anus then passed by the announcing.

1027. Umulandu taubola.
   A case does not rot.

1028. Umulandu tawaba na kwabo.
   A case does not have a home.

1029. Umulandu uli ku mfula na ku musumba.
   A case is (a case) in the (common village) and in the
   capital.

1030. Umulandu wa bateba: umo.
   The case of those who gather firewood is one.

1031. Umulandu wa ciba: upingulo uli ne mono.
   The case of the ring-necked turtle dove is judged by the
   one with the castor-bean.

1032. Umulandu wa mbushi: bafute mbushi.
   The case of a goat they pay with a goat.

1033. Umulandu wa mubiyo: cibashilo ca mupini.
   Your companion's case is the whittling of the handle of a
   tool.

1034. Umulandu wa nsala: ulongele mpanda.
   The case of hunger attracted the honest, straightforward
   person.

1035. Umulangishi wa muntu: alapalama.
   The one who shows a person the work to be done is always
   nearby.

1036. Umulele ukashisha meno.
   Laziness makes teeth red.
1037. Umulilo ucingile abakalamba: taoca.
   The fire screened by the elders does not burn.

1038. Umulilo walapwilwa pa kantu: amenshi mutapwatapwa fye.
   The fire gotten from a neighbor's house is for a little thing, (but) water is just drawn often without any reason.

1039. Umulilo walafishe muka-kubommba.
   The fire blackened the spouse working.

1040. Umulilo wa mfumu: taucepa.
   The chief's fire is not small.

1041. Umulimo usokololo busha/ umulimo utucita basha.
   Work reveals slavery/ Work makes us slaves.

1042. Umulola-mpa: ukashishe linso.
   A stupid way of staring makes the eyes red.

1043. Umulopa tauluba.
   Blood is not lost.

1044. Umulopa taulubuka.
   Blood is not released from slavery.

1045. Umulopa tawalulwa.
   Blood is not changed.

1046. Umulopa ufuma pa lulembo.
   Blood comes from an incision/ tattoo mark.

1047. Umulu wayangwishe kubi.
   The sky endeared the vulture (to me).

1048. Umulume wa mbwa: tafwa ku kulu.
   The male dog does not die from a (broken) leg.

1049. Umulume wa mbwa: takila mubiye.
   The male dog does not fetch for its companion.

1050. Umulunshi wa nsoso: afwa ku nsoso.
   The hunter of elephants dies by an elephant.

1051. Umulwele: tafise tako.
   A sick person does not hide the hips.

1052. Umumi wa nse: tapendelwa fibolya.
   Old villages are not counted for a very healthy person.

1053. Umundemwa: ubulalo bulafunika.
   Abuse of another's hospitality is a bridge always broken.
1054. Umundemwa uufuno bulalo.
The abuse of another's hospitality breaks the bridge.

The one who sees (the same) hurts the eye.

1056. Umuntu mubi wa kupa: wasunako.
You give to a bad person - you break off a piece.

1057. Umuntu nga akulwapo: elyo aishiba imyendele isuma.
If a person fights, then he knows the good way to go.

1058. Umuntu wa bubifi: umutima wakwe eko walola.
A person with bad behaviour, it is his heart you see.

One person does not die (from) compensation.

1060. Umuntu umo: uhisalangana.
One person is not scattered.

1061. Umunwe umo: taupwa milimo.
One finger (and) the work is not done.

1062. Umupalu wa nsofu: afwa ku nsofu.
The skillful hunter of elephants died by an elephant.

1063. Umupama pamo: utule ng'oma.
The one who hits the same pierces the drum.

1064. Umupamba ukulu: bepusha pa kubwela.
A big, evil omen they ask (about) upon returning.

1065. Umupashi taupa: wikele.
The spirit of the departed does not give the one sitting.

1066. Umupashi tawenda na ciwa.
The spirit of the departed does not travel with the evil spirit.

1067. Umupashi ushipalwa: mupokwa nama.
The spirit of the departed that is not honored is the receiver of the animals.

1068. Umupashi waishibikwa: taulya muntu.
The spirit of the departed that is known does not eat a person.

1069. Umupashi wakano bunga: ninshi afwayo mwine ng'anda.
The spirit of the departed that refuses flour wants, then, the owner of the house.
1070. Umupashi wa mubiyo: tawenendelwa.
   The spirit of your companion is not one to be traveled with.

1071. Umupashi wa mwaiçe: wise cungulo/ wende cungulo.
   The spirit of a child may come/go in the evening.

1072. Umupelwa: takanga butabo/ bulambo.
   The one who is given (things) does not dry (them) over a fire on the rack for drying meat.

1073. Umepelwa: temika butala.
   The one who is given (things) does not build a granary.

1074. Umupemba bwalwa: mupemba nkonto.
   The one who waits for beer is the one who waits for a cane.

1075. Umupini taukontokela kuli icibinda.
   The handle is not broken off by a responsible person.

   The handle of a tool shown by a woman returns/ is returned.

1077. Umupundu ukulu: taukubilila.
   The big mupundu tree does not stop yielding completely.

1078. Umupupu tapoka bala.
   A thief does not receive a garden.

1079. Umusana wa balimi: umo.
   The back of farmers is one.

1080. Umusha mwaiçe: aitumina libili.
   The little slave child sends itself twice.

1081. Umusha wakokola: asanguko mwana.
   The slave that delays becomes a child.

1082. Umusha wanaka: aile na matwi yakwe.
   The obedient slave left with his ears.

1083. Umushi taupa.
   The village does not give.

1084. Umushi ushilala: baukumbwe mitenge.
   They desire the roofs of a village that does not sleep.

   A village without children doesn't grow, a village with children always grows.
1086. Umushi ushili noko: no kupulo mulimo.
   A village which has no relatives and (you) work for food.

1087. Umushi wa baice: ulawa.
   A village of children always falls.

1088. Umushi wa mukali: upya ku mbali.
   The village of a fierce person burns secretly.

1089. Umushili: ni mfumu munshikuta.
   Soil (the earth) is a chief who is not satisfied.

1090. Umushili taubwesha.
   The soil does not return (things).

1091. Ususu wa mwanakashi: taucila luputa.
   The urine of a woman does not surpass the mound.

1092. Ususuku ubi: utushe mpanga.
   A bad musuku tree causes the reviling of the forest.

1093. Ususuku ushipona: balaunyanta.
   The musuku fruit that does not fall, they always kick it.

1094. Ususwema ukukose fupa: kutine nshila.
   The muswema snake being with strong bones, fears the path.

1095. Umutaba we shilu: baukombola ilyo lipenene.
   The mutaba tree of a mad person, they chip it off (the bark) when the mad person is mad.

   Perseverance is the country you rule.

1097. Umute: utule ng'oma.
   Perseverance pierces the drum.

1098. Umutekatima: wabushishe konge amaluba.
   Laziness in answering a call deprived the sisal-like plant of leaves.

1099. Umutembo wa kupokela: ufimfyo kubeya.
   The pole for carrying two loads causes the shoulder to swell.

1100. Umutende waba mu kape.
   Peace/Health is in the little basket.

1101. Umuti uko wasendamina: eko ukawila/ e ku buwilo.
   Where the tree leans is where it will fall.
1102. Umuti ukulu tabaunina ku mabula.
    They don't climb a large tree by its leaves.

1103. Umuti ukulu: tauwa nga kaice.
    A large tree does not fall like a little child.

1104. Umuti uwila: uko wakongamina.
    A tree which falls down where it is bent over.

1105. Umuti wa fikansa: katalala.
    The medicine of fights is to be quiet.

1106. Umutima lucebu: alacebula.
    The heart of a white spotted carnivorous beatle always warns.

1107. Umutima usunga: cibinda.
    The one who cares for the heart is the owner.

1108. Umuto wa lupwa: tawitika.
    The sauce of a family is not spilled.

1109. Umutombwa tomya kulu.
    The one who engages in conjugal relations tastes the leg.

1110. Umutwe wabule ngala: cishiki.
    A head without a feather headdress is the stump of a tree.

1111. Umwabi wa mubiyo: tawendlwamo.
    You do not walk together with the mwabi beetle of your companion.

1112. Umwafi, bulungu: tabupita pa kafundo.
    Trial by the poison ordeal is a bead which does not pass by a knot.

1113. Umwaice afumine apsamikwe: aya apaleloka.
    The child came out of a nice place (and) goes to a place leaking.

1114. Umwaice ashilafimbilwa: atobelatobela fye.
    A child that has never suffered from indigestion just eats stiff porridge with any kind of relish.

1115. Umwaice ashilafwa: atila na kwa Lesa balalya.
    The child that has not died says that they eat also at God's place.

1116. Umwaice ekalishe lyo anya.
    The child is the one that makes a sound when it passes a stool.
1117. Umwaice tapingula cimbala pa mukalamba.
   The child does not judge the lump of cold mush at the elder's.

1118. Umwaice tawila mweshi.
   A child does not fall on the moon.

1119. Umwaice ukwatola fulwe: tabulwako.
   A child will not be missing where it picked up a tortoise.

1120. Umwaice uwangala ne sembe: akalipōs nga lyamukoma.
   The child who plays with an axe will throw it away if it cuts him.

1121. Umwaka ushili obe: taucilwe baka.
   The year which is not yours is not jumped over (even) by applying oneself.

1122. Umwana ashenda: atasha nyina kunaya.
   The child that does not travel praises the cooking of its mother.

1123. Umwana ashibūsha: alīle musumba wa kwa wishi.
   The child who did not ask ate the large (basket) of stiff porridge belonging to its father.

1124. Umwana ashili obe: mukulu mubiyo.
   The child that is not yours is your companion elder.

1125. Umwana ashili obe: takongwa nshima wa nama.
   The child that is not yours is not enticed (with) porridge and meat.

1126. Umwana bukwe: bupanda bwa kuno akono.
   Brother-in-law (sister-in-law) a small fish trap is the esteem associated with this place.

1127. Umwana kasembe: nelyo kakukoma, wakobeka pa kubeya.
   A child is an axe, although it cuts you, you hook it on the shoulder.

1128. Umwana kasembe: kuti kakukoma watola wakobeka.
   A child is an axe, it can cut you, (but) you take it and hook it (on the shoulder).

1129. Umwana kweba aleba: umwana kukana nga akana.
   Telling a child is telling him, if the child refuses, he refuses.

1130. Umwana mubi: talaba nyina.
   A bad child does not forget its mother.
1131. Umwana mukulu: cikanga na nyina.
A child is an elder, it goes beyond even its mother.

1132. Umwana mulima napon: ne mikalile bubi.
The young of a large bat has fallen (because of) its bad way of sitting.

1133. Umwana mwaume butala bwa ku lukungu.
A son is the granary on the veranda.

1134. Umwana ushafyala: mukulu mubiyo.
The child not borne (by you) is your fellow elder.

1135. Umwana wa bubeli: cikanga na nyina.
The first-born child goes beyond its mother even.

1136. Umwana wa mpuku: tacilika bwendo.
The young of a rat does not fill a hole.

1137. Umwana wa mfubu: angala matenge yonse.
The young of a hippo plays "on both sides of the river."

1138. Umwana wa mfubu: alīla mashilya yabili.
The young of a hippo eats on both sides of the river.

1139. Umwana wa mpushi: ekuta bushiku nyina apulile.
The child of a beggar is the one satisfied on the day his mother begged.

1140. Umwana wa mupe: tafwa nsala.
The child of a generous person does not die of hunger.

1141. Umwana wa ng'wena: akulila kwitete.
The young of a crocodile grows in the reeds.

1142. Umwana wa nshiwa: talya nyanje nkulu.
An "orphan" does not eat big maize.

1143. Umwana wa nsoka: ni nsoka.
The young of a snake is a snake.

1144. Umwanakashi tapikula cisumbu.
A woman does not make a big net.

1145. Umwanakashi male tayeta mpombo.
A woman is finger millet that does not call the duiker.

1146. Umwaume ashikala nsaka: akumbwe nshina ku banankwe.
The man who does not sit in the rest shelter envies the stiff porridge of his fellow.
1147. Umwele wa mulanda: waba mu kanwa.
   The knife of the poor person is in the mouth.

1148. Umweni abika mata: amatwi tabika.
   A stranger puts his bow down not his ears.

1149. Umweni akule fumo: takula kanwa.
   A stranger is large (in) the stomach, he is not large (in) the mouth.

1150. Umweni asha afutwile mpelo mu bunga.
   The stranger left and threw the upper of the two grind stones into the flour.

1151. Umweni ashifumba: noko atula tafumba.
   The stranger that is not generous came from a place that was not generous.

1152. Umweni ashishi kwifwe: atapa pa cintimpwe.
   The stranger who does not know the spring, draws water at the pool of a stagnant water.

1153. Umweni kulu kwa mpombo: takulinda pa lwino.
   A stranger is the leg of a duiker, it does not remain (long) on the shelf.

1154. Umweni lifupa: bamwipike lyo akasuba kaciliko nga alinaka.
   A stranger is a bone, they cook it when the sun is still up so that it is soft.

1155. Umweni mukulu: lishiko.
   An elderly stranger is the fireplace or hearth in a house.

1156. Umweni takolokote fupa: ninshi uko aba amina ayatuntulu.
   A stranger does not pick at a bone, for then he swallows a whole bone where he is.

1157. Umweni talisha monsoli: ninshi uko aba ni ng'omba.
   A stranger does not whistle, for then he is a drum where he is.

1158. Umweni tepula nkama.
   A stranger does not remove the sledge hammer.

1159. Umweni wa kolwe: alya uto kolwe alyako.
   The stranger (in the home of) a monkey eats the little things that the monkey eats.

1160. Umweni wa mpapa ntali: alala pa mpapa yakwe.
   The stranger with a large skin sleeps on his skin.
1161. Umweni wa ingwe: akashila ingwe imilandu.  
The guest of a doorpost leaves the cases for the doorpost.

1162. Umweo wa muntu: waba mu kutwi.  
The life of a person is in his ear.

1163. Umweo wa nkoko: waba kuli cibinda.  
The life of the fowl is with the owner.

1164. Umweshi mulundu mabaka: tekuti ulaye wa mulandu.  
The moon "goes by strides and bounds," you cannot promise one with a case.

1165. Umweshi tautolwa nama.  
An animal is not collected in the moonlight.

1166. Umweshi wapusene na kasuba.  
The moon missed the sun.

1167. Umwikalano: taubipa muntu.  
Living together (with others) does not harm a person.

1168. Umwina mupalamano: e ulye fintu.  
A neighbor is the one who eats things.

1169. Umwina musumba: tabipilwa ngala.  
A person from the chief's capital is not made to look bad by the feathers.

The owner of dogs doesn't call them.

1171. Umwine mfwa: ekata apabolele.  
A widow or widower holds that which decays.

1172. Umwine mfwa: amoneka akakumbe.  
A widow or widower appears with mud stains on clothes and body.

1173. Umwine musunga: talamba minwe.  
The owner of the thin gruel does not have soiled fingers.

1174. Umwine mwiko: alakololamo.  
The owner of the ladle always scrapes remains from the pots.

1175. Umwipi: tafunda mutali.  
A short person does not teach a tall person.

1176. Uo mwenda nankwe: ni mfwa mbiyo.  
The one with whom you travel is your companion (in) death.
1177. Uo washīka: tabamuluba ku ntambalilo.
They do not make a mistake in what is the foot of the bed for the one you bury.

1178. Utulāla twa munda ya nana: utwa munda sha bantu tatulāla.
The little things that sleep in the stomachs of animals does not sleep in the stomachs of people.

1179. Utwalayene: twawilile pamo.
Those who promised one another are those who agreed together.

1180. Uubika: abikila abengi.
The one who puts (things) aside, puts (them) aside for many.

1181. Uubūtile e ulelele uufitile.
The one who was white is the one who brought trouble to the one who was black.

1182. Uucili na nyina: e uli ne filamba mu menso.
The one who still has a mother is the one that tears in the eyes.

1183. Uucūla: e mwana kashiwa.
The one who suffers is the child that is left (orphan).

1184. Uukāna amashiwi ya bakalamba: takokola.
The one who refuses the words of the elders does not dawdle.

1185. Uukanyo mukulu: takota.
The one who refuses an elder does not get old.

1186. Uukwebele mfwa ya noko: mutanshi.
The one who told you about the death of your mother is the first one.

1187. Uukwenseshe ubushiku: bamutasha nga bwaca.
The one who helped you go throughout the night, they praise him in the morning.

The one who talks with people is the one who knows/has brains.

1189. Uuleyafwilisho mwine: Lesa esamwafwa.
The one who goes and helps himself, God is the one who comes to help him.

1190. Uulelila: tacebwa ku kanwa.
The one who is crying is not glanced at by the mouth.
1191. Uuli ne mpepo: talangwa mulilo.
The one who is cold is not shown the fire.

1192. Uulutambile: e ulwile.
The one who watches a fight is the one who fights.

1193. Uulwele munda: tapakata mfumu.
The one who is sick in the stomach does not pay respect to the chief.

1194. Uumfwa bakalamba: alakota.
The one who listens to the elders always gets old.

1195. Uumono bufumu: untu abumona.
The one who sees chieftanship is the one which sees it.

1196. Uupamfiwe: e ulwa ne cibi.
The one who is in a hurry is the one who fights with the door.

1197. Uupingula kamangu: no kumusenda amusenda/ e umusenda.
The one who beats the wooden drum must also carry it.

1198. Uushibambila kanwa kakwe: akomfwo kusasa.
The one who does not work for his mouth tastes a sour taste.

1199. Uushilanda mfwa: ni muka mwenso.
The one who does not talk about death is the spouse of fear.

1200. Uushimwikete: atila mufutule tuleya.
The one who did not know him says, "knock him down, let's go."

The one who is not your mother feels your ribs.

1202. Uushindiko mweni: nga wamutwalo kutali tabwela bwangu.
The one who accompanies a stranger - if you take him far, he won't return quickly.

1203. Uushumfwa fya bakulu: apela pa maso.
The one who does not listen to the things of the elders "dies as soon as he reaches puberty" (has hair).

The one who stood gazing (at a fight) is the one who fought.

1205. Uutangile: e uukulango kwabuka.
The one who led the way is the one who shows you the crossing.
   The one who cuts a mupundu tree down does not glance at
   the flower.

1207. Uutila nkakunaila: akakunaila.
   The one who says, "I will make stiff porridge for you,"
   will make it for you.

1208. Uutolo mupamba: tashibata.
   The one who picks up an evil omen, does not close the eyes.

1209. Uwabamba: tabambuluka.
   The one who has killed game does not stop having success
   at hunting.

1210. Uwabika: abikila abengi.
   The one who put (things) aside, put them aside for many.

1211. Uwa bingo kowa: feminina.
   The one who was set on swimming, does not wait.

   A liar does not go and see (if) soldiers come.

   The one who consults his spirit is the itching sensation.

1214. Uwaenda: taceba ku mulu.
   The one who journeys does not glance at the sky.

1215. Uwafwa: ashinge lulu.
   The one who died departed for good.

1216. Uwafwa: tamona mulopa wakwe.
   The one who dies does not see his blood.

1217. Uwafwa: teti bamufwiluluke.
   The one who dies they do not "bring back to life."

   The one who bears the one who personifies the type who
   brings endless trouble on others does not lack for a
   constant need of being cared for.

1219. Uwafyala: taliwa na mbwa.
   The one who bears children won't be eaten by a dog.

1220. Uwaikete fibili: awile ku menshi.
   The one who held on to two things died in the water.
1221. Uwaingila ku mushitu: tomfwa nswanswa.
   The one who enters a grove of high evergreen trees in a swampy place does not hear footsteps.

1222. Uwakalema: taleka.
   The one who contracts a bad habit does not stop.

1223. Uwakana Musa: ne nsomo shakwe balakana.
   The one who refuses Musa (a legendary figure) also refuses his fees for the traditional doctor.

1224. Uwakana kwela: akano koca.
   The one who refuses to fish with a basket, refuses to roast (them).

1225. Uwakanwa: takutula.
   The one who has a mouth does not eat stiff porridge without relish.

1226. Uwakupe calo: talabwa.
   The one who gave you the country is not forgotten.

1227. Uwakupēla akufinya: uwakutana akwangusha.
   The one who gives to you makes you heavier, the one who refuses you makes you lighter.

1228. Uwakwensho bushiku: bamutashe lyo bwaca.
   The one who helped you to go at night they thank in the dawn.

1229. Uwalefya: tonaula.
   The one who lengthens (something) doesn't destroy it.

1230. Uwalwala munda: tapakata mfumu.
   The one who is sick in the stomach doesn't pay respects to the chief.

1231. Uwalya akansumbi: umutima wnuwke cibabo.
   The one who ate the small animal such as rabbits, rats, etc., has a heart that smells like burnt hair.

1232. Uwalya namba: takambatila munda.
   The one who eats gum does not stick to (his) stomach.

1233. Uwalya noko te mukali: mukali untu atile noko ali kwil?
   The one who ate your mother is not the fierce one, the fierce one is the one who said, "Where is your mother?"

1234. Uwamabele: talangwa nshila.
   One with breasts is not shown the path.
1235. Uwanwa menshi: taba fintu aciba.
   The one who drank water does not have the thing he once had.

1236. Uwaoba amato yabili: alashika.
   The one who paddles two boats always sinks.

1237. Uwaowele: tashika.
   The one who swam does not sink.

1238. Uwapata bambi: aipata.
   The one who hates others, hates himself.

1239. Uwapata mwana noko: nani uo mukaseka nankwe lukubuli.
   The one who hates a sibling - whom will he laugh heartily with.

1240. Uwapunda owe: balamutula.
   The one who shouts, "Owe" (Help), they always help him.

1241. Uwapyana ngoshe: apyana no busungu.
   The one who inherits from a green mamba, inherits also the snake's venom.

1242. Uwashama tatobela inona.
   The one who is unlucky does not eat stiff porridge with relish...

1243. Uwatwala pa nsaka: tonaula.
   The one who carries (it) to the rest shelter does not destroy everything.

1244. Uwauma nafyala: anumina limo.
   The one who beats the mother-in-law, beats her one time.

1245. Uwaumina umo: e waumine babili.
   The one who beats one person is the one who beat two.

1246. Uwawa bamuseka fye: tabamuma.
   They just laughed at the one who falls, they don't beat him.

1247. Uwawa: taimina.
   The one who falls does not stand up.

1248. Uwaya: ashinge lulu.
   The one who goes is gone for good.

1249. Uwayafwilisho mwine: ni Lesa esamwafwa.
   The one who goes and helps himself - it is God who comes to help him.
1250. Uwayambwa ninshi akula.
   The one who is slandered then grows.

1251. Uwela mu misapa: akasuka ela na mwi’tenga.
   The one who fishes with a basket in a large pool formed by
   flood water in a plain will end up fishing also in the deep
   pool in the river.

1252. Uwenda na kanwa: taluba.
   The one who goes with his mouth does not do wrong.

1253. Uwenda ne mbwa abepa: uwenda na bantu tabepa.
   The one who travels with a dog lies, (but) the one who
   travels with a person, doesn't lie.

1254. Uwenda na ngoshe: apyana no busungu.
   The one who travels with a green mamba, also inherits the
   snake's venom.

1255. Uwenda na ngosa-kati: nobe walaba ngosa-kati.
   The one who travels with a "troublesome person" always
   becomes a troublesome person.

1256. Uwenda no ulwele pa mutima: alambukilwa.
   The one who travels with a sick person always gets hurt.

1257. Uwibukisha ifya kale: alafwa.
   The one who remembers the things of old always dies.

1258. Uwibukisha kamangu: no kumupāpa e umupāpa.
   The one who remembers the wooden drum used formerly as a
   war or alarm drum is the one who also carries it on his
   back.

1259. Uwikwite: asontelo bwali ku kanwa.
   The one who is full points to the stiff porridge with the
   tongue.

1260. Wabala icikali: uyangne na maka.
   You provoked a fierce thing, may you sham a battle with
   power.

1261. Wabulapo cushi: washo mulilo uleyaka.
   You took away the smoke (but) left the fire burning.

1262. Wa bunga: tomwa.
   The one with the flour is not beaten.

1263. Wa bulema: taleka.
   The one with an inveterate habit does not stop.
1264. Wakoma lyobe: washa lya mubio lilesalaba.
You killed your own ("child") and left your companions to gambol about.

1265. Womone linso lyabuta auti talyalwele.
You see a clear eye and say, "It was not sick."

1266. Wa mwabi: tacingwa.
The one who has a mwabi beetle is not protected.

1267. Watinina lunshi pa menso.
You squeeze a fly into the eye.

1268. Watobela mu muto wa bimbye.
You eat stiff porridge with the relish of a mess.

1269. Watule nsupa akapunda: iyenda ilasuma.
You pierced a hole in the calabash - it runs, it always leaks.

1270. We mwipi: usamune icasamiko mutali?
You short one, you would take down what a tall person has put up?

1271. Weshiko tatukwa: ilishiko likamufutila.
The owner of a fireplace or heart in a house is not insulted, the fireplace will compensate.

1272. Weshiko tatukwa; ilishiko likamusutila.
The owner of a kitchen is not abused; his good kitchen will do amend for him.

1273. We shuko: tafishilwa.
You the lucky one are not kicked about.

1274. We ushishi njili: uishibile mu lunweno.
You who are ignorant of the warthog, you know it in the pot.

1275. Wifunda lushishi taulateba; ulecenjeshe nkuni.
Don't strip bark rope before you gather the wood, (or) you will warn the wood.

1276. Wikabala muko: taulalila.
Don't strut in front of the in-laws before you have cried.

1277. Wilatuka muko: taulalila.
Do not insult the in-law before you have cried.

1278. Wimono muti ukupululuka auti: walyuma.
Do not see a tree stripped of its leaves and say, "It is dry."
1279. Wimone linso ukulwala nge lishabutile.
   Don't see a sick eye as one that was clear.
1280. Wintobola: kubangilila.
   Not throwing dust into the eyes is starting early.
1281. Winyuka mpapa taulafyala: ulecenjeshe fumo.
   Do not look for a skin to carry the baby in before it is
   born, you will warn the womb.
1282. Wituka mwankashi talafūla.
   Do not insult a woman before she has undressed.
1283. Yakuntila apatali.
   It rumbles far away.
1284. Umwaice balemulango mweshi: alemono munwe.
   They show a child the moon (and) he sees a finger.
1285. Umunani umo: ube cifukushi.
   One relish becomes disgust arising from repetition.
1286. Uushili noko: takutonya mutwe.
   The one who is not your mother does not feel your head.
APPENDIX B

SHONA PROVERBS WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

1. Kupedza nyota/ kuenda padziva.
   To quench thirst (one) goes to a pool.

2. Kupedza nyota/ kuenda patsime.
   To quench thirst (one) goes to a well.*

   To quench thirst (one goes to a) well.*

   What one is used to, one is used to; the baboon climbed up
   a steep ascent after dark.

5. Kuziva mbuya huudzwa.
   (In order) to know the mother-in-law, one has to be told
   (about her).

6. Waita mbereko ada kusuka machira.
   She who has a carrying cloth (borne a child) has chosen to
   wash napkins and blankets.

7. Wanzi baba wada kamusha kake.
   He who is addressed as father has chosen to have his own
   home.

8. Achemedza mbudzana yake akura.
   He who has a crying child has an adult.

   A lizard suns itself within reach of its hiding place (hole).

10. Nzou haikarari ina makaka.
    An elephant with calves does not cough up phlegm.

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1 The following proverbs represent Hamutyinei and Plangger's
   collection and translation (1974). They are presented with the written
   permission of Mambo Press, Gwelo, Zimbabwe. English translations
   followed by an asterisk (*) represent the author's own translation
   based on Hamutyinei and Plangger's previous translations.
11. Imbwa ine hona haihukuri.
   A dog with a bone (in his mouth) does not bark.

12. Mombe yenzuma kufuma ivete/ kufunga chakadya nyanga dzayo.
   A hornless ox lying down early in the morning puzzles over what ate up (hindered the growth of) its horns.

13. Chirema ndechina mazanol/ chinotamba chakazendama kumadziro.
   A lame person is clever; he dances while leaning against a wall.

   One is (comes to be) called a girl or a boy if one is (properly) fed.

15. Kunzi munhu ari apa/ kudya.
   One is (comes to be) called a person if one is (properly) fed.*

16. Tsvaga zano iwe une rakowo.
   See for (somebody's) advice when you have got yours.

17. Zano hunga une rako.
   Advice (means) you have yours.*

18. Kuchenjera/ kuruka nhava.
   To be wise is to make a woven basket.

   To be wise is to prepare strings (for a woven bag).

   An old woman's relish is refused (only) after tasting.

   The content of an old woman's pitcher is refused (only) after tasting.

22. Kuramba nyama ye chidembo hunga uine yetsuro.
   If you refuse the meat of a pole-cat, it means you have hare's meat.

23. Kuramba butu uno mukonya.
   One who refuses bran has something better which makes him arrogant.

24. Kuramba dzvuku/ kuona jena.
   Refusing red implies seeing white.

25. Kuramba rutsakara hunga uine maziviro.
   To refuse a ragged article means you have got something better.
   To reject a woman means you have a girlfriend.

27. Kufira guyu kuuya/ hazvienzani nokufira shamba.
   To die for a fig is better; it cannot be compared to dying
   for a cattle melon.

   To die for a dried squash is better/ it cannot be compared
   to dying for a cattle melon.*

29. Kureva ndokunei/ kutarisa kurevawo.
   Why say something; a sharp look is also a remark.

   Why say something; looking is also a remark.*

31. Kurova mbira/ kurova bako.
   To hit the rock rabbit involves hitting the cave.

32. Mupanje wekunze unodzivirira iri mukati.
   The outer ridge (of a field) guards those inside.

33. Mupanje we kunze unodzivirira we mukati.
   The outer ridge (of a field) guards those inside.*

34. N'ai kwadzo ndedzomucheche/ dzomukuru dzinoreva kudya.
   A genuine yawn is that of a child; an adult's indicates a
   desire to eat.

35. Kuzamura chaiko ndokwomudoko/ kwomukuru kunoreva kudya.
   A genuine yawn is that of a child; an adult's indicates a
   desire to eat.*

36. Ateyera mariva murutva haachatyi mhapa kusviba.
   One who sets stone traps on burnt grass is not afraid of
   blackening his (posterior) skin wear.

37. Usatya bhurukwa kusviba iwe wakateya mariva murutsva.
   Never be afraid to blacken your trousers when you have set
   stone traps in burnt grass.

38. Apinda murutsva anosviba tsoka.
   One who passes through burnt veld will get dirty feet.

   Never be afraid of losing your fat when you are held by
   the fire.

40. Hapana munwe unoswva mukanwa ukabuda usina mate.
   No finger put into the mouth will come out without saliva.
41. Tenda muchero wadya zvinotenza mwoyo.
   Be grateful for the fruit when you have eaten all you want.

42. Tenda muchero wadya zvinogadza mwoyo.
   Be grateful for the fruit when you are satisfied.

43. Matukirwo ababa/ kunema mwana.
   The father is scolded by jokingly abusing (his) child.

44. Matukirwo ababa/ kudonza mwana.
   The father is scolded by jokingly pulling (his) child.*

45. Chikweya ndechambwa/ chomunhu chinotevera.
   A dog lags behind (but) a human being can overcome his laziness.

46. Kubaya tange hama/ vatorwa vakutye.
   Kill first the relatives (so that) strangers may fear you.

47. Kubaya tanga nowako/ vokunze vakutye.
   Kill first the relatives (so that) strangers may fear you.*

48. Chinono chine ingwe/ bere rinodya richifamba.
   The leopard is cautiously slow (but) the hyena eats while walking.

49. Chinono chine ingwe/ tika rakadya richifamba.
   The leopard is cautiously slow (but) the hyena eats while walking.*

50. Urombo hwamatede kuniwa nemvura/ makurwe ari mumhatso.
   It is the misfortune of baboons to get soaked with rain while the crickets are in the huts.

51. Nhava yebenzi haitani kusakara.
   A fool's woven bag is easily torn.

52. Zino irema/ rinosekerera anorivenga.
   A tooth is stupid; it smiles at its enemy.

53. Zino irema/ rinosekerera warisingadi.
   A tooth is stupid; it smiles at its enemy.*

54. Wazarira bako mvura ichada kunaya.
   You have closed the cave while it is still raining.

55. Watsindira bako mvura ichanaya.
   You have closed the cave while it is still raining.*

56. Usapedzera mapfumo mukubaya nhema idzo nzou dzichauya.
   Don't waste spears on stabbing rhinos when elephants (may still) show up.
57. Usapedzera tsvimbo kuna vanamakuwe/ hanga dzichauya.
   Don't waste knobkerries on go-away-birds when guinea fowl (may still) show up.*

58. Itsvimbo dzokutamba nadzo kupotsea makunguo idzo shiri dziripo.
   It's wasting knobkerries to throw them at crows when (edible) birds are around.

59. Ustanda hwiza idzo tsuro dzichauya.
   Don't pursue locusts when hares (may still) show up.

60. Kushaya mano kwendiro/ kupakurirwa isingadyi.
   (If it comes) to brains a plate has none; it is given food but does not eat.

61. Ishavi/ kurova munda neshamhu.
   It means one is possessed (by an evil spirit) if he is beating the field with a stick.

62. Ishavi/ kuridzira munda tswinya (tsamwa).
   It means one is possessed (by an evil spirit) (kuridzira) a field (tswinya).*

63. Kushaya mano kwomusikana/ kukungira sadza chibhakira.
   It is unwise for a girl to threaten to fight (despise) sadza with her fist.

64. Kushaya nzero kwemhandara/ kupfumbira sadza chibhakira.
   It is unwise for a girl to fight sadza with her fist.*

65. Zvamangwana zvinozivikanwa nebenzi.
   What happens tomorrow is known to a fool.

66. Mwana muduku kudziva musendo noruoko iwo uchazomudziva womene.
   (If) a child (is) fending off a 'plane' with (bare) hands, the 'plane' will fend off (his hands) too.

   Counting absent goats means counting (even) dead ones.

68. Kurava mambudzi ari kumwe/ kurava namapapata.
   Counting goats that are elsewhere is counting skeletons also.*

69. Kuverenga mombe nedzisipo/ kuverenga nemidwe.
   Counting absent cattle is counting tails also.*

70. Zundu kugara mundove hunzi nenidava mombewo.
   A kraal worm living in cattle dung (thinks), "I am a cow, too."
71. Kanyembana kumera munyemba hunzi ndava nyembawo.
   A small bean germinating amongst beans (thinks), "I am a bean, too."

72. Zizi kurungwa munyu roti ndava hukuwo.
   An owl being salted (thinks), "I am a fowl too."

73. Ruzambu kugara munyemba rwoti ndava nyembawo.
   A wild grass growing amongst beans (thinks), "I am a bean, too."

74. Chivendekete anoseka chimedure.
   A damaged plate laughs at a broken plate.

75. Zviri musango zvinosekana/ pfunye ikaona hoto inoseka.
   Those in the forest ridicule one another; when the go-away bird sees a pelican it laughs.

76. Gunguo kuseka zizi iwo muromo waro uchinge dende.
   The crow laughs at the owl's beak, yet its own is like a calabash.

77. Zvirema kusekana mundiro yenhopi.
   The cripples laugh at each other in a plate of mash.

78. Makudo anosekana makuma.
   Baboons ridicule each other because of their foreheads.

79. Kutumira bete kumukaka haridzoki.
   A cockroach sent to (fetch) milk will never return.

80. Mabasa/ kuchonya uri murima.
   It is of no use to wink in the dark.

81. Manetsa huma/ kuchonya uri murima.
   It is useless to strain one's forehead by winking to somebody in the dark.

82. Chafamba kamwe hachiteyiwi.
   What has passed (happened) once cannot be trapped.

83. Chapinda kamwe hachiteverwi.
   What has passed once cannot follow.*

84. Kwadzinorohwa matumburira ndiko kwadzinomhanyira.
   Where they (hares) are beaten on the abdomen (killed), that is where they flock again.

85. Maunga marema/ kudya muti waagere.
   (Hairy) caterpillars are stupid, they feed on the tree on which they live.
86. Kuzengurira izwi romukuru/ kuramba mhangwa.
   To shun an elder's word is to refuse advice.

87. Mamvura mazhinji akatunza kuba.
   Heavy rains encourage stealing.

88. Zimvura guru rakatunza kuba.
   Heavy rains encourage stealing.*

89. Rega kubvunza nyama kuti ndeyokugocha/ iwe muto uchiuona.
   Do not ask whether the meat is roasted when you see it in
   the gravy.

90. Usatsvaga nhava muuswa iro sora ratsva.
   Do not look for a string bag in the grass when the grass
   has been burnt.

91. Usaruka nhava rutsva rwatsva.
   Never weave a string bag after a veld fire.

92. Usakusha mbeu mvura yaenda.
   Do not broadcast seeds when the rainy season has gone.

93. Rega kuyera nyoka negavi iyo iripo.
   Do not use a fiber string to measure the length of a snake
   when the (actual) snake is there.

94. Mazvokuda/ kuda namaronda enyora.
   Death is willful (if) it is (caused) by tattoo marks.

95. Mazvokuda/ kurumwa nechokudongorera.
   It is one's own wish to be bitten if one is (inquisitively)
   peeping.

96. Afa namaronda enyora haachemwi.
   One who dies of tattoo marks is not mourned.

97. Ndomene haichemedzi.
   What you do on your own does not make you cry.

98. Zvamina hazvina mafi.
   My own affairs cause no grudge.

99. Usaverenga mbeva nemiswe (yadzo).
   Do not count mice (together) with their tails.

100. Usaverenga mbeva nemidune.
    Do not count shrews (together) with their tails.*

101. (Deno) Ndakaziva haitungamiri.
    Had I known I would not have done it.
102. Ndakaziva haana zano.
Had I known I would not have reached the age of discretion.

103. Dai ndakaziva haabatsiri.
Had I known I would not have helped.

104. Usayeuka bako waniwa.
Do not think of the cave after getting wet.

105. Munhu - munhu/ hazvienzani nembwa.
A human being is a human being, he cannot be compared to a dog.

106. Munhu - munhu/ haafanani neimbwa (inokandirwa zvokudya).
A human being is a human being, he does not resemble a dog (which throws its food about).*

A brook is a river; when crossing it you fold up your garment.

108. Chikova rwizi/ kuyambuka unokwinya nguo.
The little brook is a river; when crossing it you fold up your garment.*

That which belongs to an elder cannot be asked for.

110. Chomukuru anopa omene.
That which belongs to an elder he gives away as he wants.

111. Chirozva mauya ndicho chiunza mavi.
That which conceals the good also brings the bad (things).

112. Chiri mubwe/ chiri mugonera.
What is in a stone is like something in a (natural) beehive.

113. Imbwa yavata/ yatya.
A dog lying down (means it) has surrendered.

114. Imbwa yakwavarara/ yatya.
A dog lying down (means it) has surrendered.*

115. Aridza mhere/ atya.
One who has called for help has surrendered.

116. Apotera/ atya.
One who has taken refuge has surrendered.

117. Chitende chinorema ndecine mhodzi.
It is the calabash containing seeds which is heavy.
118. Dende ringorema ngerine mbeu.
   A calabash is heavy if it has seeds in it.*

119. Mukadzi womumwe ndimbuya.
   Someone's wife is (like) a mother-in-law.

120. Mukadzi womumwe ndaambuya.
   Someone's wife is (like) a mother-in-law.*

121. Apota nechuru avanda.
   One (who has) gone behind an ant-heap is hidden.

122. Apota nechidzere ahwanda.
   One (who has) gone behind a small ant heap is hidden.*

123. Nherera inozviudza yoga.
   An orphan advises himself/herself.

124. Nherera inozvichengeta pachayo.
   An orphan cares for himself/herself.*

125. Tsudo inozvifudza yoga.
   A hare browses alone.

126. Benzi kunge riri rakol kudzana kwaro unopururudza.
   When your (family's) fool dances, you applaud (him).

127. Benzi nderako/ kudzana unopururudza.
   When your (family's) fool dances, you applaud (him).

128. Ane benzi ndounaro/ kudzana anopururudza.

129. Varume ndivamwel kutsva kwendebvu vanodzimurana.
   Men are all the same; when their bears burn they help each other to extinguish the fire.

130. Pamanyore hapasimudzwi hapwa/ dzinozosimudzwa chapo chamuka.
   Never expose your armpit in public until you have got what you wanted.

131. Dembo harivhiyiwi paruzhinji.
   A pole cat is not skinned in public.

132. Moto mushoma (ndiwo) unonyautsa muto.
   It is a low fire that warms the soup.

133. Moto mushoma ndiwo unondombesa zviri mugapu.
   It is a low fire that boils thoroughly that in the pot for relish.*
134. Afa/ anaka.
   One who is dead is better off.

135. Ishungu dzomutana waswera padare/ kuramba nemhandire seane meno.
   It is due to (jealous) irritation that an old man who has
   spent the day at the fire place refuses to give away dry
   maize although he has no teeth.

136. Ishe kukura nokuwandirwa.
   A chief grows with the number of his subjects.

137. Ishe/ vanhu.
   The chief(dom) is (made by) people.

138. Rwizi runokura nezvikova.
   A river grows (depends) on tributaries.

139. Maramba kukombwa/ maramba hweni.
   One who does not like people around him also resents guests.

140. (Chinhu) chinodyiwa chino murandu.
   Everything (about to be eaten) should first be introduced
   ceremoniously.

141. Izivangechomo/ kupa rombe rehama.
   It is a deep feeling of sympathy (that causes one) to help
   a beggar relative.

142. Kurebesa muromo unodya chedemo/ chebanga hauchiwani.
   If you talk too loud and too much, you will (only) eat
   something cut with an axe but not with a knife.

143. Kurebesa muromo unodya chomwedzi/ cherima hauchiwani.
   If you talk too loud and too much, you will (only) eat
   something done in moonlight but not something done in
   darkness.*

144. Nzara ishuramweni.
   Hunger forecasts (the coming of) a visitor.

145. Kubirika mweni/ kumudzinga.
   To cook for a stranger means to send him away.

146. Kukowa kwasamusha/ kukokwa kwavagere naye.
   To invite a village headman means to invite also those
   under him.

147. Panodya ishe/ navaranda vanodyawo.
   Where the chief eats the servants also eat.*

   In order to chase a dog away throw it a bone.
149. Kudzinga imbwa/ ikandire godo.
In order to chase a dog away throw it a bone.*

150. Dai pasina nyimo/ makunguo aizodyei?
If there were no (bambara) groundnuts, what would the crows eat?

151. Gunguo rinodya mbamba/ rino muchero waro.
The pied crow eats groundnuts; that is its fruit.*

152. Kureva chikwereti kumurombo/ kunema Mwari.
To claim a debt from a poor man is (tantamount) to scorning God.

To demand the debts of a poor person is to insult God.

154. Chadywa nomurombo/ chadyiwa nashe.
What has been eaten by a poor man has been eaten by a chief.

155. Akumbira bangsa/ ada kupa muridzi nyama.
He who borrows a knife wants to give meat to the owner.

156. Zuva rimwe haripedzi dura.
One day's stay does not empty a granary.

157. Shiri-ipinda haipedzi mhunga.
A passing bird does not finish a mhunga field.

158. Mombe inopfuura haipedzi uswa.
A passing ox does not finish the grazing.

159. Mweni haaendi nedura.
A guest does not carry away the granary.

160. Usayeuka pwere waminya.
Do not remember the child when you have (already) swallowed (food).

161. Kupa huvigisa.
To give is to bank.

162. Kupa kuturika.
To give is to hang (something) up.*

163. Mutsa worutsoka/ kuperekedza ziso.
The food is kind (feels obliged) to accompany the eye.

164. Kuchengeta imbwa yomweni/ kuda mwene wayo.
Keeping a stranger's dog means liking its owner (too).
165. Kuchengeta imbwa yogweni/ kuda muridzi wayo.
    Keeping a stranger’s dog means like its owner (too).*

166. Aguta haaaoneki.
    When satisfied, one does not bid farewell.

167. Aguta haachaoneki.
    When satisfied, one does not bid farewell to it.*

168. (Mombe) Inonanzva inoinanzvawo.
    It (e.g., an ox) licks the one that licks it.

    What is not yours, you are bound to eat in mouthfuls while facing the door.

170. Chisi chako hachibatsiri/ unodya wakaringa kumusuo.
    What is not yours is useless, eating it, you are choked at the door.*

171. Aramba ukama/ apa huku yangu kurarama.
    He who has refused relationship has given my fowl (longer) life.

172. Aramba ushamwarir/ apa huku yangu kupona.
    He who has refused friendship (and) thereupon my fowl lives longer.*

173. Masuka mukanwa/ bere harirariri chipashupashu.
    (It means just) rinsing the mouth, a small locust cannot feed a hyena.

174. Masuka mukanwa/ bere harirariri mapapata emhashu.
    (It means just) rinsing the mouth, a small locust cannot feed a skeleton.*

175. Chirango chatimbal/ kuti nzou pinda mumba.
    It is a mere formality for a (small bird) to invite an elephant to its nest.

176. Kandiro kanoenda kunobva kamwe.
    A small dish (of food) goes where another one comes from.

177. Kandiro kanopfumba kunobva kamwe.
    A small dish (of food) makes way for another one.*

178. Kandiro enda/ kandiro dzoka.
    Little dish go, little dish come back!

179. Chitsva-chitsva/ munamba wejenachena.
    What is new is new like milk porridge.
180. Chitsva-chitsva/ mudzamba wejenachena.
What is new is new like milk porridge.*

181. Chitsva-chitsva/ hazvienzani nechitsaru.
What is new is new; it cannot be compared to something old.

182. Ane jira ndeane rukunara (rusakara)/ ane idzva akariwana meso atsvuka.
The one with an old blanket (has been satisfied all along);
the one who got a new one has acquired it with red eyes
(after a struggle).

183. Ane jira ndeane musakaral ane idzva akariwana meso atsvuka.
The one with an old blanket has an old article; the one who
has got a new one has acquired it with red eyes.

184. Mafutura avakatanga/ kuturikidza svinga nechirongo.
It is over-confidence, if those who came first put a pitcher
on a bundle of wood on their heads.

185. Kudada kwavari mugomo/ kukumbira vari pasi mapfihwa.
It is mockery when mountain dwellers ask those for hearth
stones who live in the veld.

186. Kuvirima kwavari mugomo/ kukumbira vari pasi mapfihwa.
It is mockery when mountain dwellers ask those for hearth
stones who live in the veld.*

It is mockery when veld dwellers ask those for water who
live on a mountain.

188. Kutaura kwowadye ganda/ kunokunda wadya mushuna.
The one who has eaten meat with skin praises it more than
the one who has eaten steak.

189. Chishashavira chowadye ganda/ kukunda wadya mushuna.
Boasting about what was eaten with skin praises it more
than the one who has eaten steak.*

190. Huku kudzidzowana gonye/ inopedza musha naro.
A hen getting a worm (for the first time) runs with it all
over the place.

191. Ishe-ndishel muranda/muranda.
A chief is a chief (and) a servant is a servant.

192. Ishe-ndishel ngoya ndingoya.
A chief is a chief (and) a kraalhead is a kraalhead.

193. Usiku humwe chete hahupedzi ushe.
A night's (lodging) does not take away chieftanship.
194. Usiku humwe hahupedzi urarami.
   A night's (lodging) does not take away well-being.

195. Usiku humwe hahupedzi umambo.
   A night's (lodging) does not take away chieftanship.

196. Pakukutu hapaurayi.
   Rough accommodation won't kill you.

197. Vatsva vetsambo (chena)/ kudzisungira vanozviringa.
    Those wearing plaited bangles for the first time keep
    proudly looking at themselves.

198. Akumbira banga/ kuti azivikanwe kuti abaya.
    The one who asked for a knife wants it to be known that he
    has slaughtered (a beast).

199. Ushe ukokwa kuna vamwe.
    Chieftanship is but invitation (from the people).

200. Ushe uruvirwa.
    Chieftanship is to be worked for.

201. Panotamba machinda/ nherera sinyungwe.
    Where the sons (of a chief) are dancing, an orphan should
    keep in the background.

    Side with snakes, not with the rich.

203. Panorwa hama nehama/ mutorwa bvira kure.
    Where relatives fight, a stranger should keep aloof.

204. Tsuro kotsa muromo.
    Hare, mind your mouth.

205. Mwana kuchemera nyere yepfuta/ achairega yaputa.
    A child crying for a whistle (made from the castor oil
    plant) will abandon it when it shrivels.

206. Tsuri itsva inozvimbisa muromo.
    A new whistle (made of reeds) makes the mouth swollen.

207. Anonyumwa bere kurira/ ndouya akazora manda.
    He who is scared of a hyena's howling is he who has
    smeared (himself) with fat.

208. Unonyumwa bere kurira kuita sowakazora manda.
    He who is scared of the hyena's howling is smearing himself
    with fat.*
209. Anonyumwa chati kwata/ ndeane katurikwa.
   He who feels uneasy about what has dropped is he who has hung up something.

210. Anonyumwa chati kwata/ ndeane chaakarembedza.
   He who feels uneasy about what has dropped is he who has hung something.*

211. Iringa nameso/ muchero wenhundurwa.
   It's a thing to be looked at only (like) a bitter apple.

212. Mudya nameso/ musvita wapamawere.
   The eyes only are fed by (an inaccessible) tree on a slope.

213. Chirumbwana/ chitumiki.
   A young boy is easy to send.

214. Indemo hadzo dzeane nyota/ asi mvura haikokotwi.
   It is (hopelessly) incongruous for a thirsty person but water cannot be scraped up with a finger.

   It is (strangely) incongruous for a patient to ask for water when there is some next to him.

216. Idemo dzomutenda/ kukumbira mvura imwe anayo.
   It is contrariness for a sick person to ask you for water which is there.*

217. Chinonzi rega ndechiri mumakoko/ chiri mumwoyo hachikandwe pasi.
   What can be expected to be dropped is (held) in the hands, but what is in the heart cannot be thrown on the ground.

218. Chinonzi rekera ngechiri mumakoko/ chiri mumwoyo ndingofa nacho. (M)
   What can be expected to be dropped is (held) in the hands, but what is in the heart I shall die with.

219. Utsi hwenyama hahutosvori.
   Smoke from roasting meat does not irritate (the eyes).

220. Utsi hwenyama hahuteyi.
   Smoke from roasting meat does not irritate the eyes.*

221. Pachapwa madziva/ miramba tichanyurura.
   When pools dry up, we shall catch barbel.

222. Pachapwa madziva/ mahono tichanyukura.
   When pools dry up, we will catch big fish.*

223. Mbavarira inoda vane nharo.
   Perseverance calls for impetuous people.
224. Kubakisa mvuto kunoda varidzi vadzo.  
   The blowing of bellows calls for experts.

   To rear an orphan is to fill a calabash with soil.

   (If you) rear an orphan he/she will turn against you tomorrow.

   (If you) bring up a dog with milk, it will bit you tomorrow.

228. Akupa dhamba (rengavi) ndowako.  
   He who have given you a tame ox is your relative.

229. Akupa dhamba ngewako. (M)  
   He who has given you an ox is like your relative.*

230. Chomujiri ndechemanza/ chomudzimu ndechawadaniwa.  
   Whatever you get from a forest (of wild fruit trees) 
   by luck; what you are invited (to take) is given by the 
   mudzimu

231. Chomutiri ndechokukomborerwa.  
   What you get from a tree is by (sheer) favour.

232. Yatsika dope/ yanwa.  
   That (animal) which has stepped into the mud has been drinking.

233. Yatsika musheche/ yanwa.  
   That (animal) which has stepped into the wet sand has been drinking.*

234. Vataitururira matohwe/ nhasi ndivo votiseka maparapadzwa.  
   Those for whom we got down snot apples are today laughing 
   at our bruises.

235. Tendai/ muchero ugowisa.  
   Be grateful (to the tree) so that it may yield more fruits.

236. Kuombera/ kukumbira zvichauya mangwana.  
   To clap hands is to ask for more tomorrow.

237. Usaguta ukasunda dura.  
   Never be satisfied as to push (wreck) the granary.

238. Rega kuguta nokurutsira mundiro yawadyira. (M)  
   Don't vomit into the plate from which you have eaten.
239. Kure ndokuna amai/ kune mukadzi unofa wasvika.
   Far away (seems to be) the mother but the wife you will die
   (attempting) to reach.

240. Kure ndokuna amai/ kune mukadzi ndinofa ndasvika.
   Far away (seems to be) the mother but my wife I will die
   (attempting) to reach.*

   It is far where there is nothing; where there is something
   you are determined to reach.

242. Kure kwegava ndokusinamutsubvu.
   A jackal will consider far (only) that place where there is
   no mutsubvu fruit tree.

243. Mwana muduku kubvuma rwendo/ rwake ruri mukati.
   If a child agrees to a journey, his interest in involved.

244. Ronda rinosunda ndorine muchiehi.
   The wound closing up causes pain.

245. Mvana inoshishira/ ngeine mwana. (M)
   An unmarried mother, although difficult to approach, can
   still bear another child.

246. Mvura inoshinyira/ ngeiri pazambuko. (M)
   The most threatening floods are those at a ford.

247. Nyuchi dzinorumu/ ngedzine uchi. (M)
   The stinging bees are those with honey.

248. Ropa uya nderina vatsungi.
   Fortune favours the brave.

249. Pfumo rinobaya ngerina hombarume. (M)
   The spear that pierces is that of a (successful) hunter.

250. Rugahomba harugari murume mutyi.
   A daring kind of life cannot be adopted by a coward.

251. Apunyaira haashayi misodzi.
   One who has worked himself up will not lack tears.

252. Badza harinyepi.
   A hoe tells no lies.

253. Hapana mvura isina chura.
   There is no water without a frog.

254. Hapana mutunhu usina nyoka.
   There is no (tribal) ward without a snake.
255. Hapana imba isina gonzo.
   There is no house without a rat.

256. Chidokodoko chirera muviri/ chikuru chinozouya wakora.
   A little thing helps to sustain the body; a big one will come when you are fat.

257. Nzombe huru yakabva mukurerwa.
   A big bull emerged from breeding.

258. Shumba huru yakabva mukurerwa.
   A big lion emerged from breeding.*

259. Chakafukidza dzimba matenga.
   What covers the huts are roofs.

260. Ageza haanokorerwi.
   One who has washed (his hands) helps himself (to food).

261. Kabva muzai kava kashiri.
   That which has hatched is (already) a bird.

262. Chasosodzwa chava chitiyo.
   That which has hatched is (already) a chicken.*

263. Akura/ arehwa.
   One who has grown up is spoken of.

264. Akura/ ataurwa.

265. Munhu mukuru/ kurehwa munda.
   For an adult, to be spoken of is (just as natural as) working the field.

266. Utsva hworurimi hahuna marapiro.
   Burns on the tongue cannot be treated.

   (The best way) to take revenge is to withdraw one's head into one's shell (like a tortoise).

268. Zuva rimwe hariodzi nyama.
   Meat does not rot in a day.

269. Zuva rimwe hariurayi munhu.
   One day does not kill a person.

270. Zuva rimwe hariradzi munda.
   One day's (absence) does not (cause your) field to be neglected.
271. Zuva rimwe haripedzi nyaya.
    One day does not settle a case.

272. Panoda mwoyo/ nzira haisviki.
    Where the heart wants (to go) the path does not reach.

273. Apo mwoyo ungoda/ gwanza harisviki.
    Where the heart wants to go the path does not reach.*

274. Mutoro unorema wasvika.
    The load becomes heaviest when you are reaching (the goal).

275. Nhumbu inorema yasvika.
    A womb is heaviest near (the time of) delivery.

276. Nhava (homwe, tswanda) inorema yasvika.
    A woven bag (small bag, basket) is heaviest when reaching (the destination).

277. Makunun'unu (ndiwo) maodzamwoyo.
    Brooding breeds despair.

278. Muroyi munhu/ kubayiwa anochemawo.
    A witch is human, when she is pricked she also cries.

279. Muroyi munhu/ kubayiwa angangochemawo.
    A witch is human, on being pricked she can also cry.*

280. Mwoyo chipanda/ chaunoda unoturika.
    The heart is a place where you can hang whatever you want.

281. Mwoyo ibakwa/ chaunoda unoturika.
    The heart is a pile of wood where you can hang whatever you want.*

    Although a milleped coils, it is grieved.

283. Rwavhi kufamba zvishoma/ asi shungu runadzo.
    Although a cameleon moves slowly, it is grieved.

284. Kurumwa netsikidzi rambira mumba/ chitete chinopinza mune chikobvu.
    (In spite of) being bitten by bugs, remain in the house; a small trouble (may) otherwise lead to big trouble.

285. Rutsva runovira nokuona rumwe.
    One (veld) fire spreads at the sight of another.

286. Rutsva runomerera nokuona rumwe.
    One (veld) fire grows at the sight of another.*
287. Hwahwa (doro) hune umambo.
   To be drunk means to be king.

288. Hwahwa iganganwa urombo.
   Beer makes one forget his poverty.

289. Doro ndimapedza mhosva.
   Beer makes you forget a charge against you.

290. Hwahwa hahuna mbuva.
   Beer does not provide for a journey.

291. Mhamba haina dura.
   Beer is unconcerned about the granary.

292. Hwahwa hahuna ndashanya.
   Beer has no regard for a visitor.

293. Mhamba haina uko ndashanyira. (mhamba: beer)
   Beer is not concerned where the visitor is.*

   To pass through a thicket you have to rely on shoes.

   To pass through a thicket you have to know about relying on sandals.*

296. Kubika sadzal/ kuziva kuti muriwo uripo.
   To prepare food (you must) know that there is relish.

297. Jaha kutizisa mhandara/ kuona danga. (M)
   A young man eloping with a girl must have cattle.

298. Kubira rwizi rwakazara/ kuziva kusambira.
   To cross a flooded river you must be able to swim.

299. Ngwena haidyi chebambha/ chayo chinoza neronga.
   The crocodile does not live on raids; its food comes along the water way.

300. Muromo unodya chawapiwa.
   The mouth eats what it is given.

301. Kuuya pamba kwomusvitsa/ hunge abvisirwa chuma.
   For a bride to be brought home beads will have had to be paid.

302. Muvhimi haatyi mumwe.
   A hunter does not fear another (hunter).
303. Hombarume haatyi mumwe.
   An expert hunter does not fear another.*

304. Uranda ndohwepfuma (zvipfuwo)/ hwomunhu hunozvirwira.
   Domestic animals can be enslaved; a human being will free himself.

305. Nhaka ndeyemombe/ yomunhu inozvisarudzira yoga.
   Cattle can be inherited; a human being (woman) will choose for herself.

306. Imbwa kuminya hona/ inodada nechivhuno.
   A dog swallowing a bone is confident of its power to break it.

307. Imbwa kumedza bvupa/ ingodada nechivhuno.
   A dog swallowing a bone is confident of its power to break it.*

308. Bofu kuti uya tirwel hunge rakatsika pfuti.
   When a blind man is challenging you, it is because he is standing on a gun.

309. Kusvora magol hunge uchitenza chako.
    (If you) despise the wasps you must be confident of yourself.

310. Kuzvigamba/ hunge wakakombwa.
    (It's easy) to be daring if you are (well) guarded.

311. Kutukana nomuroyi/ hunge muchizivana.
    To quarrel with a witch means you know each other.

312. Mungozva (muzvere) kutukana machirembal hunge achinyinda (achivimba) notwake.
    A mother (after delivery) quarreling with a doctor has again confidence in herself.

313. Madanha etsvimborume/ kudya yawarira.
    It is a bachelor's longing to eat after preparing his sleeping place.

314. Mhandara inosara yoseka/ kumba yashanda.
    A girl laughs after she has finished house work.

315. Mhandara kuita mavendel/ kuda kuti vanhu vaseke.
    A girl having gaps between teeth makes people laugh.

316. Mwoyochena ndowi/ bere kugarira mhuru yakafa zvayo?
    What sort of altruism if a hyena has to guard a dead calf?

317. Mwoyochena ndowi/ bere kugarira munhu akafa?
    What sort of altruism if a hyena has to guard a corpse?*
318. Mwoyochena wei/ tsvimborume kubvisa mwana wemvana madzihwa?
   What sort of kindness if a bachelor wipes the nose of a primipara's child?

319. Kutumikai kwomukwambo/ kutaurira mbuya kuti gapu renyama ratsva?
   Why is it easy for a son-in-law to be sent reporting to the mother-in-law that the water in the relish pot on the fire has evaporated?

320. Mwoyochena wei/ kugombera inonwa zvayo?
   What sort of kindness to guard a suckling calf?

321. Kuitai kwemudzimu/ kunayisa mvura pasina audirira?
   What kind of doing by the mudzimu to give rain when nobody has asked for it?

322. Tsvimborume chenga urarami/ hama dzife uugogara nhaka.
   A bachelor should be after a long life; when relative die he will inherit (a wife).

323. Pfunda chenga urarami/ hama dzife uugogara nhaka. (pfunda: bachelor)
   A bachelor should seek a long life; when relatives die he will inherit (a wife).*

324. Mutombo wepfuma kurarama.
   A charm for getting rich is a long life.

325. Tsvimborume kutenga duri/ kuona mashoko kunaka.
   A bachelor is buying a mortar (because) he is doing well in his love affairs.

326. Hombarume kutema tsvimbo/ kuona sango kukura.
   An expert hunter is cutting knobkerries (because) the hunting ground is large.

327. Chipa muchena/ kupfuma mudzimu wake.
   You can help a poor man (but only) his mudzimu will make him rich.

328. Muromo haupi/ chinopa maoko.
   The mouth doesn't give but the hands.

329. Muromo hauzarirwi norwizi.
   A mouth cannot be stopped by a (flooded) river.

330. Kutaura kudzikisira/ kuita makata.
   Talking is (as easy as) going downwards (but) doing is (as difficult as) going upwards.

331. Muromo inyore kuvhura/ kupfiga unonetsa.
   The mouth is easy to open (but) difficult to close.
332. Kupa mweni/ kuchenge tera mbuva mberi.
   To give to a stranger means to store up provisions for the future.

333. Kuona chembere yodzinga shiri/ zviyo zvaibva.
   (If) an old woman is chasing birds (it means) the grain is ripening.

334. Muroyi haana ndagona.
   No one can master a witch.

335. Tenda nyakuvitsa/ mupi haapotsera.
   Thank the delivery man; the giver might not have thrown it (to you).

   To thank for a gift (out of) the dark ('blue') one should thank the delivery man.

337. Muzvimbirwi ndiye muzaruri wesuo.
   The one who has overeaten is the one to open the door.

338. Muzvimbirwi ndiye murwanesasa.
   The one who has overeaten is the one who fights the door.*

339. Musoro kutekenyedza/ unozivikanwa nomuridzi wawo.
   The tickling head is known by its owner.

340. Mudyi wegudo ndiye muvhiyi.
   The one who eats the baboon is the one who skins it.

341. Shungu dzembwa dziri mumwoyo/ kuhukura ndiko kududza.
   The dog's grief is in its heart; its barking denotes the venting of it.

342. Igonyodzo/ kuda chegadzingani.
   It reveals grudge to eat (something) belonging to a stingy woman.

343. Inotanda yomunyepi/ younyerere haitandi.
   It is the dog of the talkative man that chases (hares); that of the silent one does not.

344. Muromo unodavidza nomuroyi.
   The mouth can answer (even) a witch.

345. Nharo imhanjire.
   Quarrelsomeness breeds hatred.

346. Nharo dzinoparira muviri maronda.
   Quarrels cause physical injury.
347. Nharokuudzwa/ mangwana unopona.
   A quarrelsome (person) open to advice will escape (danger) tomorrow.

348. Rambakudzihwa akazoonekwa neropa kudonha.
   One who refused advice was (later) seen bleeding.

349. Rambakuudzwa akazoonekwa nembonje pahuma.
   One who refused advice was later seen with a head injury.*

350. Zimutsa bope/ kudyidzana nembwa.
   It means provoking a fight (if you) eat together with a dog.

351. Zimutsa nharo/ kudyidzana nembwa. (nharo: dispute)
   It means provoking a fight (if you) eat together with a dog.*

OR,   Anorara nembwa anomuka ava nenhata.
   One who sleeps with a dog will get up with fleas.

352. Zvinakisi ndizvo zvikondori zvomwoyo.
   Things which are good but overdone will one day disappoint.

353. Zviururwi zvinofara kana kondo afa ziso.
   Small frogs are happy when the hammer-head (bird) has lost one eye.

354. Majichimbochimbo anofara kana kondo afa ziso.
   Small frogs are happy when the hammer-head (bird) has lost one eye.*

   Something has killed the owl; it cannot be the wind.

356. Kune chaursaya zizi/ harifi ngemhepo.
   There is something that killed the owl; it cannot be the wind.*

357. Chiripo-chiripo/ zizi harifi nemhepo.
   Something did it; the owl was not killed by the wind.*

358. Imbwa inohukura haina ngozi.
   A barking dog is not dangerous.

359. Imbwa inogwauta haina ngozi.
   The dog that barks is not dangerous.*

360. Gonzo nachin'ai zvatosvorana.
   The rat and soot have irritated each other.

361. Zvatosvorana gonzo nachin'ai.
   The rat and soot irritated each other.*
362. Mharadzano dzakabva munzira.
   Side paths branched off from the main path.

363. Mhararano dzakabva mugwanza.
   Side paths branched off from the main path.*

364. Matukano akabva munyaya.
   Abusive talk developed from (simple) conversation.

   If you eat a (small) wild animal a morsel of meat may stick
   between the teeth.

366. Chayambuka chaoneka/ tsiga rakasiya mbare pagumbo.
   What crosses over bids farewell; the burning log as left
   scorch marks on the leg.

367. Chayambuka chasiya/ mutanda wakasiya mbare.
   What crosses over bids farewell; the burning log left
   scorch marks.*

368. Chaenda chaoneka/ mutsiga wakasiya mbare.
   That which went away bade farewell; the log left scorch
   marks.

369. Chakadya chakaoneka/ mutanda wakasiya mbare.
   That to be eaten will be seen; the burning log will leave
   scorch marks.*

370. Tsvaru anodana tivhu.
   A light stroke invites a heavy blow.

371. Tsvaru ungodana tewe.
   A light stroke invites a heavy blow.*

372. Kufa ndikamwe/ kuora mazuva matatu.
   (You) die once and rot in three days.

373. Kufa izuva rimwe/ kuora igore.
   To die (occurs) in one day; to rot (occurs in) one year.*

374. Kutamba ngoma matsive.
   Feasts with drums are held in turns.

375. Kutamba ngoma igumwe.
   To dance (with) drums (requires) beer for work.*

376. Chinokanganwa idemo/ chitsiga hachikanganwe.
   The axe forgets but the (cut) log does not.

   The hoe forgets (but) the soil does not.*
378. Vayanani ndivo varwi.
   Friends are (also) fighters.

379. Vadani ndivo vakani.
   Friends are (also) fighters.*

380. Mvura bvongodziki ndiyo garani.
   Troubled water (eventually) becomes peaceful.

381. Samwoyochema ndiye nyamutsvirwa nemba.
   The kind-hearted has his house burnt down.

382. Mwoyochema unobayisa.
   A kind heart causes one to be killed.

   You learn from others how to (chew) squander relish.

384. Tsoro-ndamba inotangwa ngewayo.
   The tsoro game is to be started by the initiator.

385. Kuroorera mukarabwe muchenal waisa udyi mumba.
   To marry a girl of poor parents means to feed more people.

386. Mambo kudya nengoyal kutsvaga uranda.
   If a chief eats with a commoner he makes himself a servant.

387. Kumutsa kambudzi kane marangal wamutsa karuchemera.
   To arouse a small goat with discharge from the eyes means to arouse one crying (for more help).

388. Kugara hunzwana (navamwe).
   In order to get settled (at a place) one should be on good terms with the neighbors.

389. Potsi haarwirwil tinorwira pirii.
   The first (mistake) should not be fought about but the second.

390. Mhembwe urombo ndohwayo/ hailsweri musvo rimwe nembudzi.
   The duiker is to be pitied (because) it cannot (even) spend a day together with goats.

391. Zizi urombo ngewharo/ harisweri pamwe nedzimwe shiri.
   The owl is to be pitied (because) it cannot be together with (even) one bird.*

392. Meso asangana/ hwava ukama.
   Eyes which have met have (established) relationship.
393. Meso aonana/ hwatova ukama.
   eyes which have seen each other have relationship.*

394. (Mombe) Dzafura churu chimwe dzave zivani.
   Those (cattle) that have grazed on the same ant-hill know each other.

395. Hukwana inodya ndeiri pana mai.
   The chicken that feeds (best) is the one near the mother.

396. Nhiyo inodya ngeiri pana mai.
   The chick that feeds (best) is the one near the mother.*

397. Imbwa payadyira/ haipakanganwi.
   Where a dog has fed it does not forget.

398. Godzi paakadya nhiyo/ haapakanganwi.
   Where a hawk has eaten a chick it does not forget.

399. Manenji/ kuona mukadzi ane mhanza.
   It is astounding to see a woman with a bald head.

400. Manenji/ kuona kamba (ingwe) ichitamba nembudzi.
   It is astounding to see a leopard playing with a goat.

401. Chishamiso/ bere kutamba nembwa.
   It is astounding if a hyena plays with a dog.

402. Vari pachavo vanokwenyana.
   People on their own scratch one another.

403. Vari pachavo chikurikuri.
   People on their own group together.*

404. Vagere pachavo vangonyinda. (-nyinda: be self-confident)
   The ones sitting alone are self-confident.*

405. Musi muvi ndiwo muuya.
   A bad day (can become) a good day.

406. Mavi ndiwo mauya.
   Something bad (is also) something good.

407. Afirwa haaringwi kumeso.
   A bereaved person is not looked in the face.

408. Atosvorwa haaringwi kumeso.
   One with irritated eyes is not looked in the face.

409. Akweva sanzu/ akweva namarara aro.
   He who pulls a fallen branch also drags away its leaves.
410. Azvuva sanzu/ azvuva namashizha aro.
   The one who pulls a fallen branch is the one who pulls away its leaves.*

411. Wadya zai/ wadya nhipyo yacho.
   One who eats the egg also eats the chick.

412. Chirume kufumira pachimwe/ kumuromo chakatakura.
   A man visiting another early in the morning must be (eager) to talk.

413. Murume kufuma kubuda mumba/ kutumirira muromo.
   If a man leaves the house he wants to convey a message.

414. Ashunya/ arwa.
   He who has pinched has fought.

415. Atswinya/ arwa.
   The one who has pinched has fought.*

416. Agumhina afamba/ hazvienzani naTigere.
   The one who has limped has walked; he cannot be compared to the one seated.

417. Ane mombe yake anoziva makumiro ayo.
   The owner of an ox knows how it bellows.

418. Chomungozva chinodyiwa nowabata mwana.
   What belongs to a woman who has recently given birth is eaten by one who cuddles the child.

419. Kudya chomuzvere/ bata mwana wake.
   (If you want) to eat in the house of a woman who has given birth, cuddle her child.

420. Chashe chinodyiwa nowagara padare.
   What belongs to a chief is eaten by one who sits at the (chief's) court.

421. Chawawana idya nehama/ mutorwa ane hanganwa.
   Whatever you have secured eat with relatives; a stranger easily forgets.

422. Icho waona idya newako/ wokuruwa ane hanganwa.
   What you see eat with your relatives; a villager easily forgets.*

423. Yeuka hama/ mutorwa ane hanganwa.
   Remember relatives; a stranger easily forgets.*

424. Chinoziva ivhu kuti mwana wembeva anorwara.
   (Only) the soil knows that the young of a mouse is sick.
425. Zvinozivikanwa nevhu kuti mwana wembeva anorwara.
   It is well known by the soil that the young of a mouse is sick.*

426. Vaviri-vaviri/ wechitatu muzvinaguhwa.
   Two are two; a third party means gossip.

427. Pavaviri/ wechitatu muzvinaguhwa.
   There are two; three means gossip.*

428. Kuvengana hakupi chiro/ nyama inodyiwa yaswera pachoto.
   Hatred brings no reward; meat is eaten after it has spent a day on the fire.

429. Kuvengana hakupi nyaya/ nyama inodyiwa yaswera pachoto.
   Hatred brings no conversation; meat is eaten after it has spent a day on the fire.*

430. Shungu neganyu zvinodzimba wotandadza/ asi chido chinomusimbisa.
   Grief and sighing hurt a person in agony while loving compassion strengthens him.

431. Chirungurira ndechowadya maradzwa/ chowerinopisa isvoto.
   Indigestion attacks the one who has eaten left-overs but the one who has eaten hot food feels nausea.

432. Chirungurira ngechowadya munya/ cheungopisa masvoto.
   Indigestion attacks the one who has eaten left overs, nausea the one who has eaten hot food.*

433. Maronda asiri ako anonhuhwa.
   Wounds other than yours stink.

434. Nyoka inochenerwa chayo samaserwe.
   The snake entertains its own kind like maserwe (spotted skaapsteker).

435. Chikomo shata divi/ rimwe ritambire pwere.
   Little mountain, be 'bad' one one side so that children may play on the other.

436. Chikomo ipa rutivi/ rumwe rutambire pwere.
   Little mountain, be 'bad' (so that) children may play on the other side.*

437. Muroyi royera kure ugowana anokuviga.
   (You) witch, practise your witchcraft far away so that you will find someone to bury you.

438. Wavengwa/ anuhuhwa.
   He who is hated stinks.
439. Warambwa/ anhuhwa.
The one with a death rattle stinks.*

440. Mutumwa haana mbonje.
A messenger should not be injured.

441. Mutumwa haana mhosva.
A messenger is not blamed.*

442. Harahwa mbiri hadziurayani.
Two old men won't kill each other.

443. Ngoma/ muridzi wayo.
The (sound of the) drum depends on the drummer.

444. Ngoma/ muna wayo.
The drum is (dependent on) its owner.*

445. Muviri/ mwene wawo.
The (disposition of the) body is known by its owner.

446. Kuroora mukadzi roora muroyi/ unofuma wowana chinokurwisira daka.
When you marry, marry a witch; (then) you will have somebody fighting on your behalf against a grudge.

447. Kurera imbwa rera inoruma/ igokudzirira mupfumvu.
If you rear a dog, rear a fierce one so that it will defend you in times of danger.

448. Kutanda imbwa yomukuwasha/ kudzinga muridzi wayo.
To drive away the dog of a son-in-law (means) to chase its owner.

449. Kudzinga imbwa yomuna/ kudzinga tenzi wayo.
To drive away the owner of a dog is to drive away its owner.

450. Muromo itsvimbo/ unozvidzivirira.
A mouth is like a knobkerrie; it defends itself.

A mouth is (like) a spear; it fights for itself.*

452. Imhashu yomurwere inogochwa yakabatwa gumbo.
It is a sick man's locust which is roasted while its leg is held (by him).

453. Ushamwari hwechikweyakweya/ mangwana tichanzwa zvipini zvorira.
Too intimate a friendship will end with hoe handles cracking tomorrow.
454. Ushamwari hwechigidigi/ hwakazopera mipini yorira.
   Intimate friendship will end with handles cracking.*

455. Ushamwari hwechirim/ pazhizha hwaparara.
   Friendship in spring vanishes in summer.

456. Ushamwari hwechembere hunopera dzagumhana nemidonziwo.
   The friendship of old women ends by fighting with their
   walking sticks.

457. Ushamwari hwenjiva-varungul mazuva maviri hwaparara.
   The friendship of pigeons vanishes in two days.

458. Chipitipiti chakazvara chimwandamwanda.
   Excessive intimacy breeds separation.

459. Chaikuda kana chokurambala/ zvinenge zvine chakwenyera.
   If what used to love begins to hate you, it seems something
   prompts it to do so.

460. Kureva donga/ rimwe riripo rinonyumwa.
   Talking ill of a muTonga in the presence of another
   (muTonga) will make the latter (feel) uneasy.

461. Vamwe ndivamwe/ munajenga kutaura.
   Intimate friends are one; be careful when talking about them.

462. Musachema muzvere afrwa nomwana muchisiya uyo afa nomwana wake.
   Do not mourn a woman whose newly born baby has died, and
   forget one who has died together with her baby.

463. Vari kuno vanoviga nherera mhenyu vachisiya muzvare afa.
   People here bury a living orphan and leave the dead son
   of a chief.

464. Mhandakadzi ihonza varanda.
   A querulous woman makes the servants lose weight.

   Female quarrels breed court cases.

466. Kurova werwendo/ kuzvikohwera mapfumo mberi.
   To beat a traveller (means) to prepare spears (meant) for
   yourself in advance.

467. Kutuka werwendo/ kuzvisosera nzira ngeminzwa.
   To scold a traveller (means) to block one's path with
   thorns.

468. Moto wakanakira kubika zvinhu/ kana kuri kupisa chikamukira.
   Fire is good for cooking but dangerous when it (just) burns.
469. Nhanga rokunze/ ndimandiparira ngozi.
   A pumpkin near the roadside invites trouble.

470. Nhamo yomumwe hairambirwi sadza.
   Somebody (else's) trouble will never cause (one) not to eat food.

471. Nhamo yomumwe hairadzisi musoro pasi.
   Somebody (else's) trouble will not cause (one) to keep his head low.

472. Nhamo yomumwe haiburitsirwi misodzi.
   Somebody (else's) trouble will not cause (one) to cry.

473. Chiri pamumwe/ chiri padanda.
   What affects another person is like affecting a log.

474. Ushe hunonyanga dera.
   Chieftainship overtakes a coward.

475. Ushe hunonyangira rema.
   Chieftainship overtakes a fool.*

476. Zidutururu ndiro rinouraya nzou.
   It is a fool that kills an elephant.

477. Imbwa yakaipa kazhinji mukanwa munowira bvupa rakanaka.
   Into the mouth of a useless dog often falls a tasty bone.

478. Mapudzi anowira kusina hari.
   Pumpkins abound where there are no pots.

479. Manhanga anowira vasina hari.
   Pumpkins abound where there are no pots.*

480. Matikiti anowira vasina hari.
   Pumpkins abound where there are no pots.*

481. Chibahwe chinowanda kuna vasina meno.
   (Green) maize abounds at (the homes of) those without teeth.

482. Chiro irombo/ kuroora mbuya ikazvara.
   It is sheer luck to marry an old woman who happens to bear a child.

483. Kunonoka huvizhura.
   Coming late may turn out to be lucky.

484. Chokuchikidzira ndicho chamunoshayia/ chokuringa jeyacheya ndicho chamunowana.
   What you seek seriously is what you miss but something you seek leisurely is what you will find.
(It means another lease of) life for tortoise to meet a chief.

486. Kurarama kwehamba/ kusangana nousina demo.  
(It means another lease of) life for a tortoise to meet someone without an axe.*

487. Mudzimu waro bveni/ kuwanika mukuni wakatinhuka.  
It is due to the baboon's *mudzimu* if it finds a falling-log trap (already) set off.

488. Hove dzinokwira dzine muronga.  
Fish go upstream when they have a channel.

489. Hove dzine muronga.  
Fish have a channel.*

490. Chawira pasi/ imbwa inoti mudzimu wayo makweva.  
For that (food) which has fallen (onto the ground) the dog praises its *mudzimu*.

491. Chawira pasi/ mudzimu wembwa.  
That (food) which falls (is from) the spirit of the dog.*

492. Imbwa kupiwa bvupa yoti mudzimu wangu wabva nepi.  
If a dog is given a bone it asks: where has my *mudzimu* come from?

493. Guyo kuchena kuona zviyo.  
If a lower grinding stone turns white (it is because) grains are ground on it.

494. Mhanza kutsvukira kuona pfuta.  
Shining baldness is due to oil applied.

495. Musungusungu wakakunda mowa/ muzukuru wakakunda mwana.  
Black nightshade (vegetable) surpasses wild spinach as the nephew surpasses the son.

496. Mhanza mambure.  
Luck is (like) a hunting net.

497. Rombo mambure.  
Luck is (like) a hunting net.*

498. Nzira masanga.  
(Getting onto) a path is sheer chance.

499. Dzatsvokuuya/ nyemba kutsva dzarungwa.  
It is a lucky accident when beans get burnt after they have been salted.
500. Maisokwadzo/ nyemba kutsva dzarungwa.
    You are lucky when beans get burnt after they have been salted.*

501. Mashura anotanga mberi.
    Omens appear before (misfortunes).

502. Manenji anongotanga mberi.
    Unusual events occur before (misfortunes).*

503. Chakupa ronda/ chati nhunzi dzikudye.
    What has given you a wound has sanctioned that flies eat your (flesh).

504. Mudzimu wakupa ronda wati nhunzi dzikudye. (mudzimu: ancestral spirit)

505. Chaza masikati charamba ndima/ chaza usiku charamba hope.
    That which comes by day prevents weeding and that which comes by night prevents sleep.

506. Nhamo ndiyo setsi.
    Misery is the cause of laughter.

507. Nhamo haisekanwi.
    Misery should not be ridiculed.

508. Matakadya kare haanyaradzi mwana.
    What was eaten long ago cannot stop a child from crying (for food).

509. Matakadya kare haanyengedzi mwana. (-nyengedza: quieten)

510. Muzandiripo haarambiri pachigaro.
    A predecessor is not entitled to remain in the seat (indefinitely).

511. Zvoti mwana otsva kudumbu/ amai votsva kumusana (muberekero hapachisina).
    If a child burns its belly and the mother burns her back carrying becomes impossible.

512. Mvura yateuka haina muoreni.
    Spilt water cannot be collected.

513. Mvura yateuka haichagoni kuorerwa.
    Water that is spilt cannot be collected.*
514. Chapfuura chaenda/ mvura haierwi. 
   What has passed is gone; spilt water cannot be collected.

515. Chafa charova/ dai ndakaziva hairiri. 
   What is dead is gone; to say 'had I known' does not help.

516. Nhamo urimbo/ inonamira. 
   Misery is like bird-lime; it sticks (to men).

517. Nzara haisukwi setsvina. 
   Hunger cannot be washed away like dirt.

518. Urombo hahudzingirwi ngetsvimbo. 
   Poverty cannot be chased with a hunting club.

519. Urombo hwayo mhembwe/ kufa iri pamusungo. 
   It is miserable for a duiker to die while in a snare.

520. Nhaka dzinoguranwa musi wenyatwa. 
   Inheritance is withdrawn on the day of trouble.

521. Kurwara kwomuranda anorwara akatakura bonde. 
   When a servant gets ill he carries his mat along.

522. Igangaidza mukwenyil mhezi kuvavira mudumbu. 
   It confuses the scratcher if a scab itches in the belly.

523. Nherera inoguta musi wafa maio 
   An orphan gets plenty on the day his mother dies.

524. Tsapata rukukwel hazvienzani nokuvata pasi. 
   A worn-out mat is better than sleeping on the (bare) floor.

525. Gengezha mukombe/ hazvienzani nokunwa nedemhe. 
   An old ladle is better than drinking from a broken gourd.

526. Ane ganda ane nyama/ hazvienzani nowakabata hwowa. 
   One with lean meat is better off than one with mushrooms.

527. Ane kariwongo ane kake/ hazvienzani neasina. 
   One with something (any small article) is better off than one with nothing.

528. Chembere mukadzi/ hazvienzani nokuvata mugota. 
   To have an old woman is better than sleeping alone in a sleeping quarter.

529. Agura musuva atozva mwoyo/ hazvienzani neagere. 
   One who has had a morsel of food is better off than one with nothing.
530. Ndongwe inyama/ hazvienzani nenhikiti.
    Locust meat is better than pumpkin relish.

531. Nhumbu ihuru isina wapa.
    A belly is big when there is none to feed it.

532. Nhumbu ihuru isina wayo.
    A belly is big when there is no one.*

533. Munhu haarerwi nebonde.
    A person never develops on a sleeping mat.

534. Rugare rwedafi runouya nemvura kunaya.
    A frog's happiness comes with the rains.

535. Atandavara aguta/ apfunya ndowavata nayo.
    The one with out-stretched legs has eaten (enough) but the
    one with his legs folded has slept being hungry.

536. Atambarara aguta/ arara ngenhumu negewayo.
    The one with out-stretched legs is full, but not the one
    sleeping on his belly.*

537. Chigere ibwe/ muti unowa.
    It is the stone that remains (but) the tree will fall.

538. Chigere idombo/ muti unowa.
    The stone remains; the tree falls.*

539. Wakagarika ngewakafa/ mupenyu pfumo riri'mushure.
    The settled person is the one who is dead but, as for the
    living, troubles still lie ahead.

540. Kana shumba ikashaya nyama/ inodya uswa.
    When a lion fails to find meat it eats grass.

541. Ukaimba rumbo rwenhamo waparara.
    If you sing the song of misery you are finished.

542. Nhamo haizivisi.
    Misery does not make (you) wise.

543. Chakaringanwa ibvudzi/ upfumi hahuna kuringanwa.
    What is shared by everybody is hair, riches are not shared
    (equally).

544. Chakaenzanwa ibvudzi/ upfumi hahuna kuenzanwa.
    That which is equal is hair; riches are not equal.*

545. Inochema ndeiri paurimbo/ iri muriva inoti denga rawa.
    The (bird) which shrieks is the one on the bird-lime; the
    one (caught) in a stone-trap thinks the sky has fallen.
546. Inotšo tsviritsvirî ndeirî paurimbo/ irî murîva inotšo denga raputšika.
   The bird chirping is the one on the bird-lime; the one
   (caught) in a stone trap thinks the sky has fallen.*

547. Kunokanganwa mudyi wenyembâ/ muoreno wameketô haakanganwi.
   The one who eats the beans will forget but not the one who
   gathers the shells.

548. Munhu asina mutimwi haasimiri mugwâda.
   One without a waistband cannot wear a loin cloth (passed
   between the legs).

549. Murombo haaro o chine nguo.
   A poor man never kills (a big animal) with a skin.

550. Ino muto ndîyo inei/ yokugocha ikagodyiwa wani?
   Why (prefer) meat with soup if roasted meat can also be
   eaten.

551. Zvino munyu ndîzo zvinei/ chidokohori chikagodyiwa wani?
   Why (prefer) relish with salt if stamped ground nuts can
   also be used (as relish)?

552. Urombo uroyi/ hahuudzwi munhu.
   Poverty is (like) witchcraft, it is not talked about.

553. Ndoita zvingani/ kuti mhanza, kuti mavende?
   How many misfortunes can I bear: a bald head and toothless
   gums...

554. Nhamo haizivi pakagara imwe.
   A misfortune does not avoid another one.

555. Nhamo haityi imwe.
   A misfortune is not afraid of another one.

556. Tsuro pfupi haitemi uswa hurefu.
   A short hare does not cut tall grass.

557. Roora rousina baba rinonetsa.
   Marriage for a fatherless young man is difficult.

558. Kuroora kweasina tewe kunonetsa. (tewe: guardian)
   Marriage for one without a guardian is difficult.*

559. Chirombo chenherera/ kudya ikarutsa.
   It is the fate of an orphan that he eats and has to vomit.

560. Urombo hune nherera/ kudya ikarutsa.
   The pity of an orphan is to eat and vomit.*
561. Chiromboi chagara nherera/ kudya ikarutsa. (-gara: sit on)
The little pity dwelling on an orphan is eating and
vomiting.*

562. Mudzimu wemvana/ kuroorwa ikarambwa.
It is (because) of the mudzimu of a woman (who has given
birth for the first time) that she marries and gets
divorced.

563. Wacho ndowacho/ kuwanikwa nomumwe chinopinda napamwe.
"Wacho ndowacho" - for one to find object of search and
for others to surpass it.*

564. Wegudza ndowegudza/ kufuga gumbeze rinotsva.
The one who is meant to have a bark blanket has to have it;
if he uses a woollen blanket it gets burnt.

Misery haunts its (chosen) families.

566. Zhara inodyisa mutupo.
Hunger makes (a person) eat the meat of his clan's totem
(animal).

567. Nzara ingodyisa mutupo.
Hunger can make one eat his clan's totem (animal).*

568. Chiri pamuchena/ chiri pamutenure.
What is in a poor man's hands is perched on a slope.

569. Chiri pamuchena/ chiri pamutsvedu.
What is in a poor man's hands is sitting on a precipice.*

570. Chiri pamuchena/ chiri pamawere.
What is in a poor man's hands is sitting on a slope.*

571. Nhamo hadziiti mbiri.
Misfortunes never come in twos.

572. Njodzi hadziiti mbiri.
Danger never comes in twos.*

573. Charova sei chando/ kuzoona hamba yokwira mumuti?
How cold must it be that (even) the tortoise is climbing
a tree.

574. Nhonhongora kudya chayo/ kukumbirirei uchi kudondi.
A big bee eats from its own and does not ask for honey from
a smaller bee.
575. Yaruma sei nzara/ hurudza kurarira hute?
How biting the hunger must be that (even) an expert farmer
eats wild plums in the evening.

576. Zvine mashura/ gudo kuputsika mumuti.
It is mysterious if a baboon falls from a tree.

577. Heya baravara ndiwo mugariro/ kutuka mwene wechisvo ndiwo mano?
(Do you think) that the shaved head stays permanently
shaved and to scold the owner of the razor is wise?

578. Nhumbu tatanana/ hunzi ndiwo mugariro, kutuka muna wedura.
(You think) that when you have your fill you can scold the
owner of the granary.

579. Chura kugara mumvura/ handi kunwa.
That a frog is living in the water does not imply it is
(always) drinking.

580. Chandiwana nhasi/ chichazokuwanawo mangwana.
What has befallen me today will befall you tomorrow.

581. Nhasi chineni/ mangwana chinewe.

582. Mhosva yomumwe/ mangwana ndeyako.
Someone's (court) case could be yours tomorrow.

583. Chataidya nomuromo/ nhasi chava chokudya nameso.
What we used to eat with mouths is now eaten with the
eyes.

584. Kusakara kwechari kunotanga masa.
When a shawl wears out it begins at the fringes.

585. Kukwegura kunotanga meso mukarirano.
Old age begins by 'passing the buck' with the eyes.

586. Chinokokwa upfumi/ urombo hunozvikoka.
Wealth is invited but poverty invites itself.

587. Chinokokwa rugare/ rufu runozvikoka. (rugare: peace; rufu: death)
Wealth is peace but death invites itself.*

588. Mbiri matende/ inoputsika.
Fame is like gourds, it breaks.

589. Chingoma chiririsi ndicho chiparuki.
The drum that sounds loudly is the one that bursts.

590. Kangoma kanoririsa ndiko kanotsemuka.
The little drum that sounds loudly is the one that bursts.*
591. Muchero wakurumbira/ wakuva.
   A fruit that is plentiful is already out of season.

592. Ugaro mwena/ kutevedza unoguma.
   Settled life is like a hole (in the ground); if followed
   it ends (somewhere).

593. Kugara mwina/ kutevedza ungoguma.
   Settled life is a hole (in the ground); if followed it
   ends (somewhere).*

594. Zuva ignore/ rinodoka rava namarevo mavi namauya.
   A day is a year, it may set with both bad and good news.

595. Usiku ignore/ zuva ignore.
   A night is a year and a day is a year.

596. Aiva madziva ava mazambuko.
   What used to be pools are now fords.

597. Aiva maguta ava matongo.
   What used to be villages are now deserted villages.*

598. Dzaiva nhungo dzave mbariro.
   What used to be beams are now rafters.

599. Chaiti chururu chakapwa/ nhasi tsambarafuta rave igo.
   What used to overflow (with fat) dried up; now the flying
   ant is like a wasp.

600. Chitsva chiri murutsoka.
   Something new is in the foot.

601. Chaitemura chava kuseva.
   What used to eat (food without relish) is now dipping
   morsels (into gravy).

602. Chaikanya chototsa/ chaitotsa chokanyawo.
   What used to knead now merely dips (a morsel of sadza into
   milk); what used to dip now kneads.

603. Nzanga seka dumba/ dumba seka nzanga.
   Village laughs at the cottage; cottage laughs at the
   village!

604. Chinobhururuka chinozoguma nokumhara pasi.
   That which flies ends up by perching on the ground.

605. Chinobhururuka chinozopedzisira chokambaira.
   That which flies ends up by crawling.*
606. Chisingaperi chinoshura.  
A thing without end is mysterious.

607. Chisingaperi chine manenji.  
A thing without end is a mystery.*

608. Kukona kwechomunda/ kutanha muriwo ukavava.  
The blame is on the land when it produces bitter vegetables.

609. Ndiyo hayol nyama yousina imbwa.  
It is sufficient (viz. meat) for the one who has no dogs.

610. Shungu dzinomona kana musungo wapotsa.  
Grief grips (the heart) if a set snare misses (its target).

611. Chauya-chauya/ urwere hahurambwi.  
Come what may, illness can never be refused.

Come what may, death cannot be refused.*

613. Chimedza matore haachadzipwa nepfupa remhuru.  
One who is used to eat old cows will not be choked by a calf bone.

614. Chiruka makudza haakoniwi kuruka nhava.  
The weaver of big bark blankets cannot fail to weave small bags.

615. Afa-afa nomuromo wake.  
The deceased has died with his mouth.

616. Warara-warara nomuromo wake.  
A person asleep sleeps with his mouth.

617. Rombe pakata hana/ mukaka ndowa varidzi.  
(You) beggar, safeguard your conscience (because) milk belongs to the owners (of cattle).

618. Rombe rinosekwa richaenda/ kana rodzoka hedzo nhureture.  
A beggar is ridiculed when leaving, but on his return he brings lots of things.

619. Rombe ngerichaenda/ rodzoka ndimambo.  
If it is a beggar when leaving, it returns a chief.*

620. Hunguhwe cherire/ mangwana ichauya yava nomukwende.  
A black-backed jackal that goes about will bring a load (of prey) tomorrow.

621. Kubayiwa ngetsotso/ mangwana uchatuta.  
If you get pricked by twigs, you will benefit tomorrow.
622. Shure kwenzara/ maguta.
   After famine follows abundance (of crops).

623. Mberi kwenzara/ maguta.
   First there is hunger (then) abundance.*

624. Nhamo haina duku.
   Trouble is beyond any measure.

625. Ronda harina duku.
   A wound is never small.*

626. Nyoka haina duku.
   A snake is never small.*

627. Nhamo haigochwi.
   Misery cannot be roasted.

628. Nhamo haibatirwi pfumo.
   Trouble cannot be fought by seizing a spear.

629. Zinyakurasikirwa anotsvaga uta nomugate.
   One who has lost his bow will look for it in a clay pot.

630. Kutsvaga kwowarasikirwa/ kutsvaga uta mugate.
   Looking for that which was lost is looking for a bow in a clay pot.*

631. Kutsvaga kwowarasikirwa/ kutsvaga uta nomudziva.
   Looking for that which was lost is looking for a bow in a pool.*

632. Zviuya hazvidondani.
   Happy times don't follow each other.

633. Zviuya hazviwanani.
   Good spouses seldom marry each other.

634. Chakata iri pasi ndeya vanhu vose/ asi iri mumuti ndeyo wagona kukwira.
   The chakata fruit which is on the ground is for all people but the fruit up the tree is for him who climbs for it.

635. Chinoda kufa chinovingira/ gonzo rakapona norukungiso rwomweni.
   What is about to die (seems to) walk into death; the rat survived because of the stranger's bow string.

636. Idambudziko rehope/ kurota kwavakarambwa.
   It is a nuisance when you dream of the one who has rejected you.
637. Imbwa kudya matehwe/ kushaya wokuvhima naye.  
A dog eats hides when there is no one to take it out hunting.

638. Kuona imbwa yodya matehwe inenge yashaya wokuvhima naye.  
Seeing a dog eat hides means it has no one to go hunting with it.*

639. Inhamo zvayo/ tsvimborume kuveza duri seine mukadzi.  
It is a painful sight to see a bachelor carving a mortar as though he had a wife.

640. Gore rinorima simbe/ mvura hainayi.  
In the year in which a lazy person ploughs (his field) rain does not fall.

641. Gore rakarima nyope/ haisakanaya.  
In the year a lazy person ploughs it will not rain.*

642. Kuneta kwomukuyi/ sadza rinodiwa navagere.  
The one who grinds gets tired (but) food is eaten by those who (merely) sit around.

643. Kutema kwamai/ bota ringodiwa nepwere.  
The mother gives orders but gruel is eaten by the children.

644. Kufa kwamambo/ pfuma ingodiwa navaranda.  
The chief suffers but his wealth is used up by the servants.

Crops produced by others were eaten by the left-handed ones.

646. Mashura angu kudyrwa munda nembwa sendakarima nyama.  
It is a bad omen to have my crops eaten by a dog, just as if I had planted meat in the field.

647. Nzanga inokura yerema/ yomuchenjeri inoparara.  
A simpleton's village grows while that of a shrewd man is ruined.

648. Rushavashava rune zizi/ kwarafamba rinonzi muroyi.  
It is the owl's bad luck to be called a witch wherever it goes.

649. Zvaita sei kuti chembere yorasika/ bere rorutsa imvi?  
Why is it that an old woman is lost and the hyena vomits grey hairs?

650. Chembere yoshayika/ bere rorutsa imvi.  
An old woman is missed (and) the hyena vomits grey hair.*
651. Kanyenye kotsakatika/ gondo roonekwa rakaruma nyama.
   A small goat gets lost and an eagle is seen with a piece
   of meat.

652. Mwana wegomba inhimbanapasi sehwevera.
   The child of a male adulterer is destructive like a cutworm.

653. Mubvandiripo imombe yakabva yakaruma uswa pamuromo.
   A step-child is like an ox which came with grass in its
   mouth.

654. Ukaona tsuro yomisa nzeve yonyera nhanga yokutiza.
   When you see a hare raising its ears it is about to run
   away.

655. Mbudzi yafura mumera yatorunza.
   The goat that has eaten sprouting grain has shown that he
   is greedy.

656. Diro raba huku ratorunza.
   A baboon that has stolen a fowl is voracious.

657. Imbwa yapinza musoro mupfuko yatorunza.
   A dog that has forced its head into a pitcher is greedy.

658. Munhu haarehwi asipo.
   A person is not spoken about in his absence.

659. Mukuru haataurwi.
   A senior man should not be gossiped about.

660. Mweni haataurwi gumba.
   A stranger is not gossiped about.

661. Ane mhanza haakushi njera/ anotunzira munda kuramba.
   A bald-headed man does not broadcast seeds, he would cause
   poor germination.

662. Mungozva haabikiri vamwe sadza.
   A woman who has just given birth does not cook food for
   others.

663. Varume havadyi nyimo dzepfuko yokugwangurwa.
   Men do not eat groundnuts boiled for hardening a new clay
   pot.

664. Kuipa hakunonoki.
   Disrepute comes quickly.

665. Sanga harina rwendo.
   To meet perchance does not lead to a journey.
666. Chomumunda wezunde/ tenda wachibata.
   Count yourself lucky if you get something from a chief's field.

667. Tenda wakohwa/ zvomunda wezunde. (-kohwa: harvest)
   Thank the one of the harvest for the things of a chief's field.*

668. Chomunda wezunde/ tenda wava nacho.
   The thing of a chief's field, thank (him) that you have it.*

669. Hara -- iharai/ isingazivi imbwa!
   What kind of a wild animal that does not fear a dog!

670. Chikara -- chikaranyi chisingazivi imbwa!
   What kind of a wild animal is it that doesn't fear a dog.*

671. Muchero wejiri hauvimbwe nawo.
   The fruit of the loquat tree cannot be relied upon.

672. Muchero wesango hauvimbwe nawo.
   The fruit of the forest cannot be relied upon.

673. Tenda chaunacho/ chesango hachisiri chako.
   Be grateful for what you have; that in the forest is not yours.

674. Chako ndechako/ kuseva unosiya muto.
   Yours is yours; when you dip (a morsel) you leave the gravy.

675. Totenda maruva/ tadya chakata.
   We shall believe in the flowers after eating the chakata fruit.

676. Totenda yabikwa/ imba yepwere.
   We shall confide in a young couple when they keep house (properly).

677. Totenda dzanwa/ mombe dzaswera nebentzi.
   We shall believe when they have drunk, viz. cattle tended by a fool.

678. Totenda yavira/ tsambakodzi yedemhe.
   We shall believe when it has boiled, viz. the pot of a broken gourd.

679. Totenda nyemba/ tanwira mvura.
   We shall be grateful for beans after drinking water.

680. Chinonyenga chinokotama/ chinosimudza musoro chawana.
   He who is courting bows, but lifts his head when married.
681. Rinonyenga rinohwatira/ rozosimudza musoro rawana.
The one who is courting bows down quickly, the one who is
married raises his head.*

682. Chinonyenga chinogwadama/ chozosimudza musoro chawana.
That which is courting kneels down, but when married raises
the head.*

683. Ambuya-ambuya pakazara vanhu/ paseripo yave shamwari.
She is a mother-in-law in public but in private she is a
girlfriend.

684. Nzou mutupo pana vanhu/ paseri ava machikichori.
A elephant is a totem animal in public but in private it
becomes plenty of meat.

685. Ngava rinofira muridzi waro.
A person has to die for what he has done.

686. Chivi chinodya mwene wacho.
Sin devours the one who has committed it.

687. Kakara kununa/ hudya kamwe.
A carnivorous animal gets fat by eating another (animal).

688. Gara rinokora nokudya rimwe.
A wild animal gets fat by eating one of its own.*

689. Tukara kununa/ hudyana.
Carnivorous animals get fat eating one another.*

690. Kashiri kapangami kanovaka dendere neminhenga yedzimwe shiri.
A clever bird builds its nest with other birds' feathers.

691. Dzinoenda hudyana.
They live by eating one another.

692. Dzingoenda ngokudyana.
They live by eating one another.*

693. Kunyengerwa hakuna wakura/ ndakanzi shwinya ruware ndikashwinya.
You will be deceived regardless of age; I was told to steal
the rock and I did it.

694. Kunyengerwa hakuna wachen/ ndakanzi shwinya ruware ndikashwinya.
(wachen: one who is grey-haired)
You will be deceived even if you have grey hair; I was told
to steal the rock and I did.*

695. Made echakata/ kutsvukira mumuti kuti ndiposherwe.
It is the trick of a chakata fruit to ripen (while still)
on the tree so that it can be thrown at.
696. Chakata kutsvukira hunzi ndipotserwe.
   The chakata fruit ripening on the tree says, "Throw at me."*

697. Mashanje echakata/ kutsvukira mumuti kuti ndiposherwe.
   It is the surprise of the chakata fruit to ripen on the tree
   so that it can be thrown at.*

698. Unokama gava wakarinyengedzera nechitswanda chetsubvu.
   In order to milk a jackal you have to divert its attention
   with a basket of tsubvu fruit.

699. Kutuka chemberel kutuka une nhekwe yefodya.
   In order to scold an old woman you must have a snuff gourd.

700. Kuseka tezvaral kuseka wabvisa pfuma.
   When you ridicule the in-laws it means you have paid lobola.

701. Nhenha isibi inoroya.
   A beautiful woman who is not a thief may be a witch.

702. Nhenha isingabi ingoroya.
   A beautiful woman who is not a thief may be a witch.*

703. Kuona roro kutsvuka kunze nyamba mukati makadyiwa namakonye.
   A roro fruit can be red outside yet eaten inside by maggots.

704. Kuona onde kutsvuka kunze imo mukati mune honye. (onde: fig)

705. Matende mashava anovazva doro.
   Red calabashes make beer sour.

706. Kuona mukombe kunaka kunze izvo mikati mune marovhu.
   A ladle appears clean outside yet there is decaying pith
   within.

707. Mhosva haiori.
   A court case never decays.

708. Mhaka haina dongo. (dongo: an abandoned village)
   Crime is not an abandoned village.*

709. Mhosva inorondwa/ hakuna mhosva yakaita honye.
   A case has to be traced; not even one has become worm-eaten.
   (with age)

710. Ndezvomwana mudiki/ kubata nhengu anonzi rasa izizi.
    It is so with a young person: when he catches a drongo he
    is cheated into believing that it is a crow.
711. Mudzimu unoteurwa usiku ndowomuroyi.  
The mudzimu that is worshipped during the night is that of a witch.

712. Gunde repwa rinonaka asi hariiswi mudura.  
The stalk of sugar cane is sweet but it cannot be stored in a granary.

713. Chembere masikati/ usiku imvana.  
She is an old woman by day but by night she is like a woman with her first child.

714. China manenji hachifambisi/ chinomirira kuti mavara acho aonekwe.  
A mysterious thing does not happen hurriedly; it delays in order to display its spots.

715. Vakachenjera havasvairani mbeva.  
Clever people do not hunt mice together.

716. Mhizha mbiri hadziwirirani.  
Two experts are never on good terms.

717. Vanyambare havapfutidzirani moto.  
Those with scorch marks (on their skins) do not blow the fire for each other.

718. N'anga hadzifarirani.  
Diviners do not enjoy each other's presence.

719. Matsotsi haagerani.  
Tsotsis cannot 'barb' each other.

720. Mhosva haipfumiri.  
(Nobody) can prepare (money) for a (possible) future court case.

721. Hakuna machenjera mhosva.  
There is no man clever (enough) to influence a conviction (in court.

722. Chinogova ruoko/ muromo haugovi.  
What gives away is the hand and not the mouth.

723. Chingopa maoko/ muromo haupi. (M)  
What gives are the arms, the mouth does not give.*

724. Chigare chenda/ kudya akaitakura.  
It makes for the contentment of the louse to feed on its host.
725. Rugare rwenda/ kuruma akaitakura.
   The louse's peace is to bite the one who picks it up and
   carries it.*

726. Gomba rinosiya rauraya muridzi womukadzi.
   The adulterer kills the husband of the woman he courts.

727. Nhumwi ndiyo inouraya muridzi womunda.
   It is the messenger who kills the owner of the land.

728. Chidziva mudingwi ndicho chinogara ngwena.
   It is in the silent pool that crocodiles live.

729. Chidziva chakadzikama ndicho chinogara ngwena.
   It is in the quiet pool that crocodiles live.*

730. Imbwa nyoro ndidzo tsengi dzamatoo.
   (Seemingly) tame dogs are the ones that eat the hides.

731. Chivingwi kumeso/ mwoyo wacho imanda.
   An ugly-faced (person) may have a heart cushioned with fat.

732. Chivingwi kuseka bere imo mumwoyo macho imanda.
   An ugly-faced person laughing at a hyena may have a heart
   cushioned with fat.*

733. Jenje kunyangata izvo kuruma harigoni.
   The large soldier termite makes (threatening) sounds but
   it is unable to bite.

734. Gakanje kunyangata izvo kuruma harigoni.
   The crab makes (threatening) noises but it is unable to
   bite.*

735. Rwavhi kupinduka nhando/ icho chisingagoni kuruma.
   A chameleon can change its colour but cannot bite.

736. Zigadzi kunyangara/ asi kuroya harigoni.
   A hefty woman may be ugly but she does not bewitch.

737. MaZungu manyoka/ haatani kuumbuka.
   The Portuguese are like (painful) bowels, they quickly
   change.

738. Chizungu manyoka/ haatani kuserera.
   The Portuguese policy is like (painful) bowels which quickly
   cool down.

739. Jenga mhosva ndiye multi wezvakaipa.
   The one who pretends to be innocent is the evil doer.
740. Chibwe chiremera chavar kure/ vari pedyo vanotamba nacho.
A stone is heavy for those who are far off; those nearby play with it.

741. Kungotya nyanga dzezizi/ nyamba manhenga.
Why fear the 'horns' of an owl when they are just feathers.

742. Mviro-mviro yemhanza inotanga shosha.
The beginning of baldness is shown by the baldness above the temples.

743. Mviro-mviro yemhanza mapfeka.
The beginning of baldness is the thinning of the hair at the temples.*

744. Munhu anodya zai/ mangwana achadyawo huku.
A person who eats an egg will also eat a fowl tomorrow.

745. Nyamakuhwa simidza nguo chena/ agoonekwa mumhindo.
Dress a gossip in white so that he (she) is visible even in darkness.

746. Nyamgumba simidza minhenga yezizi/ agoonekwa mumhindo. (minhenga yezizi: owl's feathers)
Dress a gossip in owl's feathers so that he is visible even in darkness.*

747. Tenda waipiwa/ pfuma yomukuwasha wenzenza.
Believe a dishonest son-in-law after receiving lobola.

748. Tenda waipiwa/ pfuma yomukuwasha benzi. (benzi: fool)
Believe a dishonest son-in-law after you have the fool's lobola.*

749. Tenda wamira/ musha unovakwa ngemhutsi. (M)
Believe a reckless person after he has built his home.

750. Zvakanakira gwavava nomukadzi wake mubako nokuti hakuna anoziva mumwe kuti ane makwati.
It is good for a rock lizard and his wife to be in a cave because neither notices the scales of the other.

751. Zvakanakira guvadombo ngemukadzi/ havazivani makwati.
It is good for a rock lizard and his wife not to notice each other's scales.*

752. Mushonga haubati pasina ronda.
Medicine does not work where there is no wound.

753. Muti haurapi pasina chirwere.
Medicine does not work where there is no disease.*
754. Gona haribati pasina rimwe.
   A medicine container (usually a horn) does not work where
   there is no challenge by its own kind.

   What ate the beards of women is the same thing that ate the
   breasts of men.

756. Muromo wazivira kudya mavara/ kuona chivambo wosekerera.
   The mouth that is used to eat spots smiles when seeing a
   small one.

757. Mbavha ibatwi/ mbavha rutsoka ishamwari.
   A thief has to be caught (red-handed); a thief identified
   by a foot print (may be as innocent) as a friend.

758. Munongedzo hauzvinongedzi.
   A finger does not point to itself.

759. Chidembo hachinzwi kunhuhwa kwachomo chomene.
   A pole-cat cannot smell its own odour.

760. Anorwira soro/ anorwira rake.
   He who fights for a head, fights for his own (head).

761. Upenyu ihwaku-mukwaku/ hapana dacha rinodaukira rimwe.
   Life is like a long jump; no frog jumps for another.

762. Ngoma inorira ichiti pangu pangu.
   A drum sounds as if to say 'for me-for me'.

763. Ibangano muchateya/ kuzondoona kwava kwomumwe chete.
   Consultation is necessary when setting a trap but one (only)
   does the checking.

764. Ibangano kugumwe/ pava pakudzoka rwava rumwe rumwe.
   Consultation is done when people are assembled but a return
   journey is self-decided.

765. Munoda paura pari penyu/ pembeva moisa moto.
   You keep your bowels (safe) but those of the mice you burn.

766. Dindingwe rinonakirwa richikweva iro/ kana rokwehwa roti mavara
   angu azara ivhu.
   The cheetah enjoys pulling others along but when it is being
   pulled it complains that its spots get soiled.

767. Dindingwe rinoda kukweva kuri kwaro/ kana rokweviwa iro
   zvorwadza.
   The cheetah enjoys pulling others along but when it is being
   pulled it complains that its spots get soiled.
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768. Dindingwe rinofara richazvuva/ kana rozvuuviwa roti mavara angu azara ivhu.
   The cheetah enjoys pulling others along but when it is being pulled it complains that its spots get soiled.

769. Murevi afa haasiri iye muroyi.
   The deceased who has revealed a secret is not a witch.

770. Murevi afa/ handi muroyi.
   If the one who reveals a secret dies, he is not a witch.*

771. Chiripo-chiripo/ ndarira imwe hairiri.
   There must be a cause, one brass wire does not tinkle.

772. Chiripo-chiripo/ nyamugwe imwe hairiri.
   There must be a cause, one brass wire does not tinkle.*

773. Zviri pavanhu/ zvitunha hazvifambi zvoga.
   It is obvious to people (that) corpses won't go about by themselves.

774. Chidembo kuchera chakatarisa kudenga/ kuti nditosvorwe.
   A pole-cat digging (a hole) looking upwards invite grit into its eyes.

775. Bofu kufamba risina mudonzvo/ kuti ndione ungondibvunza.
   If a blind man walks without a walking stick, he is inviting people to question him.

776. Gudo munhu/ kuvandaidza rinokuzivawo.
   A baboon is a human being; it knows the art of clandestine stealing.

777. Diro munhu/ kurinyengedza rinozivawo.
   The baboon is not a person, it knows how to deceive.*

778. Pabva utsi/ pane moto.
   The smoke comes from where there is fire.

779. Chiutsi hachipfungairi pasina moto.
   Smoke does not rise where there is no fire.

780. Chiutsi hachipwititiki pasina moto.
   Smoke does not rise where there is no fire.*

781. Musikana rufuta/ runobarika.
   A girl is like the seed of the castor-oil plant which scatters (from an exploding pod).

782. Rume risinganyepi hariroori.
   A man who does not talk cannot marry.
783. Mubayi wetsumo anowana zvaanoda.
   One who applies proverbs gets what he wants.

784. Hapana chisingawanisi.
   There is nothing that cannot bring about a marriage.

785. Kuwanikwa igwara/ vasikana vose vanofamba naro.
   Marriage is like a path which all girls have to use.

786. Gomba harina mwana.
   A (male) adulterer has no child.

787. Mukuwasha mukuyu/ haaperi kudyiwa.
   The son-in-law is a fig tree; he never stops being eaten.

788. Mukuwasha mukoko/ haaperi kudyiwa.
   The son-in-law is a beehive, he never stops being eaten.

789. Mukuwasha ibani/ rimwe zuva unoputsikirapo.
   The son-in-law is an (open) plain; one day you may land on it.

790. Mwanasikana ndimapfumise.
   A daughter enriches (her family).

791. Tsuro iri pauzamba inosunungurwa neakaibata.
   The hare in the trap may only be removed by the one holding it fast.

792. Kuwana ndimbuya.
   (In order) to marry a girl you cannot bypass her grandmother.

793. Muroyi haaroyi murume wake.
   A witch does not bewitch her husband.

794. Imbwa hairumi muridzi wayo.
   A dog does not bite its master.

795. Kurambwa ndokwavanhu/ geza mabori.
   To be rejected is human; wash your face.

796. Nhano ndeya vanhu/ suka maoko.
   Misery is for all people; wash your hands.

797. Ukama hahusukwi nemvura hukabva.
   Kinship cannot be washed with water and removed.

798. Ukama urimbo/ kudambura hahubvi.
   Relationship is like bird lime; even after breaking it does not vanish.
    Relationship is a half-measure which is filled by being
given food.

800. Ukama hwokwamai hahuna rwiranhaka.
    Relationship on the mother's side does not lead to
inheritance quarrels.

801. Ukama hwokwamai hahukanirwi nhaka. (-kana: fight)
    Relationship on the mother's side does not lead to fight-
    ing over the inheritance.*

802. Hapana (mhou) inokumira mhuru isiri yayo.
    No cow moos for the calf that is not hers.

803. Ukama hahukambirwi.
    Relationship cannot be assumed.

804. Ukama hunonhuwa.
    Relationship is scented.

805. Nhaka yambuya ndeye n'ombe/ yomunhu inozvigova yoga.
    Inheritance from a grandmother consists of cattle, but as
    for a person inheritance is self-determined.

806. Nhaka yambuya ndeye mombe/ yomunhu ingouyisa yoga. (M)
    Inheritance from a grandmother consists of cattle, but as
    for a person, inheritance is self-determined.

807. Hama -- ihama/ hazvienzani nomutorwa.
    A relative is a relative, he cannot be compared to a
    foreigner.

808. Hama haitengwi.
    A relative can never be bought.

809. Hama haipiwi munhu.
    A relative cannot be given away to somebody.

810. Kuzvara ndume/ kuzvara hadzi.
    To beget a male is to beget a female.

    A leopard's cub is a leopard's cub, it does not flee from
    (another) wild beast.

812. Mwana wekhamba -- mwana wekhamba/ kuona chikara haatyi. (M)
    A leopard's cub is a leopard's cub, it does not flee upon
    seeing a wild beast.*.
813. Mwana wengwe -- mwana wengwe/ anokura achiwra.
   A leopard's cub is a leopard's cub, it grows and fights.*

814. Ngozi nehama hazvisiyani.
   The avenging spirit haunts its relatives.

815. Ngozi yeqombera inoripwa neinobuka ruva.
   The avenging foreign spirit is appeased by (a root of a plant) with leaf-shoots.

816. Kufa kweane hari/ anosiya mazonde.
   When a person with (only) a claypot dies, he (still) leaves inheritance.

817. Ndechemba/ vakadzi kuva nedinha panhova.
   It is in the family that women have a depression in the fontanelle.

818. Mbudzi kudya mufenje/ kufana nyina.
   (If) a goat eats cabbage-tree leaves, it imitates its mother.

819. Mbudzi kukwira mufutal/ kufana rudzi.
   (If) a goat climbs a castoroil-plant, it imitates its own kind.

820. Gavi rakabva kumasvuuriro.
   A fibre came from its bark.

821. Mhembwe rudzi/ kuzvara mwana ane kazhumu.
   A duiker, like its family, bears a child with a taft of hair.

822. Roora mwana wababa vane dongo.
   Marry a girl whose father's abandoned home(s) is (are) known.

823. Kuroora -- roorera vamatongo.
   Marrying is acquiring a wife from a former village site.*

824. Nyika-mukanza haina mukwambo.
   The ever expanding world has no son-in-law.

825. Kubereka mwanasikana/ kuchengeta mangava.
   To bear a daughter is to store up troubles.

826. Kusesedza mwana wenherera/ kumubereka kumusana.
   In order to guide an orphan one has to carry him on the back.
827. Chatorwa nomucheche/ chatorwa nashe.
What has been taken by a child has been taken by a chief.

To send a small child means to send oneself.

829. Mwana ndeari mudumbu/ ari kunze anotambwa naye.
The child (of the mother) is the one in the womb but once born everybody plays with it.

830. Mwana asingachemi anofira mumberekö.
A child that does not cry dies in the cloth it is carried in.

831. Mwana anochema ndiye anodya.
The child that cries is the one that eats.

832. Kude chinhu kureva/ kunyarara hauchwani.
If you need something, better say so; keeping silent you will not get it.

833. Mwana wowenzara murasi.
A pauper's child is wasteful.

834. Mwana chingwarire haapunyutsi mbeva.
A careful child does not let a mouse escape.

835. Kubvuma rwendo kwomwana muduku/ rwake ruri mukati.
If a young person accepts an errand he includes his own.

836. Mwana muduku kubvuma rwendo/ rwake ruri mukati.
A young child agreeing to a journey (means) his own things are inside.*

837. Kubvuma rwendo kwomwana muduku/ kubvuma nezviri mberi.
The agreeing to a journey of a young child is the agreeing with that in front.*

838. Chava chigondora chava chimombe/ kukona kutunga urema hwacho.
A bullock is already a beast, if it fails to gore it is (because of) its stupidity.

839. Kabva muzai kava kashiri.
The hatched (bird) is already a bird.

840. Chakura chinotamba chichiringa kwacho.
A grown-up (person) plays while taking care of himself.

841. Chirango ndechina mai/ mugoti unopiwa anyerere.
The mother knows how to rectify things; she gives the cooking stick (with sadza on it) to the quiet child.
842. Mai musuva usingasehwi mumuto.
   A mother is like a morsel (of sadza) which needs no
dipping into gravy.

843. Mai kunatsa muroyi/ ziso riri pamwana.
   A mother pleases a witch while her eye is on the child.

844. Rudo rwehuku kuisa vana mumapapiro/ ziso riri kurukodzi.
   It is love that makes a hen shelter its chicks while her
   eye is on the hawk.

845. Tsuro kupeta nzeve kumbwa seisikazi/ ziso riri kuvana.
   A hare directs its ears towards the dogs while its eye is
   on its younger ones.

846. Zhou haireremwi nenyanga dzayo.
   An elephant is not burdened by its tusks.

847. Nzou haireremwi ngemushinga wayo.
   An elephant is not burdened by its tusks.*

848. Machena ose mazai/ hakuna dema.
   All eggs are white, none is black.

849. Machena ose/ zai rehanga risina dema. (hanga: guinea fowl)

850. Igaroziva kuti mhanza yembudzi iri mumabvi.
   It is obvious that the baldness of a goat is on its knees.

851. Igaroziva kuti zai harisihwi muto.
   It is obvious that a (boiled) egg does not provide gravy.

852. Iharaziva kuti chide mukadzi wababa.
   It is obvious that the most 'beloved' woman is the
   father's wife.

853. Igaroziva kuti amai mukadzi wababa.
   It is obvious that mother is father's wife.

854. Mwana ijira rinofukwa navanhv vose.
   A baby is a blanket that is shared by everybody.

855. Mwana mudiki chirangaranga.
   A child is like the top of the spinal column.

856. Aberek atochena mwoyo.
   One who has borne children ought to be patient.

857. Abara achena mwoyo.
   One who bears a child is patient.*
858. Wabereka sekera munyasi medengu.
    Once you have borne a child, laugh while under a big basket.

859. Wabereka sekera muchitende.
    You have borne a child, laugh under a calabash.*

860. Kugocha kunoda kwaamai/ kwomwana kunodzima moto.
    Mother is satisfied when she does the roasting; when the child does it (it is accused of) extinguishing the fire.

861. Kugocha kunoda kwomukoma/ kwomonun'un'a kunodzima moto. (mukoma: elder brother; munun'un'a: younger brother)

862. Nyoka huru haizvirumi.
    A big snake does not bite itself.

863. Nyoka huru haizvirumi.
    A big snake does not bite itself.

864. Tiri tose/ imbwa haidanwi imwe chete.
    We are together, a dog is not called alone.

865. Taatose/ imbwa haidanwi imwe chete.
    We are together, a dog is not called alone.*

866. Muridzo wembwa ndomumwe chete.
    The whistle for calling dogs is one and the same.

867. Mhuno hainwi mvura muromo usina kunwa.
    The nose will not drink water before the mouth has done so.

868. Kuyarutsa mwakomana/ kuzvikohwera mapfumo mumba.
    To bring up a son means storing up a series of battles.

869. Kuyarutsa mwamuna/ kupinza mapfumo mumba.
    To bring up a son is to admit spears.*

870. Chirere/ mangwana chigozokurerawo.
    Bring it up well, tomorrow it will look after you too.

871. Chichengerete/ mangwana chigozokuchengetawo.
    Take care of it, tomorrow it will take care of you.*

872. Hapana angagona nechisingagonekwi nagone.
    Nobody can do what an expert cannot do.

873. Uzivi hunoda varidzi.
    Expertise is accepted when it comes from experts.
874. Mugoni wepwere ndousinayo.  
The (best) disciplianarian is the one without children.

875. Manatsira pwere imhanje.  
The one who can please children is a barren woman.

876. Mwoyochena una amai/ kuyamwisa mwana asiri wavo.  
Compassion prompts a mother to suckle a child that is not hers.

877. Baba muredzi/ mwana kuchema anodaidza mai.  
A father is (just) a nurse; when a child cries it calls the mother.

878. Taramukai panotamba dera.  
Widen the circle where a coward is dancing.

879. Findikirai panotamba ndumure.  
Widen the circle where a small child is dancing.

880. Hapana anogona mwana asiri wake.  
No one can satisfy somebody else's child.

881. Ura mapoko/ hunozvara mbavha nomuroyi.  
A womb is an (indiscriminate) container, it bears a thief and a witch.

882. Nhumbu ibakwa rehunil inochengeta nyoka namakonzo.  
A womb is (like) a pile of wood, it harbours snakes and rats.

883. Munhumbu manyachide munobarwa mbavha nomuroyi.  
From a beloved woman's womb comes a thief and a witch.

884. Nyoka yemvana yakazvara mbavha nomuroyi.  
The uterus of a woman (who has given birth for the first time) bore a thief and a witch.

885. Kuzvara hakuna hombarume.  
To bear children needs no expert.

886. Badza guru kupa murimi/ kuripa simbe inovat naro.  
A big hoe should be given to an (industrious) peasant if you give it to a lazy one, he will sleep with it.

887. Badza guru kupa murimi/ kuripa nyope inovata naro.  
A big hoe should be given to a farmer, give it to a lazy person and he will sleep with it.*
888. Kudya mombe idya yebadza/ kudya yomwana, mangwana inokudyawo. When eating an ox, eat the one you got by farming; if you eat the one from your daughter's lobola, it will eat you tomorrow.

889. Pagara murimi/ pagara mupopoti. Where there is a farmer there is a querulous man.

890. Kurima mazvuru mana hunge usina chawaona. If you weed four ant-hills it means you were not disturbed.

891. Hurudza inofa ichinzi inodya. An expert farmer may starve while his neighbours believe he has plenty.

892. Munda wokuna makudo hauradzwi. A field haunted by baboons is not left unweeded.

893. Pane danga pane mombe/ pane hundi pagara hu rudza. Where there is a cattle kraal there must be cattle, and where there is chaff there is a good farmer.

894. Pane mapfundepane varimi. Where there is kaffir corn there must be farmers.

895. Kunzi mukadzi aria/ kunatsa munyu. In order to be called a proper house wife, she must know how to season her relish.

896. Kugadzwa umambo/ kugwadamura midzimu. To be crowned chief is the reward for worshipping one's mudzimu.

897. Muromo wen'anga ibaradzi. The mouth of a witch-doctor is a destroyer.

898. Muromo webenzi imhutsi. The mouth of a fool is a destroyer.

899. Chirungurira chirwere/ kunyarara unofa nacho. Indigestion is a disease, if you conceal it you may die.

900. Dzimba dzinotsva dzakavimbikana. Adjacent huts burn down at the same time.

901. Wadya imbwa/ idya gono. When you eat a dog, eat a male one.

902. Kudye imbwa/ chidyey gono. On eating a dog, eat a male one.*
903. Gonzo hariiswi mudura rine nzungu.
   A rat is never placed into a granary with nuts.

904. Kiti negonzo hazviiswi panzvimbo imwe chete.
   A cat and a rat cannot be kept at the same place.

905. Ndumudzani hadzidyi mundiro imwe chete.
   Children who follow each other (by birth) do not eat from the same plate.

906. Ingwe haipfigirwi mune mbudzi.
   A leopard is never enclosed together with goats.

907. Imbwa haipfigirwi mune nyama.
   A dog is never shut in a hut where there is meat.

908. Vagara imba imwe vava varumudzani.
   Those who stay in the same house behave like children who follow each other (by birth).

909. Chigarisano ndicho chine mhosva.
   Acquaintance is the source of friction.

910. Chigarisano chinodana matukano.
   Acquaintance breeds quarrelling.

911. Kudya masanga/ chikuru kuonana.
   Eating is incidental but the main thing is seeing one another.

912. Ukama ndihwo hukuru/ kudya musvitsa.
   Relationship is important; food depends on the giver.

913. Chavoruzhinji/ awana ndowatanga.
   Something for communal use is found by the one who comes first.

914. Chaparuzhinji chinoonekwa ngewatanga.
   Something for communal use is found by the one who comes first.*

915. Avhiyira mbudzi kumusana/ ati vana vakwane.
   One who skins a goat on his back (in a carrying cloth) wants his children to have their fill.

916. rume rimwe harikombi churu.
   One man cannot surround an ant-hill.

917. Chara chimwe hachitswanyi inda.
   One thumb cannot crush a louse.
918. Gunwe rimwe haritswanyi inda. 
   One thumb cannot crush a louse.*

919. Mazano marairanwa/ zano ndoga wakapisa jira. 
   Advice is to be shared; 'Know-all' burnt his blanket.

920. Benzi kupengera mumunda maro/ regera rakadare. 
   If a crazy man' goes mad in his field, leave him alone.

921. Gore harizi rakaze rimwe. 
   The same year can never come again.

922. Gore nderino. 
   There is only one year (like this one).

923. Gore musandu. 
   Every year means a change.

924. Muromo chipfuto/ unopedza matura. 
   The mouth is a weevil, it empties granaries.

925. Muromo ndichikumo/ unopedza matura. 
   The mouth is a wood borer, it empties granaries.

926. Chinokura usipo imombe/ munda unokura nokuvandurirwa. 
   What grows (even) in your absence is an ox, a field grows 
   by being extended.

927. Chinokura usipo imombe/ munda unokura nokuona nzira. 
   What grows when you are not there is an ox, a field grows 
   upon seeing a path.*

928. Chinokura choga isangol munda kukura huona tewe. 
   What grows alone is a forest, a field grows when it sees 
   its master.

929. Mukadzi akanaka ndoune mukutu. 
   A good wife is the one with a quiver (carrying cloth).

930. Mukadzi akanaka ngeune matukutswa.

931. Unaki hwemukadzi huri pamwana. 
   The beauty of a wife lies with a child.

932. Humburira inoshapisa. 
   Underestimation is a disgrace.

933. Humburira chishapiso. 
   Underestimation is a disgrace.*
934. Twemudenhe tune ushorwi.
Keeping little in the storing pot brings blame.

935. Mamutsamwoyo anoda paine gate.
Appetite should (only) be aroused when there is a big pot.

936. Pereka chavamwe chisina venda.
Return other people's property undamaged.

937. Pereka chomumwe chichakanaka.
Return that belonging to another in good condition.*

938. Dzorera chomumwe chisina venda.
Pay back that belonging to another without a gap.*

939. Atora chake haabvunzwi.
He who has taken away his property should not be questioned.

940. Atora chake haweaverwi.
He who has taken away his property should not be followed.*

941. Ane chake ndihombarume.
The one who owns something is like a successful hunter.

942. Ane chake haaareveteki.
The one who owns something does not talk.*

943. Dzanza kusakara rine mwene waro.
A basket is getting old because of its owner.

944. Hapana murume anofa asina ngava.
No man dies without a debt.

945. Chiduku ndechokusimira/ chokuda hachina chiduku.
In dressing, something too small can be discarded but not
when it comes to food.

946. Chokuda hachina chiduku/ asi chapamuviri.
Something to eat cannot be small, but something worn (can).

947. Kushaya kunokunyimisa nowaunenge uchida.
Penury makes you stingy even towards the one you like.

948. Kupa huwana.
To give means to have.

949. Ngava hariripi rimwe ngava.
A debt does not settle another debt.

950. Mungava hariripi mumwe mungava.
A debt does not give to its fellow debt.*
951. Zvikwereti hazviripani.
    Things borrowed are not compensation.*

952. Zvigapu hazviburani.
    Relish pots cannot take each other off the fire.

953. Murume haaro hwi netsvimbo imwe chete.
    A man is not beaten with one stick only.

954. Mari haina musi wasinganaki.
    Money knows no day on which it is not welcome.

955. Mukadzi akanaka ari womumwe.
    A woman is attractive when she is somebody else's (wife).

956. Murume akanaka asiri wako.
    A man is attractive when he is not your husband.

957. Zinatsawafa/ kugadzira hama nemombe.
    It is (merely) an act of pleasing the dead to kill an ox
    at the magadziro of a relative.

958. Rava zinatsandafa/ kuuraya mombe paguva.
    It is (merely) an act of pleasing me to kill an ox at my
    graveside.

959. Rangova zinatsawafa/ kuuraya n'ombe paguva rehama.
    It is just ingratiating behavior to kill an ox at the grave
    of a relative.*

960. Muroyi ndishe.
    A witch is a chief.

961. Muroyi ndimambo.
    A witch is a chief.

962. Mucheche wenyoka unotizwa neane makona.
    (Even) a baby snake will put a man with horns (filled with
    medicine) to flight.

963. Mwana wenyoka -- mwana wenyoka/ haana muduku.
    A baby snake is a baby snake, however small.

964. Kuziva gona romumwe hunge unarowo.
    To know of someone's horn (filled with medicine) implies
    that you have got yours, too.

965. Kuziva uroyi hwomumwe/ iwe unahwwo.
    To know the witchcraft of another (means) you are one too.*
966. *Pfini yenyoka/ kungoruma icho isingadyi.*
   It is the malice of a snake to bite something it does not eat.

967. *Hwoni hwenyoka/ kuruma chaisingadyi.* (hwoni: malice)
   It is the malice of a snake to bite that which it will not eat.*

968. *Mwoyo muti/ unomera paunoda.*
   The heart is like a tree, it germinates where it likes.

969. *Mwoyo muti/ hautumwi pokumera.*
   The heart is like a tree, it is not sent to germinate.*

970. *Mwoyo imbesa/ ungomera apo ungoda.*
   The heart is like seed, germinating where it wants.*

971. *Mwoyo imota/ unomera apo wada.* (mota: abscess)
   The heart is like an abscess, it sprouts where it wants.*

972. *Chidamwoyo/ hamba yakada makwati.*
   It is the wish of the heart; the tortoise chose scaly shells.

973. *Ziso rinokunda wakabvisa mombe.*
   An eye's (look) surpasses (the joy of) the one who paid cattle (for lobola).

974. *Kuziva kune mombo ndokuna ani/ haidyi ichinyima mboyi.*
   The male baboon shows unprecedented generosity; he does not eat anything without sharing with his female.

975. *rudo rune ngondi ngeruna ani/ kudya ichisiyira nayrwana.*
   The male baboon's love shows by eating without abandoning its young.*

976. *Papfumba pava nomwena.*
   Where the ground is trodden on there must be a hole (going underground).

977. *Papfumba mwenza pava nomwina.*
   Upon (seeing) the grass trampled there is the namer of the trampling.*

978. *Kana mwezha wapfumba/ mumwena mune mbeva.*
   If the passage through grass is trampled, there is a rat in the hole.*

979. *Ane mhuri mdeane muhurikadzi/ mhurirume inozvitsvagira.*
   The one with daughters has a family; sons will look after themselves.
980. Ane mhuri ngeane mhurikadzil/ varume vaeni.
   The one with daughters has a family, sons are guests.*

981. Gondo kuengereral raona zumbu.
   When the eagle circles it has seen a fowl-run.

982. Rudo harutumi anoramba.
   Love does not send one who refuses.

983. Chada mwoyo hachikoni/ (nokuti) mwoyo chiremba.
   The heart's wish is never foiled (because) the heart is
   like a doctor.

984. Chada mwoyo hachikoni/ mwoyo ndishe. (she: chief)
   The heart's wish is never foiled, (because) the heart is
   a chief.*

985. Rudo runenge ruvara/ runokunara.
   Love is like colour which fades away.

986. Musikana chihambakwe/ asvika anokanda chibwe.
   A girl is like a pile of stones (at the side of the path)
   on which every passer-by throws another stone.

987. Musikana idomboka/ rinoti asvika anokanda chidombo.
   A girl is a pile of rocks on which every passer-by throws
   another stone.*

988. Musikana idziva/ asvika anokanda duo.
   A girl is like a pool, any passer-by can cast a fish trap.

989. Mukadzi muchero/ adimura anonhongawo.
   A woman is like fruit any passer-by can pick.

990. Mukadzi mupinyi webadza/ wasvika anomboedzawo.
   A woman is like a hoe handle, any arrival can try it.

991. Mukadzi isango rehunil rinotsvakwa naani naani.
   A woman is like a forest in which anybody can find wood.

992. Munhukadzi ishavhi/ anoteverwa neshiri.
   A woman is like figs followed by birds.

993. Mhuka hairondwi isina kusiya gwara reropa.
   Game that has left no trail of blood cannot be pursued.

994. Mukuyu hauvinge shiri.
   A fig tree does not go to the birds.

995. Muonde haufambiri shiri.
   A fig tree does not travel to birds.*
996. Kurayira ndokurayira wachena/ kwaakabva hakuna vanhu?
   Why discipline a grey-head; are there no people where he came from?

   Disciplining needs to be done on young children; an adult is a chief.

998. Ruva rasvava harikwezvi nyuchi.
   A wilting flower does not attract bees.

999. Chembere ndeyembwa/ yomurume ndibaba vavana.
   (Only) a dog is referred to as being old (but not) a man who is the father of children.

1000. Mizhezhekedzwa ndiyo inosukudza.
   Creaking doors hang longer (than anticipated).

1001 Kuteerera mombe nhore/ kunofa ino muchiti.
   While nursing an old cow there dies one which is strong.

1002. Zimuonde ziguru kupunzika/ pwere dzinovanda pai?
   If a huge fig tree falls down, where will young people take shelter?

1003. Mai vevana kufa/ pwere dzinorezvwa naani?
   If the mother dies, who is going to caress the children?

1004. Rwizi rukuru kupwa/ mombe dzinonwepi?
   If a big river dries up, where will cattle drink?

1005. Chivi hachivingi mumwe, asi vose.
   Misfortune strikes not only one but all.

1006. Chitema hachiuyi pamunhu mumwe, asi vose.
   Misfortune does not come to one person but to all.*

1007. Rufu runoudzwa mombe/ rukaudzwa munhu anotiza.
   Death can be announced to an ox; if it is announced to a person he runs away.

1008. Chinonzi ifa imombe/ munhu anotiza.
   Death is told to an ox; a person runs away.*

1009. Hapana mutunhu usina guva.
   There is no region without a grave.

1010. Hapana nyika isina rinda.
   There is no country without a grave.*
1011. Shure kweguva hakuna muteuro.
   Beyond the grave there is no prayer (offering).

1012. Kutsi kweguva hakuna munamato.
   Beneath the grave there is no prayer to God.*

1013. Kufa kwehanga/ mazai anoparara.
   When a guinea fowl dies her eggs also perish.

1014. Rufu haruna nzira.
   Death has no (defined) path.

1015. Kufa hakuna gwanza.
   Death has no path.*

1016. Mubayiro wezvivi rufu.
   The reward of sin is death.

1017. Rufu runoita wegondo/ rinotora nhiyo richisiya mai vachichema.
   Death is like an eagle which takes a chick leaving the
   mother hen mourning.

1018. Rufu haruwadzirwi nhoo.
   For death, no mat is spread.

1019. Rufu haruwadziriwi bonde.
   For death, no mat is spread.*

1020. Rufu haruna ishe.
   Death knows no chief.

1021. Rufu haruna ndanatsa.
   Death knows no 'good man'.

1022. Kubereka/ misodzi yawanda.
   To bear many children (means) to shed plenty of tears.

1023. Shambakodzi yakarindwa haiviri.
   A watched cooking pot does not boil.

1024. Kuvaraidza zuva/ kuteya nzou neriva.
   It is just killing time if one sets a stone-trap for an
   elephant.

1025. Gomo guru rakapera nokumwaukira.
   A big mountain was worn away bit by bit.

1026. Nzira inofamba yomuzvinamimba/ yomuzvere haifambi.
   The journey of a pregnant woman is quicker than that of a
   woman with a child.
1027. Kwamairidigikira ndiko kwomoringa benya/ kwamairinga benya ndiko kwomoridigikira.  
Where you used to visit is where you now give a haughty glance and the other way around.

1028. Kumirira isavira/ kumirira mhosva.  
To wait for a pot which is not boiling is to wait for trouble.

1029. Chaibva chaora/ ngachichidiyiwa/ nokuti usiku igore.  
What is cooked is going to rot; it should be eaten because a night is (like) a year.

1030. Chaibva chaora/ ngachipere/ usiku igore.  
What is cooked is going to rot; it should be finished because a night is (like) a year.*

1031. Chaibva ngachichidiyiwa/ kusiya hachipedzi nzara.  
What is cooked should be eaten; leaving it does not still the hunger.

1032. Zuva ravira radoka/ usiku hahuriri shiri.  
After sunset, it dawns (already); birds do not sing at night.

1033. Ravira raedza/ usiku hahuriri shiri.  
The sun sets and dawns; birds do not sing at night.*

1034. Kare haagari ari kare.  
The past will never remain the past.

1035. Pasi mupindu panopinduka.  
The world is liable to change, it changes.

1036. Nhasi haasiri mangwana.  
Today is not tomorrow.

1037. Nyamusi handi mangwana.  
Today is not tomorrow.

1038. Kwava kusakara kwedoo/ kuita serisakambodyiwa nyama.  
It is the wear and tear of a hide that makes it (appear) as if it had never encased meat.

1039. Bvupa jena rakabva munyama.  
A white bone stems from meat.

1040. Chinokwegura chinokotama/ musoro wegudo chave chinokoro.  
What gets old gradually bends, the head of a baboon is a scoop.
1041. Regazvipore akabva mukutsva.
    'Let-it-cool-down' had already burnt himself.

1042. Ngazvipore akabva mukutsva.
    'Let-it-cool-down' had already burnt himself.*

1043. Ane mhamba ndoane chimera/ yanhasi yapera.
    The one who has yeast (ready) is the one who has beer;
    today's (beer) is finished.

1044. Hurudza ndeino mumera/ ranhasi rapera.
    The one who has much grain is the one who has yeast;
    today's (beer) is finished.*

1045. Murima ngeune dura/ ranhasi rapera.
    A good farmer is the one who has a granary; today's (grain)
    is finished.*

1046. Ziitakamwe/ gava kudambura musungo.
    It is something done once, like a fox breaking a snare.

1047. Ziitakamwe/ mimba yousikana.
    It is something done once like the womb of a girl.*

1048. Kuziva benzi hunga waswera naro.
    You know a fool when you have spent a day with him.

1049. Kugara nhaka/ kuona pane dzavamwe.
    Inheritance affairs are learned from others.

1050. Kugara nhaka/ kuona dzavamwe.
    Inheritance is seeing the affairs of others.*

1051. Chakachenjadza ndechakatanga.
    What made one alert is what happened before.

1052. Chakangwadza ndechakatanga.
    What put one on guard is what happened before.*

1053. Maisiri ngeune gobvu.
    A famous hunter (gunsmith) is the one who has a big scar.

1054. Mukuru mukuru/ hanga haigari pfunde.
    An elder is an elder; a guinea fowl does not perch on a
    sorghum (stalk).

1055. Shiri huru haibatwi nehundi.
    A big bird cannot be trapped with chaff.

1056. N'anga nyoro inoodza maronda.
    A doctor who is getting soft allows wounds to fester.
1057. Zviri kumwene wejira/ kufuka nokuwaridza.  
It is up to the owner of the blanket to put it on or to spread it.

1058. Zviri kumvana/ kubara mwana asina baba.  
It is up to a woman (who has given birth for the first time) to bear a child without a father.

1059. Uzivi hwenzira huri mugumbo.  
The knowledge of a path is up to the leg.

1060. Chedahunha chine musoni.  
What happens to a kaross is up to the owner.

1061. Chedahunha chiri kumusoni.  
What happens to a kaross is up to the owner.*

1062. Chegudza chiri kumuruki.  
What happens to a bark cloth is up to the weaver.*

1063. Gombarume kudze soro/ kukudza dumbu wone wave chana.  
A person in authority should have a big head; with a big belly you look like a child.

1064. Muranda muuya ndowembwa/ hairevi zvokwayabva.  
A dog is a good servant, it does not reveal affairs from where it came.

1065. Mwana washe muranda kumwe.  
A chief's son is (like) a servant elsewhere.

1066. Chafamba chasvava.  
Whatever is on a journey is bound to wilt.

1067. Ushe makota.  
Chiefship depends on the councillors.

1068. Munhu kubata ushe/ makota.  
A person holding chieftainship is like (having) councillors.*

1069. Rwomuranda rwakoneswa norwashe/ rwashe rwakoneswa nemvura kunaya.  
The servant's (journey) has been foiled by the chief's (while) the chief's (journey) has been foiled by rain.

1070. Ushe usiyiranwa.  
Chieftainship is a legacy.

1071. Umambo kutambidzana.  
Cheiftainship is given away.*
1072. Ishe idurunhuru.
   A chief is (like) a rubbish pit.

1073. Ishe izarezare.
   A chief is (like) a rubbish pit.*

1074. Ishe ihumbarota.
   A chief is (like) a rubbish pit.*

1075. Ishe itsime.
   A chief is like a well.*

1076. Ushe hahuzvitongi.
   Chieftainship cannot rule itself.

1077. Ushe varanda.
   Chieftainship depends on the subjects.

1078. Pabva bango pasekesa.
   Where a pole has been removed there is an opening.

1079. Patemwa tsoka rave bomho.
   Where a forest has been cut there is an open veld.

1080. Pabva zino rave vendee.
   Where a tooth has been removed there is a gap.

1081. Ushe idova/ hunoparara.
   Chieftainship is (like) dew; it evaporates.

1082. Ushe imhute inoparara zuva rabuda.
   Chieftainship is (like) fog; it vanishes at sunrise.

1083. Ushe muzhanje/ hunokuva.
   Chieftainship is (like) a wild loquat tree whose fruits are seasonal.

1084. Chiranda chinogara chanamata.
   A servant gets settled only after paying respect (to the local people).

1085. Chiranda chinogara chaombera.
   A servant gets settled only after clapping hands.*

1086. Tsenzi inogara yadziya.
   The honey-guide gets settled when it is satisfied.

1087. Dzimbabwe muswerol harina uraro.
   The chief's place is a place for spending the day but not the night.
1088. Dzimbabwe harina dandaro.
The chief's place is not a place for entertainment.*

1089. Mhosva haitongwi nokurwa.
A case cannot be settled by fighting.

1090. Jee ndiyo mhosva.
Playful behaviour (can lead to) a court case.

1091. Kuorora ngoko/ kuindira mudziva.
To check a black beetle (from tampering with excreta)
means to excrete into a pool.

1092. Kuorora ngoko/ kumamira mudziva.
To prevent a black beetle means to excrete into a pool.*

1093. Chapadare chakandwa parurimi rwavapfuuri/ chomumba chiri mumhepo.
The issue brought to the chief's court is thrown to the
public but that within the house is still in the air.

1094. Chaiswa padare chakwidzwa panhura/ chomumba chiri mumhepo.
That brought to the chief's court is placed before the
court; that within the house is still in the air.

1095. Akonwa haasiyi mudzimu warembera padare.
He who has lost (a case) does not leave his coat at the
chief's court.

1096. Kubva kwehosi inosiya imwe.
When a senior wife goes she leaves another one (to replace
her).

1097. Dare harizondi munhu/ rinozonda mhosva.
The chief's court does not hate a person (on trial) but the
case.

1098. Chinovongwa mutumbi/ hakuvongwi kuvata pasi.
What must be nursed is the person (who is ill) and not the
lying down.

1099. Chinopepwa urwere/ kwete rukukwe.
What must be nursed is the illness, not the mat.

1100. Haitongwi yokunonoka/ soro rakandwa.
No accusation is laid against a late comer as long as he
shows up.

1101. Ibvapamwe hairoorwi.
A (woman) divorcee should never be married.
1102. Mukadzi akarambwa inhema yokumutsirwa.  
A divorced wife is like a rhino aroused for someone (by somebody).

1103. Mwana muduku in'anga.  
A small child is a diviner.

1104. Moto unopisa akaubata.  
Fire burns the one holding it.

1105. Mago anoruma mutokonyi.  
Wasps sting the provoker.

1106. Nyoka inoruma aidenha.  
A snake bites the one who has challenged it.

1107. Abva zunde haachadyiwi navashe.  
A person who has been to the chief's field will not be fined by the chief.

1108. Wabva gwindingwi haachadyiwi namadzishe. (gwindingwi: a sanctuary, forest)

1109. Rega kurova nyoka ukasiya rumhinda.  
Do not kill a snake and leave its tail.

1110. REga kunera nyoka uchisiya rupinda.  
Do not strike a snake and leave its tail.*

1111. Mhosvakadzi/muripo mwene.  
A woman's fine is her very self.

1112. Muripo wanyakambwa ngeune mwene.  
A dog's fine is its own self.

1113. Kambudzi kazvarira pavanhu/ kuti nditandirwe imbwa.  
If a small goat gives birth where there are people it indicates that dogs should be kept away from it.

1114. Kambudzi kubarira pavanhu/ kuti ndidzingirwe imbwa.  
If a small dog gives birth where there are people it indicates that dogs should be kept away.*

1115. Mhosva ndeyomwene/vazhinji zvapupu.  
A case concerns the doer, others are just witnesses.

1116. Mhosva ndeyomumwe/vazhinji vapupuri.  
A case concerns the doer, others are just witnesses.*

1117. Nyama ndeyomubayi/vazhinji vapupuri.  
The meat belongs to the slaughterer, the others are witnesses.
1118. Muranda nyangonaka sei/ haatongerwi mhosva asipo.
   However good a servant may be, he must not be tried in
   his absence.

1119. Muto wetsenza ndiwo mumwe.
   Soup from root vegetables is all alike.

1120. Muto wenyemba ndiwo mumwe chete.
   Soup from beans is always the same.*

1121. Kupara mhosva hakuna mutongi.
   Committing a crime knows no judge.

1122. Kupara mhosva hakuna munatsi.
   Committing a crime knows no upright man.*

1123. Kuposha ndokwavanhu.
   To err is human.

1124. Mhosva haina ndinoziva.
   A case knows no legal expert.

1125. Kumuzinda hakuna wako.
   At the chief's courtyard, there is no relative of yours.

1126. Kubvuma mhosva handi kuripa.
   To plead guilty is not to make up (for the wrong).

1127. Mbende inosimbira kutete/ ichisiya kukobvu.
   A grey-backed gerbille concentrates on a soft spot leaving
   a hard one.

1128. Mutizazanhi ungosimbira kutete/ achisiya kukobvu.
   A coward concentrates on a soft spot leaving a hard one.*

1129. Areva vi/ ati idi ribude.
   He who has revealed evil has caused the truth to come out.

1130. Kubvongodza mvura/ kuti iyerere.
   To stir (stagnant) water means to make it flow.

1131. Kutakunya jedye/ kuti riyambuke.
   To flick away a frog means to make it jump across.

1132. Wabvunza/ watsvara mhosva.
   He who has inquired has caused the crime to become public.

1133. Ndezvowabaya/ kuti chiropa hachisevesi sadza.
   It is for the slaughterer to say that the liver cannot be
   used as relish.
1134. Kutaura kwerabaya/ kuti chitaka hachisevesi sadza.  
The slaughterer can say that the liver cannot be used as relish.*

1135. Kutaura kweabata/ kuti gumbo rendongwe haripedzi musuva.  
It is for the one who has captured (game) to say that the leg of a locust cannot be sufficient for one morsel (of food).

1136. Chinovhikwa ihwanja/ shoko harivhikwi.  
What can be fended off is a knobkerrie and not a word.

1137. Izwi rabuda mumuromo haridziviririwi.  
A word from the mouth cannot be avoided.

1138. Izwi rabuda mumuromo ipfumo rinobaya.  
A word from the mouth is (like) a spear piercing.*

1139. N'anga haizvirapi.  
A doctor cannot treat himself.

1140. Mhosva haizvitongi.  
A case cannot try itself.

1141. Imbwa mbiri hadzitorerwi nyama.  
Meat cannot be taken away from two dogs.

1142. Kuwanda huuya/ museve wakapotera pamuzukuru.  
To be many is good; the arrow (shot by an enemy) settled on the grandson.

1143. Kuwanda huuya/ museve wakapotera pamwanasikana.  
To be many is good; the arrow settled on a daughter.*

1144. Kuwanda huuya/ mota yokumusana ungotumburwa. (M)  
To be many is good; the abscess on your back can be cut open.

1145. Ari kwake-ari kwake/ sangano mariva.  
Everybody lives at his home but the meeting place is where the stonetraps are set.

1146. Uri kwake-uri kwake/ musangano uri panhimbe.  
Each is at his own home (but) the meeting place is at the beer party.*

1147. Aswera kwake-aswera kwake/ pamukonde mosangana.  
Everybody spends the day elsewhere but they all meet for a meal.

1148. Kuchera mbeva/ kukomberana.  
Digging after mice involves surrounding them.
1149. Kuchera mbeva/ kukomberedza.
   Digging for mice is encircling (them).*

1150. Kuturika denga remba/ kubatirana.
   To put a roof onto the walls of a hut needs joining hands.

1151. Ziso rimwe chete harina ukomba.
   One eye does not make for a striking appearance.

1152. Pfumo rimwe harina ukomba.
   One spear brings no confidence.

1153. Mukarirano wakapedza mbuya munzara.
   'Passing-the-buck' killed old women during a famine.

1154. Mukarirano wakapisa umba.
   'Passing-the-buck' burned the house.*

1155. Kukanya hurangana.
   Mixing milk and sadza calls for approval by others.

1156. Mutambirwi naiye anogwinyawo.
   One who is entertained should also join in.

1157. Mweni kudyisa hunge aona vohwo vachiita gapa.
   A guest eats much when he sees his hosts doing likewise.

1158. Chikuni chinoda mukuchidziri.
   A piece of wood (on the fore) needs a stoker.

1159. Hari haiviri isina mukuchidziri.
   A pot does not boil without a stirrer.*

1160. Hama maoko.
   Your relatives are your hands.

1161. Maoko ihama.
   Your hands are relatives.*

1162. Maoko muranda.
   Hands are a servant.

1163. Kupfuma ishungu.
   To be rich is due to ambition.

1164. Kupfuma kunowanikwa nedikita.
   Riches are gained by sweat.

1165. Kupfuma ifundira.
   To be rich is due to sweat.
1166. Nzara makavi/ inosvuurwa.
   Hunger is like fibre; it can be removed.

1167. Panotorerwa chirume demo panosara matsunetsune.
   The place where a man is forced to part with his axe will
   look battered.

1168. Kufa kwomurume hubuda ura.
   The death of a man is a fact when his bowels are out.

1169. Zvinorema zvinoda makono.
   Difficult tasks call for strong men.

1170. Atapatira ada zhengeni/ agara pfunde ada musoso.
   He who struggles chooses the forest while the one who
   merely sits (around) chooses peace.

1171. Simba mukaka/ rinosinira.
   Strength is like milk; it oozes back in.

1172. Simba mate/ haaperi mukanwa.
   Energy is like saliva which does not dry up in the mouth.

1173. Avhiya dembo chiveza achatyirepi.
   The one who skins a pole-cat should not resent its stench.

1174. Akanga nyimo avangarara.
   The one who fried bambara-nuts is daring.

1175. Atota haachatyi kufamba mudova.
   He who is drenched (with rain) no longer dreads walking
   through dew.

1176. Waniwa haachatyi kufamba mudova.
   The one rained upon does not fear walking through the dew.*

1177. Wenhamo haachatyi kufamba murima.
   One who is beset with troubles is not afraid of walking in
   the dark.

1178. Hapana kunomera sora roga.
   There is no place where only grass grows.

1179. Hapana kusina dura.
   There is no place without a granary.

1180. Ukadzinga tsuro mbiri imwe inopunyuka.
   If you chase two hares (at the same time) one will escape.

1181. Mhosva mbiri hadzina matongero.
   Two court cases cannot be tried (simultaneously).
1182. Hari mbiri dzinovirirana hadzina mabikiro.
   Two pots boiling (at the same time) cannot be cooked.

1183. Hanga inobatwa namauruko mana.
   A guinea fowl is caught after four flights.

1184. Pako hapana radoka.
   At your home there is no sunset.

1185. Kwako hakuna radoka.
   At your home there is no sunset.*

1186. Zvinokona zviine hata/ chembere ichikoniwa musoro wenzou.
   It is after a trial with a head ring that an old woman
   admits failure to lift an elephant's head.

1187. Zvinhu zviedzwa/ chembere yakabika mabwe.
   Things must be tried; an old woman tried to boil stones.

1188. Gondo harishayi/ kati rashaya rapunga marara.
   An eagle will not miss its target; if it does it eats
   anything.

1189. Rukodzi haashayi/ kana ashaya anokuwa marara.
   A hawk does not miss its target, if it does it falls on
   anything.*

1190. Kunyimwa nomunda hazvienzani nokunyimwa nomunhu.
   To be treated stingily by a field is not the same as being
   treated stingily by a person.

1191. Chomudura hachienzani nechokupiwa.
   Something from (your own) granary is not the same as
   something given.

1192. Mbeva zhinji hadzina marise.
   Too many mice have no lining for their nest.

1193. Mbeva zhinji hadzina mashe.
   Many mice have no lining for the nest.*

1194. Sadza huritamburira/ hapana angariyda akatambarara.
   To get food one must suffer for it; nobody can get it
   while stretching his legs.

1195. Murimi haadyi agere/ anodya amire.
   A good farmer does not eat while seated; he eats standing.

1196. Gapakapa ndere fodya/ remhudzi rinokura nokusakurirwa.
   A tobacco crop grows freely but pumpkins grow because of
   cultivation.
1197. Rushambwa ngerwembwa/ rwomumhu runoenderwa kun'anga.
    Bad luck befalls a dog, a person's is brought to a diviner.

1198. Nherera ngeisina muredzi/ ine muredzi inodya ichisiya.
    An orphan is somebody without a guardian, but if he has a
    guardian he has enough to eat.

1199. Meso ihunza nungo/ kubata hazvidyi muswere.
    Looking (on) causes laziness; but (the actual) working will
    not take the whole day.

1200. Hope ndimapanungo/ maoko haaswedzi.
    The face (of) laziness is (like) arms/hands not trying.*

1201. Matanda masairirwa/ unosiya nerino muchenje.
    (Standing) logs are tested; you leave the one eaten by
    white ants.

1202. Matanda masairirwa/ unosiya nerakaora.
    Standing logs are tried, you leave the one with a rotten
    base.*

1203. Matanda makuru mazunguniswa/ pamwe ungasiya nerisina midzi.
    (midzi: roots)
    You shake large logs but leave others which have roots.*

1204. Nhomba yavarume iri pashori youta.
    Men's craving for meat is on the (shooting) mark of the bow.

1205. Umhizha hwejaha huri pademo.
    The expertise of a young man is associated with an axe.

1206. Padoko-padoko hapadzokeri pakare.
    (Although) done step by step, it (the work) won't come
    back again.

1207. Padoko-padoko/ kudya kwamadora.
    Little-by-little is the way caterpillars eat (everything).*

1208. Pashoma-pashoma/ kudya kwendongwe.
    Little-by-little is the way locusts eat (everything).*

1209. Gombo rine chitsva/ ndiro rino kudya.
    It is virgin land that provides more food.

1210. Nzira ine minzwa ndiyo ine ushe.
    A path with thorns is the one leading to chieftainship.

1211. Kushaya hakunenerwi munhu/ denga ratarama.
    Nobody is to blame for poor yields when the sky has not
    given rain.
1212. Chaitwa chanetsa.  
Any undertaking is laborious.

1213. Chabatwa chanetsa.  
Anything held on to is wearisome.*

1214. Paswerwa pane ziya.  
Where people spend a day there is sweat.

1215. Anokuti rima/ ati udye.  
He who tells you to plough wants you to eat.

1216. Anoti chengeta mwana wako/ anoti ugozotuma zvako.  
He who tells you to bring up your child wants you to send him on errands.

OR,  Ungokutukira badza/ ungokupa upfumi  
The one who urges you to handle a hoe (for weeding) gives you riches.

1217. Rinofa harina nzeve/ rine nzeve rinozvinzwira.  
He who dies has no ears; the one with ears hears for himself.

OR,  Tsudo inobatwa nembwa ngeinoradzika nzeve/ inomisa ingonzwa.  
A hare caught by dogs is keeping its ears down while the one putting them up hears.

1218. Kupedza nguva/ munhu kurwa nechinomukurira.  
It is a waste of time to try the impossible.

1219. Usanyengedza nyamukuta/ kuzvara uchakuda.  
Do not deceive a midwife while you (still) want to bear children.

1220. Usachenjerera n'anga/ kurapwa uchakuda.  
Do not try to outwit a diviner when you still need treatment.

OR,  Uchenjeri hunoda n'anga/ hahudi murapwa.  
To be cunning befits a diviner and not the patient.

1221. Kugarotamba nomuswe wavakuru/ unoswear wasuwa.  
If you keep on playing with the elder's tail you will end up in a sad mood.

1222. Uti fare-fare tindike/ vakuru igomo.  
Know the limits of merry-making because the elders are like a mountain.

1223. Kure kwameso/ nzeve dzinonzwa.  
It is far for the eyes (but) ears will hear.

1224. Ndezvameso/ muromo zvinyarare.  
It is for the eyes (only); the mouth must be quiet (about it).
1225. Ngwerungwe aiva rema/ akazochedzwa navasikana.
   Ngwerungwe was stupid, what made him clever were girls.

1226. Mai Munyarari vakangwarira panhimbe.
   The mother of Munyarari became clever at a beer-party.

1227. Rega kufananidza ngu nedzaTarubva.
   Do not compare your dress with Tarubva's (dress).

1228. Rega kusanganisa mombe dzako nedzashe.
   Do not mix your cattle with those of a chief.

1229. Isimba kaviril kurwa nomukadzi wousipo.
   It takes double the energy to fight a wife of someone absent.

1230. Mombe yenzenzi/ sungira.
   A newly arrived ox should be tied up.

1231. Mombe yenjeni gara wakasungira.
   An ox that is strange to the place you tie up.*

1232. Kunyatsa kufamba/ unovirirwa womhanya.
   (If you begin by) walking slowly, you will run at sunset.

1233. Kufamba kwadi-kwadi/ unodokerwa womhanya.
   Walking slowly and carefully you will have the sun go down on you and you will have to run.*

1234. Kukwira gomo kusendereka.
   To climb a mountain you go zig-zag.

1235. Kukwira gomo huvandurira.
   To climb a mountain you do it bit by bit.*

1236. Kukwira gomo kupoterera.
   To climb a mountain you go around it.*

1237. Hangaiwa iyemberwi.
   A rock pigeon is (to be) enticed (into a trap).

1238. Chivhurumukira hachina imbwa hora.
   Precipitate barking is not done by an old dog.

1239. Kupatikira hakuna imbwa hora.
   To be startled by something is not (the way) of an old dog.*

1240. Imbwa huru haihukuri nhando.
   An old dog does not bark in vain.

1241. Usarasa mutsakara nokuona chitsva.
   Never throw away the old at the sight of the new.
1242. Regai dzive shiri/ mazai haana muto.
   Let them be birds because eggs provide no gravy.

1243. Rova chiuni amai vari kumunda.
   Beat a young girl while her mother is away in the field.

1244. Makurumidze akazvara mandinonoke.
   Too much speed breeds delay.

1245. Mandikasire akazvara mandinonoke.
   Speed will give birth to delay.*

   'I want to come -- I want to come' makes many people to
   stay over night on the way.

1247. Mvura yembambara/ tiza ichabva kure.
   Flee from the rain brought by the south-west wind when it
   is still far away.

   Rain knows no racing (competition); flee from its cloud.

1249. Moto wesora/ tiza uchiri kure.
   To escape a veld fire, flee when it is still far away.

1250. Kudzivirira kwakakunda kurwa.
   Prevention is better than fighting.

1251. Katumba kausararal usatanga wakatenda.
   A cottage in which you have not slept yet you should not
   praise.

1252. Kauya-uya/ kamusha kousakapinda.
   It is too good, the village you have not entered yet.

1253. Miromo yavanhu haiwiri pasi.
   People's mouths do not fall down (fail).

1254. Miromo vavanhu haipotsi.
   The mouths of people do not make mistakes.*

1255. Miromo yavakuru inoreva zviera.
   The mouths of elders say sacred things.*

1256. Munhu haarasiki kuna vanhu.
   A person never gets lost amongst people.

1257. Nzira hairasi munhu.
   A path does not lead a person astray.
1258. Benzi bvunza rakanaka.
   An inquiring fool is good (wise).

1259. Ukashaya nyama kumavhiyiro hauchaiwani kumba.
   If you do not get meat where an ox was killed, you should
   not expect any in the house.

1260. Chakakodza bere mapfupa.
   What made the hyena fat are bones.

1261. Chakakodza nguruve mashambha.
   What made the wart hog fat are melons.

1262. Chiro chiregwa/ mutiro achirega nzambara.
   Everything has to be left as the baboon gave up nzambara-
   fruit. (wild grapes)

1263. Chinozipa chinoregwa/ zamu ramai takarirega.
   Whatever is delicious is to be left since we gave up our
   mother's breast.

1264. Chinotiza vamwe iwe tizawo.
   When people run away from something, do likewise.

1265. Mhiri kworwizi hakuna cherero.
   Over the river there is no pasture.

1266. Nzou yakaramba kuudzwa ikabudisa nyanga nomukanwa.
   The elephant defied advice and got his horns (husks)
   through the mouth.

1267. Chingoma chamusinzwi chakazoguma naTaisireva.
   The drum of obstinacy ended up with 'Taisireva'.

1268. Chiramba kuudzwa akazoonekwa nembonje.
   He who refused advice was later seen with a head wound.

1269. Chiramba kuudzwa akazoonekwa neropa kudonha.
   He who refused advice was later seen with blood flowing.*

1270. Tsuro haiponi rutsva kaviri.
   A hare does not escape a veld fire twice.

1271. Tsuro haipunyuki rutsva kaviri.
   A hare does not escape a veld fire twice.*

1272. Danda hairponi rutsva kaviri.
   A log does not survive a veld fire twice.*

1273. Musakurudzira benzi nomupururu.
   Never encourage a fool by ululation.
1274. Usavaka danga pasina mombe.
Never build a cattle kraal where there are no cattle.

1275. Usadzinganisa tsuro nomumyu muchanza.
Do not chase a hare with salt in your palm.

1276. Rega kutanda tsuro wakabata munyu.
Do not chase a rabbit holding salt.*

1277. Chakona-chakona/ amai havaroodzwi.
What is impossible is impossible; a mother cannot be forced to marry.

1278. Zvikoni-zvikoni/ amai havaroodzwi.
Impossible things are impossible things; a mother cannot be forced to marry.*

1279. Zvikoni-zvikoni/ mimba haibvi negosoro.
What is impossible is impossible; a child (in the womb) cannot be delivered by coughing.

1280. Charamba-charamba/ pfuma yamai haikaniwri.
What has failed has failed; the mother's wealth cannot be fought for.

1281. Nzwimbo imwe haipfumisi.
One place (only) does not make you rich.

1282. Ugaro humwe hahupfumisi.
One habitat does not make you rich.*

1283. Nhambetambe inoregwa ichanaka.
Playing is best stopped while it is (still) interesting.

1284. Nhambetambe inoregwa ichapisa.
Playing is best stopped while it is still exciting.*

1285. Dondo harina mbikira.
A forest provides no place for hiding (something).

1286. Mudondo hamuna mbiko.
The forest is not a place to hide things.*

1287. Mazano marairanwa/ zano ndoga akasiya gumbeze mumasese.
Advice must be mutual; Mr. Know-all burnt the blanket at a beer party.

1288. Mano marayiranwa/ zano ndoga wakapisa jira mumasese.
Advice must be mutual; Mr. Know-all burnt the blanket at the beer party.*
1289. Zano vaviri/ zano ndoga akatsvira mudumba.
    Advice needs two; Mr. Know-all got burnt in the cottage.

1290. Mukanwa mumba/ munoda kugara muchitsvairwa.
    The inside of the mouth is (like) a house, it needs constant sweeping.

1291. Mapofu maviri haatungamirirani.
    Two blind men cannot guide each other.

1292. Mapofu maviri haaperekedzani.
    Two blind people don't accompany each other.*

1293. Harahwa mbiri hadzibidzani rwizi.
    Two old men cannot help each other crossing a river.

1294. Kama wakaringa nzira/ chimombe chokuronzerwa.
    When milking a cow entrusted to you, keep on watching the path.

1295. Mombe yokuronzerwa/ kama wakaringa nzira.
    The cow committed to your care (is milked) while you watch the path.*

1296. Igama wakaringa nzira/ mombe yokuronzerwa.
    While you watch the path, a cow entrusted to you (can be milked).*

1297. Chisiri chako rembedza maokol/ rega kukungira hata sechako.
    What is not yours hold (it) hanging and do not make a head-pad as though it were yours.

1298. Kunzi pakata handi kunzi ridza.
    When you are given a (drum) to carry, it does not mean you should play it.

1299. Chimwango chokukumbira hachina ndima.
    A borrowed hoe does not work a big portion in the field.

1300. Chako ndechako/ kuseva unosiya muto.
    What is yours is yours, when dipping (a morsel of sadza) you leave some gravy.

1301. Chako ndechako/ pfuma yenhaka inoparadza ukama.
    What is yours is yours; inherited wealth destroys relationship.

1302. Kupfuma hakumhanyirirwi.
    To get rich cannot be done in a rush.
1303. Kupfuma hakutizirwi.
   To get rich isn’t done while running away.*

1304. Kupfuma hakukasirirwi.
   To get rich you don’t hurry.*

1305. Ukuru hahutizirwi.
   (Higher) status cannot be won quickly.

1306. Kuponesa-ponesa wepfumol ukaportesa wenzara anofuma oti ndakazviponesa namano angu.
   It is better to save a person in battle (because) if you save one from hunger he will say tomorrow, ‘I survived, thanks to my own wits.’

1307. Usikana ishonga kamwe/ chikuru umvana.
   Girlhood means splendour once (but) great remains motherhood.

1308. Usikana idamba kamwe/ chikuru umvana.
   Girlhood is something enjoyed once (but) motherhood remains great.*

1309. Musikana muuya kamwe/ chikuru imvana.
   A girl is good once (but) great is a woman with a child.

1310. Rwendo ndorwa apfiga imba.
   It is the one who has locked his house that goes on a journey.

1311. Rwendo ngerwe apfiga umba.
   A journey is begun by one who locks his house.*

1312. Rwendo ngerwe atwara butwa.
   A journey is begun by one who has lifted his load.*

   To guard should mean to guard a pool; if you guard a well it will dry up anyhow.

1314. Uswa hwenyati ndohuri mudumbu/ huri pamuromo inofa nahwo.
   The grass of the buffalo is that in its belly; with that in the mouth it may die.

1315. Chako ndechawadya/ chigere mutoro wamambo.
   Yours is what you have eaten, the remainder is the chief’s load (portion).

1316. Gonzo mhini gara mumhango/ chomudzimu chikuwaniremo.
   You, rat with a cut-off tail, (better) remain in the hollowed tree where you just meet with your fate (natural death).
1317. Chinofa ndechakanika ura/ gonzo mhini gara mumhango/ chomudzimu chikuwaniremo.
   That which dies is the one with exposed bowels; a tailless rat (better) remain in the hollowed tree where it will just meet with its fate (natural death).

1318. Dzingidzi gonyera pamwe/ chomudzimu chikuwanirepo.
   You, wasp, coil yourself at one place where you just meet with your fate (natural death).

1319. Chiri mumushunje hachichingurwi.
   The contents of a grass bundle should never be received.

1320. Chabva kumwe chinobatwa nemishonga.
   Something from afar has to be handled with medicine.

1321. Tamba nezvimwe/ moto ndimashonongore.
   Play with other things, fire is disasterous.

1322. Kunyenga zvimvana ita zviviri/ kuramba kwechimwe chimwe unosara nacho.
   In proposing 'primiparae' woo them in twos; if one refuses the other one remains.

   In chasing a hare use two knobkerries; when one misses the other one hits.

1324. Kuita mapfumo ita maviri/ kupotsa kwerimwe rimwe rinobaya.
   Having spears, have two; when one misses the other one strikes.

1325. Kuvaka zvitumba vaka zviviri/ chimwe kutsva unozamba nechimwe.
   When building cottages build two; if one gets burnt the other one shelters you.

1326. Hauzivi chingaunza tsapfu.
   You never know what causes the calves (of the legs).

1327. Hauzivi chakakodza nguruve.
   You do not know what fattened the pig.

1328. Hauzivi tsanga inokodza tsambakodzi.
   You do not know which grain seed thickens the porridge in a cooking pot.

1329. Chawawana batisisa/ mudzimu haupi kaviri.
   Hold fast what you have (because) the mudzimu does not give twice.
1330. Usasvora mbodza neinozvimbira.  
Do not despise badly cooked porridge (because) it may make you over-fed.

1331. Usatanga kumedza/ kutsenza kuchada.  
Do not swallow before you chew.

1332. Usabata matope pasina mvura.  
Do not handle mud when there is no water.

1333. Kugarika tange nhamo/ rugare rugotevera.  
In order to be settled one should begin in misery and end up in peace.

1334. Usadzinganisa mhuka huru nomwoyosviba/ haipindi muguru.  
You should not chase big game in despair (because) it does not enter a hole.

1335. Gudo guru peta muswe/ kuti vadoko vakutye.  
Big baboon, fold your tail so that youngsters can respect you.

1336. Kwaunobva kanda huyo/ kwaunoenda kanda huyo.  
Place a grinding stone where you come from and where you go to.

1337. Natsa kwaunobva/ kwaunoenda usiku.  
Do good where you come from (because) where you go it is dark.

1338. Natsa kwaunobva/ uko ungoenda manaki.  
Do good where you come from where you go is dark.*

1339. Zvinozipa zvinotanga nzeve kudzivira.  
Sweet delicacies begin by blocking the ears.

1340. Kupa mukadzi banga/ kuzvikohwera rufu.  
To give a knife to a wife is to invite (your) death.

1341. Ukadya gora/ mangwana rinofuma rokudyawo.  
If you eat a wild cat it will eat you too tomorrow.

1342. Usaravidza chembere muto wegwaya/ mangwana inofira mudziva.  
Do not allow an old woman to taste the sauce of bream; she will die in a pool tomorrow.

1343. Ukapa munhu gavi refu/ mangwana anozvisungirira.  
If you give a person a long rope he will hang himself tomorrow.
1344. Munhu haarongerwi midziyo yake asipo/ kupfudzunura kunokunetsai.
Never pack and arrange someone's possessions during his absence because the re-arranging will be hard for you.

1345. Bembwe rinotsvutsuzwa ramuka.
Dogs must be set on a duiker (only) when it shows up.

1346. Chatiza makumbo/ musoro waona.
When the legs run away, the head must have seen (the danger).

1347. Kukwira inyore/ kuburuka kudana mai.
It is easy to climb but descending (will cause one) to call for his mother.

1348. Kudya nyemba navauya/ dzinowana muzvimbiri wadzo.
To eat beans with good people will make one suffer from repletion.

1349. Kudya nyemba navauya/ dzouya dzozvimbira nherera.
To eat beans with good people will cause one to suffer like an orphan.*

1350. Rina manyanga hariputirwi mumushunje.
That which has horns cannot be concealed (by covering it) in a bundle of grass.

1351. Kamoto kambererevere kanopisa matanda mberi.
A small and sneaking fire burns logs far ahead.

1352. Kamuhomba kadiki kanoyeredza.
A small furrow can float away (a person).

1353. Chiverevere ndechokubaya mombe/ chamakombo maitiudzawo.
Secret is the killing of an ox (but) as for the allocation of lands you should have notified us, too.

1354. Chiverevere ndechokubaya mombe/ chamakombo tichanzwa nemhururu.
Secret is the killing of an ox, but the allocation of land is an announced with ululation.*

1355. Chiverevere ndecheusiku/ chamasikati vazhinji vangouya.
Secret is that which occurs at night; for that which occurs by day people will come.

1356. Zevezeve chirevo.
A whisper is a spoken word.

1357. Katekete chirevo.
A little whisper is a word.*
1358. Zuva rina meso/ deko rine nzve.
   The day has eyes, the night has ears.

1359. Nguo chena ihwenyeri.
   White attire attracts attention.

1360. Nguo chena inopangidzira.
   White clothes "attracts attention."

1361. Manga chena inoparira parere nhema.
   The white pumpkin reveals where the black one lies.

1362. Mboko chena inoparira pavete nhema.
   A white pumpkin reveals the place where the black one is lying.*

1363. Mombe chena inoparira pavete nhema.
   The white ox reveals the place where the black one is lying.*

1364. Unofa ukuruwo badza risati raguka mugura.
   You will die an uncertain and sudden death (like) a new hoe whose tapered end breaks.

1365. Unofa ukuruwo badza idzva risati raguka musika.
   You will die an uncertain and sudden death (like) a new hoe whose tapered end breaks.

1366. Hufa ukuruwo badza idzva risati rapera muromo.
   You will die an uncertain and sudden death (like) a new hoe whose tapered end breaks.

1367. Kunofa kakuruwo tsombo itsva isati yaguka musika.
   You will die an uncertain and sudden death hoe whose tapered end breaks.

1368. Shiri yomusaririra ndiyo yemhina.
   The last bird is (destined) for the wooden-headed arrow.

1369. Njera yomusaririra ndiyo yeshiri.
   The grain left in the (field) is for the birds.

1370. Chimombe cheshure chinosarira maponda.
   The hindermost ox is exposed to hidings.

1371. Mucheri weshana mutevedzeri/ mudimbidziri anorasa vhekenya.
   A digger of fat mice follows the hole; he who takes a short cut misses the bait.

1372. Mucheri wegurwe mutevedzeri/ mudimbidziri anorasa mwena.
   A digger of crickets follows it, the one who takes a short cut misses the hole.*
1373. Kutengana imbwa chiverevere/ mangwana munorwira changadzo.
If you make a deal over a secret, you will fight about the leash tomorrow.

1374. Kudyira sadza mundima/ rimwe zuva uchadyiswa negudo.
If you eat food in the field, you may be given baboon's meat oneday.

1375. Takabva noko/ kumhunga hakuna ipwa.
We came through the mhunga-field; there is no sugar cane.

1376. Nyakubika dombatomba anodya zvakaorera/ ndidyendidyeanodya zvimbishi.
One who thoroughly boils the dombatomba plant eats well-cooked food but the 'I want to eat -- I want to eat' eats it raw.

1377. Kuve ganda hakuve nyama.
Being a skin does not mean to be (real) meat.

1378. Kuve ganda handi kuve nyama.
To be a skin is not to be meat.*

1379. Kurerera nhiriri murmura/ mangwana inofuma yoruma huku.
If you rear a wild cat in a bunch of grass, it will eat your fowls tomorrow.

1380. Kurerera imbwa nomukaka/ mangwana inofuma yokuruma.
If you rear a dog with milk, it will bite you tommorrow.

1381. Imbwa ivete haimutsirwi sadza.
A sleeping dog should not be roused for food.

1382. Imbwa yarara haimutsirwi sadza.
A sleeping dog is not roused for porridge.*

1383. Nyoka yapinda mumwena hainyombwi.
A snake that has entered a hole should not be provoked.

1384. Dziva rine ngwena idivakamwe.
In a pool with crocodiles, you swim (only) once.

1385. Matione akapedzesa mbudzi dzavakare.
Curiosity finished the goats of the ancestors.

1386. Matione akaendisa vaRungu kure.
Curiosity made the Europeans travel far and wide.

1387. Ane marengenya haadariki moto.
A person in rags does not go across a fire.
1388. Rukombesa ropa runorasa neriri mumbiya.
   If a person is overexcited to collect the blood he may
   even spill that (already) in the porringer.

1389. Kukudza uchipa kunobereka simbe.
   To bring up children by spoon-feeding will breed lazy ones.

1390. Manokoro haasiri madiro.
   Taking out (in handfuls) is not pouring in.

1391. Gudo harivingirwi pachiro.
   A baboon is never pursued up to his sleeping place.

1392. Khamba haridzingirwi panyama.
   A leopard should not be chased away from its prey.

1393. Usapinza munwe mumwena/ unobuda wareba.
   Never introduce your finger into a hole, it comes out
   longer than it was.

1394. Chikombe chitekesi chechimwe kana chimwe chisipo.
   One ladle is used in place of the other when the latter is
   absent.

1395. Seka urema wafa.
   Laugh at (somebody's) deformity when you are dead.

1396. Seka urema wakabata muromo.
   Laugh at a (person's) deformity while holding your mouth.*

1397. Seka urema wakura.
   Laugh at a (person's) deformity when you are grown up.*

1398. Kashiri kushaya besu hakanzi kanyana.
   A small bird without a tail should not be taken as a
   nestling.

1399. Mhanje isina mwana hainzi ichembere.
   A barren woman should not be considered as an old one.

1400. Ubatebate hunoparira.
   Petty thievery (tricky playfulness) is fraught with
   consequences.

1401. Ubatebate hungourayisa.
   Petty thievery causes death.*

1402. Muswe wokutumira haurebi.
   A tail that is sent for is never long.
1403. Kutumira kwakashayisa mbira muswe.
   By sending somebody to fetch his tail, the rock rabbit
   failed to get one.

1404. Mbira yakashaya muswe ngokutumira.
   The rock rabbit left its tail by sending (someone) for it.*

1405. Chiramwa-ramwa hachina mutumbi/ chino mutumbi ijadiye.
   Short-temper has no body but a frog has.

1406. Chiramwa-ramwa hachina gura.
   Short-temper doesn't have a field.*

1407. Murombo chirega chinya.
   Poor man, never be short-tempered.

1408. Rwizi ruzere haruedzwi negumbo.
   A river in flood should not be tried by the leg.

1409. Tsvimborume haina mugoni/ inotuka waipa masese.
   Nobody can satisfy a bachelor; he (even) scolds the one
   who has given him the sediment (of beer).

1410. Kukwenya ari kuchoto/ kuti ari kugotsi anzwe.
   To scratch the one near the fire place means to provoke
   another behind him.

1411. Zirume kutswinya mwana padama/ kuti vari mumba vanzwe.
   A big man pinching a child on the cheek wants those in
   the hut to react.

1412. Chivi chinodya muridzi wacho.
   A sin eats up its doer.

1413. Chitema chinodya muridzi wacho.
   An evil deed eats up its owner.*

   If you have a big mouth you die of something you know.

1415. Mukwata-runu/ rweshanu anobuda ave nezvomo.
   After sponging four times, the fifth time he goes away
   with something (from the house).

1416. Chisi hachieri musi wacharimwa.
   Failure to observe chisi is not punishable on the day of
   ploughing.

1417. Panoda kumera muswe panotekenyedza.
   The spot where the tail is about to grow tickles.
1418. Kunyanya kusevesa sadza/ unozopedzisira wotemura.  
Eating your relish too fast you will end up eating sadza without it.

1419. Kunyanya kusevesa sadza/ unozogumisira wokatsa.  
Eating your stiff porridge quickly you will end up eating it with relish.*

1420. Gapu irindwa nomumwe/ vaviri muto unotsva.  
The relish-pot must be attended by one (only); two will cause the gravy to get burnt.

1421. Chiri mudundu/ chiri muninga.  
What is in the chest is (like something) in the cave.

1422. Chiri mumwoyo/ chiri muninga.  
What is in the heart is (like something) in the heart.*

1423. Cherimuka/ paridza wabaya.  
Announce a kill in a game reserve (only) after you have got it.

1424. Chomusango/ ridza mhere wabaya.  
Announce a kill after getting it in the veld.*

1425. Chisiri chako/ pembera wadya.  
For something that is not yours, be grateful after eating.

1426. Chaputika chaibva/ mukwambo haadyi zvivisi.  
Which has burst is cooked; the son-in-law never eats small water melons.

1427. Nhumbu mukadzi mukuru/ hairevi chayadya.  
The stomach is like a housewife, it does not reveal what it has eaten.

1428. Nhumbu mutseye/ haitauri chayadya. (mutseye: feeble person)  
The stomach is a feeble person, it does not reveal what it has eaten.*

1429. Nhumbu iziso risingatauri zvaraona.  
The stomach is (like) an eye which does not speak of what it has seen.

1430. Regai zvakadaro tigozviudza zvopoya gomo naparutivi.  
Leave them alone; we shall tell them when they (desperately) force their way through the flanks of the mountain.

1431. Regai zvakadaro tigozvitsiudza zvodzoka.  
Leave them, we will tell them on their way back.*
1432. Nyama mazhanje/ haitani kukuva.  
Meat is like mazhanje fruit; it gets finished quickly.

1433. Nyama mweni/ haipedzi dura.  
Meat is like a visitor; it does not empty a granary.

1434. Muromo haudyiri mumwe.  
A mouth does not eat on behalf of another.

1435. Nzeve hainzwiri umwe.  
(Somebody's) ear does not hear for someone.

1435a. Anorwira soro/ anorwira rake.  
Whoever defends a head, fights for his own.

1436. Kuno kudya/ hakuna gomo.  
Where there is food there is no mountain.

1437. Kudya hakuna mukwidza.  
Eating does not occur on a steep place.*

1438. Kudya hakuna nyope.  
Eating is not (for) a lazy person.*

1439. Muto wokupunguirwa haupedzi sadza.  
Gravy poured out by somebody (else) will not be enough to finish (a plate of) sadza.

1440. Muto wokusiyirwa haupedzi sadza.  
Abandoned gravy does not finish the stiff porridge.*

1441. Mvura yokuchererwa haipedzi nyota.  
Water (that is fetched for one) by somebody (else) does not quench the thirst.

1442. Usatuke verwendo/ rutsoka haruna mhuno.  
Do not scold people on a journey; a foot has no nose.

1443. Usatuke verwendo/ rutsoka ndiMarashe.  
Do not scold people on a journey, the foot is "Marashe."*

1444. Mweni haaiswi padura.  
A stranger is not sent to the granary.

1445. Mweni haakwidzwi padura.  
A stranger is not lifted up to the granary.*

1446. Diro haripinzwi mumunda.  
A baboon is not led into the field.
1447. Chenga ose manhangal hapana risina mhudzi.
Collect all the pumpkins, there is none without seeds.

1448. Chaza hachirambwi/ munhu haangaregeri mhene inokamhina.
Something that has come should not be refused; a person cannot leave along a limping steenbok.

1449. Tenda dzose pwerel hapana asiri munhu.
Accept all youngsters, not one of them is not a human being.

1450. Idya zvose/ gudo harina nhunzi.
Eat everything; a baboon does not mind flies.

1451. Chirume igumbu/ chinoparukira kamwe.
A man is like a sack, he bursts once (and for good).

1452. Murume-murume/ anoti chamuka inyama.
A man is a man, he considers anything that comes up as meat.

1453. Sango rinopa aneta.
The forest gives (game) to the one who is tired.

1454. Chifundi ndicho chinopa.
Overpowering heat brings good rewards.

1455. Kashiri kasingapambari hakanuni.
A bird that does not raid does not become fat.

1456. Nyoka haina musha.
A snake has no home.

1457. Varume tumbwanaa/ kurova tunodzokera.
Men are like puppies, if you beat them they return.

1458. Gunguo rakaramba kumirira museve/ rikapona nehwakumukwaku.
The crow refused to wait for an arrow and escaped by hopping.

1459. Gudo rakapona namanainai.
A baboon escaped by dodging from place to place.

1460. Kusandudza ugaro kwakapa murando ndoro.
The change of habitat brought a servant a white shell (for chieftainship).

1461. Nhumbu inhamburiwara.
The stomach is to be toiled for.

1462. Nhumbu nditenzi wayo.
The stomach depends on its master.
1463. Makara mazezanwa/ mvura haipindi neshure.
    Wild animals cannot but fear each other just as water
    cannot penetrate into the body through the anus.

1464. Hwahwa hahubiwi.
    Beer cannot be stolen.

1465. Mhamba haibiwi.
    Beer is not stolen.*

1466. Huku haibiwi inotandisa botso.
    A fowl given away to appease a dead parent is not to be
    stolen.

1467. Hombarume haiiti shura nesango.
    A hunter has no mysterious notions about the forest.

1468. Maisiri haatyi manenji esango.
    A gunsmith (hunter) does not fear the mysteries of the
    forest.

1469. Cheshavo yemombe huonerana.
    Cattle sales require both parties to see (the beast).

1470. Shavo meso.
    Sales involve your eyes.

1471. Chawawana tenga/ kutengera mberi kunorozva.
    Buy whatever you have come across,(the intention of)
    buying something later causes a loss.

1472. Nhandanyadzi neshavo.
    It is not shameful if one who has something asks for
    something.

1473. Madzinganyadzi/ kukumbira uine shavo.
    It is not shameful to ask for something of one who has it.*

1474. Cheshavo mwene wayo.
    The price of any article for

1475. Chomushambadzi chinozara tsvina.
    A trader's article is bound to get dirty.

1476. Chomutengesi chinozara tsvina.
    A trader's article is bound to get dirty.*

1477. Shavo imbonekwi.
    An article (for sale) has to be seen.
1478. Mari ine chitema/ mai vakatengesa mwana.
    Money is bound up with evil; (it caused) the mother to
    sell her child (daughter).

1479. Mari/ ndiwo mudzi wezvakaipa.
    Money is the root of all evil.

1480. Mari ipfuma yanyakutsvitsana.
    Money is wealth, coming and going.

1481. Mari ipfuma yaTsvitsanai. (-tsvitsa: cause to reach)
    Money is the wealth of Mr. Caused-to-reach-it.*

1482. Mari haina dura.
    Money needs no granary.

1483. Mari makambidzanwa.
    Money is something that circulates.

1484. Mudziyo mukuru haudyi chatenzi.
    A big vessel does not eat of the master.

1485. Tswana huru haitori chomuridzi.
    A large basket is not stolen by its owner.*

1486. Homwe huru haitori chomwenechiro.
    A big pocket is not stolen by its owner.*

1487. Mutengesi ibere/ hapana musha waanopfuura.
    A trader is a hyena, he does not by-pass any village.

1488. Mushambadzi haagari pasi.
    A hawker does not sit down.

1489. Gotsi rutsito.
    The back of the head is like a fence.

1490. Parwendo rwousiku/ anofa haazivikanwi.
    On a nocturnal journey, the one to die is not known.

1491. Kusiri kwako/ masango.
    A place other than yours is bush-veld.

1492. Dzinobva ruuya/ dzinoenda ruuya.
    Those that leave peacefully will go peacefully.

1493. Dzinoendera madzoko/ marindo ariko mberi.
    They leave with the idea of returning but spending a night out lies ahead.
1494. Chafamba chapenga.
   One who has set out on a journey cannot help being foolhardy.

1495. Chafamba cahpota/ kudzoka miswere.
   One who has set out on a journey is gone; returning takes time.

1496. Nzira haidzimiri munhu.
   A path does not disappear before one.

1497. Chikuriri chine chimwe chikuriri chacho.
   Every power is subject to another power.

1498. Gone ana gone wakewo.
   'I-am-able' also has his master.

1499. Minwe misiyanwa.
   Fingers are different (in length).

1500. Chapfakanyika chati ndipenengurwe.
   That which moves needs to be unveiled.

1501. Meso haana muganho.
   Eyes have no boundary.

1502. Meso haana nzira.
   Eyes have no path.*

1503. Zvinonyadza mutauri kuti mbudzi yaba nyama iyo imbwa iripo.
   It embarrasses the speaker that the goat has stolen meat while the dog was there.

1504. Chabaya chinototumburwa.
   An object that has gone in has to be extracted.

1505. Chapinda munzeve/ chawaridza bonde.
   That which has entered the ear has spread the mat.

1506. Chaindira munzira chatsunga.
   That which has excreted on the path has shown defiance (of the law).

1507. Chamamira munzira chatsunga.
   That excreted in the path has shown defiance.*

1508. Hakuna chinonakira chimwe.
   There is nothing that is better than the other.

1509. Wadzvova aguta.
   He who belches has had his fill.
1510. Chinoshara meso/ muromo haushari.  
What chooses are the eyes and not the mouth.

1511. Chinoshora meso/ muromo haushori.  
What despises are the eyes and not the mouth.

1512. Mugomberi wemhuru anopiwa mutuvi.  
The one who guards the calf is given the whey.

1513. Mufudzi weboka anodya mukaka waro.  
The shepherd of a herd feeds on its milk.

1514. Mufudzi wembudzi anopiwa nzeve.  
The shepherd of the goats is given an ear (for eating).

1515. Hapana mcuhero usina masvisvinwa.  
There is no fruit without pulp which has to be spat out.

1516. Kubayira mweni mbudzi/ kuti vomo mumba vadye zvavo.  
To kill a goat for a guest implies that everybody in the family will have a share.

1517. Kubayira mweni mbudzi/ kuziva novohwo.  
To kill a goat for the guest (means) to know the family.*

1518. Kubikira mweni/ kunzwa neyakowo (nzara).  
To cook for a guest means you are also hungry.

1519. Chine munhuhwi -- chien munhuhwi/ bere rakatiza norwauro rwemombe.  
Something with scent has the power of smell; a hyena snatched away the nose-rope of an ox.

1520. Svosve rakatuma zhou.  
An ant sent an elephant (on an errand).

1521. Sonzi rakatuma nzou.  
An ant sent the elephant.*

1522. Bveni kuipa zvaro/ haridy i chakafa choga.  
The baboon may be ugly but it does not eat anything that died on its own.

1523. Muromo chiponzal unopotsera.  
A mouth is like a knobkerrie which you can throw.

1524. Muromo chipwere mukutumika.  
A mouth is like a young boy when it comes to sending him.
1525. Muromo ishomodzi.
   A mouth is a messenger.

1526. Muromo inhume. (nhume: messenger)
   The mouth is a messenger.*

1527. Nzira haitauri.
   A path does not speak.

1528. Gwanza harizivisi.
   The path does not inform.*

1529. Chakanaka-chakanaka/ mukaka haurungwi munyu.
   What is good is good, milk is not savoured with salt.

1530. Chakanaka-chakanaka/ imbwa haihukuri sadza.
   What is good is good, a dog does not bark at sadza.

1531. Chitsva chomumwe/ chitsaru chomumwe.
   What is old for one may be new for another.

1532. Chidhiidhii kutsvara hundil mwoyo uri kumakoto.
   While a little bird scratches chaff, its heart is after chaff with grain.

1533. Tsvimborume kutandara nemvanal mwoyo uri kumhandara.
   While a bachelor plays with a mvana, his heart is (really) after girls.

1534. Kamuti kupinyuka/ mheno akapinyura.
   If a (burning) stick springs up someone must have made it do so.

1535. Gapo rimwe harisvitsi zhizha.
   One spell of rain cannot (even) bring about the first-crop season.

1536. Imire haimiriri ivete.
   The one (animal) standing does not wait for another lying down.

1537. Imire haimiriri yakarara.
   The one standing does not wait for the one lying down.*

1538. Imbwa yakaipa haioni bumhi.
   A vicious dog does not see a wild dog.

1539. Chaona ziso/ ndecharaona.
   When an eye has seen, it has seen.
1540. Chaona dziso harirambidzwi.
   What the eyes have seen is not denied.*

1541. Fodya haina shura sedoro.
      (Snuff) tobacco creates no grudge like beer.

1542. Fodya haina manenji semhamba.
      Tobacco causes no fights like beer.*

1543. Muzivisisi wenzira yaparuware ndiye mufambi wayo.
      He who knows the path across the flat rock is the one who
      often walks on it.

1544. Mbavha nerima/ ushamwari ndohwazvo.
      A thief and darkness are friends.

1545. Mbavha nechidima zvinonzwanana.
      A thief an darkness understand each other.*

1546. Moto ihwada yomukonde wesadza.
      Fire is like a spoonful of sadza in a plate of sadza.

1547. Moto chidodo chomukonde wesadza.
      Fire if (like) a small earthenware dish of stiff porridge
      in a large plate of stiff porridge.

1548. Rumoto runakira ndirwo runokonza mbare.
      A pleasantly warm fire is the one that causes scorch
      marks (on the skin).

1549. Kana museve woda nyama/ unodauka pauta.
      When the arrow craves for meat it darts from the bow.

1550. Kana museve woda nyama/ unovhomoka pauta.
      When the arrow wants meat it darts from the bow.

1551. Simba rehove riri mumvura.
      The strength of a fish is in the water.

1552. Makunguo zvaakatya ko, akafa mangani?
      Since crows took fright, how many died?

1553. Mapere zvaakatya, mapapata awo mangani?
      Mapere took fright, how many skeletons are there?

1554. Mbwende haina vanga.
      A coward has no scar.

1555. Kutya hakuna gobvu. (gobvu: scar)
      Fesa has not scar.*
Although a baboon is fearful, it does not allow its young one to be touched.
APPENDIX C

INDEX OF ORIENTATION

I. Self Orientation

A. Category: Human Being

1. Reference: Person

a. Shona - 33

1) Proverb Numbers: 45, 105, 106, 269, 278, 279, 304, 305, 533, 658, 776, 777, 795, 796, 805, 806, 996, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1068, 1097, 1123, 1190, 1197, 1211, 1253, 1254, 1256, 1257, 1448, 1449, 1496

2) Words: munhu/vanhu

b. Bemba - 18


2) Words: umuntu/abantu

B. Category: Parts of the Anatomy

1. Reference: Anus

a. Shona - 1

1) Proverb Number: 1463

2) Word: ishure
b. Bemba - 1
   1) Proverb Number: 400
   2) Word: imputi

2. Reference: Armpit
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 130
      2) Word: hapwa
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 552
      2) Word: kwapa

3. Reference: Back
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 826
      2) Word: umusana
   b. Bemba - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 681, 830, 1079
      2) Words: panuma, kunuma, umusana

4. Reference: Back of head
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 1489
      2) Word: gotsi
   b. Bemba - nil

5. Reference: Beard
   a. Shona - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 129, 755
      2) Word: ndebvu
b. Bemba - 5
   1) Proverb Numbers: 24, 55, 429, 713, 714
   2) Word: umwefu

6. Reference: Body
   a. Shona - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 256, 445, 946
      2) Word: muviri
   b. Bemba - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 102, 1009, 1010
      2) Word: umubili

7. Reference: Blood
   a. Shona - 5
      1) Proverb Numbers: 993, 1269, 1388, 348, 1269
      2) Word: uropa
   b. Bemba - 5
      1) Proverb Numbers: 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1216
      2) Word: umulopa

8. Reference: Bowels
   a. Shona - 4
      1) Proverb Numbers: 737, 738, 765, 1168
      2) Words: manyoka, ura
   b. Bemba - nil

9. Reference: Brains
   a. Shona - nil
b. Bemba - 10
   1) Proverb Numbers: 12, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 649,
      835, 870, 994
   2) Word: amano

10. Reference: Breast
   a. Shona - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 755, 1263
      2) Word: zamu/mazamu
   b. Bemba - nil

11. Reference: Buttocks
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 957
      2) Word: amatako

12. Reference: Calves
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 1326
      2) Word: tsapfu
   b. Bemba - nil

13. Reference: Cheek
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 1411
      2) Word: dama
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 664
      2) Word: umwanya
14. Reference: Chest
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 1421
      2) Word: dundu
   b. Bemba - nil

15. Reference: Ears
   a. Shona - 4
      1) Proverb Numbers: 1217, 1223, 1435, 1505
      2) Word: nzeve
   b. Bemba - 8
      1) Proverb Numbers: 116, 296, 300, 433, 549, 1082, 1148, 1162
      2) Words: amatwi, ukutwi

16. Reference: Eye
   a. Shona - 25
      1) Proverb Numbers: 163, 182, 212, 220, 219, 392, 393, 408, 583, 585, 731, 843, 844, 845, 973, 1151, 1223, 1224, 1470, 1501, 1502, 1511, 1539, 1540, 407
      2) Words: ziso/meso, dziso
   b. Bemba - 26
      1) Proverb Numbers: 120, 121, 168, 187, 192, 309, 342, 354, 355, 392, 430, 618, 625, 717, 723, 822, 905, 908, 937, 1042, 1055, 1182, 1265, 1267, 1270, 1279
      2) Word: ilinso/amenso
17. Reference: Eyelid
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 69
      2) Word: akapeni

18. Reference: Face
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 1200
      2) Word: hope
   b. Bemba - nil

19. Reference: Fat
   a. Shona - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 39, 731
      2) Words: kununa, imanda
   b. Bemba - nil

20. Reference: Feet
   a. Shona - 5
      1) Proverb Numbers: 38, 163, 600, 1442, 1443
      2) Words: mutsa, tsoka
   b. Bemba - nil

21. Reference: Finger
   a. Shona - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 40, 758, 1499
      2) Words: munwe, munongedzo (index)
   b. Bemba - 10
      1) Proverb Numbers: 132, 187, 192, 381, 382, 383,
409, 694, 708, 1173

2) Words: umunwe/iminwe

22. Reference: Fingernail
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 218
      2) Word: icalo

23. Reference: Fontanelle
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 817
      2) Word: nhora
   b. Bemba - nil

24. Reference: Forehead
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 81
      2) Word: huma
   b. Bemba - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 398, 399, 965
      2) Words: impumi, inkanshi

25. Reference: Gums, Gaps between teeth
   a. Shona - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 315, 553, 1080
      2) Word: vende/mavende
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 34
      2) Word: imicene
26. Reference: Groins
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 420, 690
      2) Words: icinena, ubwebe

27. Reference: Hair
   a. Shona - 4
      1) Proverb Numbers: 543, 544, 694, 996
      2) Words: ibvudzi, wachena (implied, grayhair)
   b. Bemba - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 377, 1023, 1203
      2) Words: imfwi (gray), umushishi, amaso (of armpit, genitals)

28. Reference: Hands
   a. Shona - 14
      1) Proverb Numbers: 66, 217, 218, 236, 260, 328, 722, 723, 796, 1085, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1200
      2) Word: ruoko/maoko
   b. Bemba - 6
      1) Proverb Numbers: 25, 122, 535, 732, 961, 1010
      2) Words: akaboko, ukuboko, amaboko

29. Reference: Head
   a. Shona - 16
      1) Proverb Numbers: 267, 339, 399, 494, 553, 577, 661, 680, 681, 682, 742, 743, 760, 1063, 1346, 1435
      2) Words: musoro, mhanza (bald), baravara (shaved)
b. Bemba - 8

1) Proverb Numbers: 318, 488, 539, 649, 959, 1023, 1110, 1286

2) Words: umutwe, ilipala (bald)

30. Reference: Heart

a. Shona - 22

1) Proverb Numbers: 217, 218, 272, 273, 280, 281, 352, 381, 382, 731, 856, 857, 876, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 982, 984, 1422, 1533

2) Word: mwoyo

b. Bemba - 9

1) Proverb Numbers: 165, 300, 309, 475, 1058, 1106, 1107, 1231, 1256

2) Word: umutima

31. Reference: Leg

a. Shona - 7

1) Proverb Numbers: 366, 535, 536, 1059, 1194, 1346, 1408

2) Word: gumbo

b. Bemba - 7

1) Proverb Numbers: 180, 617, 684, 905, 938, 998, 1005

2) Words: umukonsö, ulukasa/amakasa, ubukulu

32. Reference: Lips

a. Shona - nil

b. Bemba - 1

1) Proverb Number: 397
2) Word: umulomo

33. Reference: Loins
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 9, 318
      2) Word: umusana

34. Reference: Mouth
   a. Shona - 38
      1) Proverb Numbers: 40, 142, 143, 173, 174, 206, 328, 329, 331, 344, 450, 451, 583, 615, 616, 722, 723, 756, 867, 897, 898, 924, 925, 1137, 1138, 1172, 1224, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1290, 1396, 1414, 1434, 1511, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526
      2) Words: kanwa, muromo
   b. Bemba - 25
      1) Proverb Numbers: 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 294, 327, 603, 607, 608, 653, 829, 1021, 1022, 1147, 1149, 1190, 1198, 1225, 1252, 1259
      2) Word: akanwa

35. Reference: Neck
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 6
      1) Proverb Numbers: 118, 536, 539, 713, 755, 851
      2) Words: umukoshi, ilikoshi

36. Nose
   a. Shona - 3
1) Proverb Numbers: 318, 867, 1442.
2) Word: mhuno
   b. Bemba - 3
   1) Proverb Numbers: 57, 168, 192
   2) Words: umona, imyona

37. Reference: Palm of hand
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 1275
      2) Word: chanza
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 42
      2) Word: ulupi

38. Reference: Placenta
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 863
      2) Word: ubuta

39. Reference: Ribs
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 310, 1201
      2) Word: imbofu

40. Reference: Saliva
   a. Shona - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 40, 1172
      2) Word: mate
41. Reference: Shoulder
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 552, 1099
      2) Word: kubeya

42. Reference: Stomach
   a. Shona - 11
      1) Proverb Numbers: 511, 522, 531, 532, 536, 1063, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1461, 1462
      2) Words: dumbai, nhumbu
   b. Bemba - 18
      1) Proverb Numbers: 27, 33, 203, 407, 538, 636, 637, 638, 639, 796, 974, 1022, 1023, 1149, 1178, 1193, 1230, 1232
      2) Words: akafumo, inda, ilifumo

43. Reference: Teeth
   a. Shona - 6
      1) Proverb Numbers: 52, 53, 135, 365, 481, 1080
      2) Words: zino/mazino, meno
   b. Bemba - 4
      1) Proverb Numbers: 224, 327, 556, 1036
      2) Word: ameno

44. Reference: Temple
   a. Shona - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 742, 743
2) Word: **shosha** (where hair has become thin)

b. Bemba - nil

45. Reference: Toe

a. Shona - nil

b. Bemba - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 162, 247

2) Word: **icikondo**

46. Reference: Tongue

a. Shona - 1

1) Proverb Number: 266

2) Word: **rurimi**

b. Bemba - 1

1) Proverb Number: 294

2) Word: **ululimi**

47. Reference: Top of spinal column

a. Shona - 1

1) Proverb Number: 855

2) Word: **chirangaranga**

b. Bemba - nil

48. Reference: Uterus

a. Shona - 1

1) Proverb Number: 884

2) Words: **nyoka ye mvana**

b. Bemba - nil

49. Reference: Womb

a. Shona - 5
1) Proverb Numbers: 275, 829, 881, 882, 883
2) Words: nhumbu, dumbu, ura
   b. Bemba - nil

C. Category: Various Conditions of the Human Being
1. Reference: Conscience
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 617
      2) Word: hana
   b. Bemba - nil
2. Reference: Corpse
   a. Shona - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 317, 773, 615
      2) Words: munhu akafa, zvituna, afa-afa
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 1172
      2) Word: bolele
3. Reference: Crippled, Lame
   a. Shona - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 77, 13
      2) Words: zvirema, chirema
   b. Bemba - 4
      1) Proverb Numbers: 463, 655, 663, 856
      2) Words: icilema, indema
4. Reference: Disease
   a. Shona - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 753, 1099
2) Words: chirwere, urwere
b. Bemba - 2
   1) Proverb Numbers: 543, 978
   2) Words: kulwala, -lwalika

5. Reference: Excreta
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 101, 275, 810
      2) Word: amafi

6. Reference: Marks on Face from Sleeping
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 795
      2) Word: mabori
   b. Bemba - nil

7. Reference: Hunch of a Hunchback
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 471
      2) Word: inongo

8. Reference: Life
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 761
      2) Word: upenyu
   b. Bemba - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 276, 1162
      2) Words: umweo
9. Reference: Scar
   a. Shona - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 1053, 1554, 1555
      2) Words: gobvu, vanga
   b. Bemba - nil

10. Reference: Skeleton
    a. Shona - 1
       1) Proverb Number: 1553
       2) Word: mapapata
    b. Bemba - nil

11. Reference: Sweat
    a. Shona - 3
       1) Proverb Numbers: 1164, 1165, 1214
       2) Words: dikita, ziya
    b. Bemba - nil

12. Reference: Tattoo Marks
    a. Shona - 2
       1) Proverb Numbers: 94, 96
       2) Word: nyora
    b. Bemba - nil

13. Reference: Tears
    a. Shona - 2
       1) Proverb Numbers: 96, 251
       2) Word: misodzi
    b. Bemba - 2
       1) Proverb Numbers: 628, 1182
14. Reference: Vomit
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 559
      2) Word: -rutsa
   b. Bemba - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 369, 340
      2) Words: icilukwa, amalushi

15. Reference: Wound or Physical Injury
   a. Shona - 10
      1) Proverb Numbers: 244, 346, 349, 433, 503, 625, 752, 971, 1056, 1268
      2) Words: ronda/maronda, mbonje (head injury), mota (abscess)
   b. Bemba - 4
      1) Proverb Numbers: 437, 480, 601, 1018
      2) Words: akalonda, icilaso, icilonda

II. Other Orientation - Human
   A. Category: Kin
      i. Sub-Category: Children
         1. Reference: Boy
            a. Shona - 1
               1) Proverb Number: 14
               2) Word: mukomana
            b. Bemba - nil
2. Reference: Child, Childhood

a. Shona - 52


2) Words: ndumudzani, mbudzana, mucheche, mudoko, mwana, mwana muduku, pwere, mwana mudiki, ndumure

b. Bemba - 55


2) Words: abaice, abana, mwipi, bwaice

3. Reference: girl, girlhood

a. Shona - 19

1) Proverb Numbers: 14, 63, 64, 297, 314, 385, 781, 785, 822, 986, 987, 988, 1225, 1243, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1533

2) Words: musikana, mhandara, mukarabwe muchena, mwana, chiuni, usikana
b. Bemba - nil

4. Reference: orphan

a. Shona - 12

1) Proverb Numbers: 123, 124, 201, 225, 226, 463, 523, 559, 560, 561, 826, 1198, 1349

2) Word: nherera

b. Bemba - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 1142, 1183

2) Words: umwana wa nshiwa, umwana kashiwa

5. Reference: Stepchild

a. Shona - 1

1) Proverb Number 653

2) Word: mubvandiripo

b. Bemba - nil

6. Reference: Young boy, Young man

a. Shona - 5

1) Proverb Numbers: 213, 297, 1205, 680, 557

2) Words: chirumbwana, jaha, chinonyenga, rousina baba

b. Bemba - 1

1) Proverb Number: 501

2) Word: kalume wa mfumu

7. Reference: Young woman (marriageable)

a. Shona - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 147, 1234

2) Words: banamune, uwamabele
b. Bemba - nil

ii. Sub-Category: Mother, Motherhood

1. Reference: Mother, Motherhood
   a. Shona - 28
      1) Proverb Numbers: 6, 239, 240, 511, 523, 643, 713, 800, 841, 842, 843, 853, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 876, 877, 1003, 1226, 1243, 1263, 1277, 1278, 1280
      2) Words: wabara, wabareka, mai
   b. Bemba - 24
      1) Proverb Numbers: 302, 440, 582, 592, 593, 707, 708, 709, 715, 716, 741, 783, 843, 907, 921, 1086, 1122, 1130, 1131, 1135, 1182, 1201, 1286, 1233
      2) Words: nyina, noko

2. Reference: Unmarried Mother who has given birth for first time
   a. Shona - 6
      1) Proverb Numbers: 245, 318, 562, 1307, 1308, 1309
      2) Word: mvana
   b. Bemba - nil

3. Reference: Mother just after delivery
   a. Shona - 5
      1) Proverb Numbers: 312, 418, 419, 462, 662
      2) Words: mungozva, wabata mwana, muzvere

iii. Sub-Category: Wife
   a. Shona - 16
      1) Proverb Numbers: 119, 120, 239, 240, 639, 852, 853,
iv. Sub-Category: Father, Fatherhood
   a. Shona - 9
      1) Proverb Numbers: 7, 43, 44, 822, 852, 853, 877, 999, 1058
      2) Word: baba
   b. Bemba - 6
      1) Proverb Numbers: 74, 140, 160, 492, 787, 1123
      2) Words: wiso, tata, butata, wishi

v. Sub-Category: Husband
   a. Shona - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 726, 793, 956
      2) Words: muridzi wo mukadzi, murume
   b. Bemba - nil

vi. Sub-Category: Siblings
1. Reference: Brother
   a. Shona - nil
   b. Bemba - 4
      1) Proverb Numbers: 519, 594, 661, 876
      2) Words: munyina, ndume, mwana noko
2. Reference: Elder Brother/Sister
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 861
      2) Word: mukoma (Elder brother if said by boy; elder
sister if said by girl)

b. Bemba - nil

3. Reference: Younger Brother/Sister
a. Shona - 1
   1) Proverb Number: 861
   2) Word: munun'una (Younger brother if said by a boy; younger sister if said by a girl)

b. Bemba - nil

4. Reference: Sister
a. Shona - nil

b. Bemba - 4
   1) Proverb Numbers: 29, 661, 759, 876
   2) Words: nkashi, mwana noko

vii. Sub-Category: Daughter
a. Shona - 6
   1) Proverb Numbers: 790, 825, 888, 979, 980, 1143
   2) Words: mhurikadzi, mwanasikana, mwana

b. Bemba - nil

viii. Sub-Category: Family
a. Shona - 19
   1) Proverb Numbers, 46, 47, 141, 203, 228, 229, 322, 421, 422, 423, 807, 808, 809, 814, 957, 1125, 1160, 1161, 1517
   2) Words: hama, wako, vohwo

b. Bemba - 8
   1) Proverb Numbers: 422, 545, 631, 882, 933, 934, 977, 1108
   2) Words: lupwa, uobe, ubwana nyina (male members)
ix. Sub-Category: "Family Fool"
   a. Shona - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 126, 127, 128
      2) Word: benzi rako
   
  x. Sub-Category: Grandmother
   a. Shona - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 792, 805, 806
      2) Word: mbuya
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 676
      2) Word: nakulu wakota

xi. Sub-Category: Grandchild (son or daughter)
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 1142
      2) Word: muzukuru (grandson)
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 676
      2) Word: beshikulu (grandson)

xii. Sub-Category: Guardian
   a. Shona - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 558, 1198
      2) Words: tewe, muredzi
   b. Bemba - nil

xiii. Sub-Category: Nephew
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 495
2) Word: **muzukuru**

b. Bemba - nil

xiv. Sub-Category: Parents

a. Shona - nil
b. Bemba - 1

1) Proverb Number: 919
2) Word: **umufyashi**

xv. Sub-Category: Clan

a. Shona - nil
b. Bemba - 3

1) Proverb Numbers: 272, 566, 567
2) Words: **mukowa, mutupo**

xvi. Sub-Category: Son

a. Shona - 5

1) Proverb Numbers: 495, 868, 869, 979, 980
2) Words: **mwana, mwanakomana, mwamuna, mhurirume, murume**

b. Bemba - 1

1) Proverb Number: 1133
2) Word: **umwana mwaume**

xvii. Sub-Category: Marriage and Marriage Spouses

a. Shona - 4

1) Proverb Numbers: 633, 676, 784, 785
2) Words: **zviuya, chisinga wanisi, kuwanikwa, yabikwa**

b. Bemba - 4

1) Proverb Numbers: 318, 319, 320, 1038
2) Words: icupo, muka-kubomba

xviii. Sub-Category: Maternal Uncle

a. Shona - nil
b. Bemba - 3

1) Proverb Numbers: 492, 710, 711
2) Words: yama, nokolume

xix. Sub-Category: Affines Other than Wife, Husband and Spouse

1. Reference: Brother-in-law

a. Shona - nil
b. Bemba - 3

1) Proverb Numbers: 158, 280, 1126
2) Words: ubukwe, inkashi

2. Reference: In-laws

a. Shona - 1

1) Proverb Number: 700
2) Word: tezvara

b. Bemba - 5

1) Proverb Numbers: 339, 536, 650, 1276, 947
2) Words: buko, muko

3. Reference: Mother-in-law

a. Shona - 5

1) Proverb Numbers: 5, 119, 120, 319, 683
2) Word: mbuya

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1 It must be understood that the words used by the two groups for people in this category do not necessarily correspond with our English usage.
b. Bemba - 2
1) Proverb Numbers: 646, 1244
2) Words: banafyala, muko

4. Reference: Son-in-law
a. Shona - 9
1) Proverb Numbers: 319, 448, 747, 748, 787, 788, 789, 824, 1426
2) Words: mukwambo, mukuwasha

b. Bemba - 2
1) Proverb Numbers: 589, 1017
2) Words: lumbwe, umuko

B. Category: Women
i. Sub-Category: Woman
a. Shona - 17
1) Proverb Numbers: 26, 399, 464, 465, 701, 726, 736, 755, 817, 955, 989, 990, 991, 992, 1026, 1058, 1111
2) Words: mvana, mukadzi, zigadzi, munhukadzi, mhandakadzi, nharokadzi, nenha

b. Bemba - 11
1) Proverb Numbers: 10, 105, 155, 333, 338, 746, 1076, 1091, 1144, 1145, 1282
2) Words: bukota, umwanakashi

ii. Sub-Category: Barren, childless woman
a. Shona - 2
1) Proverb Numbers: 875, 1399
2) Word: **imhanje**
   
b. Bemba - 2
   
   1) Proverb Numbers: 348, 972
   
   2) Word: **nghumba**

iii. Sub-Category: Divorcee

   a. Shona - 2
   
   1) Proverb Numbers: 1101, 1102
   
   2) Words: *ibvapamwe, Mukadzi akambwa*

   b. Bemba - nil

iv. Sub-Category: "Girlfriend"

   a. Shona - 2
   
   1) Proverb Numbers: 26, 683
   
   2) Words: *mhandara, shamwari*

   b. Bemba - nil

v. Sub-Category: Old Woman (and see IV A 11a)

   a. Shona - 15
   
   1) Proverb Numbers: 20, 21, 333, 456, 482, 528, 649, 650, 699, 713, 1153, 1186, 1187, 1342, 1399
   
   2) Words: *chembere, mbuya*

   b. Bemba - nil

C. Category: Men

i. Sub-Category: Men in General

   a. Shona - 14
   
   1) Proverb Numbers: 129, 412, 413, 663, 755, 782, 956, 999, 1204, 1411, 1451, 1452, 1457
   
   2) Words: *varume, chirume, zirume*
b. Bemba - 3
   1) Proverb Numbers: 16, 155, 1146
   2) Word: abaume

ii. Sub-Category: Bachelor
   a. Shona - 8
      1) Proverb Numbers: 313, 318, 322, 323, 325, 639, 1409, 1533
      2) Words: tsvimborume, pfunda
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 781
      2) Word: abashimbe

iii. Sub-Category: Old Men (but also see "Elders" in general)
   a. Shona - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 135, 442, 1293
      2) Word: harahwa
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 37
      2) Word: abakulu

iv. Sub-Category: Bald-headed Men
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 661
      2) Word: ane mhanza
   b. Bemba - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 959
      2) Word: ba pala
D. Category: Elders (see also IV C3)

i. Sub-Category: Elders in general

a. Shona - 15
   1) Proverb Numbers: 8, 34, 35, 86, 109, 110, 263, 264, 265, 659, 840, 997, 1054, 1221
   2) Words: mukuru, chakuru, akura

b. Bemba - 24
   1) Proverb Numbers: 1020, 129, 131, 201, 255, 293, 399, 521, 587, 713, 714, 744, 789, 835, 864, 865, 913, 937, 1037, 1184, 1185, 1194, 1203, 1014, 1015, 1016
   2) Words: apakulu, abakulu, abakalamba, ubukulu, akakulu

ii. Sub-Category: Old People

a. Shona - 4
   1) Proverb Numbers: 481, 694, 996, 1428
   2) Words: vasina meno, wachena, mutseye

b. Bemba - 3
   1) Proverb Numbers: 104, 855, 929
   2) Words: bukoloci, umukote

E. Category: Authorities (Political)

i. Sub-Category: Chiefs

a. Shona - 25
   1) Proverb Numbers: 136, 137, 147, 154, 191, 192, 287, 420, 485, 619, 644, 827, 896, 960, 961, 984, 997,
2) Words: ishe, umambo

b. Bemba - 21

1) Proverb Numbers: 21, 94, 142, 152, 213, 227, 369, 370, 501, 531, 532, 546, 547, 659, 712, 757, 806, 990, 1040, 1089, 1193

2) Words: mfumu, shamfumu

ii. Sub-Category: Councillor of the Chief

a. Shona - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 1067, 1068

2) Word: makota

b. Bemba - nil

iii. Sub-Category: Headwife of the Chief

a. Shona - nil

b. Bemba - 1

1) Proverb Number: 609

2) Word: umukolo

iv. Sub-Category: Leader, Great Leader

a. Shona - 1

1) Proverb Number: 1063

2) Word: gombarume

b. Bemba - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 606, 1205

2) Words: umupwa, uutangile

v. Sub-Category: Judge

a. Shona - 1
1) Proverb Number: 1121
2) Word: mutongi

b. Bemba - 1
1) Proverb Number: 484
2) Word: kabilo

vi. Sub-Category: Headman

a. Shona - 2
1) Proverb Numbers: 146, 192
2) Words: samusha, ngoya

b. Bemba - 4
1) Proverb Numbers: 77, 605, 671, 1088
2) Words: mwine kashi, mwine mushi

vii. Sub-Category: Soldier

a. Shona - nil

b. Bemba - 2
1) Proverb Numbers: 334, 672
2) Word: ifita

viii. Sub-Category: Sons of the Chief

a. Shona - 3
1) Proverb Numbers: 201, 463, 1065
2) Words: muzvare, machinda, mwana washe

b. Bemba - nil (But see IVAlf)

ix. Sub-Category: Steward of the Chief

a. Shona - nil

b. Bemba - 1
1) Proverb Number: 656
2) Word: umushika wa mfumu

x. Sub-Category: Tribal Ward
   
a. Shona - 1
   
1) Proverb Number: 254
2) Word: mutunhu

b. Bemba - nil

F. Category: Spirits

i. Sub-Category: Ancestral Spirits

a. Shona - 1

1) Proverb Number: 1385
2) Word: dzavakare

b. Bemba - 4

1) Proverb Numbers: 200, 1215, 1216, 1217
2) Words: fikolwe, uwafwa

ii. Sub-Category: Evil Spirits

a. Shona - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 814, 815
2) Word: ngozi

b. Bemba - 4

1) Proverb Numbers: 331, 358, 746, 1066
2) Words: ifiwa, shetani

iii. Sub-Category: Good Spirits

a. Shona - 8

1) Proverb Numbers: 230, 321, 327, 504, 562, 711, 896, 1329
2) Word: mudzimu
b. Bemba - 8

1) Proverb Numbers: 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1213

2) Word: umupashi

G. Category: God

a. Shona - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 152, 153

2) Word: Mwari

b. Bemba - 32

1) Proverb Numbers: 138, 267, 284, 345, 425, 540, 544, 553, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 889, 1189

2) Words: Lesa, Lesa Tumbanambo

H. Category: Activity Related People

i. Sub-Category: Deliveryman, Messenger

a. Shona - 7

1) Proverb Numbers: 335, 336, 440, 441, 727, 1525, 1526

2) Words: nyakusvitsa, wauya nacho, mutumwa, shomodzi, nhume, nhumwi

b. Bemba - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 281, 420

2) Words: busole, inkombe
ii. Sub-Category: Diviner, Doctor
   a. Shona - 12
      1) Proverb Numbers: 312, 718, 897, 962, 964, 983, 1056, 1103, 1139, 1197, 1220, 1220a
      2) Words: chiremba, n'anga, -ane makona, kuziva gona
   b. Bemba - 3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 46, 465, 939
      2) Word: in'anga

iii. Sub-Category: Farmer
   a. Shona - 9
      1) Proverb Numbers: 575, 886, 887, 889, 891, 893, 894, 2045, 1195
      2) Words: hurudza, murimi
   b. Bemba - nil

iv. Sub-Category: Hunter
   a. Shona - 12
      1) Proverb Numbers: 249, 302, 303, 326, 941, 1053, 1117, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1467, 1468
      2) Words: hombarume, murhimi, maisiri, mubayi, wabaya, rabaya, abata
   b. Bemba - 5
      1) Proverb Numbers: 173, 588, 777, 1050, 1062
      2) Words: icibinda, lukonko lwa kubamba, umulumba, umulunshi, umupalu

v. Sub-Category: Midwife
   a. Shona - 1
1) Proverb Number 1219

2) Word: nyamukuta

b. Bemba - 1

1) Proverb Number: 675

2) Word: nacimbusa

vi. Sub-Category: Preacher, Teacher

a. Shona - nil

b. Bemba - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 595, 1035

2) Words: mfunda buteshi, umulangishi wa muntu

vii. Sub-Category: Sentinel

a. Shona - nil

b. Bemba - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 931, 932

2) Word: nsoke

viii. Sub-Category: Slave, Servant

a. Shona - 12

1) Proverb Numbers: 191, 386, 521, 644, 1065, 1069, 1077, 1084, 1085, 1118, 1162, 1460

2) Word: muranda

b. Bemba - 9

1) Proverb Numbers: 9, 94, 393, 921, 963, 1041, 1080, 1081, 1082

2) Words: abasha, akombele

ix. Sub-Category: Shepherd

a. Shona - 2
1) Proverb Numbers: 1513, 1514

2) Word: mufudzi

b. Bemba - nil

x. Sub-Category: Thief

a. Shona - 5

1) Proverb Numbers: 757, 881, 883, 884, 1544

2) Word: mbavha

b. Bemba - 1

1) Proverb Number: 1078

2) Word: umupupu

xi. Sub-Category: Trader

a. Shona - 5

1) Proverb Numbers: 1474, 1475, 1476, 1487, 1488

2) Words: mutengesi, mushambadzi

b. Bemba - nil

xii. Sub-Category: Weaver

a. Shona - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 614, 1062

2) Words: chiruka, muruki

b. Bemba - nil

xiii. Sub-Category: Witch

a. Shona - 19

1) Proverb Numbers: 278, 279, 311, 334, 344, 437, 446, 648, 701, 711, 769, 793, 843, 881, 883, 884, 960, 961, 965

2) Words: muroyi, -roya, kuziva uroyi
b. Bemba - 1
1) Proverb Number: 1017
2) Word: indoshi

xiv. Sub-Category: Workers
a. Shona - nil
b. Bemba - 1
1) Proverb Number: 1079
2) Word: abalimi

I. Category: Role Identified People
i. Sub-Category: Adulterer
a. Shona - 3
1) Proverb Numbers: 652, 726, 786
2) Word: gomba
b. Bemba - 1
1) Proverb Numbers: 1012
2) Word: umucende

ii. Sub-Category: Blindman
a. Shona - 3
1) Proverb Numbers: 308, 1291, 1292
2) Words: bofu, mapofu
b. Bemba - 3
1) Proverb Numbers: 394, 395, 396
2) Word: impofu

iii. Sub-Category: Bride
a. Shona - 1
1) Proverb Number: 301
2) Word: mutsvitsa
b. Bemba - nil

iv. Sub-Category: Crowd of People
a. Shona - nil
b. Bemba - 4
   1) Proverb Numbers: 600, 647, 739, 908
   2) Words: ubwingi, ilibumba

v. Sub-Category: Enemy
a. Shona - 2
   1) Proverb Numbers: 52, 53
   2) Words: rivenga, warisingadi
b. Bemba - 1
   1) Proverb Number: 1212
   2) Word: fita

vi. Sub-Category: Experts
a. Shona - 3
   1) Proverb Numbers: 224, 716, 872
   2) Words: varidzi, mhizha, chisingagonebwi
b. Bemba - nil

vii. Sub-Category: Fool, Crazy Person
a. Shona - 4
   1) Proverb Numbers: 920, 1048, 1258, 1273 (See also IVA10)
   2) Word: benzi
b. Bemba - 7
   1) Proverb Numbers: 389, 580, 912, 930, 954, 994, 1095
2) Words: icipuba, ilipena, shilu, tupumbu

viii. Sub-Category: Friend
a. Shona - 8
   1) Proverb Numbers: 378, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 461, 757
   2) Words: ushamwari, vayanani, vadani, vamwe
b. Bemba - 18
   1) Proverb Numbers: 107, 373, 434, 485, 507, 636, 641, 723, 730, 809, 831, 950, 1033, 1070, 1124, 1146, 1176, 1264
   2) Words: mubiyo, cibusa, munankwe

ix. Sub-Category: Hooligan
a. Shona - 1
   1) Proverb Number 719
   2) Word: matsotsi
b. Bemba - nil

x. Sub-Category: Lame Person, Cripple
a. Shona - 2
   1) Proverb Numbers: 13, 77
   2) Words: zvirema, chirema
b. Bemba - 6
   1) Proverb Numbers: 463, 496, 655, 663, 856, 918
   2) Words: icilema, uwalemwa, indema, icibi (child)

xi. Sub-Category: Neighbor
a. Shona - 1
   1) Proverb Number: 388
2) Word: **vamwe**

b. Bemba - 1

1) Proverb Number: 1168

2) Word: **umwina mupalamano**

xii. Sub-Category: Owner, Master

a. Shona - 26


2) Words: **muridzi, mwene, ane -, tenzi, tewe, musoni**

b. Bemba - 18

1) Proverb Numbers: 190, 191, 231, 238, 337, 364, 467, 470, 517, 756, 1069, 1075, 1107, 1163, 1173, 1174, 1262, 1272

2) Words: **abene, shikulu, icibinda, wa -**

xiii. Sub-Category: Patient, Sick Person

a. Shona - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 452, 1220a

2) Words: **murwere, murapwa**

b. Bemba - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 940, 1051

2) Words: **ntenda, umulwele**

xiv. Sub-Category: Personages

a. Shona - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 1226, 1227

2) Words: **Munyarari, Tarubra**
b. Bemba - 21

1) Proverb Numbers: 124, 126, 169, 170, 477, 488, 489, 491, 496, 504, 505, 508, 518, 521, 692, 693, 694, 793, 924, 1218, 1223

2) Words: Bunde, Shimundu, Capoota, Cayansha, Katumba, Kabundi, Kabungo, Kafumbe, Kaluba, Kampanda, Kampanda Katondo, Kankombelesha, Kasumba, Kalongwe, Cikwale, Kalinghongo, Kaengele, Tambwe, Mumboolo, Ngosa, Musa

xv. Sub-Category: Possessed Person

a. Shona - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 61, 62

2) Word: ishavi

b. Bemba - nil

xvi. Sub-Category: Predecessor

a. Shona - 1

1) Proverb Number: 510

2) Word: muzandiripo

b. Bemba - nil

xvii. Sub-Category: Foreigners

a. Shona - 5

1) Proverb Numbers: 460, 737, 738, 807, 1386

2) Words: MuTonga, MaZungu, Chizungu, Mutorwa, VaRunu

b. Bemba - 2

1) Proverb Numbers: 483, 794

2) Words: Ilala, abene
xviii. Sub-Category: Witnesses
a. Shona - 3
   1) Proverb Numbers: 1115, 1116, 1117
   2) Words: zvapupu, vapupuri
b. Bemba - nil

J. Category: Contrasts
i. Sub-Category: Resident, Villager
a. Shona - 1
   1) Proverb Number: 1157
   2) Word: vohwo
b. Bemba - 4
   1) Proverb Numbers: 304, 316, 541, 668
   2) Words: umukaya, ubweni

ii. Sub-Category: Stranger, Visitor, Guest, Traveller
a. Shona - 26
   1) Proverb Numbers: 46, 47, 139, 144, 145, 159, 164, 165, 203, 292, 293, 332, 421, 422, 423, 466, 467, 660, 1157, 1433, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1516, 1518
   2) Words: vatorwa, mweni, vokunze, wokuruwa, hweni, werwendo
b. Bemba - 24
   1) Proverb Numbers: 18, 19, 20, 172, 254, 448, 556, 631, 668, 997, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1160, 1161, 1202
   2) Words: icikupempula, abeni, ceni, umweni, abenda
iii. Sub-Category: Mountain Dwellers
   a. Shona - 4
      1) Proverb Numbers: ?, 185, 186, 187
      2) Word: vari mugomo
   b. Bemba - nil

iv. Sub-Category: Veld Dwellers
   a. Shona -3
      1) Proverb Numbers: 185, 186, 187
      2) Word: vari pasi
   b. Bemba - nil

v. Sub-Category: Rich Person
   a. Shona - 1
      1) Proverb Number: 202
      2) Word: vapfumi
   b. Bemba - 2
      1) Proverb Numbers: 143, 1169
      2) Words: umwina, musumba, abafyuma

vi. Sub-Category: Commoner, Poor Person
   a. Shona - 15
      1) Proverb Numbers: 152, 153, 154, 327, 385, 386, 549, 568, 569, 570, 617, 618, 619, 833, 1407
      2) Words: murombo, muchena, ngoya, rombe, wenzara
   b. Bemba - 7
      1) Proverb Numbers: 205, 589, 635, 782, 1021, 1022, 1147
      2) Words: abapabi, umulanda, umubusu
K. Category: Relationships

a. Shona - 13
   1) Proverb Numbers: 171, 172, 392, 393, 798, 799, 800, 801, 803, 804, 912, 1301, 1544
   2) Words: ukama, ushamwari

b. Bemba - 8
   1) Proverb Numbers: 4, 174, 177, 314, 1167, 1168, 1176, 1245
   2) Words: uo mwenda nankwe, umuselwe, -balapalamana, cibusa, umwikalano, iciikalano
APPENDIX D

DATA FOR CHI-SQUARE TESTS

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|           | 12    | 21.70 | - 9.70      | 94.09          | 4.3359               |
|           | 402   | 391.68| 10.32       | 106.50         | .2719                |

$x^2 = 8.1232$

| Men       | 26    | 18.09 | 7.91        | 62.57          | 3.4587               |
|           | 514   | 521.88| - 7.88      | 62.09          | .1190                |
|           | 6     | 13.87 | - 7.87      | 61.94          | 4.4658               |
|           | 408   | 400.17| 7.83        | 61.31          | .1532                |

$x^2 = 8.1967$

| Elders    | 19    | 26.03 | - 7.03      | 49.42          | 1.8986               |
|           | 536   | 513.94| 22.06       | 486.64         | .9469                |
|           | 27    | 19.96 | 7.04        | 49.56          | 2.4830               |
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<th>$E_1$</th>
<th>$0_1 - E_1$</th>
<th>$(0_1 - E_1)^2$</th>
<th>$(0_1 - E_1)^2/E_1$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>37.91</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>8.47</td>
<td>.2233</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.94</td>
<td>8.64</td>
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<td>4.28</td>
<td>18.32</td>
<td>1.1988</td>
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<td>4.32</td>
<td>18.66</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4.32</td>
<td>18.66</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>63.39</td>
<td>21.61</td>
<td>466.99</td>
<td>7.3670</td>
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<tr>
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<td>465.26</td>
<td>.9763</td>
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<td>9.6069</td>
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<td>387</td>
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<td>21.57</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role</td>
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<td>18.15</td>
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<td>18.17</td>
<td>330.15</td>
<td>4.9401</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>329</td>
<td>347.21</td>
<td>18.21</td>
<td>331.60</td>
<td>.9550</td>
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</tbody>
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$X^2 = .5585$

$X^2 = 2.8439$

$X^2 = 19.2234$

$X^2 = 10.4057$
TABLE II (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>$0_1$</th>
<th>$E_1$</th>
<th>$0_1-E_1$</th>
<th>$(0_1-E_1)^2$</th>
<th>$(0_1-E_1)^2/E_1$</th>
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<td>.0117</td>
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$x^2 = .0291$
### TABLE III

**CHI-SQUARE TESTS FOR REFERENCES TO MEMBERS OF THE DOMESTIC UNITS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>O₁</th>
<th>E₁</th>
<th>O₁-E₁</th>
<th>(O₁-E₁)^2</th>
<th>(O₁-E₁)^2/E₁</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>90.98</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>0.0448</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>70.02</td>
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<td>4.08</td>
<td>0.0583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>61.03</td>
<td>-2.03</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>0.0675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>46.97</td>
<td>-2.03</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>0.0877</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 0.2583 \]

| Mothers   | 34 | 34.71| -0.71 | 0.50      | 0.0144       |
|           | 127| 126.29| 0.71   | 0.50      | 0.0040       |
|           | 24 | 23.29| 0.71   | 0.50      | 0.0215       |
|           | 84 | 84.72| -0.72  | 0.52      | 0.0061       |

\[ \chi^2 = 0.0460 \]

| Wives     | 16 | 13.77| 2.23  | 4.97      | 0.3611       |
|           | 145| 147.31| -2.31 | 5.34      | 0.0363       |
|           | 7  | 9.23 | 2.23  | 4.97      | 0.5385       |
|           | 101| 98.82| 2.18  | 4.75      | 0.0481       |

\[ \chi^2 = 0.9840 \]

| Fathers   | 9  | 8.98 | 0.02  | 0.0004    | 0.0000       |
|           | 152| 152.01| 0.01  | 0.0001    | 0.0000       |
|           | 6  | 6.03 | 0.03  | 0.0009    | 0.0000       |
|           | 102| 101.98| 0.02  | 0.0004    | 0.0000       |

\[ \chi^2 = 0.0000 \]

\[ a + b = 161; \ c + d = 108 \]
TABLE IV

CHI-SQUARE TEST FOR REFERENCE TO THE DOMESTIC UNITS WITHIN KINSHIP GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domestic Unit</th>
<th>155</th>
<th>149.14</th>
<th>5.86</th>
<th>34.34</th>
<th>0.2303</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>50</td>
<td>55.86</td>
<td>-5.86</td>
<td>34.34</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>101.85</td>
<td>-5.85</td>
<td>34.22</td>
<td>0.3360</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>38.15</td>
<td>5.85</td>
<td>34.22</td>
<td>0.8970</td>
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</table>

\[ X^2 = 2.0781 \]
TABLE V

CHI-SQUARE TESTS FOR REFERENCE TO THE NATURE AND PASSIVE ROLES OF CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Children</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>19.66</th>
<th>5.34</th>
<th>28.41</th>
<th>1.4451</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>-5.33</td>
<td>28.41</td>
<td>0.7223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>17.33</td>
<td>-5.33</td>
<td>28.41</td>
<td>1.6394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>40</td>
<td>34.67</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>28.41</td>
<td>0.8194</td>
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</table>

\[
X^2 = 4.6262
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive Roles of Children</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>10.63</th>
<th>-3.63</th>
<th>13.18</th>
<th>1.2396</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>52</td>
<td>48.37</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>13.18</td>
<td>0.2725</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>9.37</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>13.18</td>
<td>1.4066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>39</td>
<td>42.63</td>
<td>-3.63</td>
<td>13.18</td>
<td>0.3092</td>
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</table>

\[
X^2 = 3.2279
\]

\[a + b = 52; c + d = 59\]