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A Kaguru Version of the Sons of Noah

A Study in the Inculcation of the Idea of Racial Superiority*

I

In earlier articles1 I presented texts in Chikaguru, a Bantu language spoken by the Kaguru of Kilosa and Mpwapwa Areas in east-central Tanganyika. These appear to be the only published texts in this language. Considering the comparatively small amount published on the Bantu languages of Tanganyika and in particular on the languages of the matrilineal peoples of eastern Tanganyika, I hope to continue publishing as many Chikaguru texts as possible. These may be of some use to linguists and to those interested in the sociology of the peoples of East Africa. They may also provide some pleasure and entertainment in their own right as examples of East African literature.

The previously published Chikaguru texts to which I refer above all have traditional plots, although some contain a few Swahili words. However, the text I present here is the product of contact between traditional Kaguru beliefs and those of European Christians. This should not be surprising when we consider that the Kaguru telling this story was a Christian convert.

The tale is an amalgam of a very famous European myth and

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certain Kaguru beliefs. Some motifs associated with the European myth have been retained while others have been expurgated. Conversely, certain traditional Kaguru motifs have supplemented the European ones so as to make a more meaningful tale in terms of the values and beliefs which Kaguru hold. By considering these various motifs and the possible reasons for their combination in one tale we may gain further insight into how Kaguru see themselves and the world in which they live. However, I am aware that to some, consideration of the possible reasons for the way this tale is formulated may be rejected as idle conjecture, since the actual origins of the tale can never be precisely known.

I first present the tale in an English translation. I then discuss the various motifs in terms of the problems I have set. At the end of the article I present the tale in its original Chikaguru version along with a rough English transliteration. Supplementary sociological information on the Kaguru is published elsewhere.

II

Long ago there was a man who had a wife. One day his wife said to him, “Husband, my belly hurts.”

Since the man didn’t know why his wife’s belly hurt, he said, “Oh, that isn’t a serious illness. Let me go dig some roots of the chisongoti-plant. Perhaps that will cure you.”

The woman replied, “You men! I’m a fool to ask your advice! Doesn’t your mind tell you why your wife’s belly is hurting? Have you forgotten that my time for bearing a child is near?”

Because she was about to bear a child, he said, “Now I know what to do! Let me go to Munhonya, the diviner. Then I shall see what medicine we need.”

Then as the man got ready to go to Munhonya’s, the woman said, “When you reach there, don’t tell the diviner, ‘I have come for this or for that!’ No! Just tell him, ‘I have come for divination.’”


3. A plant thought to have various curative properties. I could not secure the scientific or the Swahili term for this plant.

4. Munhonya, a typical Kaguru man’s name. It derives from kutonya, to rain. It is a common name for men whose fathers belong to the nyafula, rain, matriclan.

5. If he was a proper diviner, the diviner would know the purpose of the man’s visit without being told.
When the man arrived, he greeted the people, "How are you?"
They replied, "Very well! How are you?"
Then he asked, "Is the head of the village here?"*
They said, "Yes!"
He said, "I want to see him."
Then when the head of the village heard this, he soon came out
[from his hut] to see what the matter was about.
Then the man said, "I want to make divination for me."
The deviner agreed saying, "Let us go outside."*
The diviner took his sandals [used for divination]8 with him. He took his sandals
and spoke the words necessary to make things ready and fit for divination and then he spit, pfuh! pfuh! pfuh! pfuh! pfuh! Waa! Waa!* Then he made divination: "Your wife's belly is the thing for which
you want divination."
Then the one who was receiving divination said, "Yes, father!10 Diviner!"
Then the diviner continued his divination saying, "It is not her
belly that is hurting but her womb which is ready to be delivered of
its child."
Then the one who was receiving divination said, "Yes, yes, that's
right, father!"
Then the diviner said, "There at your home your wife told you
not to tell me why you were coming here."
Then the man replied, "Yes! Yes! That's how it was!"
Then the diviner said, "Now you know that you have come because
of your wife's pregnancy. Now you go home and call the old women
who know what to do about childbirth. Now give me some payment
for having gone into the bush to collect medicines."11
Then the man agreed to give the diviner the tusk of an elephant
when the divination was proved correct. Then he returned home
and did what he had been told.

6. The most important person in the village, viz. the diviner.
7. To the edge of the hut where they cannot be overheard.
8. One means of divination is to cast ordinary leather sandals onto the
ground and then examine how they have fallen and how they lie in relation
to each other. This method of divination is not common in Ukaguru today.
This tale was told by a Kaguru from Gairo in western Ukaguru bordering Gogo-
land. Mr. Peter Rigby informs me that sandal-casting is a common means
of divination among the Gogo. I have not seen sandal-casting practiced by
Kaguru but have watched it done by the Kaguru's neighbours, the Baraguyu,
who call such divination namuka.
9. Kaguru believe that sputum soaks into an object bearing words with it.
Thus blessings and treatment are often accompanied by spitting.
10. Baba, here, an honourary form of address; slaves called their masters
by this term.
11. A diviner receives two payments: a small initial one for the trouble of
having gone into the bush to collect medicines for his work; a second larger
payment when the diagnosis and treatment have proven correct.
His wife had two babies. She bore twins. One of the babies she bore was ruddy and the other was dark.12

These children stayed at home until they were grown. Every day their father taught them how important divination is. The pale child agreed with everything that he was told, but the dark one just scoffed whenever he was told anything by his father.

Then when the day of their father's death arrived, both the sons stood before their father. He told them, "My sons, I am about to die and you are about to go out into the world." The dark boy replied, "Hey! What do you mean by talking like that? What does it matter?" But at the same time, the ruddy boy was just standing there listening. Then the old man said, "My sons, you who are ruddy, you may have anything from me that you want, but to you, his companion, I shall give nothing."

Then the ruddy son said, "I want you to give me every kind of knowledge." And every kind of knowledge was given to him, but nothing was given to the other one. Now today the ruddy child's descendants are the Europeans14 who have much knowledge and we Africans are the dark ones without much knowledge.

Now remember this proverb, "He who is first, let him be last." There my kinsmen, see what happened long ago.

III

Let us first consider the European Christian elements in this tale: (1) the theme of Noah and his sons as told in the biblical book of Genesis (Genesis 9:18-27), and (2) the proverb at the end of the tale which is probably a Kaguru paraphrase of the moral in Christ's parable of the labourers in the rich man's vineyard (Matthew 20:16).

The Noah tale is itself a composite of the biblical tale and certain interpretations of it which are not specified in the Bible itself. These latter involve the presentation of a moral justification for the sub-

12. Dung'hu, red; Kaguru sometimes speak of Europeans as being ruddy rather than white, dung'hu covering a range of colours from maroon through red and orange to yellow. In contrast, titu, dark, includes a wide range of darker shades from deep black through gray and brown. Kaguru sometimes refer to paler Africans, such as those of mixed racial parentage, as being dung'hu.

13. Goloko, the second person singular address term. Here it signifies great disrespect. This term is used among equals or to inferiors. The proper term of address to one's father or another highly respected person would be mugosi or baba.

14. The Chikaguru text has wasungu (sing. musungu), the Kaguru form of the Swahili word for Europeans, wazungu (sing. mzungu). This appears to derive from the root mzungu (pl. mizungu), something wonderful, startling, surprising, ingenuity, cleverness, a feat, a trick, a wonderful device (Standard Swahili-English Dictionary, Oxford University Press, London, 1955).
jection of the Negro race. Let us first consider the biblical text (Genesis 9:18-27):15

And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, Ham and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan. These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread. And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard. And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

The belief that the Negro race descends from Ham, a son of Noah, is too familiar to require detailed discussion here. Although this is not specifically stated in the Bible, biblical sanction for Negro inferiority was often claimed in the past by those who desired a moral justification for slavery, colonial expansion and other forms of exploitation. This idea is still held in the Republic of South Africa, in parts of the American South and elsewhere. In the past, the idea also appears to have been held and preached by some Christian missionaries in Africa, including the Church Missionary Society in Tanganyika. The C.M.S. is the major Christian mission in Ukaguru. It began its work in the area early in the 1880's.16 The idea of Negroes descending from Ham is apparently still held by some missionaries today, for in 1957 I was asked by a C.M.S. missionary in Ukaguru whether I, as an anthropologist, could verify this. I do not maintain that this belief is a part of official C.M.S. doctrine or even that most of these missionaries subscribe to such ideas.17 But this has been and still is a belief held by at least some members of this group and this belief was (and

15. I use the English version of the King James Bible, the version used by the Christian missionaries, the Church Missionary Society, in that part of Ukaguru (Gairo) from which this story was collected.
17. The C.M.S. is a missionary branch of the Church of England. However, many of the beliefs held by a large number of these missionaries (e.g. strong condemnation of alcohol, gambling, dancing, tobacco and emphasis upon revival) are not shared by many other less evangelical members of this church.
perhaps still is) relayed to the Africans with whom these missionaries have worked.  

The traditional Judaic-Christian myth contains several motifs which cannot fail to have impressed the Kaguru: (1) A story which provides a moral explanation for the Africans’ past subjection by Europeans and Arabs is in itself impressive and provides Kaguru Christians with an ideology with which to defend their status as converts against their pagan fellows. However, for Kaguru, this racial theme is not the most prominent aspect of the tale. (2) The guilt of Ham is put in terms of his disrespect towards his father, a judgment readily understandable to Kaguru and an issue of importance to such a matrilineal people among whom the authority of a father over his children is always in some jeopardy from the incursions of his wife and brothers-in-law (i.e. his children’s mother and her clansmen). It is this aspect of the tale which appears to have impressed Kaguru most deeply since it is this which receives the final emphasis in their rendition of the story. (3) A son is cursed by his father and that curse then falls upon the descendants of that son. This is also a Kaguru idea, for Kaguru say that a home in which a parent has been cursed by his son or her own parent has little hope of prosperity and that this misfortune falls upon the cursed person’s offspring as well.

The above aspects of the Noah story are prominent in the Kaguru derivation of this tale. But certain other aspects which probably impressed Christian Kaguru quite as much have not been incorporated into the Kaguru version. These are: (1) the drunkenness of Noah, and (2) a son seeing his father naked and being condemned for this.  

Let us consider these two aspects in further detail in order to see

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19. Dr. Edmund Leach has suggested that this actually alludes to homosexual incest, see: E. Leach, “Genesis as Myth,” *Discovery* (May, 1962), pp. 30-35. In a fascinating article unfortunately distorted by unbridled conjecture on the discredited theories of the reputed existence of early matriarchal societies, Robert Graves and Raphael Pataï maintain that the biblical text indicates Ham’s castration of Noah, see p. 5, “Some Hebrew Myths and Legends,” *Encounter*, 113 (1963), pp. 3-18. However, the actual significance of this passage in terms of Jewish sociology and cosmology has no bearing on the problems of this paper. My concern is only with the interpretation given to this passage by the C.M.S. missionaries and their Kaguru converts. In the second religious book cited in the previous footnote, it is stated that Noah’s difficulties were, at least in part, a punishment for his moral lapse into drink. To the C.M.S. drink itself means sin. The act of seeing a father naked (voyeuristic or otherwise) is clearly interpreted by all Christians and Kaguru pagans as undesirable. It is interesting to note that the associations Kaguru have with the nakedness of a parent accord with Leach’s interpretation of the original biblical text, viz. that this indicates a kind of incest.
if we can understand why Kaguru did not make use of them in their version of the Noah tale:

(1) Among the Kaguru, a sexually mature person who sees his or her parent naked would consider himself or herself very unfortunate. This even involves parent and child of the same sex. Such a thing would be as though one had been cursed (kuligiita, to curse; kuligitwa, to be cursed), for the method of cursing among the Kaguru is for a person to stand naked before his or her offspring and call attention to his or her own genitals. This act served to disown the child not only from the parent but from that parent’s kin group as well. It was thought that misfortune, e.g. ill health, sterility, death, accident, etc., would befall such a person and his or her descendants—if indeed he or she ever had any. It is said that such a person without kin had no means of support and was thus fair game for enslavement. Only a biological parent can curse a child and I have never heard of an actual case of a curse being pronounced. Nonetheless, the idea is held by Kaguru and serves as the ultimate threat by a parent against a disrespectful child. The act of cursing with its theme of parental nakedness is clearly a kind of symbolic incest, a denial of the exogamic rules and carefully prescribed sexual conduct which are at the very core of Kaguru kin relations. A Kaguru’s social conduct with all kin towards whom he stands in some authority relation is devoid of all nuances of sex. Parent-child, brother-sister, elder sibling-younger sibling, mother’s brother-sister’s child, etc., are unable to make any mention of sex toward one another or even in one another’s presence, much less to indulge in joking or ribald conversation on this topic. Those with whom one has sexual or joking relations are also those with whom one stands on somewhat ambivalent, sometimes hostile terms, as in the case of ritual joking partners (watani), spouses, cross-cousins, and, to a lesser extent, grandparents. None of these persons, including spouses, stand in the unquestionable authority relation which characterises those relations I previously cited.

Mature Kaguru are rigourously separated from the sleeping areas of their parents. When I asked why, one of the explanations I was given was that if one did not avoid such a place, “One might see a parent naked and that is to be cursed.”

It is not within the scope of this brief paper to embark upon the complex problems of Kaguru concepts of incest. The important point here is simply that to Kaguru, seeing a parent naked is not an offence for which one would be punished; rather, it is an act of punishment in itself and was traditionally considered a punishment for some

20. Of course, one was not cursed by a parent if one accidentally saw that parent naked, but one’s kin tie with that parent was to some extent temporarily jeopardised, and that would be a diluted version of the curse itself.
other very serious act. No normal Kaguru would willingly want to see a parent naked.

Now this Kaguru interpretation of parental nakedness is far from the one presented in the biblical tale and preached by Christian missionaries. The Noah tale requires some act of filial disrespect which merits the punishment of social inferiority. To Kaguru a son gazing on his father’s nakedness cannot be seen as such an offence in itself, but only as a possible punishment for some previous offence. We might suppose that in other circumstances, a Kaguru tale might have been developed in which a disrespectful son was cursed by his father who stood naked before him. But then that would be a problem altogether different from the one posed here. For the Christian tale must end, not with the son cursed into illness, death and/or sterility (which is the outcome of the naked curse of a Kaguru parent), but into perpetual social subjection for himself and his descendants (the implication here being that the son would father a race in his lowly state). Finally, the Kaguru curse would involve the association of nakedness with the assertion of the moral order whereas the Christian missionaries leave no doubt in any convert’s mind that nudity under any conditions is very wrong. For all of these reasons, the nakedness theme was probably best neglected by the Kaguru storyteller.

(2) The drunkenness of the father Noah is not very appropriate for the Kaguru version and it is not surprising that it is not carried over from the biblical tale. In the Bible, Noah’s drunkenness provides some explanation why the father allows himself to be seen naked by his son. However, there is no need for the father to appear befuddled in the Kaguru version since the original nakedness theme is no longer present. Finally, the violent criticism by the C.M.S. against drunkenness would hardly lend much authority to a drunken father—at least in the eyes of a zealous Kaguru convert. In any case, the drunkenness theme hinges on the nakedness theme in the biblical version and since that theme is clearly inappropriate to the Kaguru context there is not much point in the drunkenness theme being retained.

Thus we are left with these fragments of the European tale of

21 Kaguru agree that a witch might have sexual relations with a parent, but then such persons are not considered human beings within the pale of society. The Kaguru definition of a witch is someone who does not recognise the important regulations of social life, such as obeying the rules about incest. See my article, “Witchcraft in Ukaguru,” in a symposium on African witchcraft, Kegan Paul, London (in press).

22 Kaguru are exceptionally puritanical about the exposure of the genitals. Even two men of the same age should preferably not bathe together at a river, or, if they do, they should be sure to keep their genitals covered with their hands. Nakedness has certain associations with initiation but this is of little relevance to the present problems. Nakedness is usually associated with disrespect and witchcraft, viz. anti-social behaviour.
Noah and his sons: (1) A father brings down social inferiority upon a son and his descendants because of that son's lack of respect towards the father. (2) The disrespectful son and his descendants are perpetually subordinated to another son who, conversely, was respectful toward the father. The tale provides an explanation for the social inequalities between certain ethnic groups and reaffirms the traditional authority of a father over his children.

IV

The biblical tale involves the disrespectful behaviour of a son towards his father in a situation in which the father is vulnerable or is in jeopardy. We have already seen that both the original act of disrespect (gazing on one's father's nakedness) and the original situation of jeopardy (drunkenness) do not fit well into the Kaguru context. The Kaguru have selected a far more universal and awesome situation of jeopardy, the deathbed of the father. The father hovers between the world of the living and the world of the spirits. He faces his sons who are among those on whom he must depend for his funeral and other rites which lay his spirit to rest. These sons will probably offer beer and other goods at their dead father's grave and will, in turn, teach their own sons such rites which may in turn be carried on in the future.

However, once the father's spirit is laid to rest, there is no special rule requiring his sons to propitiate his spirit at any particular intervals. If his spirit requires propitiation, it will trouble the sons or other kin until these persons consult divination which will inform them of his spirit's discontent. Hence, divination will be the vital link between the dying man and his descendants.

The father may be particularly concerned with impressing his sons to remember him. These boys would probably have already been taught by their mother's kin to propitiate their matrilineal ancestors. Even on the brink of the grave, the father seems to struggle to maintain the allegiance of his sons against the competition of his wife's kin, viz. the members of his son's own matrilineage.

The dead are collectively dependent upon the intermittent offerings made to one or more of their local clan mates by the living. These offerings are only made so long as the living are mindful of Kaguru traditions, traditions which are today rapidly falling into desuetude. In this tale, these traditional values are embodied in the idea of divination (mlamulo or maselu).23

23. The storyteller himself called his story, lusimo lwa mlamulo, a tale of divination. For him the most important aspect appears to have been this and not race.
In the past, Kaguru affairs were greatly regulated by divination. This included divination to determine at which ancestral graves libation should be made and which ancestral names should be invoked at such rituals. In this tale, the importance of divination is clearly brought out. The safe birth of the two sons is credited to the skilful diagnosis of a diviner. The good and bad characters of the two sons are emphasised by their contrasting reactions to their father's words concerning divination. Divination is shown here as the reverent and careful consultation of the supernatural forces, including the dead, which are important in determining events. By such consultation Kaguru think that they can not only learn the nature of inevitable events but that they can also determine what steps, if any, may be taken to modify their situation. In short, by divination Kaguru hope to maintain order in their lives so that this accords with the stronger forces at work in the world around them. We can see that the motif of divination symbolises the traditional way of life of Kaguru, the way of life endorsed by the elders, both in the world of the living and in that of the dead. In the tale, these elders are symbolised by the father, who at the end of the tale is hovering between both these worlds.

It is ironic and perhaps contradictory that the subjection of the Kaguru to the European is expressed in terms of the European's adherence to tradition and the Kaguru's failure to do so himself. It is an early Kaguru's foresaking of his tradition which accounts for some of the difficulties of his people. Thus, concealed within the apparent moral self-abasement by the Kaguru Christian convert lies a reassertion of the importance of pagan Kaguru traditions. It is not, however, wholly surprising that this assertion comes from a Christian convert. Recently in Ukaguru there has been a recrudescence of Kaguru values and traditions through several tribalistic organisations.24 Many of these groups have been led by young educated Christians. These young men's encounter with the problems of modern life has led them to seek security and fulfilment in reaffirmation of Kaguru tradition as a basis on which to found the economic and political improvement of their people.

One of the most difficult Kaguru motifs to explain in this tale is that of the twins. The usual Kaguru word for twins (mapasa) is not used in the text. Instead, it is replaced by matuti, children born to one mother in consecutive years. However, it is quite clear from the tale that a twin birth is meant. The theme of twins poses a problem because twins were traditionally slain by Kaguru and yet in this tale they are allowed to grow up. None of the following pos-

sible explanations seems entirely satisfactory: (1) It may be a motif borrowed from the Gogo who exert considerable influence in the area where the tale was collected. Gogo value twins. However, the Gogo word for twins, *matundu*, is not used. (2) Twins are considered to be supernormal in their abilities. Twins are said to gain their strength by sapping the vitality of their kinsmen. It is therefore in self-defence that their kin kill them. It may be that twins were selected to create a dramatic reversal of the ordinary, such as might surround the origin of two races. (3) Perhaps the motif of twins was selected because the only siblings who might be considered equal would be twins of the same sex. All other siblings are ranked: brothers are superior to sisters; elder brothers superior to younger brothers; elder sisters superior to younger sisters. I cannot be absolutely sure that Kaguru do not consider one twin older than the other since I did not specifically enquire concerning this point when I was in the field. However, my impression is that they do not since they speak of twins being born at the same time, *viz.* from one pregnancy. Furthermore, Kaguru discussing blood covenant sometimes speak of such blood comrades being "like twins" in that they were supposed to conduct themselves on an intimate but equal footing with none of the inhibitions associated with senior-junior ranking. This would seem to fit in with the assumption that Kaguru do not rank twins. Traditionally, of course, the problem of ranking twins does not merit consideration by Kaguru since, in any case, they were slain. If the twin motif was selected in order to show the two brothers were of one age, then we may say that the story seems to emphasise that the subjection of one brother to the other has nothing fortuitous about it, *viz.* it has no relation to their birth but only to their relative conduct. If this is the correct interpretation, then the Kaguru tale is even neater logically than the biblical version. It is sometimes assumed by biblical scholars that Japheth is Ham's elder brother and as such that he already held considerable authority over Ham even before Ham's offence.\(^{25}\) Japheth's good conduct is rewarded merely by his gaining even stronger dominance over Ham than he had before.

There is one further trace of probable biblical influence in this text. At the end, the storyteller gives a moral which is clearly not a traditional Kaguru proverb: Kaguru themselves state that this is

\(^{25}\) However, from the English biblical text it does not appear clear that Japheth is the eldest of the three but only that he is older than Shem. See: Genesis 11:21.
not a Kaguru saying and, more important, the idea of self-abasement is not traditional with Kaguru men. This moral seems a Kaguru paraphrase of Christ's parable of the labourers in the rich man's vineyard: "So the last shall be first, and the first last" (Matthew 20:13).^{26} The significance of this moral is not very difficult to determine. The arrogant twin, who is disrespectful towards his father, is punished and reduced to an inferior position; the modest twin who conducts himself respectfully towards his father is rewarded and given authority over his brother, at least in the sense that he has knowledge while the other does not.^{27} The ideal of Christian humble humility has been transformed into the traditional Kaguru value of obedience to one's elders and conformity to traditionally prescribed behaviour, in particular, to that related to pagan belief.

VI

The Kaguru storyteller provides a tale which explains the present social inequality of Europeans and Africans in terms which are meaningful to his people. But in so doing he is able to reaffirm his own traditional Kaguru values at the same time. Indeed, the moral frame in which the tale is set is clearly that of the Kaguru and not of their European teachers, and it is the reaffirmation of the Kaguru way of life, far more than the moral condonence of European social and economic superiority, which is the important aspect of the tale. The story has made the European into a Kaguru, and the European's success is merely his reward for being a better Kaguru than his African brother.

In making my analysis of this tale, I have attempted to discuss the material to its furthest limits. It may well be that many of my interpretations appear as mere conjecture since I cannot provide the storyteller's own interpretation of his tale. But if this discussion has made the tale somewhat more intelligible to non-Kaguru, and if it has provided any insight into Kaguru concepts about themselves and their world, then its purpose is achieved.

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26. This is also similar to Christ's parable of the wedding guest: "For whoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted" (Luke 14:11). Both of these biblical references were provided by a Kaguru convert who was asked the meaning of the moral of this tale. Unfortunately, I have no interpretation from the storyteller himself.

27. Another, less likely explanation: "First" may refer to the first-born, in which case, the first-born twin would be the African and the second-born, the European. The term matuti (children born in successive years to one woman) may have been used for this reason. But we are not told which twin was born first. Indeed, the reason for the selection of the term matuti, rather than the usual word remains a mystery.
Baho katali kweja kowa na munhu kena muke. Dijua dimonga there long ago there was and man had wife day one
imuke yamgamba, "Mlume wangu, kunda kuku tama." Mugosi wife said to him husband my belly hurts gentleman
kwa soko ng'hamanya fina nhani muke kena kunda kuku tama because did not know that why wife had belly hurts
yagamba, "Abai! Chi tamu cho chido dogi leka ng'hakukat ile musisi he said oh illness that little let me go to dig roots
we chisongati ng'hagelaga wija ukuhonya."
of — perhaps will cure you

"Nyowanhu nyeye muwagosi mbwalata kame ng'huki yusa mchi you people you gentlemen I am a fool then not ask you mind
doga chako fina nhani imkangu kena kunda kuku tama? Ng'huma your as what my wife has belly hurts don't you
nyile fina majuwa gangu gafika?" Maana yakwe ke habehi na know that days my arrived because her is near and
kweleka, mugosi kagamba, "Ngelegela hambiha. Leka ndute give birth gentleman said I have now let me go remembered
kwa Munhonya yakanhendele chilamulo, kame inhomangise imiti. to — he makes divination then that I shall medicine. see

Kame mukulungwa nosanghanya mpaka kwa Munhonya. "Na um then man (adult) started to leave until to — and for
wiko wa watowaji filwatu mhamaa ukufika bahaya ung'hamambe bidden of one who sandals when you reach there don't say manipulates
fini 'Aniye nija kwa soko nhafi na nhafi aa,' ila mugambe 'Nija that I come in order this and this no but tell him I come
unangile chilamulo changu.'”
you see divination my

Mukulungwa foyafika bahaya yalamusa "Bahoni!" man when arrived there he greeted how are you
"Haswamu! Bahoni nanye?" wedikila.
well how are you they replied

Kosa, "Mwentyekaya kabaha?"
he asked owner of village is here

Wagamba, "Heye."
they said yes

Kagamba, "Nikwenda chikiyone."
he said I want we should see each other

Kamei mwenyekaya foyahulika no ndawa yena imbuii. Kagamba,
then owner of when he heard came out who has matter he said village . soon

"Chikwenda28 mchilangule chilamulo chetu."29
we want you to find divination our for us

Muganga kafumila kamgamba, "Chigende haluhengo."30 Muganga
doctor agreed says to him let us go outside doctor

kena ne filwatu fyakwe.
has with sandals his

Muganga yakulonda filwatu yakutabana au yakutwila mate pu, pu,
doctor takes sandals pronounces or he spits sputum — — —
formulae

belly that cause

Yakutoweligwa, "Taite baba muganga! Muganga!"
he who was yes father doctor doctor
divined for

Waa! Lwaa! Katowa kahi, "Loo ng’heno kunda kukutama ninga
— — — he made again but has not belly hurting but

28. Kaguru who consider themselves important sometimes speak in the
1st person plural (chi-).
29. Id.
30. The area under the roof but outside the walls of the main living space.
kasoka kamala katabula chimunhu.”
she is finish take out little person [foetus]
tired [pregnant]

Yakukutoweligwa: “Itaile, itaile, hongela baba! Muganga!”
he who was yes yes to be father doctor
divined for open [clear]

Waa! lwaa! Waa! lwaa! “Uko ukaya mwende mugamba kwa
there at home you were saying

soko gweye ng’humangyage chilongage mkago.”
because you you did not know let us say your wife.

Mtowelwa, “Itaile, itaile, kame ng’alanu bahaya.”
he who yes yes then ? there
has something made for him

Muganga: “Hambiha kumanya fina mukago kasoka ulute ukaya
doctor now you know that your wife tired you go home

ukenange wadala wene wamanya chowakwiyawotenda baho. Na
you go call old women who know what they are to do there and

ninghe chingila mbago changu.
give me we enter bush my

Mtowelwa: “Chifumila mugosi. Chikumvingani mbali ya nhem-
man we agree gentleman we give you tusk of ele-
phant

Kame nonyuya ukwake kaya tenaa foyasigililige. Muke yapata
then he came back to his home to do what he was told wife she got

fyali fili, an keleka matuti na wana woyeleka yumonga yowa children two or she bore two and children she bore one was
children in succession

mudung’hu na yumonga yowa mutitu.
ruddy and one was dark.
Kame ye kali na wanagwe mpaka wowa wakulu gamba loo yawa-
then he his children until grown but --- he was
stayed with they were teaching

fundaga chila ijuwa fina mulamulo ni chinhu chikangale lugano.
them every day that divination is thing important very

Imwana mdung'hu yafumila chila choyakutamiligwa ne imwana
child ruddy he agreed every what he was told and child

imtitu yagambaga “Owai,” yakubesa foyakutanuligwa ne babakwe.
dark he said oh he scoffed when he was told by his father

Kame babayao majiwa gosuka yegagafika kame nonyinanga
then their father days of death he had reached then stood up

wanagwe foniwile. Yakuwasigilila wanangu nduta nhafi. Luta
his children both he told them my children I go now you go

se.” Dimbidula disyali dititu, “Goloko nhani ukulonga nhaifo, yaku-
you he replied that dark hello why you say like that he

longa. Mdung'hu baho na baho. Musehe nongapa “Gomwanangu
said ruddy there and there old man told my sons you

gomdung'hu chila chouhanga kulawa ukwangu nikukwingha, na you who every what you want from mine I shall give you are ruddy

gweye gomiyagwe sikukwingha chochose.” Kame mdung'hu ya-
and you his comrade I shall give anything then ruddy he you you not

gamba, “Aniye nikwenda uninghe misunga ya chila aina.” Le-
said I I want you give me wisdom of every kind he was

jayeng'higwa misungu. Na yuya ng'hejayenghigwa chochose.
given wisdom and that he was not given anything [other] one

Hambiha diyelo mdung'hu nowa wasungu, awena misungu mingi.
now today ruddy are Europeans who have wisdom much
Na mtitu no seye chichaka misungu mingi. Na ugelegele and dark is we who have not wisdom much and you remember mbasa ino: yekumwande no yekunyuma. Haya wandugusangu mone proverb this who is ahead is who is behind there my kin see baho katali fokawa. there long ago how it happened