

STORYTELLING FOR PEACE-BUILDING: TOWARD SUSTAINABLE CULTURAL DIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous cultural knowledge does not always lend itself to harmonious intergroup relations or cultural survival. In fact, according to Robert Edgerton's *Sick Societies* (1992), certain parts of this knowledge—e.g., certain beliefs, practices, and values—may be seriously maladaptive for the societies concerned. If culture is viewed as an adaptive process, as in Louise Grenier's *Working with Indigenous Knowledge* (1998) and UNESCO's *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2002), then maladaptive parts may legitimately be changed or abandoned.

Storytelling, as treated in Jessica Senehi's 'Constructive storytelling: A peace process' (2002), is presented as an accessible, flexible means by which a community might examine values embedded in its traditional stories with an eye to abandoning strife-conducive values and transforming destructive storytelling into constructive. Storytelling for peace-building in Mangbetu (northeastern Democratic Republic of Congo) is used to sketch and illustrate a simple model of the indigenous knowledge-sustainable development relationship. Story examples are two Mangbetu tales from the author's own researches; some brief Mangbetu ethnography, including of Mangbetu tales generally, is first provided as context; Mangbetu tale values examined concern (1) the assertion of fictive brotherhood on the basis of minimal sameness and (2) vengeance in spades against a neighbor-brother for perceived injustice. By analysis, the tales illustrate the point that constructive storytelling lends itself to peace-building and sustainable cultural diversity, while destructive storytelling lends itself to the opposite. In conclusion, a number of thoughts are presented concerning structure and process for storytelling for peace-building workshops in Mangbetu.

Indigenous knowledge (IK), according to Grenier 1998, concerns "all aspects of life."¹ Consistent with this view, Grenier notes that IK is expressed in such many and varied cultural products as "stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, dances, myths, cultural values"—and her list goes on.² She says the development of IK systems "has been a matter of survival to the peoples who generated [them]"; that they "are cumulative, representing generations of experiences, careful observations, and trial-and-error experiments"; that they are dynamic, that they innovate, that they "also will internalize, use, and adapt external knowledge to suit the local situation."³ Of particular interest here, for the present paper, is that the cultural values expressed in a group's stories can be seen in this light—viz., as IK expressions developed in relation to the group's survival, and thus as liable to change in response to experience, careful observation, and experimentation. Also of interest is Edgerton's 1992 less sanguine view—that "most populations are reluctant to change their traditional beliefs and practices,"⁴ that small traditional societies have an especially bad track record in this regard, and that failure to change certain things can lead to the death of the societies and cultures concerned.

Sustainable development (SD), broadly defined, concerns not only protection of the natural environment, but all manner of sociocultural development, and the protection of cultural diversity generally. This point is recognized explicitly by UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of 2001, whose Article 3 treats "[c]ultural diversity as a factor in development." There it states that, "Cultural diversity widens the range of options open to everyone; it is one of the roots of development, understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence." Earlier, in Article 1, the Declaration asserts that, "As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature." In Article 4, it further asserts that "[t]he defense of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative," while in Article 11, it speaks of "the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity [as] the key to sustainable human development." Of special interest here are the two facts (1) that the Declaration does not, for all this, privilege cultural diversity above human rights guaranteed by international law, and (2) that its

preface speaks of cultural diversity as an adaptive, survival-related process—as “a living, and thus renewable treasure that must not be perceived as being unchanging heritage but as a process guaranteeing the survival of humanity.”⁵

In this paper, as a beginner in IK and SD but with some experience of African tale analysis,⁶ I sketch and illustrate a simple model of the IK–SD relationship, one that I would like to explore as the basis of ‘storytelling for peace-building’ workshops in post-conflict and conflict-labile situations in sub-Saharan Africa. The model follows UNESCO’s Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of 2001 in viewing IK as an adaptive, survival-related process, and it involves intra-community examination of IK with a view to modifying it as needed in the interests of sustainable cultural diversity. As illustrated by storytelling for peace-building, the model’s main processual elements (see Appendix, Figure 1) are (1) tales and the cultural values embedded in them as expressing IK, (2) local-community storytelling of tales with a view to identifying tale values⁷ that might contribute to either conflict or peace, (3) critical intra-community consideration of ways in which destructive storytelling that contributes to conflict might be changed to constructive storytelling that builds peace, and (4) local-community decision-making and follow-up with regard to the tale values concerned. The end result is a changed yet still diverse IK as a sustainable, adaptive process. The model’s distinction between destructive and constructive storytelling I borrow from Senehi 2002; for the paper as a whole, I acknowledge influence from the same source as well as from Senehi and Byrne n.d. How approximately the model might serve as the basis for ‘storytelling for peace-building’ workshops in a particular conflict-labile ethnic situation, I suggest in the paper’s second half using Mangbetu tale data from my own Democratic Republic of Congo researches.⁸ The paper’s relevance to Europe I leave open to discussion, though I believe few would deny that Europe too needs peace-building.

Concerning storytelling for peace-building generally, Senehi 2002 considers the potential of storytelling to either exacerbate or transform social conflict. For Senehi, this potential includes that of persons-as-storytellers to make and change their cultures’ values and meanings. She defines storytelling in the very basic sense of “the relating of narratives in person, orally (or by signing), to an audience of at least one.”⁹ Such storytelling, she observes, is “profoundly accessible”—since virtually everyone beyond early childhood can tell and appreciate stories; since storytelling is normally low-tech and inexpensive; since no literacy is required; since stories are a means of enculturation the world over; since post-story dialogue often sees storyteller and audience engaged in a collaborative process of meaning-making.¹⁰ Senehi contrasts destructive and constructive storytelling, with destructive liable to incite and perpetuate conflict, and constructive able to assist in the long, hard process of peace-building. She then examines storytelling in relation to a number of overlapping factors in intergroup conflicts, among which socialization, morality, and time and memory.¹¹ To mention just several of the things she notes that I find relevant to the present paper:

- Concerning socialization (or enculturation), there is the problem that family storytelling to young children may be “a means through which inter-communal conflicts and identity-based prejudice are transmitted through the generations”;¹² and there appears also, throughout the world, a rather heavy preponderance of stories about “triumph and militarism” over ones that might be characterized as peace tales.¹³
- Concerning morality and its relation to time and memory, there is the view of Coles 1989 that “stories can evoke a “moral imagination” that calls persons to question their assumptions and make choices that are motivated by unselfish ends”;¹⁴ and there is the fact that a hopeful future may depend on dealing with the past by forgiveness, reconciliation and healing.

Senehi concludes concerning the possible help to peace-building of what she calls transcultural storytelling. In this, an outside storyteller enters a conflict situation and functions like an ambassador or diplomat, telling stories of her/his foreign community. This ambassador/diplomat role Senehi contrasts with two others, those of farmer and seafarer, where the farmer stays home and tells tales of home, while the seafarer travels abroad, returns home, and tells tales of what she/he has seen.¹⁵ In the same concluding section, Senehi notes that storytelling is “particularly flexible,” that it “lends itself to perhaps an infinite variety of applications.”¹⁶

Where storytelling and sustainable cultural diversity are concerned, the medium’s accessibility and flexibility greatly recommend its use in long-term peace-building. To boot, storytelling’s flexibility includes the option of using indigenous languages, to promote the development of what are, in many minority-language communities, an increasingly endangered guarantor of sustainable cultural diversity.¹⁷

Before suggesting for Mangbetu some ideas regarding structure and process of ‘storytelling for peace-building’ workshops, I first present some Mangbetu background, some ethnography of Mangbetu tales, and summary translations and analyses of two possible workshop tales.

The Mangbetu are an amalgam of peoples from around Isiro in northeastern Democratic Republic of Congo. From the late 19th century, they became renowned in Europe for their kingdom, art, and architecture (not to mention their cannibalism) through the writings of early explorers, state-colonial administrators, and others. The Mangbetu proper achieved prominence within the amalgam by their political rise, from about 1815, under their kingdom builder *Nábiangbale*. Descent is patrilineal; residence, most often, is patrilocal; marriage is with bridewealth, and the marriage system, before the development of Mangbetu chieftainship, was the heart of the political system. Men are the society’s warriors; women are its peacemakers. Women enjoy relatively high status; youth, while structurally subordinate, are not without agency or voice. The literature on the Mangbetu now includes two anthropology dissertations and related subsequent work, much of it concerned with alliances by marriage and circumcision. Although Mangbetu, more traditionally, have had a regional reputation for warfare, for violence in their death compensations, and for resistance to outsiders who would rule or change them, the fact that alliances have the cultural importance they do may make Mangbetu open to peace-building efforts that they themselves control. Also, their reputation for violence and resistance to change appears no longer as deserved today as in the past, with clear evidence that they have been increasingly affected by Christianity, by Western-style education, and by desire for socio-economic and political advancement. A Mangbetu cultural association called *Association des Mangbetu*, begun around the early 1990s and dominated by Christian *intellectuals*, is but part of the evidence concerned.¹⁸

Mangbetu tales,¹⁹ more traditionally, are told at night; they are told normally by men;²⁰ the fact that their functions include both instruction in values and lightening the spirit makes the extended-wake period following a death an especially appropriate context for their telling.²¹ Whether or not they involve human characters, they often clearly concern human affairs. From a sample of some three hundred tales, Denis 1952 reckoned Tortoise the most oft-appearing character, with Leopard a close second. Denis wondered whether Tortoise’s primacy of appearance wasn’t due to some tradition where he was the ancestor or protector of the Mangbetu, and he inferred from an “inhabitual turn” of Tortoise’s tale character “a cunning spirit, outside the norm, the spirit of the disadvantaged, expert in vengeance.”²² The tales’ other characters include a wide variety of animal and other types, species, and individuals—e.g.,

- numerous kinds of animals, insects, reptiles, and birds;
- the trickster-culture hero *Azapane* and his wife *Mánzíadra* (both human persons);
- normal, everyday people, named and unnamed;
- *Angéle*, now long God for Mangbetu Christians, but whose tale interventions Denis judged merely those of a very wise, respected counselor;²³
- forest spirits (called *ǰpé* in Mangbetu); and
- even a variety of normally inanimate objects and phenomena—e.g., Stick, Fire and a man’s feces.

By my own analysis, Tortoise and the trickster-culture hero *Azapane* might functionally substitute for each other in tales where their role is that of resistance hero, opposite Leopard as rapacious outsider chief.²⁴ In such resistance hero tales, there appears no treachery too heinous to be committed against Leopard, so despised is the kind of outsider chief he represents.

As a final, general note, Mangbetu do not to my knowledge have dilemma tales. Such tales, according to Okpewho 1992, “end with a question or a problem to be debated and resolved between the narrator and his audience”;²⁵ and Bascom 1972 sees them as “characteristically African.”²⁶

Turning now to some possible workshop tales: I think quickly of two that I would definitely recommend for inclusion in Mangbetu area ‘storytelling for peace-building’ workshops. The one is that of Chicken and Crocodile; the other features a cultural right of vengeance in spades against injustice at the hand of one’s fellow. Both are concerned with brotherhood, though in different ways and with different conclusions.

The tale of Chicken and Crocodile²⁷ begins with Crocodile living down in the river, Chicken living up on the one bank, and Chicken going about every day crying out, « *Yádrángwe Ngondóo !* » ‘My brother, Crocodile!’.²⁸ When Crocodile hears of this, he simply *can’t* understand why Chicken should be doing thus; so, he calls a council of all the animals, to get to the bottom of why Chicken—so different in so many

ways—should be going about calling out to him « *Yándrángwe Ngondóo !* » 'My brother, Crocodile!'. When all the animals have gathered for the council, Chicken is asked to explain himself.²⁹ He starts by accepting that it's true, he has indeed been going about crying out as Crocodile has heard. Then, without further explanation, he asks those animals who give birth by laying eggs to line up on one side, and those who give birth to live young to line up on the other. In complying with Chicken's request, Crocodile finds himself on the same side as Chicken and the other egg-layers. This one point of sameness now before him, Crocodile accepts that Chicken *is* his brother—that, since both give birth by laying eggs, they are with each other, brothers, together.

As I read it, the tale of Chicken and Crocodile lends itself clearly to constructive rather than destructive storytelling. It is, for this fact, what Senehi would surely qualify as a peace tale. By analysis, the two main characters represent different, opposed groups of people.³⁰ They are very different from each other—e.g., Crocodile has a rough, leathery hide, Chicken has feathers; Crocodile is gargantuan, Chicken is puny; Crocodile is a fearsome, toothsome carnivore, Chicken is among his natural prey. But the two do not allow their differences, however many and obvious, to make the one the eternal, helpless victim of the other; rather they agree, by Crocodile acceding to Chicken's invocation of the single sameness of egg-laying, to regard and act toward each other as brothers. This decision certainly makes sense for small, weak Chicken, in a Congolese historical context where alliance with a stronger partner may have often been necessary to survival; but it can make sense for Crocodile as well, given that political and other fortunes do in fact change the world over. Thus, for example, if Chicken tomorrow acquires a shotgun, Crocodile's present natural advantages in hide, size, and teeth will no longer mean as much, and he might be better off with Chicken already a brother.

The tale that features a certain vengeance in spades as a cultural right³¹ begins with two brothers as neighbors. The one has lots of chickens and has also planted lots of orange trees; the other has lots of children. One dry season, the one with lots of children goes and plants lots of squash plants; then, come harvest time, he picks his squash, spreads the seeds to dry on the bare ground, and departs on other business. With the seeds untended drying, the other brother's chickens come and eat all of them. When the brother who had set them out arrives back and discovers what has happened, he demands not some reasonable compensation—e.g., some number of chickens, of which his brother has plenty—but rather the return of his very seeds. But how can this be, asks the offending brother, since his chickens have eaten the seeds? By his (the chickens' owner) killing the chickens and retrieving the seeds from their gizzards, answers the aggrieved brother. So, even though this causes great sorrow to the offending brother, he goes ahead and kills all the chickens, retrieves the seeds from their gizzards, and returns them as his brother has insisted.

End of story? Hardly! Time passes, until the orange trees the one brother planted mature and produce abundantly. Right away, though, the other brother's children up and pick and eat the whole crop. When the brother with the orange trees discovers this, he demands the return of the juice of his very oranges, for the evil his brother did him in the matter of the chickens. But how can this be, asks his brother, since his children have eaten the oranges? By his (the children's father) killing them and wringing the juice from their stomachs, answers his brother. Now it's great sorrow for the brother who had insisted on the return of his very squash seeds. With the lives of his children at stake, he insists back that they take the matter to the chief. When they come before the chief, the one brother explains the evil first done him in the matter of the chickens, and how his brother's children subsequently came and ate all his oranges, and how he now wants his brother to kill the children, wring the juice from their stomachs and return it to him—this last because his brother, in the matter of the chickens, had not wanted to live alongside him in justice.³² The chief upholds the plaintiff brother's right to the vengeance in spades he seeks (the vengeance clearly *far* exceeds eye for eye, since children are worth far more than chickens, and orange trees produce a new crop annually), so then the other goes and does as his brother has insisted.

I find it apt, for peace-building in patrilineal, patrilocal Mangbetu, that this second tale involves a relationship and problems between neighbor-*brothers*. For while brothers may at times live in peace, in keeping with norms of brotherhood that were surely Chicken's hope as he sought brotherhood with Crocodile, the biblical Genesis story of Cain and Abel suggests that brothers have also been killing each other from the beginning. To either be or become brothers is a good start toward a good relationship; to act reciprocally as brother's keepers—as ones who reject vengeance-driven fratricidal conflict for the sake of group survival and other larger goods—is very much another matter.

The tale has a number of decision points, at any one of which a peace-building decision might avert the final tragedy. First, there is the one brother's failure to mind his chickens, to the other's subsistence-economic grief. Second, there is the aggrieved brother's insistence on a harsh, unreasonable justice as the only solution to the problem. Third, there is the brother bereft of his chickens guarding the memory of this injustice, against the day he can exercise his cultural right to a return in spades. Fourth, there is the harsh brother's failure, where the other's orange crop is concerned, to mind his children. Fifth, there is the vengeful brother's insistence that the offending children be killed as part of the only solution to the problem. Sixth, there is the chief's failure to overrule customary law in favor of an obviously higher justice. Then also, as part of what informs every such decision point, are one or more values—e.g., rights that allow an offended person to require an overly harsh justice or vengeance in spades. In sum, the vengeful brother, for the priority he gives to vengeance, endanges the survival of his wider patrilineal group by requiring the death of some number of its male children. And by endangering this group's survival, he also endangers the sustainability of its unique contribution to human cultural diversity (see Appendix, Figure 2).

In conclusion, I suggest some thoughts regarding structure and process for 'storytelling for peace-building' workshops in Mangbetu. Some are more general than for Mangbetu; there is none that I regard as necessary; all I think really necessary is local-community control of structure and process both.

1. For each tale told, identify in detail the decisions, values, etc., that either are conducive to intergroup conflicts or help build peace.³³ It is my suspicion that strife-conducive values, normally, would include vengeance in spades, cunning outside the norm, and treachery toward outsider chiefs.
2. Do such identification in ways that make it possible for people throughout the society, women and youth included, "to participate more consciously to determine their own culture, address critical concerns, and conceive of modes of resolution."³⁴ Where youth are concerned, do it to help "foster young people's own critical analysis of their political and social world so that they develop more agency in their own political socialization."³⁵ Do it for the energy with which youth may take and run with peace-building throughout and beyond the Mangbetu areas.³⁶
3. Keep the process highly non-directive. Facilitator suggestions are fine, but don't forget: Historically, Mangbetu haven't liked outsiders telling them what to do.
4. Try to include at least one to several ambassadors and seafarers among a workshop's facilitators and participants, alongside however many farmers.³⁷ Broader-than-village perspectives may prove invaluable to peace-building.
5. Encourage experimentation in the creation and modification of tales. Experiment with creating peace tales, with that of Chicken and Crocodile as an example; experiment with an enlarged role for *Angéle* (now long God for Christians) that bears on peace-building; experiment with the development of dilemma tales for Mangbetu, with the questions or problems to be resolved ones related to peace-building. Experiment, experiment, experiment!
6. Tell tales in the indigenous language—in the various Mangbetu dialects—rather than in Lingala or French (a Congolese national language and the main Congolese official language, respectively). Valorize further thereby, for youth especially, what is still today for Mangbetu a relatively healthy guarantor of sustainable cultural diversity.
7. Let workshops be just the start of and a model for storytelling for peace-building. Encourage the process to continue in activities of the Christian churches, in activities of the Mangbetu cultural association, in village compounds at night during normal tale hours, in people's daily conversations with one and all.

If there's any chance that constructive storytelling, by peace-building, can help sustain cultural diversity, I say it's worth the effort.

Appendix: Figures 1 and 2

Figure 1: The IK–SD relationship, as illustrated by storytelling for peace-building

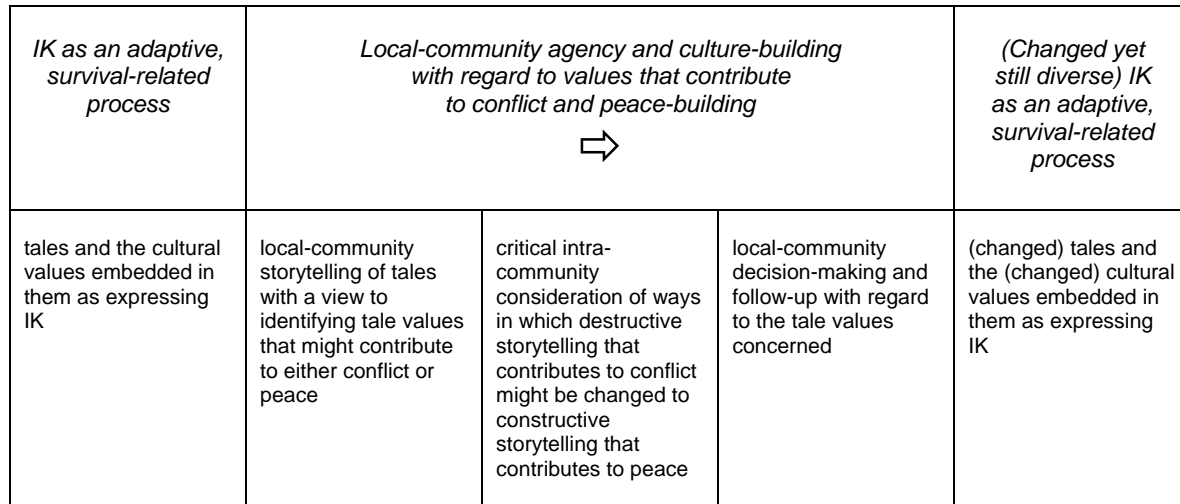
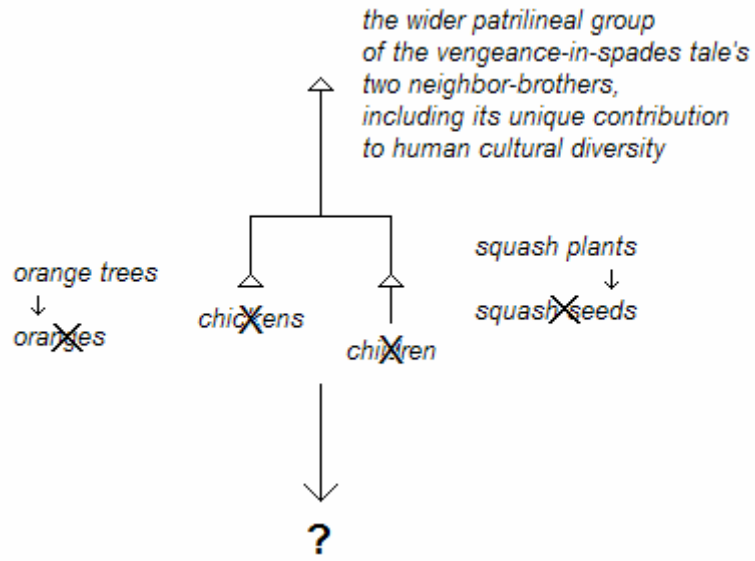


Figure 2: Endangered group survival, endangered sustainable diversity



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Endnotes

¹ Grenier 1998:1.

² Grenier 1998:2.

³ Grenier 1998:1.

⁴ Edgerton 1992:58.

⁵ UNESCO 2002.

⁶ The present paper was originally prepared for presentation in an IK and SD session at the postponed 16th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, to have taken place in July 2008 at Kunming, China; I wound up able to present it in a kind of catch-all session at the 10th biennial EASA conference (of the European Association of Social Anthropologists), 26–29 August, at Ljubljana, Slovenia. Where I demonstrate ignorance in my paper of any especially relevant IK and SD literature, I confess this readily and gratefully accept assistance with sources. For evidence of my experience of African tale analysis, see McKee 2000, 2005, 2006.

⁷ The term 'values' here is to be understood very broadly, in the sense of values, rights, etc.

⁸ I did most of the paper's Mangbetu-related researches during the 1980s, in the context of a church-sponsored, SIL-assisted Mangbetu language development project. The project was located in what I refer to in McKee 1995 as the Meje-Mangbetu area (with 'Meje' since changed to 'Meegye' in my own writings), at Egbita Mission, sixteen miles west-southwest of Isiro. The sponsoring church was the *Communauté Evangélique du Christ au Coeur d'Afrique* (or CECCA) of the Protestant *Eglise du Christ au Congo*. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of all who helped me with various aspects of my researches, including a host of unnamed Meegye and Mangbetu. I name only the narrators of the two tale versions I treat in the paper (see below in the notes concerned) and *Révérend Pasteur Abhule Kabwɛ nɔ́tɛ bha ɔdhyɔ* Victor Colin. With Pastor *Abhule* I have talked off and on about Mangbetu tales since 1986, and I was able, in March of this year, to talk with him some about the present paper and check certain of its details.

⁹ In this regard, Senehi cites Pat Ryan's *Storytelling in Ireland: A Reawakening* (Londonderry, The Verbal Arts Center, 1995).

¹⁰ Senehi 2002:44–45.

¹¹ The other factors Senehi treats are knowledge, identity, emotions and geographic space.

¹² Senehi 2002:50.

¹³ Senehi 2002:51. Assuming, as my paper does, that peoples' tales have developed in part as survival tools, some might draw the conclusion that peace tales could in fact more often lead to ethnocide and loss of cultural diversity than militaristic ones. Given this as even a remote possibility, and depending on the enemy concerned, I believe it imperative that a people never be forced or pressured by outsiders to change all their militaristic tales to peace ones. It definitely takes both/all warring sides in a conflict to build a peace, and only a fool or would-be martyr tries to do so with an opposed party whose determined nature it in fact is to steal, kill and eat.

¹⁴ Senehi 2002:53, with the Coles reference from Robert Coles' *The Call of Stories: Teaching and the Moral Imagination* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1989).

¹⁵ The opposed storyteller roles of farmer and seafarer Senehi acknowledges as from Walter Benjamin's *Illuminations* (translated by Harry Zohn, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968).

¹⁶ Senehi 2002:56.

¹⁷ See, e.g., throughout Crystal 2000.

¹⁸ In support of at least much of this Mangbetu background, see especially in Keim 1979, Schildkrout and Keim 1990, McKee 1995, 2006 and Allovio 1999. McKee 1995 is one of the anthropology dissertations mentioned; Allovio 1999 is the book version of the other.

¹⁹ Meegye singular noun *nátámbá*, plural *átamba*, with the term also used of narratives and stories generally. The only published study of Mangbetu tales remains Denis 1952. While I have made no general anthropological study of Mangbetu tales, I've recorded at least several dozens through the years, done varying amounts of transcription, translation and analysis on a good number of these, and read all the published literature examples I've tracked down (concerning which, see McKee 1995:357, endnote 17).

²⁰ With regard to women telling tales not as often as men, one factor is that many are preoccupied with domestic chores during normal telling hours.

²¹ See McKee 1995:137, 175.

²² Denis 1952:155. Denis was clearly naïve in his understanding of certain aspects of Mangbetu tales, yet I believe he was spot-on with this observation that I've translated by "a cunning spirit,"

²³ Denis 1952:169. Although Denis uses the French *Dieu* rather than *Angéle*, the fact that he was a Roman Catholic priest makes it implausible he would have translated thus any other Mangbetu term. He notes that God's (*Angéle's*) intervention was "frequent enough in Mangbetu tales" (1952:169, my translation). I recorded at least two tales in which *Angéle* is a character.

²⁴ See McKee 2005.

²⁵ Okpewho 1992:182. See also Biebuyck's 1980 characterization of Nkundo Mongo (Democratic Republic of Congo) dilemma tales (1980:78–79, as influenced by G. Hulstaert and A. de Rop's *Rechtspraakfabels van de Nkundó*, Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1954).

²⁶ Bascom 1972:153.

²⁷ I audio-recorded a single Meegye-dialect version of this tale, as told by *Révérénd Pasteur Dongolí bha Ka nádé bhó* of Egbita Mission in Mongomasi Collectivity, on 14 November 1987 at Egbita Mission. The English version of each of my paper's tales is my own amplified-at-points free translation.

²⁸ *Yádrángwe* 'my brother' (or, more generally, 'my same-sex sibling'); *ngondé* 'crocodile'; *-o* (by my own provisional analysis) a post-clitic used with terms of address to underline the call for a response.

²⁹ In the recorded version of the tale (see in a note above), the noun stem that I have consistently translated 'Chicken' but then referred to pronominally with masculine forms, alternates to some extent between *aálé* 'chicken (generic)' and *magbanga* 'rooster'.

³⁰ I interpret as support for this analysis the following quote attributed to an Emperor Mushidi of the Lake Mweru area of southeastern Democratic Republic of Congo: "We negroes are one in racial unity with you whites—different yet the same. A crocodile is hatched from an egg—and a flying bird from an egg" (Crawford 1913:1). Mushidi's reference here is undoubtedly to a cognate Central African tale, proverb or such.

³¹ I audio-recorded a single Meegye-dialect version of this tale, as told by M. *Anyéeké pá* of Meiku Village in Ndei Collectivity, on 6 September 1988 at Meiku. He is a classificatory brother of the Pastor *Abhule* whose assistance I acknowledge in note 8 above.

³² The tale word I have translated 'justice' here is *bosémbo*, a Lingala loan. Van Everbroeck's 1985 entry for *bosémbo* includes the following primary sense and example: « justice, équité, probité, honnêté; *zúzi akátí likambo na _____* : le juge a tranché l'affaire en toute équité » (1985:31, italics and non-italics as in the original). This entry covers well what I believe the narrator was intending to communicate at this point.

³³ Senehi 2002:46.

³⁴ Senehi 2002:46.

³⁵ Senehi and Byrne n.d.:371.

³⁶ See Senehi and Byrne n.d.:357–59 regarding this and other reasons for engaging youth in peace-building.

³⁷ See again Senehi 2002:56.