

# Fish as "Primitive Money" : Barter Markets of the Songola

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## Fish as "Primitive Money": Barter Markets of the Songola

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There exist nine periodic barter markets in the territory of the Songola, a Bantu people that inhabit the tropical rain forest along the upper reaches of the Zaïre River (formerly known as the Lualaba River). Men from fishing villages and women from villages of slash-and-burn agriculturists participate weekly or twice weekly in the barter markets with fish or farm produce. It is estimated that a fishing village depends on a barter market for 62 percent of its total calorific intake, whereas the rest comes from a cash sale market, thus indicating the importance of the former in the livelihood of the Zaïre River fishermen.

Since the absence of first-hand descriptions of barter methods and equivalences has long been lamented by economic anthropologists, the author recorded and measured the methods, units, and rates of barter, and discussed the determinants of barter rates and reasons for the Songola's preference for barter to the use of cash.

1) Methods, units and rates. A market supervisor, under the auspices of the traditional chiefs, controls the transactions. Fishermen place their fish on the women's piles of farm produce. Prior agreements are strictly prohibited. Units do exist as for fish and cassava, and the barter rates are fairly standardized through 1 : 1 exchange of the units. Barter rates are fixed and do not fluctuate according to the principle of supply and demand. Imbalances of supply and demand are settled with a combination of barter, gift-giving, and borrowing excess produce for fish, and finally by the use of cash.

2) Determinants of the rates. Calories per units of produce dispersed more than ten times, whereas work required to obtain a unit, four times, and neither of the two criteria is the determinant. Equivalence ratios of the items in the barter and cash sale markets were most closely related, probably indicating the traditional preference of foodstuffs among the Songola.

3) Fish as "primitive money". Fish in the barter markets of the Songola plays the role of so-called "primitive money" or "limited-purpose money". Fishermen succeeded in unitizing the purchasing power of the fish by fostering the fiction that any fish is identical regardless of size and species. It is a medium of exchange, a measure of value, and a standard of deferred payment in the barter market.

Formation of a symbiotic relationship, or socio-economic ties based on the

barter of different kinds of foodstuffs on the boundaries of different habitats, exists between the fishing and farming subgroups of the Songola. Barter ties are assumed to have played an indispensable role in molding the basic characteristics of the Songola subgroups: their subsistence patterns, languages and identity.

[barter, economic anthropology, "primitive money", Central Africa, Songola, the Zaïre River]

## INTRODUCTION

This paper reports on the barter markets of the Songola, an ethnic group inhabiting the upper Zaïre River in the Republic of Zaïre<sup>1)</sup> (Fig. 1). The paper 1) describes the markets in terms of the participants, items for barter, methods and barter rates; 2) discusses the barter markets in terms of their position in the Songola economy; and 3) attempts to explain their continuing existence in a society where monetary transactions would normally prevail.

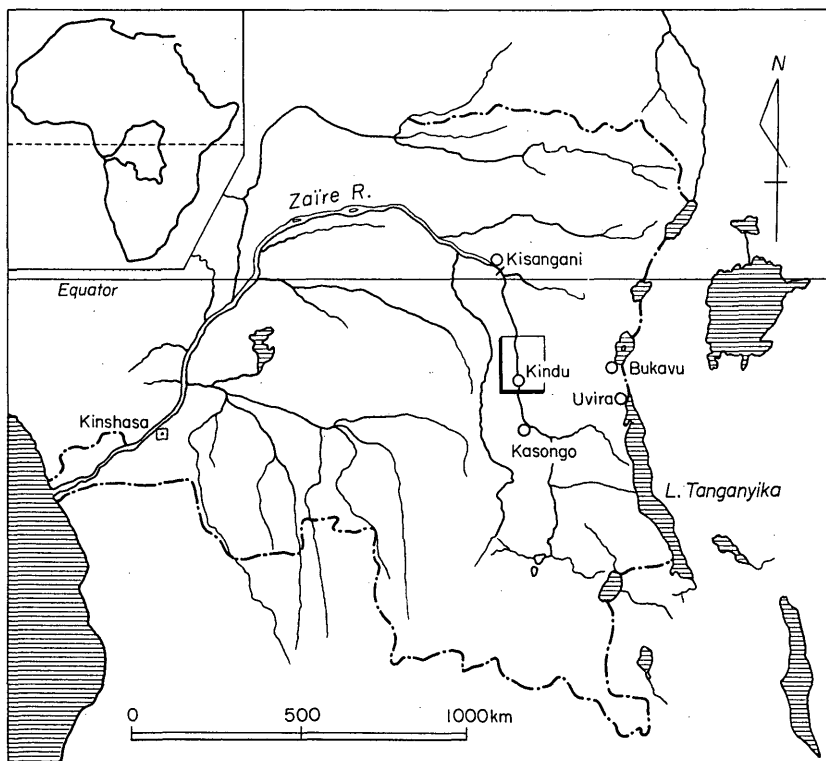


Fig. 1. The site of fieldwork in the Republic of Zaïre.

- 1) The area under study consisted of Zone de Kindu, Sous-Région du Maniema, Région du Kivu, République du Zaïre. Field survey took place over a period of seven months, from August to December 1978, and from December 1979 to February 1980. Zaïrean form of Swahili was employed for communication purposes.

In recent years numerous works have reported the results of research into the various aspects of traditional markets and trade in Africa (for example, [BOHANNAN and BOHANNAN 1968; BOHANNAN and DALTON 1962; GRAY and BIRMINGHAM 1970; HODDER and UKWU 1969; MCCALL *et al.* 1969; MEILLASSOUX 1971; POLANYI 1966]). However, the information concerning barter and barter markets is extremely fragmentary, and, moreover, most reports focus only on a limited area of the social significance of the formal aspects of exchange. From forty-three works, Sundström [SUNDSTRÖM 1974: 67] has isolated fifty-four areas and ethnic groups in tropical Africa during the pre-colonial period that engaged in barter, while complaining of the absence of descriptive details concerning methods. In fact, there are few descriptions of barter methods and equivalence even from areas outside Africa [HERSKOVITS 1952: 211]. Furthermore, the Central African tropical rain forest is a region which has only rarely been the object of economic anthropological studies. Nevertheless, the barter markets of the Songola are extremely important in providing concrete information concerning the barter of staples essential to everyday life.

There are estimated to live somewhat less than 50,000 people who identify themselves as the Songola [ANKEI 1981: 100]. Although at present they share the appellation and identity as the Songola, they consist of diverse subgroups differing in their languages, subsistence patterns and economic activities.

The name "Songola" is believed to originate from the Swahili word "watch-ongoa" which means "people with sharpened teeth," and was used by Arab slave traders to refer to the groups of people who inhabited the eastern bank of the Zaïre, between its Elila and Lowa tributaries [DELHAISE 1909: 45].

Today most Songola live in two collectivités (subprefectures) of Wasongola and of Ambwe in the Zone of Kindu.<sup>2)</sup> Abemba [ABEMBA 1972: 1-40] revealed that political control by the Arabs on this area was the main cause of the establishment of Wasongola collectivité. This fact may explain the process through which the divergent ethnic groups came to share the same identity as the Songola.

Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant) is the most widespread religion among the Songola, especially of those who do not live on the Zaïre. However, some other Songola fishermen living along the Zaïre have long been Muslims, since the time of the Arab slave traders. Although at present there are no mosques in Songola territory, some people retain such Islamic customs as fasting during Ramadan and the prohibition of consuming animals butchered by non-muslims.

The languages of the Songola are of two different origins among Bantu. One is Songola (sometimes referred to as "Binja nord") and the other is the Ombo language. According to Guthrie [GUTHRIE 1967: 12] the former can be classified in the Lega-Kalanga group (D-20) together with the Zimba ("Binja sud"), Lega, and Kumu (Komo) languages, whereas the latter belongs within the Tetela group (C-30), which includes the Tetela, Kusu, and Nkutshu. The Ombo claim that their language is practically identical with that of the Ngengele, who live along the western bank of

2) There are some others who belong with the Songola around the town of Kowe in the Zone of Punia to the north of the study area.

the Zaïre. Meeussen [MEEUSSEN 1951, ms; 1952] carried out a linguistic survey of the Songola and Ombo languages. He recognized a similarity between Zimba and Songola, and, encouraged by the fact that one of his informants in Songola territory called his people Binja, decided to adopt the name of "Binja nord" or North Binja throughout, instead of "Songola". It is regrettable that recent tribal maps such as that of Vansina [VANSINA 1966: 107] call Songola "Binja nord", following Meeussen. The "Binja" is, in fact, only a subgroup of the Songola, and I consider that Meeussen studied the Binja dialect of the Songola language. Biebuyck [BIEBUYCK 1973: 19] called those groups speaking Songola dialects as "eastern Songola" and those speaking Ombo as "western Songola". This claim is sensible in that it conforms with local assertions of ethnic identity. "Ombo" means "people who fled [from their land]" and the oral tradition of the Ombo tells that they were Ngengele before moving across the Zaïre, from west to east. The Ombo seem to be the latest of the "Songolized" people.

The Songola can be also classified by their habitats, and subsistence and settlement patterns. The majority practice slash-and-burn agriculture in the tropical rain forest, and live in villages made up of double rows of houses built on both sides of the road. On the other hand, some of the Songola have a different settlement pattern, *vide infra*. They subsist mainly on fish from the Zaïre.

The agricultural, forest-dwelling Songola consist of at least five subgroups, each of which occupies its own definite geographical territory. The author carried out a field survey for the Ombo and the two Songola-speaking subgroups of Kuko and Binja. There exist two other agricultural subgroups who speak Songola dialects: the Bisimulu to the south, and the Ikese in the Zone of Punia, to the north. Figure 2 shows the location and administrative centers in the subgroups of the Songola and adjacent tribes.

Subsistence activities of the three agricultural subgroups surveyed are substantially the same. Women undertake all work in slash-and-burn fields, except for clearing the forest, which is men's work. Ten to twenty-five species of crops are mixed in a slash-and-burn field. The most important are cassava, plantains and upland rice [ANKEI 1981: 106-109]. They have also small-scale dooryard gardens around the houses. Women practice minor fishing by bailing water out of streams in the dry seasons. Much of the women's cash income comes from distilling spirits from fermented cassava flour and germinated maize kernels. Women do all the domestic tasks, which include, *inter alia*, cooking, drawing water, laundering, collecting firewood and nursing infants. They sometimes make mats of Marantaceae grass stalks for a small amount of cash. A few women make, to order, earthenware pots and pans.

The men fell trees during the dry season that begins in May, and burn the logs in September to prepare the fields in order for their wives to plant crops [ANKEI 1981: 133]. After burning is finished, the men no longer engage in agricultural work until the next year, and many devote themselves to extracting oil from the oil palm fruits. The oil is essential to their diet and is an important source of their cash income as well.

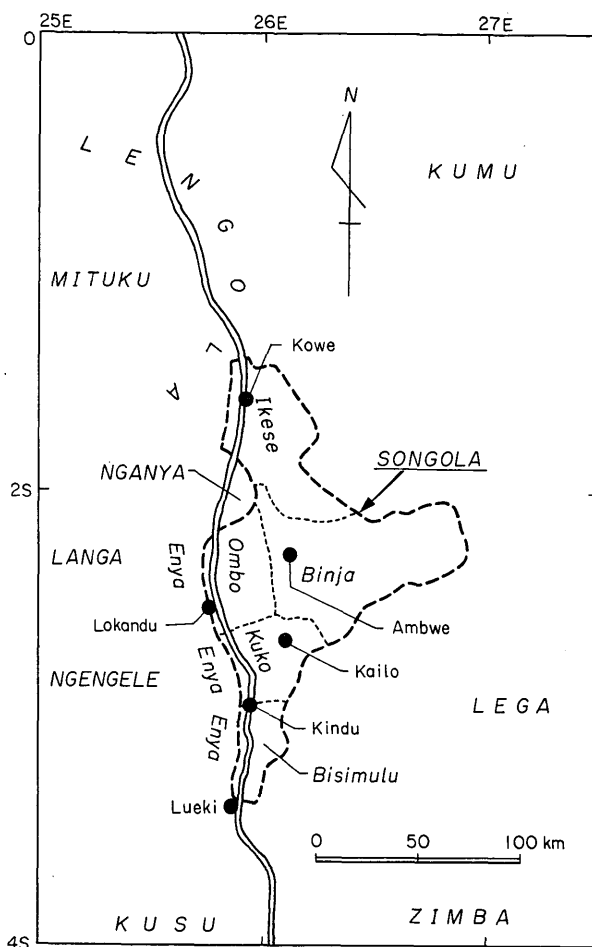


Fig. 2. The Songola and adjacent tribes.

Raffia and oil palms provide them with palm wine which is sold and also consumed by themselves. The men practice various types of hunting: they hunt duikers and other forest-dwelling animals with nets and various snares or traps, and they hunt monkeys with bows and poisoned arrows. Some of them set small traps for the fish found in streams and marshes during the dry seasons. After a heavy rainfall in March they collect large quantities of fish using traps fixed on big barrages built across rivulets. The meat or fish, as a rule, is consumed by the family of the captor, and is only rarely sold. There are exceptional cases in which young men from agricultural subgroups work as netters for net owners in riverside villages, where they almost invariably sell their catch.

Although the subsistence patterns of these three subgroups are practically the same, there are minor differences among them. As for the varieties of crops in the slash-and-burn fields, the Ombo have the largest diversity of cassava varieties

whereas the Kuko and Binja plantains [ANKEI 1981: 110–113]. This difference may be attributed to their traditional preference for staple foods: Ombo people prefer *lumata*, sliced bitter cassava neutralized overnight in water after boiling, whereas the Kuko and Binja prefer *lituma*, steamed and mashed plantains, to any food made of cassava. Men of the Binja subgroup are renowned hunters, and they themselves say that it was customary to earn bridewealth mainly by hunting. On the other hand, Kuko men are much more specialized in oil palm cultivation and oil extraction. Moeller mentioned [MOELLER 1936: 85] that “Binja” means “hunters” whereas “Kuko” means “the people who live in the palm gardens”. Kuko and Ombo men construct dugout canoes and prepare bark ropes for fishing nets, and sell these goods to the riverine fishing people.

In this paper those subgroups of the Songola dependent on slash-and-burn agriculture for their livelihood are referred to as the agricultural subgroups, or the farming subgroups. There exists another (or the sixth) subgroup of the Songola who live by fishing in the Zaïre. They call themselves the Enya, or, in order to clarify their identity, as the Songola-Enya, and those living adjacent to the Songola-speaking agricultural subgroups speak Songola, whereas those adjacent to the Ombo speak Ombo. The Enya always establish a village comprising a single row of houses, and never the double rows as in the farming villages, on the Zaïre or its larger tributaries. In front of an Enya village is the bank sloping to the river where they moor their dugouts.

In contrast to the subsistence patterns of the farming subgroups of the Songola, where the major part of their food is produced by the women, the Enya women contribute to the production of foodstuffs to only a limited extent. Many Enya wives are from the Songola farming subgroups or from the Ngengele, and have their slash-and-burn fields behind the village. They visit their fields, however, much less frequently than do the women of the farming villages. Some women born in Enya villages have no agricultural experience, and they themselves admit, “all we have to do is cook”. Enya women are scarcely engaged in cash-generating activities, nor do they attend any market.

The Enya men, in contrast, play a more important role in maintaining their livelihood. Half or more of the husbands clear the secondary forest near the village for their wives to plant crops. The Enya cannot rely entirely on their slash-and-burn fields for at least three principal reasons: 1) the Zaïre is subject to unpredictable inundation during the high water season, which destroys the crops; 2) the fields have been subject to damage by elephants roaming the western bank; 3) and therefore they are obliged to have their fields near the villages where there is no primary forest that guarantees a good crop yield, especially of plantains [ANKEI 1981: 141]. Slash-and-burn fields along the banks of the Zaïre are less stable and less productive than those in the Songola farming subgroups, where primary forests away from the Zaïre are utilized.

The livelihood of the Enya is fundamentally based on the year round fishing activities in the Zaïre River and the mouths of its tributaries. The Enya know 21, but do not always use, different fishing methods, including four traditional ones, now

extinct [ANKEI 1982: 7–10]. Today several of these methods are used frequently, and each fisherman has a particular preference for one or two. Although almost every fisherman possesses some fishing implements with hooks and baits, they are less reliable and less frequently used than are three principal methods *mākīlā*, *lōlēkā*, and *bīkūtū*.<sup>3)</sup>

*Mākīlā* is a 1 m wide and 200–300 m long flowing gill net which is loaded in a dugout and stretched across the Zaïre by two fishermen and left to flow downstream for 1–2 km. Since the introduction of nylon nets in the 1950's, *mākīlā* has increased its importance despite its purchase and maintenance costs. This kind of net has been preferred by the fishermen mainly because it can be handled by unskilled fishermen or even boys. Three types of *mākīlā* are distinguished by mesh size. Those with a mesh size less than the breadth of a palm are manufactured with fine threads, and are sold at shops. That with a smaller mesh size is called *chāchāchā*, and is used in the season of low water, whereas the net with a larger mesh size, *ābūlāmīdēsū*, tends to be used when the water level is changing from low to high, or *vice versa*. They are not used at high water (the highest from March to April) for fear of tearing. A *mākīlā* having the mesh size of a palm is called *būchākā*, and is made by the fishermen themselves out of twine. It can be used all-year-round because of its heavy thread. Since only a few fishermen own gill nets of the *būchākā* type, others willingly work as netters for the owners. In this case the catch is divided evenly between the net owner and the netters.

*Lōlēkā* fishing involves attaching a trap as long as six meters to an edge of the dugout. The heavy trap braided with rattan is handled at night by a pair of fishermen, who set it under riverside foliage with its mouth open, and drive fish into it. A *lōlēkā* lasts for only one season. The pair of fishermen handling a *lōlēkā* does not change before a trap decays usually in the highest water season, when *lōlēkā* fishing becomes impossible since all the foliage is submerged. *Lōlēkā* fishing requires much skill and strength. Further, no catch can be expected for at least three days in locations where others have fished with a *lōlēkā*. Even so, this type of fishing is preferred by some Enya because, unlike the *mākīlā*, a *lōlēkā* can be obtained at no cash cost.

*Bīkūtū* gill nets are usually made of 15-fathom fragments of old *mākīlā* nets, and are set in the riverside grass. A fisherman cannot expect a good catch unless he has many units of *bīkūtū*, but he has only to check the nets by himself twice a day and it takes only a short time. This is the single most frequently used fishing method when grass and foliage are submerged.

The catch obtained by those three fishing methods is consumed by Enya villagers and is also taken to the barter and cash sale markets. The Enya can manage

3) The vowels of the Songola are /j i e a o u ʔ / which roughly correspond to [i e ε a o o u]. The /` / symbol represents a low tone, and the /' / a high tone. Italicized words with tone marks are the Songola, while the Zairean Swahili is italicized without tone marks. See [ANKEI 1981: 98, 1982: 3] for the phonemes of the Kuko and Enya respectively.



to utilize fish resources all-year-round if they use the fishing methods appropriate to water levels that change seasonally. Nevertheless, fishermen are occasionally obliged to abandon all fishing activities. A *mākɪlā* owner must renew the wooden floats and earthenware net-sinkers every two or three months owing to the decay of the ropes that fix them to the net. It takes several days, in addition to those required for the repair, before the net recovers an appropriate balance between the floats and the sinkers, and so fishermen suffer from a reduced catch for more than a week if they have only one net. Traditional Enya norms prohibit a man with a pregnant wife, especially during the earlier stages of her pregnancy, from fishing or even from touching any fishing gear for fear of damaging future catches. Thus, an Enya family with a pregnant wife may occasionally be dependent on villagers and relatives for its subsistence. Lastly, in the upper reaches of the Zaïre, such an extraordinary inundation that submerges the riverine villages and makes fishing activities impossible has occurred at least three times since 1961. Droogers [DROOGERS 1975: 154] reports that the fishermen at Kisangani were unable to maintain the normal catch because of the extraordinary inundation of the Zaïre in 1961, and that they were obliged to seek any available wage labor in the city. The Enya men, on the other hand, are not accustomed to wage labor and only a few prefer to work during high water seasons as rowers of the dugout ferryboats at the crossings of Kindu and Lokandu. Thus it may be concluded here that the long term livelihood of the Songola-Enya is less stable or reliable than that of the neighboring agricultural subgroups of the Songola.

Along the Zaïre in Songola territory (see Fig. 2) are the villages of fishing people who belong to many tribes other than the Songola. At present, the 26 settlements and temporary camps along the Zaïre between Kindu and Elila include 13 Songola-Enya, 5 Mituku, 2 Lega, 1 Lokele groups together with three other settlements, each of which is a mixture of the former [ANKEI 1981: 154]. Many of the members of the riverine tribes were compelled to leave their villages between Kindu and Kisangani, and to resettle along the Zaïre in Songola territory by the civil turmoil that followed Independence, the so-called Simba Rebellion. These people did not resettle among the farming subgroups of the Songola.<sup>4)</sup>

The people whose livelihood is maintained by fishing activities in the Zaïre are known as "Wagenia", regardless of their tribal origins.<sup>5)</sup> This appellation is used in Songola territory as a substitute for *walobaji*, a Zairean Swahili term meaning "fishermen", and of course, is applied also to the Songola-Enya. The Wagenia, other than the Enya, have a settlement pattern similar to that of the Enya. They share two of the main fishing methods, *mākɪlā* and *bɪkútú*, and the other methods differ according to

4) A mixture of different tribes in the Songola territory is observed in the mining town of Kailo, where laborers and their families number as many as five thousands. On the border of the Songola territory are the towns of administrative and commercial centers; the largest is Kindu where there are as many as sixty thousands and the second is Lokandu which is dwelled by two thousands people, and both of these towns consist of diverse tribes other than the Songola.

the traditions of each tribe. The Mituku and Lengola have slash-and-burn fields, but the Lega and Lokele practice no agriculture, nor do they have an equivalent of the small dooryard garden. Wagenia fishermen realize that they cannot always expect to rely on their fields, but prefer to obtain foods by trading their fish. The Enya men explain their situation as follows: "Our work is water—*Kazi yetu ni mayi*," and therefore "we get everything for fish—*Tunapata kila kitu na samaki*". "We Wagenia never abandon the market—*Sie Wagenia hatuachaki soko*," seeing that "the market is our field—*Soko ndyo shamba yetu*". These aphorisms symbolically state that Wagenia livelihood is entirely dependent on the Zaïre and that they cannot do without their trading of fish.

## 1. AN OUTLINE OF THE BARTER MARKETS

### 1) The present situation

At the barter markets of the Songola, foodstuffs are traded with, as a rule, no use of cash, between the men who are Wagenia fishermen and the women who are farmers. The fishermen paddle their dugouts to the market while the women carry their produce in baskets on their backs from their homes in the forests.

Of the tribes who participate in the nine barter markets on which this report was

**Table 1.** The names of the barter markets and the tribes of the major participants.

Owner village	Traditional names of the markets	Major participants	
		Fishermen	Farmers
Bukindi	<i>Kichùkà ki Kàèkèkè</i>	S-Enya*	S-Kuko
Yengola	<i>Kichùkà ki ðàndà</i>	S-Enya	S-Kuko
Kisubi	<i>Kichùkà ki ðàndà</i>	S-Enya	S-Kuko
Mukoko	<i>Ìmùmbà yi Mùkókò</i>	—	Ngengele**
Lufaya	<i>Ìmùmbà yi Kàèkèkè</i>	S-Enya***	S-Kuko
Lotemo	<i>Ìmùmbà yi Kàkùmbà</i>	S-Enya***	S-Ombo
Lukumbakumba	<i>Kichùkà ki Kàèkèkè</i>	S-Binja	S-Binja
Mambasa	?	S-Enya***	Ngengele
Ombela	?	S-Enya***	Langa

\* S-: Songola subgroups.

\*\* They barter palm oil and staple foods.

\*\*\* Ombo-speaking Enya group of the Songola.

- 5) It is well-known that there exist scattered groups of fishing people along the Zaïre between Kisangani and Kasongo, and are called in the name of Wagenia or Baenya everywhere along the stretch of the river. It is misleading to take these names as something that could be attributed to a tribe or to the ethnic groups having a single descent. Bulck [BULCK 1948: 502] states that the Wagenia of Kisangani seem to be related to the Lega and Mituku, whereas the Wagenia of Kasongo have their descent in the Luba people. Droogers [DROOGERS 1975: 155] rightly points out, "Il est possible que ce furent les Arabes qui ont donné le nom Wagenia à tous les groupes de pêcheurs installés le long du Lualaba, de Kasongo à Kisangani."

based, different and various tribes compose the nucleus of fishermen or farmers respectively (Table 1). At the same time, the majority of the fishermen are Enya and the majority of farmers belong to Songola subgroups other than Enya. In this regard, the market at Lukumbakumba, which is located near the shore of a hydro-electric dam lake, is exceptional because both of the participating groups are Binja. The Mukoko village market is also unusual because here the barter transactions are of farm produce for palm oil, and not fish. The names of the various markets are listed in Table 1: *kìchùkà* (Songola) and *imúmbá* (Ombo) are words for "market". *Ìbàndà* refers to the large trees growing along the banks of the rivers, while *Kàkúmbá* is a place name. *Kàèkèèkè* means "whispering" and its derivation is explained hereafter. A barter market is often called by the name of the village to which it belongs. Since all these villages are the farmers', it is the Wagenia that are invited as visiting participants at the barter markets possessed by the agricultural subgroups of the Songola.

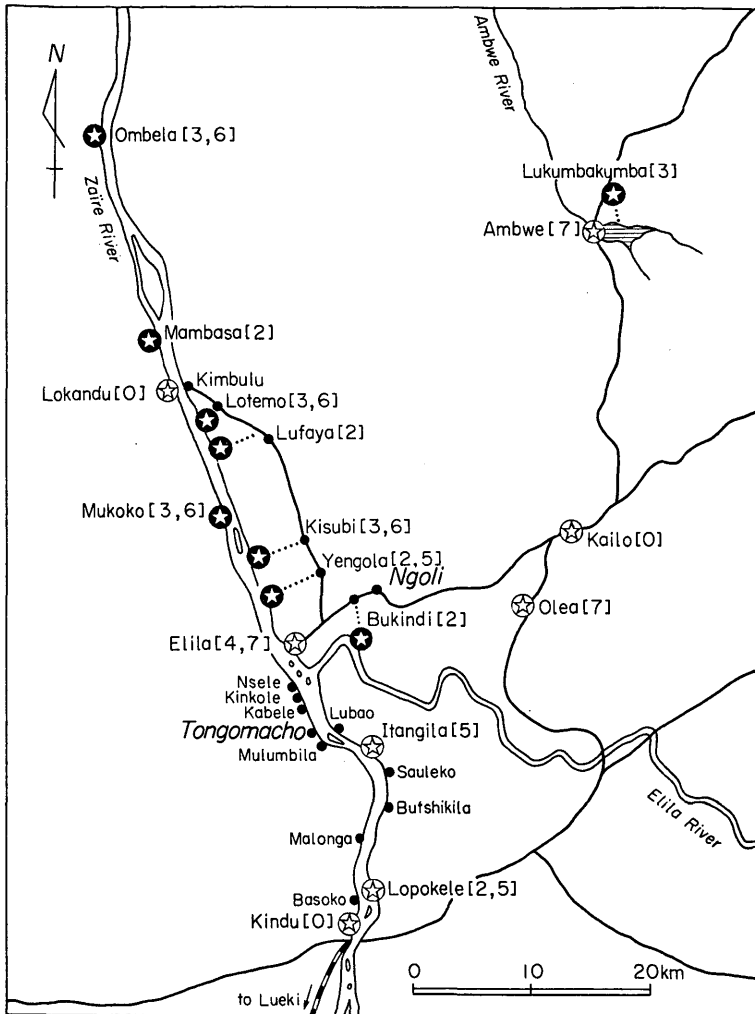
## 2) The history of the barter markets

Arab slave traders took control of the Maniema region sometime after 1860 [CORNET 1955: 20] but there is very little data extant for the period prior to that date. The Songola themselves say that their "ancestors passed down the barter markets" to them and thus that they are "traditional". This may be reliable seeing that the Genia fishermen at Kisangani bartered fish for plantains with the Sanga farmers even before the advent of the Arab slave traders [DEDAVE 1957: 263]. Delhaise [DELHAISE 1909: 165] reported that the Songola supplied the Lega with palm oil and received iron in exchange before the arrival of the Europeans. At the Elila village, one of the landing points for steamers, a market was built by the Belgians. They forcibly ordered the collection of food, natural rubber and later palm oil. Because the white colonialists meted out beatings and other severe punishments to anyone engaged in trading outside their markets, the Songola continued their traditional markets in places unknown to the white men. For this reasons, even today, the generic word for the barter market is *kàèkèèkè* which means "whispering" and, of course, suggests the repression that continued until the independence of Congo in 1960.

## 3) Market distribution, periodicity and the levels of trading activities

### (1) DISTRIBUTION OF THE MARKETS

Table 1 and Figure 3 show the nine locations at which barter markets take place in Songola territory at the present time. There are, in addition, eight cash sale markets at additional locations. As is clear from the figure, barter markets are set up at the banks of the rivers. Seven are located on the Zaïre itself, one on its Elila tributary and one adjacent to the Ambwe hydroelectric dam. Barter markets tend to be located in areas where the territories of the fishermen and the farmers overlap. At the same time, it must be pointed out that there are many areas where there are no barter markets although fishing is good. For instance, the nearest barter market



- (★) Cash sale markets      (★) Barter markets  
 1: Monday   2: Tuesday   3: Wednesday   4: Thursday  
 5: Friday   6: Saturday   7: Sunday   0: Daily  
 Ngoli and Tongomacho = the villages studied.

**Fig. 3.** Distribution and periodicity of the markets near Kindu.

from Bukindi (near Elila), in the upper reaches of the Zaire, is located at a distance of some 30 km from Kindu. Today, there is no barter markets along this part of the Zaire although, in previous times, there existed several barter markets such as the Sauleko market near Itangila (Fig. 3). The absence of barter markets around the town of Kindu will be discussed later.

## (2) MARKET PERIODICITY

Songola barter markets are held weekly or twice weekly. Four of them are held

once a week and five twice a week.<sup>6)</sup> Three are held Tuesdays, one Tuesdays and Fridays, one on Saturdays and four on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Six of the seven barter markets downstream from Elila have arranged their days so as to alternate with those of the most adjacent market, the exception being Mukoko. Pairs of nearby barter and cash sale markets also arrange their days so that a person can attend nearby markets at least twice a week no matter where he or she lives.

### (3) THE LEVELS OF TRADING ACTIVITIES

Trading activities of the Songola and Wagenia can be classified into four categories according to the extent to which a given trading activity is related to the external economies. The four categories are trading activities which occur 1) among a group of people that live in the same habitat and who share a common subsistence pattern; 2) between groups of people that live in the same habitat but have more or less different subsistence patterns; 3) between groups of people that live in adjacent but different habitats, and therefore have different subsistence patterns; and 4) at regional trading centers where members of different tribes assemble.

The first level corresponds to the trade carried out within a group. Some Kuko men, for example, are part-time specialists, such as blacksmiths or carpenters, and some Kuko women practice pot-making for sale. The Enya practice no trade at all among themselves. There exist no markets at this level.

The second level corresponds to the trade between farming subgroups of the Songola. Men from the Binja territory occasionally visit Kuko villages to purchase palm oil which is abundant in the Kuko territory. Tribes of Wagenia fishermen never engage in any form of trade among themselves despite their disparity in agricultural production levels. There are, again, no markets at this level.

Trading of the third level takes place between Songola farmers and Wagenia fishermen. All of the barter markets and most of the weekly or semi-weekly cash sale markets are related to this level. Farm women sell their produce to fishermen at these minor markets and use the cash to purchase such everyday necessities as salt and soap, which are sold at the same markets or in nearby small-scale retailers' shops. Men from farming subgroups sometimes peddle palm oil in the villages of Wagenia. Wagenia fishermen visit farming villages to purchase bark ropes for their *mākīlā* nets. Farmers construct and sell dugout canoes to the fishermen, who receive them on the river banks. As a rule, Wagenia fishermen seldom sell their fish to the Songola farmers, who, therefore, depend on the barter markets for fish.

The fourth and the last level corresponds to trading at administrative and commercial town centers, where the Songola and Wagenia establish contact with external economies. Three of these towns, Kindu, Lokandu and Kailo, have daily cash sale markets. The market at Kindu is a grand *marché* or a regional market, and is the

6) Those markets which are held on a semi-weekly basis tend to have one day on which there is more activity than the other. More people participate at the Lotemo barter market on Saturdays than on Wednesdays, and Sunday is a more active day at the cash sale market at Elila than Thursday.

largest in the Sous-Région of Maniema. The market at Lokandu is the second largest in Songola territory, whereas that at Kailo is visited by relatively few participants, far fewer than the market at Elila, of the third level.<sup>7)</sup> Since many of the inhabitants in these towns live on their salaries and depend entirely on the markets for their foodstuffs, commodity prices are generally higher in these markets than those in the third level, the highest being Kindu. Because of these high commodity prices, Wagenia generally prefer to sell their fish at Kindu or to one of the Lokele middlemen, who visit their village every evening and carry the fish for retail at Kindu market. Kuko or Ombo women of Songola farmers only rarely make journeys up to Kindu; they make it a rule to sell dried cassava or other produce at Kindu once a year and to use the cash, just after having received it, for their clothes. Farmers buy cooking utensils and wire ropes for snares and other expensive implements at Kindu, in the same fashion as their wives make purchases. On the other hand, the

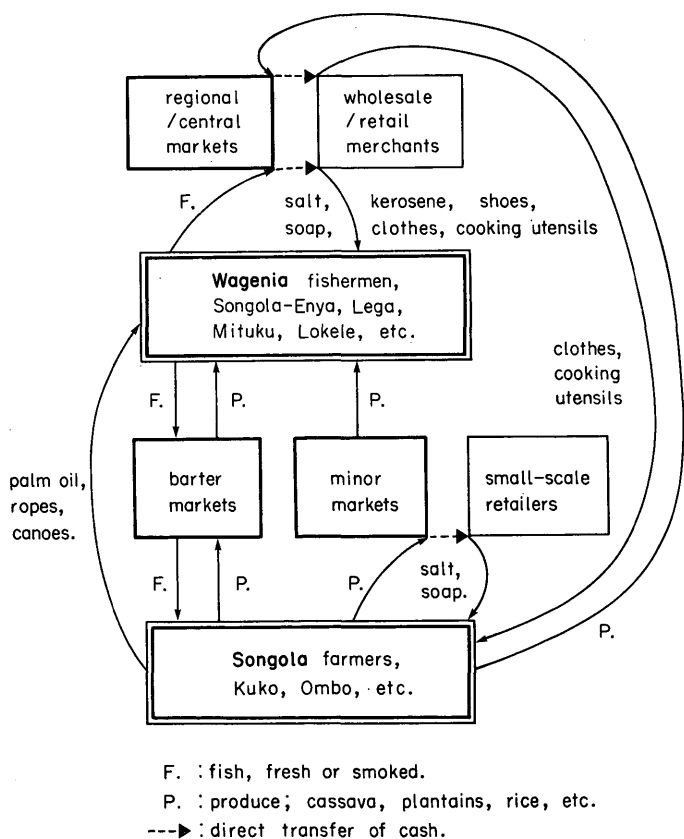


Fig. 4. Trading activities of Songola and Wagenia.

7) Numerous laborers in the mining company at Kailo only rarely need to attend the market because they can buy their staples in the company stores and because most of them have slash-and-burn fields of their own.

Wagenia visit by dugouts shops at Kindu much more frequently, and purchase not only such everyday necessities as salt, soap and kerosene for lanterns, but cooking pots, clothes and shoes as well. Figure 4 shows the trading activities of the third and fourth levels practiced by the Songola and Wagenia. This scheme explains that agricultural subgroups of the Songola are substantially self-sufficing, and that Wagenia are much more dependent on external cash economies. Barter transactions take place within Songola territory, whereas the use of cash inevitably has some relationship with external economies represented by various industrial or imported goods.

#### 4) The administration of barter markets

Traditionally, the village chief of the farmers or *mòkòtâ*<sup>8)</sup> owns the barter market, and technically, it is he who is responsible for the maintenance of the barter market as well as keeping the various participants in order. However, in actuality, the village chief only rarely attends the barter market in person. Instead, the daily supervision of the market is left to his deputy, known in Swahili as *kapita*. The *kapita* is usually one man chosen by a council of village chiefs from the surrounding areas. He is the overall supervisor of the barter market, and thus responsible for signalling the opening of the market, that is, the time when barter may commence, and settling minor disputes when they occur. When a situation arises which he cannot handle, the affair is brought before a traditional court to be judged by the village chief or by a council of chiefs. The *kapita* receives no remuneration for his services, and only when the chiefs come to judge a case do they receive anything; at this time, however, each of the participants gives them a small portion of fish or produce. The participants in the barter market pay no entry fees or any other form of tariff, unlike the public markets at Kindu and certain other places.

On 18 February 1980, a court was convened to handle the case of an incident which had occurred at the barter market at Bukindi village (see Fig. 3). Because the following day was a market day, the chief of Bukindi, two chiefs from nearby farming villages and one chef de localité,<sup>9)</sup> the head of an administrative division of the lowest rank, just under a collectivité, representing the fishermen, arrived at the market to settle the complaint which had been raised. The complaint included the demand that the *kapita* be dismissed for failing to control the repeated instances of rude behavior by the younger fishermen. The next day before the marketing the Tongomacho chef de localité made a 30 minute speech, apologizing on behalf of the fishermen and admonishing both sides for various infringements of the rules. As the contents of the speech referred the principles underlying the organization of the market, it will be summarized here:

##### (1) THE RULES GOVERNING THE WAGENIA FISHERMEN

- i) The following acts are prohibited in the barter market: entering the

8) A Songola village *káchá* is usually composed of several patrilineal lineages, of which only one is entitled to bring forth a hereditary chief or *mòkòtâ*.

9) A chef de localité is appointed out of the village chiefs (*mòkòtâ*) in each localité or a district.

market for purposes not related to barter, that is, entering the market without bringing fish to be traded, entering the market with fish but intending rather to purchase farm produce with cash, and chasing after women. These acts are completely against the will of the farmers who kindly allow their wives to participate in this market.

ii) Fishermen are not to limit their trading to a given person, in particular a friend or relative. If trading partners are fixed in advance, the other women will be unable to make satisfactory exchanges and the entire system of the market will collapse.

iii) Fishermen who wish to obtain palm wine are to bring their own calabashes for that purpose, and are not permitted to begin drinking until the close of trading as drunkenness leads invariably to quarrels. If the fishermen do not have their own containers, the women are delayed while the fishermen drink, and their own families are kept waiting and therefore go hungry.

## (2) THE RULES GOVERNING THE FARMERS

i) On market days, barter must go on freely and agreements must not be made in advance. Violations of this rule will be severely prosecuted by the *kapita*, and those who are caught making prior deals will be heavily fined.

ii) Farmers are not to complain if the market is delayed. The opening of the day's activities is based on the arrival time of the fishermen which depends on the success of a day's catch, something which cannot be controlled, as well as to allow for participation by fishermen who must travel a long distance. The *kapita* has the final say in all such matters.

iii) Farmers are not to be fussy concerning the type and size of fish offered, as all fishermen are not necessarily able to catch fish of a certain type or quality. Fishermen with fillets or larger fish are not to interfere when a transaction for smaller fish is in progress.

iv) Traditional units of barter are to be observed. It is forbidden to engage in practices designed to obtain larger sum totals of fish, for example, by dividing ten glasses of rice into five piles of two glasses each. Plantains are to be exchanged per bunch, regardless of size, and should never be divided into fingers as is often seen in the cash sale market at Kindu. Only palm wine and cooked foods may be used to obtain fish that is smaller than one unit.

When the above speech had been completed, the chef de localit  showed every participant a fillet of fish that should be recognized as a standard size in the barter market. After that, the opinions of both sides were heard concerning the *kapita*. It was decided that whereas he should be allowed to remain in office, a second *kapita* chosen from the farmers would be appointed and the market administered jointly thereafter. In this way, the interests of both sides would be protected.



## 2. SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF MARKET ACTIVITIES TAKEN FROM BUKINDI

The author was able to attend the barter markets on six occasions,<sup>10)</sup> five at Bukindi and one at Lotemo. Based on the observations made, the following description is presented.

### 1) Preparation for the market and participation

The Kuko women of Ngoli village harvest plantains and cassava on Mondays, the day prior to market day, in addition to performing their customary field chores. There are those among them who spend several days to prepare *nyangi*, soaking the bitter cassava in water to remove its poison. Others cook various foods with a cassava base, such as *kikwanga*, *lumata*, and *mitewe* [ANKEI 1981: 122–123]. Women may boil maize and groundnuts, or prepare bottles of palm oil for their relatives or friends, perhaps to be given as gifts, rather than traded.

At dawn the next morning, the women bathe and draw water in the stream, a ten minute walk from the village. They hurriedly prepare breakfast for their families, and then leave for the market with their filled baskets, *kimpākā*, on their backs. Women from villages further away such as Kitibitibi (2 km from Ngoli) and Ngoma (9 km from Ngoli) are passing through the forest. In an hour they have arrived at Bukindi, but the village chief, *mòkòtā*, will not allow them to enter the path to the market until most have arrived. At approximately eight o'clock, he blows a *mòònjò*, a pipe of antelope horn, signalling permission. They follow a narrow and often slippery path, burdened with their baskets and sometimes nursing babies. The muddy pathway is rough and uneven; it passes over streams and occasionally fallen trees. They keep up their spirits by passing around some of the palm wine they have prepared. The youngest girls with the lightest loads take up the lead, while the older women who must stop at times to rest, bring up the rear. An hour's walk brings them finally to the point at which the path suddenly begins its descent to the banks of the Elila. From this vantage point, visibility is unobstructed and the dugout canoes and fishermen standing along the shore can be seen. The women arrive one after another, arrange their goods on the bare ground, seat themselves and wait for the *kapita*'s signal. Generally those of the same village prefer to sit together.

The Enya fishermen of Tongomacho village get up early and go fishing on market days. For example, pairs of *lòlèkà* fishermen who have fished for three days and then sold their catches at the Kindu cash sale market, return on Monday afternoons. At four the next morning, they get up and fish until dawn. Sometimes, they continue fishing as they paddle down towards Bukindi. Those who are fishing with *mākìlā* will also make several attempts before dawn. Those elderly fishermen who use the

10) The market days on which observations are based were 19 December 1979 at Lotemo, and 14 November 1978, 15 January, 29 January, 12 February and 19 February 1980 at Bukindi. The author arrived at the marketplaces twice by dugout and four times on foot.

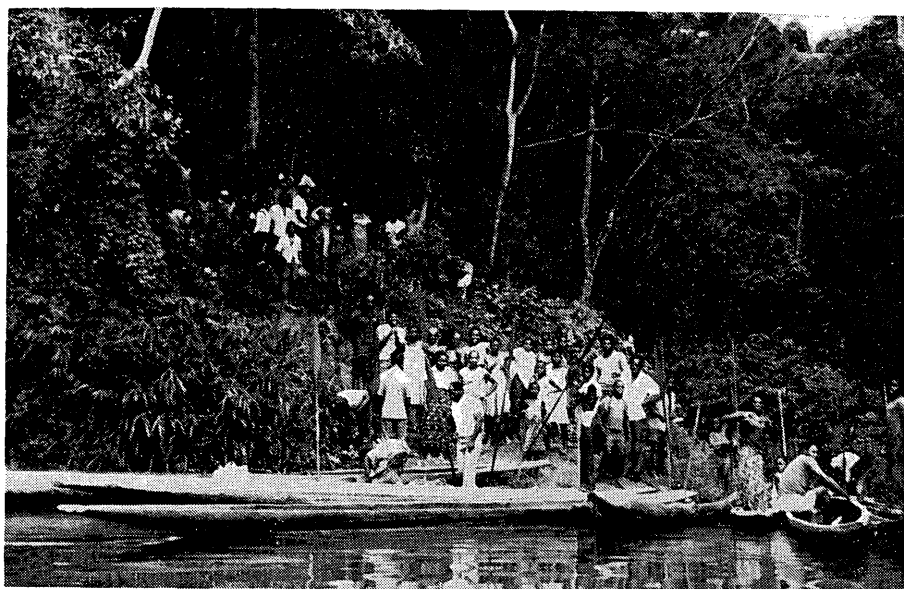


Photo. 1 The Bukindi barter marketplace.

fixed *bikútu* nets check them sometime after dawn. They now return to their village, until eight o'clock when they leave for the market. About a half hour is required to row downstream to the mouth of the Elila, and from here the market is approximately 6 km upstream, which takes between 60 and 90 minutes, as the current is swift. By nine-thirty, most of the fishermen and the farming women have assembled (Photo. 1).

When the *kapita* has given the signal "*Nunua chakula!*" or "Buy foods!", the men gather up their fish and slowly climb the slopes to where the women are waiting. Generally they begin by looking for plantains. The women are watching the fishermen carefully. Almost all of the participants are known to one another.

Barter transactions are then begun. If a fisherman sees a bunch of plantains that appeals to him, he stops and places two or three pieces of fish on it one at a time, watching the farmer to see if she regards the amount as satisfactory. She shakes her head and demands an additional amount. The man adds one small fish and then a second and the woman accepts his offer. The plantains and the fish are left untouched which is a means of indicating to other participants that an agreement has been made and at what rate. Photograph 2A shows another example of barter of fish for plantains.

Rice, too, is a barter item much relished by the fishermen. A woman has a wrap of husked rice which has long been exhausted from the market during the preharvest months. A fisherman asks the woman how many glasses the rice stands for. At her reply that it stands for ten glasses, he puts a smoked elephant-snout fish on the bowl of rice and demands an addition of rice. This time, the woman points out that



**Photo. 2** Examples of barter equivalencies.

A. African tetra *mukasa* and African carp *sila* for a bunch of plantains.

she is the only participant that has brought the first crop for the year, and succeeds to obtain his consent (Photo. 2B).

A fisherman wishes to obtain *ngolo*, sweet cassava, in exchange for bagrid catfish (Photo. 3). He claims that the pile of *ngolo* before him is too small, so the farmer adds two more, but when he insists on more, she refuses. So he takes away his fish and the negotiations have been terminated. He approaches another woman who had *ngolo* for barter and the process begins again.

If a fisherman wishes to obtain palm wine, he goes to where it is being offered, and takes a sip to see whether it has been fermented correctly, and therefore is not sour. If he is satisfied with the taste, he hands her his fish, and then goes away to



B. Smoked elephant-snout fish *mpoto* for a bowl of husked rice.

barter the remainder for other produce. He will come back for his palm wine, after his transactions are over, to the place where all the calabashes of palm wine are collected and overseen by the *kapita*.

If a participant gets hungry, he or she can purchase a few buns, bananas or oranges. Such foods are rarely bartered because they are sought for in units smaller than the traditional unit of fish.

When about one-half of the goods for barter have been traded, the women begin to carry their produce to the dugouts of those who have acquired it. The *kapita* approaches the calabashes of palm wine and gives the signal that it may now be drunk, so the fishermen carry it to their dugouts where they sit and drink (Photo. 4). If



Photo. 3 Bartering bagrid catfish *pengele* for *ngolo*, sweet cassava.



Photo. 4 A fisherman drinking palm wine before going home.

they have obtained cooked foods, such as *lumata*, sliced bitter cassava, or *sombe*, cooked cassava leaves, they eat them now. At about noon, they prepare to leave the market. Rowing is unnecessary, so the dugouts drift slowly downstream to the mouth of the Elila. From there, they enter the main stream of the Zaïre and reach Tongomacho in a total of about three hour's time.

As soon as a woman has carried her produce to the dugouts of the fishermen, she is prepared to leave the market. Some of them leave there at about ten-thirty,

others toward noon. Although some unsuccessful women carry in their baskets *ngolo* that could not be bartered, most women have their own fish. They take off the guts and scales of the fish in a stream on their way home. Some women eat steamed *ngolo* and *sombe* for a quick lunch. There remains twenty minute walk from the stream to the nearest farming village.

## 2) The participants and their objectives

On 12 February 1980, before the market was opened, the author was able to interview all of the participants. On the basis of these interviews, the participants

**Table 2.** Participants in the Bukindi barter market (12 February 1980).

Fishing villages	Male			Female			Tribal composition of adults and juveniles
	A*	J	B	A	J	B	
Kindu/Basoko**	15	—	—	2	—	—	4 S-Enya***, 4 Mituku, 2 Lengola, 2 Songe, S-Kuko, Kusu, Lega, Genya, Nonda
Lopokele	—	—	—	1	—	—	S-Enya
Butshikila	2	—	—	—	—	—	2 S-Enya
Itangila	3	—	—	1	—	—	3 S-Kuko, Kusu
Lubao	7	—	—	1	—	1	3 S-Enya, 2 Zimba, Lokele, Mituku, Rundi
Tongomacho	7	—	—	—	—	—	6 S-Enya, Ngengele
Kinkole	4	—	—	—	—	—	4 Lokele
Nsele	4	—	—	—	—	—	2 Lega, S-Ombo, S-Kuko
Elila	2	1	—	—	—	—	2 Kusu, Genya
Camps in the Elila River	8	—	—	2	—	—	4 S-Kuko, 3 S-Ikese, Genya, 2 Bangu-bangu
Subtotal	52	1	—	7	—	1	(61 fishermen)
Farming villages	Male			Female			Tribal composition of adults and juveniles
	A	J	B	A	J	B	
Kimunda	—	—	—	3	—	—	3 S-Kuko
Lutandula	—	—	—	10	5	—	15 S-Kuko
Bukindi	—	—	—	4	—	—	4 S-Kuko
Ngoli	4	1	1	22	4	—	29 S-Kuko, S-Ombo, S-Binja****
Ngoli II	—	—	—	8	—	—	8 S-Kuko
Kitibitibi	—	—	—	8	—	—	8 S-Kuko
Ngoma	—	—	—	6	—	—	6 S-Kuko
Olea	1	—	1	1	—	1	2 S-Kuko
Subtotal	5	1	2	62	9	1	(80 farmers)
Total	57	2	2	69	9	2	141 participants

\* A: adults, J: juveniles, B: babies.

\*\* Of the 17 participants who live in Kindu and Basoko, ten men and two women spent overnight at villages on their way to the market.

\*\*\* S-Enya: Enya subgroup, S-Kuko: Kuko subgroup, of the Songola.

\*\*\*\* A woman staying at Ngoli, but living in Lukumbakumba.

have been classified by 1) sex, 2) age (that is, adults, juveniles, or nursing infants), 3) present place of residence, and 4) tribe (Table 2). The participants totaled 141 persons. There were a total of 61 persons from fishing villages—52 men, 1 boy, 7 women and 1 baby girl, and 80 from the farming villages—5 men, 1 boy, 2 baby boys, 62 women, 9 girls and 1 baby girl. This means that 89 percent of the participants are adults, 87 percent of the fishermen are male, and 90 percent of the farmers are female. Twelve of the adult fishermen, who live in Kindu or the nearby Basoko village, stayed overnight on their way before arriving at the market as their homes were too far. One farm woman had come all the way from near Ambwe, in the Binja territory. She had been staying in Ngoli village, and her hosts there allowed her to harvest their crops and bring them to the market to trade. In fact, nearly all of the farmers were of the Kuko subgroup, whereas the Wagenia fishermen were from about a dozen different villages and camps between Kindu and Elila, of a variety of tribal origins, with a total of 13 tribes represented. However, there were no fishermen from places

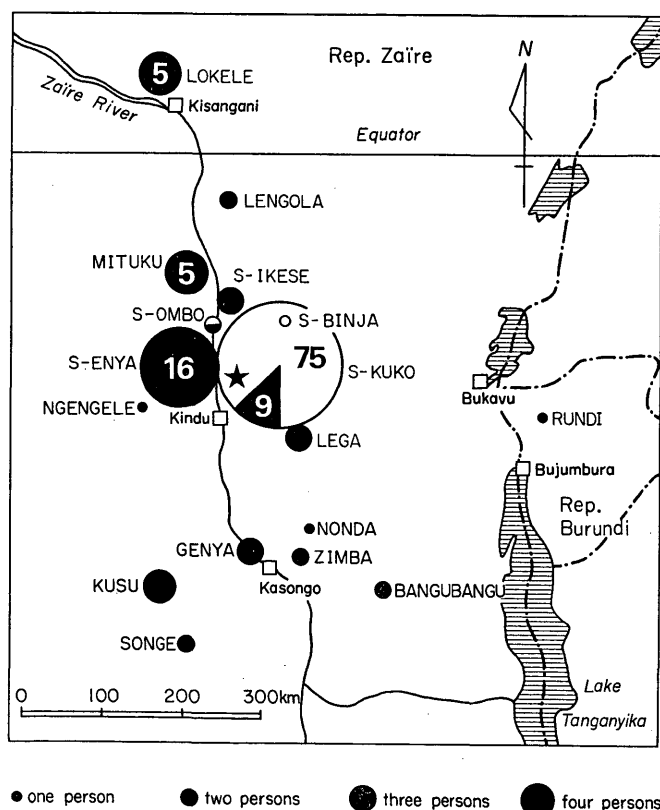


Fig. 5. Tribal composition of market participants (12 February 1980).

**Table 3.** Reasons for attending the Bukindi barter market (12 February 1980).

	Male			Female		
	A*	J	B	A	J	B
Fishermen						
To barter fish for farm produce	48	—	—	6	—	—
To purchase palm oil (in the village)	1	—	—	—	—	—
To purchase distilled liquor (do.)	1	—	—	—	—	—
To purchase ropes for fishnets (do.)	1	—	—	—	—	—
To sell cigarettes	1	—	—	—	—	—
To accompany adults or spouse	—	1	—	1	—	1
Subtotal	52	1	—	7	—	1
Farmers						
To barter farm produce for fish	—	1	—	60	7	—
To barter palm wine for fish	2	—	—	—	—	—
To return to get a stock of palm oil	1	—	—	—	—	—
To see relatives	1	—	—	1	—	—
To attend for pleasure	1	—	—	1	2	—
To accompany mother	—	—	2	—	—	1
Subtotal	5	1	2	62	9	1
Total	57	2	2	69	9	2

\* A: adults, J: juveniles, B: babies.

further downstream than Elila as these people prefer to attend markets which are located there.

The farmers belong to one of the three Songola subgroups: the Kuko, the Ombo or the Binja. The Songola fishermen are derived from one of the four subgroups, the latter three being those of farmers: the Enya, the Ikese, the Kuko or the Ombo. Figure 5 shows the locations of these ethnic groups, and the number of participants belonging to each group. The figures are listed for the participants on the market day in question. While the Songola account for the largest portion of the Wagenia, it might be best to say that the fishermen are a conglomeration of peoples originating from tribes which spread out over a range of 700 km along the Zaïre, from Kasongo to Kisangani.

The participants were asked about their objectives in participating in the day's market activities (Table 3). Of the 60 adult and juvenile fishermen, 54 (90%) answered, "To barter fish for farm produce," and three that they had just stopped by on their way to purchase farm produce not generally available at the market from farmers in their own villages. Of the 77 adult and juvenile farmers, 67 women and 3 men (91%) answered "To barter farm produce for fish." One man who peddled his palm oil in the villages of Wagenia said that he had come in order to replenish his stock, and there was a farming couple, who with their infant children, were on their way to visit relatives in a Kuko village, rowing down the Elila River after a walk



**Table 4.** Items at the Bukindi barter market (January to February, 1980).

(1) Items bartered by the fishermen			
Swahili names	common names	scientific names or description	Barter frequency fresh . smoked
<i>mpoto</i>	elephant-snout fish	species of family Mormyridae	15 2
do.	do.	<i>Gnathonemus</i> spp.	
do.	do.	<i>Marcusenius</i> spp.	
do.	do.	<i>Mormyrops deliciosus</i> (LEACH)	
do.	do.	<i>Mormyrops masuianus</i> BLGR.	
do.	do.	<i>Mormyrops nigricans</i> BLGR.	
do.	do.	<i>Mormyrops</i> sp.	
do.	do.	<i>Mormyrus</i> sp.	
do.	do.	<i>Petrocephalus</i> spp.	
<i>mwenge</i>	African pike	<i>Hepsetus odoe</i> (BLOCH)	1 0
<i>manda</i>	tigerfish	<i>Hydrocynus</i> spp.	3 0
<i>lubuku</i>	moonfish	<i>Citharinus gibbosus</i> BLGR.	2 1
<i>mukasa</i>	African tetra	<i>Distichodus antonii</i> SCHTH.	21 2
do.	do.	<i>Distichodus lussoso</i> SCHTH.	1 0
do.	do.	<i>Distichodus maculatus</i> BLGR.	1 0
do.	do.	<i>Distichodus sexfasciatus</i> BLGR.	1 0
<i>mutanda</i>	African carp	<i>Labeo barbatus</i> BLGR.	2 0
<i>mulonge</i>	do.	<i>Labeo cyclopinnis</i> NICH. et GRISC.	7 0
<i>pono</i>	do.	<i>Labeo falcipinnis</i> BLGR.	7 0
<i>sila</i>	do.	<i>Labeo ?weeksi</i> BLGR.	2 0
<i>mwarabu</i>	do.	<i>Labeo macrostoma</i> BLGR.	1 0
<i>liputu</i>	do.	<i>Labeo longipinnis</i> BLGR.	2 0
<i>mooli</i>	do.	<i>Labeo</i> sp.	1 0
<i>kafeke</i>	bagrid catfish	<i>Auchenoglanis occidentalis</i> (CUV. et VAL.)	1 0
<i>pengele</i>	do.	<i>Chrysichthys</i> spp.	3 0
<i>munungungola</i>	do.	<i>Bagrus ubangensis</i> BLGR.	1 0
<i>kambale</i>	labyrinthic catfish	<i>Clarias</i> spp.	4 0
do.	do.	<i>Heterobranchius longifilis</i> CUV. et VAL.	
<i>nyika</i>	electric catfish	<i>Malapterurus electricus</i> (GMEL.)	3 0
<i>njii</i>	upside-down catfish	<i>Synodontis</i> spp. of small size	4 0
<i>likatu</i>	do.	<i>Synodontis acanthomias</i> BLGR.	2 0
<i>iyomvi</i>	do.	<i>Synodontis ?katangae</i> POLL	2 0
<i>mukelekele</i>	butterfish	<i>Eutropius grenfelli</i> BLGR.	2 0
<i>singa</i>	snakehead	<i>Ophicephalus obscurus</i> GTHR.	1 1
<i>kemembe</i>	cichlid	<i>Tylochromis lateralis</i> (BLGR.)	2 0
<i>samaki ya fungo</i>		small fish skewered into a pile	15 4
(Subtotal of the fish)			(107 10)
<i>kobe</i>	land turtle	<i>Testudo</i> sp.	2 0
<i>mbuluku</i>	blue duiker	<i>Cephalophus monticola</i>	1 0
<i>kelebe</i>	water chevrotain	<i>Hyemoschus aquaticus</i>	1 0
<i>njiku</i>	brush-tailed porcupine	<i>Atherurus africanus</i>	0 1
<i>makako</i>	red colobus	<i>Colobus badius</i>	0 1
Subtotal (1)		69 participants	111 12

## (2) Items bartered by the farmers

Swahili names	common names	scientific names or description	Barter frequency
i) Fresh produce			
<i>ngolo</i>	sweet cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i> CRANTZ	79
<i>ndizi</i>	plantains	<i>Musa</i> sp.	41
<i>mpunga</i>	paddy	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L.	3
<i>mchele</i>	husked/polished rice	do.	17
<i>pombe ya mayi</i>	palm wine	<i>Elaeis guineensis</i> JACQ./ <i>Raphia</i> sp.	16
<i>pilipili</i>	red pepper	<i>Capsicum</i> spp.	6
<i>tomati</i>	tomato	<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i> MILL.	4
<i>ngazi</i>	oil palm fruit	<i>Elaeis guineensis</i> JACQ.	2
<i>maboga</i>	pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita</i> sp.	1
* <i>kitika</i>	banana	<i>Musa</i> sp.	2
* <i>nanasi</i>	pineapple	<i>Ananas comosus</i> (L.) MERR.	1
* <i>mandelena</i>	orange	<i>Citrus</i> sp.	1
* <i>nkola</i>	giant snail	<i>Achatina fulica</i>	2
ii) Processed or cooked foods			
<i>nyangi</i>	bitter cassava,	neutralized and dried	32
<i>kikwanga</i>	do.	wrapped and steamed	2
<i>lumata</i>	do.	boiled and sliced	6
<i>mitewe</i>	do.	boiled and cut into cubes	3
<i>mhindi</i>	boiled maize	<i>Zea mays</i> L.	2
<i>wali</i>	cooked rice,	boiled	2
<i>sombe</i>	cassava leaves	cooked with palm oil	2
<i>mawese</i>	palm oil	<i>Elaeis guineensis</i> JACQ.	8
* <i>vitumbula</i>	buns	made of cassava flour and sugar	4
** <i>karanga</i>	groundnuts	boiled with shell	1
Subtotal (2)		113 participants	237

## (3) Items sold by retailers

Swahili names	common names	scientific names or description	Frequency traded
** <i>tumbako</i>	cigarettes	Forte, Legère, and Tumbako brands	3
** <i>kiberiti</i>	matches	made in the People's Republic of China	1
** <i>sabuni</i>	soap	laundry soap made in Zaïre	2
** <i>chumvi</i>	salt	rock salt	1
** <i>ndakala</i>	freshwater sardine	<i>Microthrissa obtusirostris</i> (BLGR.)***	1
Subtotal (3)		3 participants	8
Total (1)–(3)		185 participants	368

\* Mainly for cash, \*\* Exclusively for cash.

\*\*\* Not *ndagaa/ndakala* (*Stolothrissa tanganyicae* REGAN), the most abundant catch in Lake Tanganyika.

from their village Olea (see Fig. 3). Thus, it is evident that barter is the single and most important motivation behind attendance at the market, but that the location of the market is a transportation junction and draws those who wish to avail themselves of transportation or shipping services, or to break extended journeys.

### 3) The items traded

The various items brought to the market can be categorized as (1) fish brought by fishermen, (2) farm produce brought by farmers, and (3) miscellaneous goods brought by retailers. Those which the author actually observed personally are listed in Table 4. As Zairean Swahili serves as the lingua franca in the markets, the items in the table are given with their Zairean Swahili names. The equivalent Songola names have been reported elsewhere [ANKEI 1981: 107–108, 1982: 12–19].

#### (1) THE FISH BROUGHT BY THE FISHERMEN

The table gives a general listing of the items brought by the sixty-nine fishermen observed during the period of January to February. Fish accounted for 95 percent of the goods brought to be bartered with smoked meat and land turtles accounting for the remainder, both of which were equally accepted by the farmers.

The Enya are familiar with at least 96 species of fish, for which they have 108 different folk names [ANKEI 1982: 31], but only 34 species could be seen at the barter market. The reasons for this discrepancy is that 1) there had been some trouble over the on-the-spot identification of certain types of fish, 2) very small or very rare species are not traded, and 3) there exist certain species which the fishermen themselves prefer, and keep for their own personal consumption. These are known as "*samaki ya Wagenia*" or "the fish of the fishermen" [ANKEI 1982: 11].

On the other hand, those species of fish most often traded are: 1) *mukasa*, or African tetras (Characidae), 2) *mpoto*, elephant-snout fish (Mormyridae), 3) African carp (Cyprinidae) with a variety of folk names, and 4) skewers of assorted fish all smaller than 15 cm. Large fish are cut up into fillets while the smaller ones are tied up in bundles. These smaller fish are known as "fish piles" or "fish with small bones" and the farmers prefer the larger fish whenever possible. Fish which had been smoked (*samaki kavu*) to preserve it accounted for approximately 9 percent of the total, in terms of the frequency of its occurrence, but it invariably was of small or middle-sized fish, as the fishermen bring the larger smoked fish to the Kindu cash sale market, but scarcely to the barter market. At the former, these large smoked fish fetch high price.<sup>11)</sup>

The differences between fish seen at the barter and at the cash sale markets can be summarized as follows: 1) A larger diversity of fish is seen at the barter market, because much of it is caught on route, and then immediately traded. The electric catfish, one of those "fishes of the fishermen", was seen on three occasions at the barter market, but never elsewhere. The *lòlèkà* fishermen who bring all of their

11) There are some species, as the large catfish known as *kambale*, which are rarely smoked because they lose much of their fat contents and shrink.

catch directly to the barter market, say that this type of fishing is liable to catch any and all types of fish.<sup>12)</sup> 2) The fishermen avoid bartering the larger and more valuable fish which they keep for their families and for cash sale. For example, it was observed that when *mukasa* of several sizes were caught by a single Tongomacho fisherman, he kept the larger ones for his wife to cook and used the smaller ones for barter purposes.

## (2) THE FARM PRODUCE BROUGHT BY THE FARMERS

The produce brought by the farmers is either i) fresh produce or ii) cooked or processed.

### i) Fresh produce

Of the produce brought to the market without cooking or processing, sweet cassava (*ngolo*) is the most frequent, followed in order by plantains, paddy or husked rice, and palm wine prepared by the men. Items such as rice, groundnuts and maize have distinct harvest periods, and therefore are only seen at the market in certain seasons. Fruit is rarely bartered for fish; instead bananas, pineapples and oranges are sold in small quantities to the participants to obtain small amounts of cash. Fruit is treated in the same way as several processed foods as buns and groundnuts are. Red peppers, which is the only spice used by the fishermen, is sought after by the Wagenia that have no fields of their own. The only animal food brought to the market by the farmers is the giant snail, which the Lokele fishermen, in particular, are happy to obtain, and for which they will pay cash.

### ii) Cooked or processed foods

Processed foods are generally those meant to be consumed at the market, with two major exceptions. One is *nyangi*, which has been soaked in water for at least two days and then dried in order to neutralize its poison. It is then pounded into flour and boiled and eaten as a sort of congealed batter, *ugali*. The other preserved food is palm oil, which although important in the fishermen's diet, was not seen in any abundance, because it is generally sold. It should be noted that five of the seven cooked foods were from the tubers or the leaves of the cassava, thus giving an indication of its importance as a food source.

The Kuko farmers cultivate at least forty-five species of plants including more than 169 varieties [ANKEI 1981: 106]. Nevertheless, they bartered only twelve species of these at the barter market, and this figure includes processed foods. When the foods brought to the market are examined over the course of a year, however, their numbers may increase slightly as seasonal foods are taken into consideration. At the same time, numerous plants which constitute minor crops, are never seen at the market as they are considered unsuited for trade. The diets of both farmers and fishermen, therefore, differ in terms of those items which one group or the other will not release at the market.

12) The fishermen can tell the fishing method used by the kind of fish caught and their size. See [ANKEI 1982: 7-27] for the relationship between fishing methods and the fish caught.

### (3) MISCELLANEOUS GOODS BROUGHT BY RETAILERS

This category chiefly consists of items manufactured outside the region. Since they had originally been purchased at Kindu, they were only for cash sale. There were full-time merchants, with an assortment of goods or part-time peddlers, who handle only one or two items, such as cigarettes. Such people rarely come to the barter markets as there are few customers for manufactured goods. On four different market days three merchants and peddlers with a total of eight different items were observed at Bukindi barter market.

### 4) Barter market units, barter rates and gross amounts

#### (1) THE UNITS OF TRANSACTIONS, *Fungo*

The word *fungo* originally means a portion, piece, pile or bundle in Zairean Swahili.<sup>13)</sup> It represents the smallest unit of transactions in the barter market.

As far as small fish are concerned, a *fungo* consists of a number of fish threaded together with grass or palm stems. One of these *fungo* weighs an average of 0.33 kg. The larger fish in *kipande* or fillets were a standard 0.30–0.35 kg per *fungo*. The same units held true at the cash sale markets. The author was able to weigh the fish involved in ten examples of barter transactions and found that these transactions were generally made in units of three *fungo* each. The resulting weights were 0.9 kg on five occasions, 1.1 kg three times and 1.0 kg twice, the average being 0.98 kg, which indicates that an average *fungo* of fish, again, is 0.33 kg. Smoked fish was weighed on three occasions and was 0.30, 0.35, and 0.40 kg. Seeing that smoking reduces the weight of 1 kg fish to 0.35 kg on the average, these stood for 1 kg of fresh fish, and therefore contained three *fungo*. Thus a *fungo* of smoked fish is 0.12 kg on the average.

*Ngolo* and *nyangi* were the only two farm produce with distinct *fungo*. The author weighed ten *fungo* of the former after barter had been completed, and found that the average was 5.6 kg but ranged between 4.0 and 6.9 kg. The average weight was 70 percent more than the 3.3 kg average at the Elila cash sale market. The three *fungo* of *nyangi* weighed on the average 3.1 kg, just slightly heavier than the 2.6 kg at Elila. The fishermen are aware that a *fungo* of farm produce is larger at the barter market, which undoubtedly adds to its attraction, and they admit that they prefer this type of market. However, when the fishermen have insufficient quantities of fish for their own requirements and are made to pay in cash, the units are reduced to the size of those ordinarily seen at the cash sale markets. In contrast to this, is the case of plantains which are bartered by the bunch, and therefore have no fixed weight. Five bunches ranged from 5.7 to 13 kg giving a mean of 8.2 kg. In farming villages, bunches of plantains often weigh more than 25 kg, but such large bunches are kept exclusively for personal consumption and are never seen at either of the markets. Palm wine and palm oil are traded in 720 ml bottle units, the bottle being a beer bottle, but palm wine is carried to the market in large gourds holding the equivalent of 7 to 10 bottles, or in glass containers holding 14 bottles. Rice is measured in 150

13) *Fungo* is *fungu* in Tanzanian Swahili.

ml glasses at both types of markets. Paddy was bartered in 4.5 kg bundles of harvested stalks (*mikanda*), but threshed paddy was at times bartered with a measure of 100 ml filling small metal dishes. At the cash sale markets, red peppers, tomatoes and oil palm fruits were sold in single handful *fungo* but at the barter markets such *fungo* are too small for the fish *fungo*, and instead must be traded in quantities of about two liters each. The sizes of packages of processed foods were 0.3, 1.5 and 1.5 kg for *kikwanga*, *mitewe* and *lumata* respectively, all of which are too small for one *fungo* of fish, but they could be bartered for smaller amounts of fish. The units of boiled groundnuts and buns were identical with those of the cash sale markets.

Normally, there is not much concern over the accuracy of a *fungo* when two participants are engaged in direct and non-deferred barter. This can be seen in the following example in which an old woman, who almost never came to the barter market and therefore was unacquainted with the units habitually used, wanted to obtain fish for her *ngolo*. Her piles, however, were only 3.2 kg each, much smaller than those of the other farm women, but roughly those found at Elila. The fisherman who approached her offered her two average-sized *fungo* of fish for three of her piles, although had the *ngolo* been of the ordinary amount, he would only have obtained two piles. He claimed that the fish was in larger fillets than usual and therefore that he was entitled to the third pile. In this way, if fish which have been placed on top of a pile of produce is agreeable to the farmer, the barter transaction has been completed, and it is not necessary that there be common recognition of a standard size for any one item.

There is only serious argument about the size of a unit in transactions other than direct barter. If a fisherman obtains food with the promise to pay back this "loan" on the following market day, the farmer may question the amount received at that time. For this reason, the fishermen are very careful to ascertain the number of units of fish they are "borrowing". If food is left over at the end of market activity, it may be sold. In this case as unit prices are fixed by a council of village chiefs, arguments generally center around the amount a unit should contain.

## (2) BARTER RATES

In order to determine whether or not the rates at the barter markets were fixed, the author weighed the foodstuffs in nineteen transactions (Fig. 6).

Pairs of *ngolo* and raw fish were weighed five times, and one example of barter with smoked fish was weighed in addition. The former stood for 12.5, 18.5, 18.8, 20.0, and 25.7 kg *ngolo* for 1 kg raw fish. The latter was 18.0 kg *ngolo* for 0.35 kg smoked fish. It should be remembered here that smoked fish is estimated at 35 percent of the weight of raw fish because of its lost moisture contents, and this therefore, is the same as 18.0 kg *ngolo* for 1 kg raw fish. Although the values are rather scattered, the average for these six transactions should be calculated as 18.9 kg *ngolo* for 1 kg raw fish. Equivalence of *ngolo* for one *fungo* or 0.33 kg of raw fish is 6.2 kg, more or less identical to the 5.6 kg a *fungo* obtained in the above section (1). Thus the *fungo* of fish and *ngolo* are equivalent, and the rates, if faithfully observed, can be considered standardized.

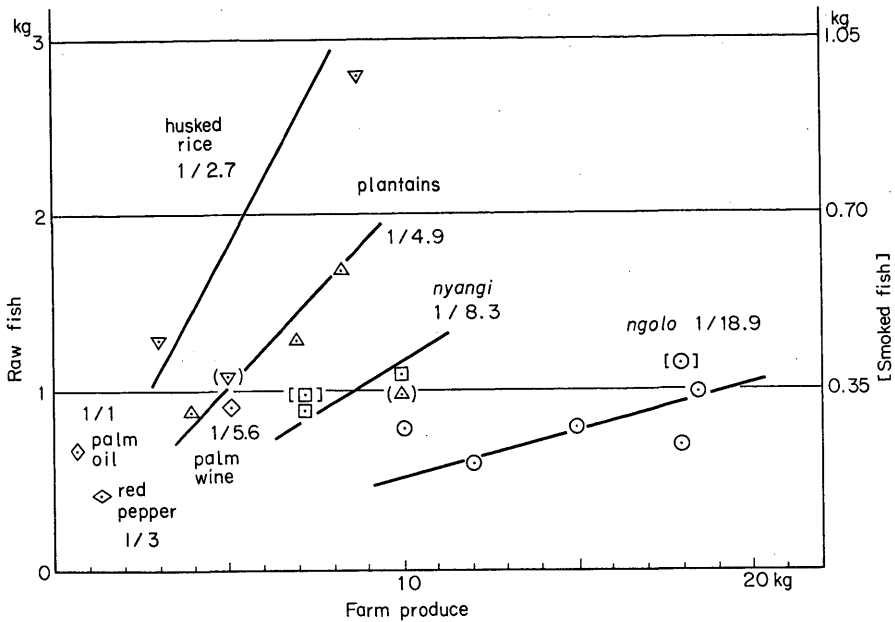


Fig. 6. Barter rates of fish and farm produce.

Symbols in the brackets [ ] indicate the rate for smoked fish, and are related to the right coordinate. Symbols in the parentheses ( ) refer to the disadvantageous exchanges made by an inexperienced fifteen year old girl, and are not included in the calculation of the average rates.

In the same fashion, pairs of *nyangi* and fish were weighed three times, twice with fresh fish and once with smoked fish. The results were calculated as 8.0 kg and 9.1 kg for one kilogram of fresh fish and 7.7 kg for 0.35 kg of smoked fish which stood for 1.0 kg fresh fish. Thus 1 kg fresh fish was traded for an average of 8.3 kg *nyangi*. Finally we get 2.7 kg *nyangi* for one *fungo* of fish, an amount somewhat between a *fungo* of *nyangi* weighed at the barter market (3.1 kg) and that at the cash sale market (2.6 kg).

The results for four barter transactions of plantains for fish are in the vicinity of 4.9 kg for 1 kg raw fish, except for the fourth case, in which the farmer carried out a very disadvantageous barter, in that she received 1 kg raw fish, for 10 kg of plantains (shown by the triangle in parentheses in Fig. 6). This was due to the fact that the farmer involved was a fifteen year old girl uninformed about the prevailing rates at the market. A more experienced woman refused an offer of 12 kg for 1.4 kg of fresh fish, or 8.6 kg per kilogram, a much better deal than that of the above.

Three instances of barter between fish and husked rice were recorded, with the results per kilogram of fish at 2.3, 3.1, and 4.5 kg. The last exchange was made by the same young girl as above, and who received in effect only two-thirds of what is considered the standard amount. The last is shown by the inverted triangle in parentheses in Fig. 6.

The rates for other produce in terms of one kilogram of fish were 3 kg of red pepper, 1 kg of palm oil and 5.6 kg of palm wine based on the barter of seven bottles for 0.9 kg of fish. All of these observations were based on single examples of bartering.

To conclude, it is clear that standards do exist for what is considered to be the average rate to be expected. In the cases of *ngolo* and *nyangi*, actual transactions generally are in accordance with such standards. However, none of the participants used or in fact, had any objective means of verifying the weight of the items for exchange, such as scales or spring balances, and therefore, the expected deviations from the mean did actually occur. At the same time, experienced participants were able to make very accurate judgements, seldom far from the norm.

### (3) THE GROSS AMOUNT OF FOODSTUFFS IN THE MARKETPLACE

Based on the average weight of a single unit and the number of such units, an estimate of the total gross weight was estimated for a single market day of 12 February 1980.

#### i) The estimate of the gross amount of fish

The loads carried by sixteen dugouts which came to the market on various days between January and February 1980 were weighed, and the loads were found to range from 1.3 to 15 kg. This spread seems quite extreme, but when the dugouts are compared on the basis of the fishing methods used (Table 5), the ranges narrow considerably. In five cases of *màkìlâ* fishing, the catches were from 8.8 to 15 kg, or an average of 11.76 kg, or 36 *fungo*. Three cases of *lòlèkà* fishing obtained 4 to 14 kg of fish, or an average of 9.50 kg, or 29 *fungo*. An average of 3.31 kg, or 10 *fungo*,

**Table 5.** Weight of fish per dugout (January to February, 1980).

Canoe No.	Fishing method	Fish names in Swahili	Weight of fish (kg)		
			Raw	Smoked	Total
1.	<i>màkìlâ</i>	<i>mulonge, pono</i>	15	—	15
2.	do.	<i>mukasa, pono, iyomvi</i>	12	—	12
3.	do.	<i>mukasa, 2 mutanda</i>	12	—	12
4.	do.	<i>2 mulonge</i>	11	—	11
5.	do.	<i>mukasa, pono</i>	8.8	—	8.8
6.	<i>lòlèkà</i>	<i>5 mukasa, nyika, small fish</i>	14	—	14
7.	do.	<i>nyika, small fish</i>	10.5	—	10.5
8.	do.	<i>2 mukasa</i>	4	—	4
9.	<i>bjkútú</i>	<i>2 mukasa, piles of smoked fish</i>	5	1*	7.8
10.	do.	<i>3 mukasa</i>	5	—	5
11.	do.	<i>pengele, kafeke, mpoto, small fish</i>	4.4	—	4.4
12.	do.	<i>mukasa, pengele, kemembe</i>	2.5	—	2.5
13.	do.	<i>lubuku, mukasa</i>	2	—	2
14.	do.	<i>mukasa</i>	—	1.7**	2
15.	do.	<i>sila, mooli</i>	1.5	—	1.5
16.	do.	<i>small fish</i>	1.3	—	1.3

\* An equivalent of 2.8 kg raw fish.

\*\* Only slightly smoked and an equivalent of 2 kg raw fish.



was caught by eight dugouts of *bjkútú* fishermen, with the range between 1.3 and 8 kg of fish. On 12 February 1980, twenty-eight boats docked at the market, and of these, seven had fished with *màkìlà*, three with *lòlèkà* and eighteen with *bjkútú*, and these numbers were multiplied by the above average weights to give a total estimate of 82.3 kg by *màkìlà*, 28.5 kg by *lòlèkà*, and 59.6 kg by *bjkútú* fishing or a sum total of 170.4 kg of fish brought to the market for barter. In the estimates above, smoked fish is proportioned to its equivalent raw fish.

ii) The estimate of the gross amount of farm produce

The produce carried by farm women over the same period was also weighed. Although each woman brought a different assortment of foods, all of the items were among those listed in Table 4(2). The patterns governing the activities of farm women are not nearly as diverse as the diversity between fishing methods and the tools these methods require.

Of the seventy farmers who attended the market on 12 February 1980, the contents of sixty-seven were recorded. Figure 7A shows the participants and the combination of the three major foods each carried. Sixty-two had brought at least one of the following: *ngolo*, *nyangi*, or plantains, of which thirty-four had brought one kind and twenty-eight had brought two or three. Forty-seven farmers brought *ngolo*, which is the most popular because it can be easily harvested in large amounts and requires no preparation as does *nyangi*. Twenty-two farmers brought *nyangi* and twenty-three brought plantains to barter. Thirty-four farmers brought other foods (Fig. 7B): seven brought rice or paddy, fourteen palm products of several types, and seventeen cooked foods. There were very few participants with both rice and cooked or processed foods, and this may be because it would be difficult to process several different types of food at the same time, all just prior to market day.

Table 6 lists fourteen farm women by age and compares the weight of the produce each carried on a given day. Women in their fifties or older (#1-3) carried 22.7 kg,

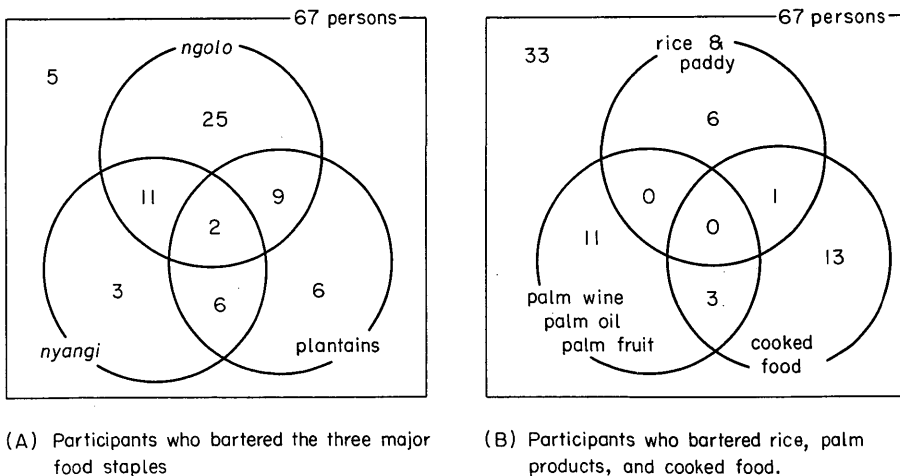


Fig. 7. The farm produce in the barter market (12 February, 1980).

**Table 6.** Weight of produce carried by farm women (January to February, 1980).

Woman #	Age	Farm produce (kilogram)				Total
		<i>ngolo</i>	<i>nyangi</i>	plantains	others	
1.	60's	12.8	—	8.3	—	21
2.	54	—	2 piles	1 bunch	1 bottle palm oil	19
3.	50's	18	3.6	—	6.4 kg <i>mitewe</i>	28
4.	40's	+	—	2 bunches	—	29
5.	40's	17	—	—	8 kg husked rice	25
6.*	30's	10	10	—	—	20
7.	33	14.8	—	10.8	—	27
8.	30's	20	—	6	—	26
9.	20's	+	+	—	2 bunches paddy, 2 bottles palm oil	27
10.*	20's	—	+	—	husked rice, cooked rice	19
11.	20's	+	—	—	1 piece <i>mitewe</i>	14
12.	16	—	—	10	5 kg husked rice	15
13.	15	+	+	—	2.5 kg pineapple	12
14.**	14	—	—	—	2 pieces <i>lumata</i>	3

\* participated with her baby.

\*\* participated without a basket.

those in their forties (#4, 5) carried 27 kg, those in their thirties (#6–8) 24.3 kg and those in their twenties (#9–11) only 20 kg, all on the average. The average weight for all the adult women (#1–11) was 23.18 kg. Unmarried teenagers (#12–14) are only learning about the market, and carry the smallest amount of 10.0 kg on the average.

Table 7 gives an approximate of the total amount carried by the seventy participants from farming villages. Value A is the total of 1482 kg estimated by multiplying the average amount carried by each of the participants by the number of participants in a given category. Of the seventy participants from the farming villages on 12 February 1980, the sixty adult women carried an average 23.18 kg (Table 6) or a total of 1391 kg. Seven girls carried 10.0 kg each, or a total of 70 kg. Two adult men carried a total of 12.6 kg of palm wine and one boy brought a bunch of plantains weighing 8.2 kg. Value B is obtained by listing the separate items carried, the numbers of *fungo* and then multiplying the average weight of a *fungo* by this number, to get 1366 kg for sixty-seven participants. This figure is corrected to 1427 kg based on the proportionate amounts hypothesized for the three remaining participants whose loads could not be recorded. As value A and B are reasonably close, it can be assumed that between 1400 and 1500 kg of farm produce was brought to the market on the day in question.

Assuming that all of the produce brought were bartered, with the exception of *lumata*, bananas, buns and giant snails which are almost invariably sold, it was estimated that farmers obtained 45.6 kg of fresh fish with *ngolo*, 21.0 kg with *nyangi*, 48.6 kg with plantains, 4.8 kg with husked rice, 0.4 kg with paddy, 8.0 kg with palm

**Table 7.** Total amount of foodstuffs in the Bukindi barter market (12 February 1980).

Fish					
<i>màkjlà</i> fishermen	7 canoes	×	11.76 kg	=	82.3 kg
<i>lòlèkà</i> fishermen	3 canoes	×	9.50 kg	=	28.5 kg
<i>bjkútú</i> fishermen	18 canoes	×	3.31 kg	=	59.6 kg
Total	28 canoes			=	170.4 kg
Produce, Estimate A.					
adult women	60	×	23.18 kg	=	1391 kg
girls	7	×	10.0 kg	=	70 kg
adult men	2	×	6.3 kg	≈	13 kg
boy	1	×	8.2 kg	≈	8 kg
Total	70 participants			=	1482 kg
Produce, Estimate B.					
item	unit weight		unit number		total participants
<i>ngolo</i>	5.6 kg	×	154 piles	=	862 kg 47
<i>nyangi</i>	3.1 kg	×	56 piles	=	174 kg 22
plantains	8.2 (av.)	×	29 bunches	=	238 kg 23
husked rice	0.14 kg	×	95 glasses	=	13 kg 6
paddy	0.10 kg	×	20 cups	=	2 kg 1
palm oil	0.60 kg	×	14 bottles	=	8 kg 4
palm wine	0.72 kg	×	62.5 bottles	=	45 kg 6
<i>lumata</i>	1.5 kg	×	8 pieces	=	12 kg 4
red pepper	?	×	?	=	2 kg 4
banana	0.2 kg	×	30 fingers	=	6 kg 2
orange	?		?	=	2 kg 1
buns	?		?	=	2 kg 2
giant snail	0.1 kg	×	1 piece	=	0.1 kg 1
Total					1366 kg 67
(calculated for a total 70 participants)					1427 kg (70)

oil, 8.0 kg with palm wine, and lastly 0.7 kg with red pepper. The total of 137.1 kg of fish (when fresh) were bartered for the produce of sixty-seven participants. For the seventy participants, the total of 143.2 kg of fish was a proportionate calculation, amounting to 83 percent of the total of 170.4 kg of raw fish in Table 7. If all the farm produce was bartered according to standard rates, the fish on that day was somewhat in excess.

### 3. THE ECONOMY OF AN ENYA FISHING VILLAGE AND ITS DEPENDENCE ON THE BARTER MARKET

This chapter sketches the livelihood of an Enya fishing village Tongomacho, one of the oldest villages of the Songola-Enya, the largest ethnic group among the Wagenia fishermen who rely on the barter markets of the Songola. In the following sections,

subsistence activities of each household, frequency of market participation and consumption of the produce obtained from the markets are described.

Fishing villages and camps can be divided on the basis of whether or not they engage in slash-and-burn agriculture. The Enya and Mituku have fields, while the Lega and Lokele practice no agriculture. Those fishing villages which do not engage in agriculture naturally must rely on barter or purchase to obtain all of their vegetable foods. In most cases, they attend both types of markets, as is also true for those fishermen who do practice agriculture.

There are two groups of fishermen who form an exception to the above in that they do not attend the barter markets. The first case is of the Enya village Mulumbila, whose fields, at present, are located in a large island, where the fields are safe from inundation and where the elephants do not arrive. Thus they are able to obtain fairly stable harvests and do not need to rely on the barter market. The second case is of a group of young bachelors in a Lega village Nsele who work for the owners of *màkjlà* nets, but do not possess any fishing gear themselves. They are all paid cash for their fish, and thus must rely on the cash sale market to obtain whatever they need.

The people of Tongomacho are typical of the Enya in that they also farm. However, at the time when the following observations were recorded, they had begun to clear the fields adjacent to the present village site only six months before and there were as yet no crops.

### 1) The lineages and households of Tongomacho village

At the beginning of February 1980, the resident population of Tongomacho consisted of thirty-three, or 17 men and boys and 16 women and girls. There were eighteen effective men and women [LEE 1969: 76] and fifteen dependants, of whom twelve were juveniles and babies (Table 8). Of the twelve adult men, six were married, two young men not yet married, two widowers, one divorced and an old man as yet unmarried. There were nine adult women, who were married. Seven women of these were married to one of the six men above. A young woman who was remaining at her farther's with her baby girl was married to a Ngengele. The oldest woman (F #1) had come to the village in January 1980 after the death of her own husband. She decided to remain married to a man of her deceased husband's lineage and came to live as an "inherited wife" of the Tongomacho chef de localité (M #23).

The people of Tongomacho belong to six different patrilineal lineages (Fig. 8).

Table 8. The composition of Tongomacho inhabitants.

	Effectives adults	adults	Dependants boys & girls	babies & infants	Total
male	11	1	2	3	17
female	7	2	2	5	16
Subtotal		3	4	8	
Total	18		15		33

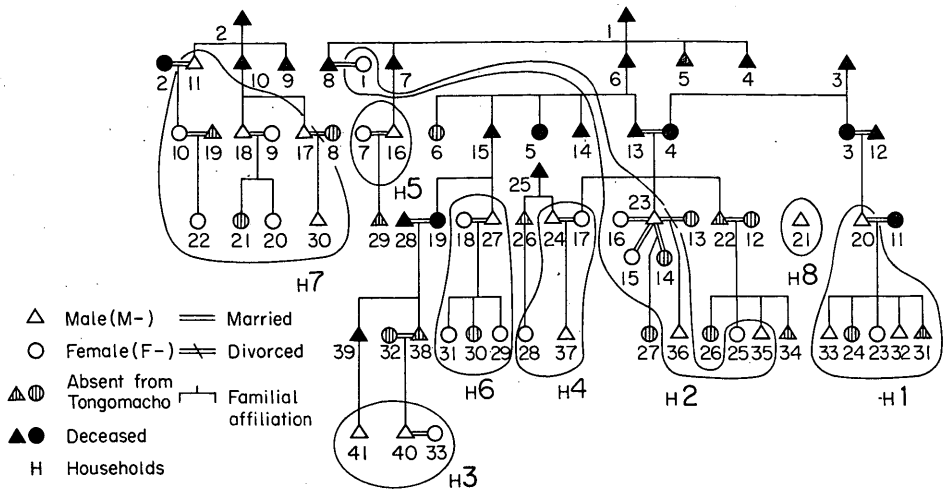


Fig. 8. The genealogy and the households of Tongomacho village.

Three of these are the lineages of the Songola-Enya, and the other three those of the Ngengele. The largest lineage of the chef de localit  (M #23), contains as many as three separate households, *lukumb * (H2, H5, and H6), whereas each of the other lineages has a single household of its own. The lineages of household H7 and H4 derived from two other villages of the Enya, respectively from Mulumbila and Malonga. The Ngengele began to live with the people of Tongomacho mainly because the mother (F #4) of the present chef de localit  was a Ngengele.

Of the nine wives of Tongomacho, as many as six were from villages other than the Enya: three from Songola-Kuko, one Ngengele, one Lega and one Lokele. Two girls (F #21 and 30) were being brought up by their fathers' sisters who had been married into villages of the Kuko. Thus, the Enya and the adjacent agricultural people, Kuko or Ngengele are closely related through the ties of inter-marriages.

## 2) The livelihood of the households

Each household has at least one effective man, but household H3 has two and H7 three. A young man (M #35) is dependent on his father's brother (M #23) and is not categorized as an effective. Bachelors do not live on households of their own, nor can they maintain their own fields. There is the one exception of man M #20 who had just lost his wife the previous summer during a cholera epidemic.

Five of the grown up women engage in agriculture while four do not. Five men also engage in farming, and thus of the 20 effectives, fifty percent farm. This is quite different from that at Ngoli, where 93 percent of all effectives engage in slash-and-burn agriculture [ANKEI 1981: 138-145]. Most wives know how to distill liquor out of fermented cassava flour and germinated maize kernels, but they only do so once or twice a year, and it is only a negligible portion of the income of their households. This is contrary to the case of the Kuko women, for whom the sale of liquor is a major source of their income. The Enya women neither are diligent in their fields

Table 9. Tongomacho households and their livelihood.

Type	House-holds No.	Effectives men No. (age)	wives	Depend-ants	Fields	Canoe	Fishing method			hooks	Netters	Palm wine	Hunting	Basket and mat making		
							<i>màkjlà</i>	<i>lòlèkà</i>	<i>bjkùú</i>							
							L	M	S*							
A	#2	M#23(38)	2**	4	+	3	1	1	-	2	100	+	-	-		
B	#4	M#24(41)	1	2	-	1	-	-	+	10	-	+	-	-		
B	#7	M#17(39)	-	1	-	1	-	-	+	6	100	+	-	-		
B	#7	M#18(35)	1	1	+	1	-	0.5	+	4	-	+	-	-		
B	#6	M#27(24)	1	2	+	1	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		
C	#5	M#16(55)	1	-	+	1	-	-	1	8	25	-	-	-		
C***	#3	M#40(23)	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	20	+	+	-		
C	#7	M#11(50)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	+	-	-		
D***	#1	M#20(43)	-----	3	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		
D***	#3	M#41(27)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		
E***	#8	M#21(51)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		
Total	8	11	7	15	4.107ha	9	1	1.5	1	2 pairs	40	245	8	5	3	1

\* L: large mesh *màkjlà*, *bùcháká* type, M: middle mesh *màkjlà*, *àbùlámídesù* type, S: small mesh *màkjlà*, *chàchéché* type.

\*\* The third wife was absent during the study. The "inherited wife" is counted among the dependants.

\*\*\* An Ngengele.

\*\*\*\* Wife had died from cholera in August 1979.

nor do they attend the market. The single exception is the second wife (F #15) of the chef de localité (M #23), a member of the Lokele famous for their business sense and activity, who buys up all of the fish caught in nearby villages every Friday evening, loads them herself into a dugout, which she paddles up the Zaïre all through the night to sell them at the cash sale market in Kindu the next morning.

Table 9 groups the effective men, A to E, based on the level of their fishing activity. Type A is represented only by the chef de localité, the sole possessor of a *bùcháká*, a *màkìlà* gill net which can be used all year round because of its heavy thread. There are two pairs of type B fishermen, who use *lòlèkà* methods. One pair, M #17 and #24 often work as netters using the chief's *bùcháká*. The three type C fishermen use *bìkútú*, two of whom sometimes work as netters of the chief's nets. Type D fishermen possess neither dugouts nor fishing gear of their own. The D fishermen and the two netters from the C group make palm wine and sometimes trap animals. Three of them actually are Ngengele. The old man in Type E is an unmarried Ngengele who does not fish at all, but participates in the communal repairs of the chief's gill nets and makes a living by braiding and selling baskets and mats.

Tongomacho households show more of a diversity in subsistence activities than do those at Ngoli and other Kuko villages. In the former, only the chief (M #23) is regarded as "rich" (*mwèní jmonà*) because he has two *màkìlà* nets which are ready for fishing, and in fact, obtains half of the catch that his netters fish. On the other end of the scale are the inactive Ngengele, known as "poor bachelors" or *bàsìmbà*. The other men between these two extremes may temporarily become as poor as an E type man as a fisherman having a pregnant wife is usually forbidden to touch the fishing gear, and therefore he cannot engage in any form of fishing during the early stages of his wife's pregnancy.

### 3) The frequency of participation in the barter market, in terms of the supply of foods to the men's hut

During the twenty-four days from 20 January to 12 February 1980, the author recorded all of the examples of participation in the barter and cash sale markets by the effective men (Table 10). During this period, the Bukindi barter market was held four times, while the Elila cash sale market was held seven times. Six men attended the barter market with a total of ten times, and three attended the cash sale market with a total of nine times. Total attendance at both markets was six times for the type A man, five times for each type B man and once by each type C man. Those in the remaining two types did not attend either market, but gave cash to other participants with the request that *ngolo* or *nyangi* be purchased for them at the barter market. Thus, men in A and B types attend both markets fairly regularly. C fishermen only attend the barter market because they do not have a stable cash income, and D and E men send representatives and do not personally attend at all.

The major difference between the eating patterns of the Enya, as compared with the other Songola subgroups, is that the Enya women prepare all of the food and carry it to the hut where all of the men in the village gather for the meals, the *kibandahori*.

**Table 10.** Frequency of market participation and food supplies to *kibandahori* in Tongomacho village (20 January to 12 February 1980).

Type	Effective men*	Frequency of market participation			Frequency of food supplies
		Bukindi	Elila	Total	
A	M #23	2	4	6	22
B	M #18	3	2	5	17
B	M #27	2	3	5	13
C	M #16	1	0	1	8
C	M #40	1(1)**	0	1	14***
C	M #11	1	0	1	1
D	M #20	(1)**	0	0	0
D	M #41	(1)**	0	0	0
E	M #21	(1)**	0	0	0

\* M #24 and M #17, B-type fishermen, out *lòlékà* fishing until 4 February 1980, were omitted.

\*\* They asked other participants to buy *ngolo* or *nyangi* for them.

\*\*\* D- and E-type men, having no wives, sometimes asked M #40's wife to cook their foodstuffs. This may have resulted in the apparent high rate of food supply by M #40.

It is only on rare occasions that a man will eat on his own household<sup>14)</sup> [ANKEI 1981: 175]. Enya wives serve all of the men and visitors here. Approximately half of the meals were observed for the above twenty-four day period (Table 10). The two A wives provided food at twenty-two meals, a B wife provided food fifteen times on the average and a C wife an average of 7.7 times. The men in types D and E who did not have wives, were therefore not required to provide any food at all.

To summarize, the more often a villager frequented the market, the more likely his family provided food at the common eating ground. This tendency closely followed the A to E order of ranking, with A the highest rank and the richest member of the community, and E at the receiving end. When compared with the Kuko village of Ngoli, the differences in frequency of fishing, market participation and levels of food supply were striking. Such egalitarian eating patterns obviously compensate for unexpected fluctuations in the catch among the fishermen, and help alleviate frictions that would otherwise be caused by the disparity in the economic level of the households. The men of Tongomacho assert that this tradition makes them to be more and more closely united. They say that repairing the chief's gill nets is accepted as a communal work because the nets will catch not only the chief's fish but also provide foods for the *kibandahori*.

#### 4) The consumption of farm produce by the people of Tongomacho and its relation to barter and cash sale markets

During the two weeks from 19 January to 1 February 1980, all of the farm pro-

14) In case the Ngengele members kill a game in a hunt, they do not provide it to the *kibandahori* because the Enya members refuse to eat it on account of their Islamic customs.



**Table 11.** Supply of farm products by purchase, barter and gift-giving at Tongomacho (two weeks).

Items	Sun 20 Jan Elila	Tues 22 Jan Bukindi	Thurs 24 Jan Elila	Sun 27 Jan Elila	Tues 29 Jan Bukindi	Thurs 31 Jan Elila***	Total amounts (kg) (10 <sup>3</sup> kcal)
<i>ngolo</i>	—	28 kg	25 kg	23 kg	11.2 kg 44.8 kg*	—	132 131.2
<i>nyangi</i>	—	9.3 kg 65.1 kg*	—	65 kg	25 kg*	—	164.4 544.2
plantains	—	—	—	9.1 kg	8.2 kg*	—	17.3 10.4
palm oil	1 kg**	0.7 kg**	7 kg	—	1.4 kg* 14 kg**	—	24.1 192.8
<i>lumata</i>	—	4.5 kg**	3 kg	4.5 kg	4.5 kg* 3 kg**	—	19.5 9.8
<i>mitewe</i>	—	6 kg**	—	—	—	—	6 3.0
<i>kikwanga</i>	—	—	1 kg	—	—	—	1 1.0
<i>sombe</i>	—	2 packs**	—	—	2 packs*	—	negligible
palm fruit	—	5 piles**	—	—	—	—	do.
red pepper	—	1 pile**	3 piles	—	—	—	do.
palm wine	—	4.3 kg	—	—	—	—	do.
ground nuts, boiled	—	6 piles	3 piles	—	10 piles**	—	do.
maize, boiled	—	6 pieces**	—	—	—	—	do.
maize, dry	19 kg**	—	—	—	—	—	for distilled liquor
Cash payment ( <i>zaïre</i> )	—	4.60 z	18.00 z	21.30 z	0.40 z	—	44.30 z
Total supply for two weeks per 31 villagers							892, 400 kcal
Average supply per person per day							2,056 kcal

\* Barter transactions, \*\* Gift. Figures without an asterisk, purchase.

\*\*\* No one participated from Tongomacho.

duce obtained by the Tongomacho villagers was weighed (Table 11). During this period, nothing had been harvested from their own fields, so that all had come either from Bukindi or Elila, either as the result of barter, purchase or in the forms of gifts. The barter market had been held twice and the cash sale market four times, and at least two men had attended five of these days, with no one from Tongomacho at the Elila market on 31 January. However, on 20 January, nothing had been purchased at Elila, and what was brought back was a basket of maize for distilling which was given to the chief by his elder sister, who had married into a Kuko farming village. In addition, the "inherited wife" of the chief was given a small amount of palm oil by the chief's elder brother (M #22), who was living just downstream in Kabele village. Gift-giving therefore, is another popular custom and palm oil is one of the items used for this purpose. Whereas cooked foods might be given as gifts, the three major staples, *ngolo*, *nyangi*, and plantains, were usually bartered or purchased.

The Tongomacho villagers used cash not only at Elila but also at Bukindi, where half of the total of five *zaïre*, the unit of currency at present time,<sup>15)</sup> went for *ngolo* and *nyangi* and the other half for palm wine and small amounts of boiled groundnuts, both consumed at the marketplace. At the cash sale market, the total of 39.3 *zaïre* was paid by A and B type fishermen.

Table 11 shows the calorific value of the foods obtained during the two-week period.<sup>16)</sup> The farm products weighed a total of approximately 400 kg, two-thirds of which were cassava, or foods derived from it. With the exception of maize used for distilling into liquor, and the small amounts of cooked food, the total calorific value has been calculated. Of this 892,400 kcal, 337,200 kcal (37.8%) was from food obtained at Elila, and 555,200 kcal (62.2%) from that obtained at Bukindi, with the villagers of Tongomacho obviously much more dependent on the latter.

As the above table makes clear, since not everything from Bukindi has been obtained by barter, and since not everything from Elila has been purchased, the ratio for bartered goods : purchased goods : gifts in calorific terms works out as 361,100 (40.5%) : 398,900 (44.7%) : 132,400 (14.8%). Thus both barter and cash purchase are equally important means by which the Tongomacho people supply themselves with their necessities, but at the same time, gifts are a factor which cannot be ignored, because they are the method used to obtain those foods that cannot be easily obtained otherwise. It would be difficult, however, to measure the value of these gifts by any standardized yardstick.

The total of 892,400 kcal works out to approximately 63,743 kcal per day. As two men were off *lôlêkà* fishing, there were thirty-one persons in the village. The average daily calorific intake for a villager is 2056 kcal, something close to what is the average daily requirement for an active individual. Of the 5.2 meals eaten per day, 4.1 included fish.<sup>17)</sup> At least 100 g fish was consumed per person per day, an increase in the diet of about 120 kcal. Farm produce was obtained fairly strictly in accordance with the amount required by the village.

#### 4. CASH, CREDIT AND GIFT-GIVING AT THE BARTER MARKET

It has been noted that even at the barter market, there is considerable use of cash and gifts. How the participants choose from among these options, and the factors influencing their decisions will be discussed below.

15) In February 1980, 1 *zaïre* or 100 *makuta* was equivalent to about U.S. \$ 0.49.

16) Calories per one kilogram of food have been calculated as: *ngolo*,  $0.994 \times 10^3$  kcal; *nyangi*,  $3.31 \times 10^3$  kcal; plantains,  $0.60 \times 10^3$  kcal; *lumata* and *mitewe*,  $0.5 \times 10^3$  kcal; *kikwanga*,  $1 \times 10^3$  kcal; palm oil,  $8.0 \times 10^3$  kcal [ANKEI 1981: 169].

17) The Kuko farmers of Ngoli village ate 3.3 meals per day on the average. Of these, fish was eaten 1.0 times. Since during the period observed, January to February, these farmers seldom fish, it may be assumed that most of the fish consumed was acquired by barter (and purchase if any).

## 1) Examples of non-barter transactions

### (1) THE USE OF CASH

The following is an example from the Lotemo barter market. A young Mituku fisherman purchased four standard sized *kikwanga* for a total of 40 *makuta* or 0.4 *zaïre* from an elderly Ombo woman. She had one left, but that was approximately double in size. She refused to accept money for it, saying that she had brought it to be used for barter for fish. After negotiations had continued for some time, the fisherman gave her a small pile of small fish in exchange for it, and she accepted this. The price for a *kikwanga* of equivalent size would ordinarily have been 20 *makuta*, but the fish she received was certainly worth at least 50 *makuta*. In this way her tenacity in refusing to sell the *kikwanga* for cash definitely paid off.

In the second example from Bukindi, the farmer was bested in negotiations. For a basket containing 27 kg of *ngolo*, a Kuko woman was offered 1.1 kg of fresh fish. As this was somewhat less fish than usual, she refused to make the transaction, expressing her dissatisfaction with the amount. As the trading continued, she was unable to obtain another partner, and decided to sell the *ngolo* for 160 *makuta*, or 1.6 *zaïre*. With this money, she attempted to purchase fish but most of it had been bartered or sold by this time, and even the smallest fish was selling for 200 *makuta*. She was therefore unable to obtain fish that day. It should be noted here that even the fish for 200 *makuta* was only two-thirds of the amount the fisherman had offered her originally.

### (2) GIFT-GIVING

A Tongomacho fisherman (M #27) gave a *mukasa* fillet to a young Ngoli woman as a present for her husband who was one of his close friends. The piece was as large as that which would be worth two *fungo* if it were being bartered. The following market day the same woman gave him two *fungo* of *ngolo* as a present from her husband. As this mutual gift-giving continued, he said that he would be warmly received at Ngoli whenever he decided to visit.

In another instance, a Tongomacho man (M #18) gave his elder sister two cakes of soap and a glassful of salt to take back to her husband's household in a Kuko village, Lutandula. On that very day, she brought him a varied assortment including four *mitewe*, six *lumata*, two *sombe*, three ears of boiled maize, a bottle of palm oil, a small amount of red pepper, five handfuls of palm fruit and four bananas (see under 22 January in Table 11). He had promised to bring her these expensive items<sup>18)</sup> and she in turn provided him with various foods which are difficult to obtain through other means.

### (3) *Kopa* OR DEFERRED BARTER

When due to a poor catch, fishermen are short of fish, they can resort to borrowing farm produce on credit, or *kopa*, from the farmers. The word means to borrow

18) The fisherman had purchased these gifts for 4.0 *zaïre* at Kindu. The same amount would have cost 5.5 *zaïre* at Elila and 6.2 *zaïre* if purchased at Ngoli.

in Swahili. Credit is extended for only one week, and the debtor is strictly required to make good the debt the following market day.

The following took place between the same two as in the previous example. The fisherman received five *fungo* of *nyangi* and two *fungo* of *ngolo* in exchange for the seemingly unequal amount of ten *fungo* of fish. Actually, it included a repayment of five *fungo* of produce that he had "borrowed" the previous week. Having returned the five *fungo*, he gave her five more for the *nyangi*, and obtained the additional two *fungo* of *ngolo* by further *kopa*, which, in turn, would have to be returned the following week.

The next example is between two persons, who unlike the pair above, had neither ties of kinship or friendship. A woman from Ngoma had two bunches of plantains, and she gave them both to a man for fish equivalent to only one bunch with the promise that the remainder would be paid back the following week. She agreed to this despite the fact that she knew nothing more about him than that he came from Lubao village.

## 2) Countermeasures to handle imbalances between the amount of fish and produce at the barter market

The use of cash, deferred barter and gift-giving at the barter market may be analyzed as optional countermeasures to handle imbalances of fish and produce. Nevertheless, we must remember that these three categories are strictly distinguished by the participants and that each of these three is concerned with its particular human relationship or social context.

The ideal market situation is one in which the farmers and fishermen bring and receive equivalent amounts of the foods they desire and there is nothing left over at the end of the day. In actual fact, the supplies of fish and produce are nearly always unequal due to fluctuation in the numbers of participants, as well as in the amounts and combinations they bring to the market. The amount of fish cannot be regulated as the fishermen do their fishing just prior to, or actually on the way to the market. Nevertheless, the average unit size and its rate do not vary from day to day as might be expected. The market principle of supply-and-demand does not operate at the Songola barter market. The measures described below correct these imbalances without requiring the participants to resort to changes in the rates.

### (1) FARM PRODUCE IS BROUGHT TO SUPPLEMENT SHORTAGES

Although the market is set up at the edge of the river, the fishermen cannot casually go fishing and hope to make up for shortages at a given moment. By the same token, the nearest farm village is at least an hour away so that when produce runs short, it is nearly impossible to obtain more immediately. The one exception is the market at Lukumbakumba or Ambwe dam (Fig. 3, northeast corner). It is located midway between the shore of the lake and the farming village. When there is some shortage, the women simply go to their fields and dig up the amount of *ngolo* required. As the area is landlocked, it is essential that the fishermen be provided with

sufficient amount of food on a given day. This practice helps the lake fishermen cope with the greater difficulties in obtaining farm produce based on their location.

(2) TAKING HOME FOOD THAT IS LEFT OVER

Goods left over represent the worst possible situation for both fishermen and farmers. If fishermen fortunately attended the market with smoked fish, he could carry it home and preserve it until the next market day. However, the situation for the farmers is much more serious as left over produce means loads of *ngolo* to carry back through the forest.<sup>19)</sup> Such market days are called "bad markets" or *soko mbaya*.

(3) SELLING OFF EXCESS FOODS

The procedure used to handle the sale of excess foods depends on whether it is fish or produce that is in excess. Whereas the fishermen always have some amount of ready cash with them, it is not unusual for the farmers to carry none at all. It is up to the farmers to agree to part with their produce for cash, but the fishermen are always happy to acquire the excess in this way as the prices at such times are much lower than those at the cash sale markets. When fish is left over, it sells for 75 *makuta* a *fungo* or three-fourths of the price it would have fetched at Elila. It is illegal to sell fish while barter is still underway, but some people do it illegally when the *kapita* is not aware of what is going on. When this practice is widespread, fish that ordinarily bartered is sold off, and the farm produce for which it would have been bartered is then left over. The farmers naturally get angry and blame the fishermen for what they consider to be the failure of the market.

(4) FOOD GIVEN AS GIFTS

When the fishing has been particularly good and there is more fish than will be needed for trading purposes, the fishermen may give some of this fish to the women as gifts prior to barter and other transactions. Generally, the women are either of their own lineage who have married into farm village, or relatives of their own wives. The wives of close friends may also be the recipients of such gifts. The farm women are expected, in turn, to give back a gift of approximately the same value, although not at the moment, but rather in the near future, and most probably on the next market day. If this were not the case, an immediate return of a gift would suggest that promises had been exchanged prior to the market, and such promises could easily be mistaken for secret deals by the *kapita*, who is not expected to be informed of the kinship ties among the participants.<sup>20)</sup>

19) Sweet cassava or *ngolo* spoils soon after it has been dug up, generally within four days, and therefore, the fishermen are careful not to buy or exchange more than they can immediately consume.

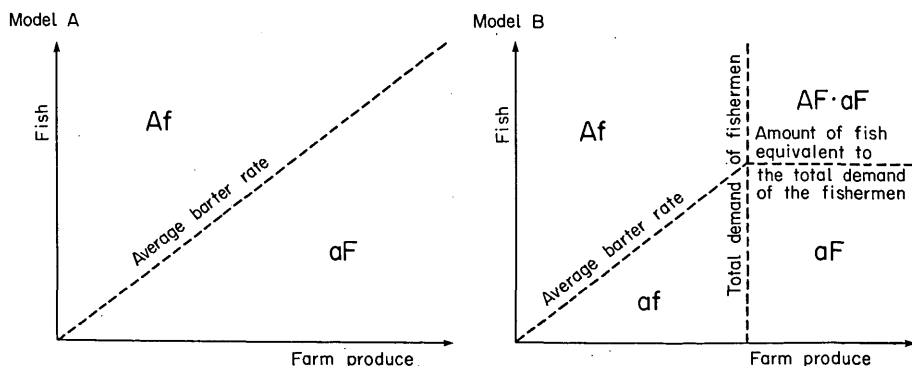
20) The chiefs appointed another *kapita* from farming villages as was described at the end of Chapter 1. The participants expected that the new *kapita* was in acquaintance with most of the farmers, and therefore either of the two *kapita* knew the kinship ties among the farmers and the fishermen.

## (5) BORROWING THE EXCESS PRODUCE

When the fishermen have an insufficient amount of fish to barter with, they first attempt to purchase the necessary produce with cash. However, most of the farm women refuse cash if possible, holding out as long as they can in hopes of obtaining partners who will offer them fish, or at least agree to borrow (*kopa*) and return a certain amount of fish the following week. In such examples of deferred barter, the women are not too pleased but it is better than having to carry their produce back home or to receive cash for it, as much as they would prefer to have the fish then and there. As the fishermen know that if they are short of fish, they can expect to obtain food by *kopa*, there are some who bring only very small amounts of fish in the first place. However, once *kopa* has been agreed upon, the amount must be repaid the next market day. When the amount borrowed is returned, sometimes the farmers complain that it is not equivalent to the amount lent. At such times, the position of the fisherman who has received the produce in advance is very weak, and he is obliged to return the difference the next market day if he does not have it at that time. In this manner, *kopa* creates a relationship and a fisherman who has once taken advantage of it will tend to come to see the same woman again and again, at least for several consecutive weeks.

## 3) Examples of model environments for gift, barter and other forms of trade

In the above sections, several types of trade imbalance based on shortages of either fish or produce were examined, and the next problem to consider is whether it is possible to view such imbalances as a whole within the context or environment in which they occur. Two models, A and B, to handle such situations are presented in Figure 9. The abscissa represents the gross amount of farm produce and the ordinate that of fish. A single market day can be shown by combining the gross amount of fish and produce brought that day, and by plotting that amount as one point. For the purpose of simplification, the ratio between the amounts of the three



A : The farmers are satisfied.    a : The farmers are dissatisfied.  
 F : The fishermen are satisfied.    f : The fishermen are dissatisfied.

Fig. 9. Supply-demand models for barter.

chief items of produce—*ngolo*, *nyangi* and plantains—are assumed to remain constant, or for example, that 100 kg of fish is bartered at the rate established by Table 7B, or 985 kg. The average rate is indicated by the dotted line in model A. If a point is above this line, it was a market day in which the farmers were satisfied as there were sufficient amounts of fish, but the fishermen were dissatisfied as they were unable to obtain produce in amounts corresponding to the fish they had brought to the market. The reverse situation has occurred when a point falls below the line, but those falling on the line itself are market days on which everything was successfully traded and thus all of the participants were satisfied.

It should be noted that model A fails to take into account one primary factor, the perishability of *ngolo* or sweet cassava, the most abundant foodstuff in the barter market. Seeing that *ngolo* spoils in three to four days, the fishermen do not wish to obtain large quantities of it. In model B the dotted vertical line represents the amount of produce the fishermen wish to obtain. The position of this line varies depending on the actual number of fishermen on a particular day, but its meaning in terms of the model is the same regardless. In case the amount of produce is more than the demands of the fishermen, the relative amount of farm produce (represented by the dotted line in model A) is no more the Wagenia's concern. Now we introduce a dotted horizontal line that represents the amount of fish which is equivalent to the total demand of the fishermen. It must be noted that the fishermen cannot always bring the amount of fish they actually need because of the instability of a day's catch.

Model B can be explained thus:

- (1) UPPER LEFT      There is less farm produce than fish and the former does not meet the demand of the fishermen who leave the market dissatisfied.
- (2) LOWER LEFT      The relative amount of fish is insufficient so the farmers are dissatisfied, but the absolute amount of farm produce is also short and does not meet the demands of the fishermen who are, therefore, also dissatisfied.
- (3) LOWER RIGHT      There is less fish than the fishermen need, but enough of farm produce to meet the demands of the fishermen. The farmers leave the market dissatisfied.
- (4) UPPER RIGHT      There is more fish than fishermen actually need but the amount of the produce is more than the demands of the fishermen. In such cases, there are usually some farmers who are left with *ngolo* on their hands at the end of the day.

Of the above, (1) and (3) are the same as in model A.

Gift, barter and other forms of trade occur at different frequencies among the above four. If there is ample produce, that is, cases (3) and (4), fishermen can always obtain what they need even if they have insufficient amount of fish by a combination of barter, *kopa*, or purchase. If the fishing has been so good that there is still an excess, case (4), they may take this opportunity to give gifts. But if there is a shortage of produce, as in cases (1) and (2), they must go to the cash sale market to purchase

whatever they lack. At such times, if the relative amount of fish is great, case (1), fishermen will try to sell it or failing that, bring it back home to be smoked. In such cases, it is rarely used for gift-giving.

The farmers usually seem to be in the more defensive position, whether the trade is by barter or not. Although they are free to refuse cash and demand fish in a transaction, as in case (4), even in (3) and (4) they rarely buy it, and not one instance of *kopa* to obtain fish was observed. They can refuse to sell their produce, and in the hope that they can secure their position in the marketplace, they will make gifts and give credits frequently, thereby establishing more or less close relationships with specific fishermen.

## 5. BARTER RATES, THE REQUIRED WORK AND MARKET PRICES

### 1) Is there any relationship between work and the barter rates?

Let us now examine the amount of work required for the participants to prepare or obtain the foods for the barter market. In this regard, the maintenance and repair of fishing equipment, the preparation of slash-and-burn fields for planting and the traveling time to the market and back are excluded.<sup>21)</sup>

The amount of work required of the fishermen was estimated based on the observations made in January and February 1980 on the individual fishing method used (Table 12A). The three main methods—*mākjlā*, *lōlēkā*, and *bjkūtū*—are examined. The table lists the number of fishermen participating, the average time spent fishing and the average amount of fish obtained per try. From the data, the amount of work

**Table 12.** Comparison of work to obtain one kilogram of fish by fishing and barter.

#### (A) Fishermen (fishing)

methods	participants	average time (minutes)	average catch (kg)	work for 1 kg fish (person hours)	numbers of observations
<i>mākjlā</i>	2	65	4.8	0.45	62
<i>lōlēkā</i>	2	150	5.8	0.86	7
<i>bjkūtū</i>	1	40	1.6	0.42	23

#### (B) Farmers (barter)

items	participants		average time (min.)		weight (kg)	work for 1 kg (person hours)		average barter rates for 1 kg fish
	H.*	P.	H.	P.		produce	fish	
<i>ngolo</i>	1	—	150	—	28	0.089	1.68	18.9
<i>nyangi</i>	1	1	180	300	24.8	0.32	2.66	8.3
plantains	1	—	60	—	8.2	0.12	0.59	4.9
husked rice	1	1	210	330	10	0.90	2.43	2.7
palm oil	1	2	1200	1125	59	0.97	0.97	1.0

\* H: harvesting, P: processing

21) Barter rates are determined without any regard of the time required for a person to reach the market considered.



necessary to obtain 1 kg of fish has been calculated. A *lòlèkà* fisherman took 0.85 hours, whereas a *màkɛ̀l̀l̀à* fisherman took 0.45 hours to get 1 kg of fish. We must note, however, that most of the *màkɛ̀l̀l̀à* fishermen are netters who receive just half of the catch as their share. Thus, a *màkɛ̀l̀l̀à* netter must, in fact, work 0.90 hours for 1 kg of fish. Although a *bɛ̀kùtù* fisherman only obtained one-third the amount of the above two with each try, and in fact a *bikùtù* net is checked at most twice a day, only 0.42 hours was required to catch 1 kg. *Bɛ̀kùtù* fishermen who do not possess many nets must smoke and store several day's catch for a market day. According to the fishing method in which a fisherman is specialized, there are considerable differences in the kinds and amounts of the catch, and there is still a greater difference in the quality of his work. If we ignore such differences, we can roughly conclude that none of the above methods requires more than 0.9 hours' work per person for a kilogram of fish. This figure will surely change through the seasons and years, but it does not increase to five hours or more because a fisherman refrains from fishing after continuing days of poor catch.

The amount of work required to produce one kilogram of each of the major farm produce was then calculated (Table 12B). The figures are based on field observations of the number of farmers engaged in harvesting and processing the food, the number of hours spent, and the yield. The work required to prepare the produce equivalent to one kilogram of fish showed a surprising discrepancy, and was 1.68 person-hours (ph) for *ngolo*, and 0.59 ph for plantains, neither of which require any processing. In contrast, processed foods are considerably more time-consuming. *Nyangi* takes 2.66 ph, husked rice 2.43 ph, and palm oil a surprisingly low 0.97 ph. It is noteworthy that the farmers do not confine themselves to less time-consuming produce as plantains or palm oil for the barter market. In contrast with the cash sale market, a barter market is always provided with rich assortments of produce, of which *ngolo* and *nyangi* are the most frequent. This custom of assortment of produce is presumably related to the coexistence of gift, barter, credit, and purchase in the barter market.

Barter rates at the Bukindi market are settled so that a farm woman taking *ngolo* or *nyangi* to the market works at least twice as long as a *màkɛ̀l̀l̀à* netter does, to obtain one kilogram of fish by barter or fishing. Thus, the barter rates are not determined in relation to the amount of work that a participant needs to obtain a certain amount of foods.<sup>22)</sup>

The work required to provide one participant with the food he or she will bring to the market, is based on Table 5 and 6, and the calculations in Table 12. A *màkɛ̀l̀l̀à* netter works an average of 5.4 hours, a *lòlèkà* fisherman 4.1 hours, and a *bɛ̀kùtù*

22) The total amount of work required for all foodstuffs brought to the market is calculated for the Bukindi barter market on 12 February 1980. It can be estimated that 74.8 ph were necessary for the *màkɛ̀l̀l̀à* netters (supposing that all of them were netters), 30.1 ph for the *bɛ̀kùtù* fishermen, and 24.9 ph for the *lòlèkà* fishermen, and that they worked the total of 129.8 ph, or 3.4 hours per fisherman. The sixty-seven farmers are estimated to have worked 182 ph, or 2.7 hours a person, to prepare the five major produce shown in Table 12B.

fisherman 1.39 hours. The work required of the farmers will of course vary depending on the amount and the combination of foods brought on a particular day. Upon examination of the examples in Table 6, women #s 1, 5, 6, 7, and 8 had worked 2.2, 8.8, 4.1, 2.6 and 2.5 hours respectively. Thus, a minimum of two hours is invariably required, but this jumps to more than four hours if husked rice, cooked foods, or palm oil are included.

## 2) The irrelevance of barter rates and the calorific value of the produce

Each of the major farm produce equivalent to one kilogram of fish was calculated in terms of its calorific value. The result is that 8.3 kg *nyangi* contains approximately 27,500 kcal; 18.9 kg *ngolo*, 18,800 kcal; 2.7 kg husked rice, 9,500 kcal; and 4.9 kg plantains surprisingly low 2,900 kcal. Thus, calorific value of a certain produce has little to do with its rate of barter for the fish at the market. It may be pointed out now that plantains in the Songola barter market are highly esteemed as food in spite of their definitely low calorific value compared with other produce.

## 3) A comparison between barter rates and market prices

The barter rates and cash values at Bukindi and the prices at Elila and Kindu are shown in Figure 10. The amounts of fish or produce which can be purchased for 1 *zāire* (100 *makuta*), and the amount of produce which can be bartered for 0.33 kg of fresh or 0.12 kg smoked fish whose cash worth at Elila is 1 *zāire*. The figure shows that the amounts obtainable for cash are definite decreasing order of Bukindi (use of cash), Elila and Kindu. The decrease is striking as for *ngolo*, which varies five times between Bukindi and Kindu. If we compare the barter rate at Bukindi and the amounts purchasable at Bukindi, Elila and Kindu, 1) purchase at Kindu is always smaller in amount than barter, 2) purchase at Elila provides more *ngolo*, plantains and smoked fish, while it provides less *nyangi* and husked rice, and 3) purchase at Bukindi results in more foods than barter there, with the sole exception of husked rice.

The major foodstuffs can be given a fixed order depending upon their prices and barter rates—from least to most expensive: *ngolo*, *nyangi*, plantains, husked rice, fresh fish, smoked fish. Furthermore, equivalence ratios, that is, the amount of food which would represent an equivalent amount of fresh fish when purchased or bartered, fluctuate by only 1.9 times for *ngolo*, 1.6 times for *nyangi*, 1.3 times for plantains, 2.4 times for husked rice and 1.7 times for smoked fish. There is not, therefore, too great a discrepancy between the equivalence ratios at the various markets.

Although it is quite difficult to reveal the determinants of such equivalence ratios, it is suggested that these ratios fall within the domain of traditional preference for foods by the Songola. People of the Kuko and Enya of the Songola show a preference of produce as food which is in the order of rice, plantains, *nyangi*, and lastly *ngolo*, and this order is rather fixed so far as the Songola, except the Ombo, are concerned. It would be safe to mention that equivalence ratios have been fixed in accordance with the traditional evaluation of the Songola and other tribes.

Even if cash prices increase sharply due to inflation, the equivalence ratios are

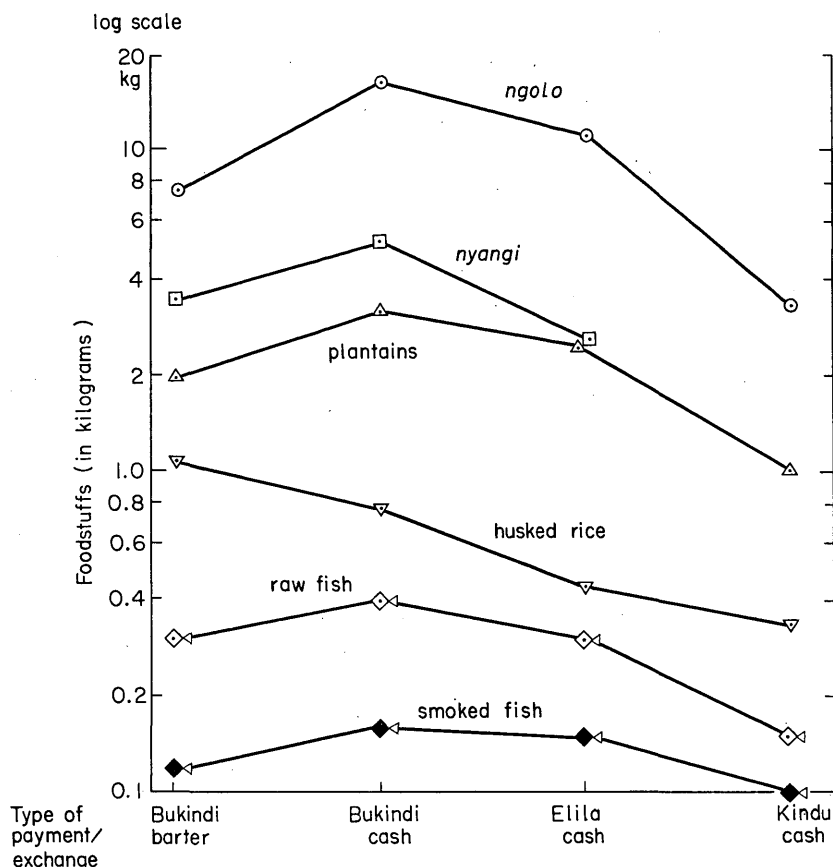


Fig. 10. Amount of food purchasable for 1 *zaïre* or exchangeable by barter for fish worth 1 *zaïre* at the Elila market.

left unchanged. Based on observations from July 1978 to December 1979, commodity prices in the Songola territory rose sharply due to inflation, and during the course of one year increased by approximately 100 percent [ANKEI 1981: 160]. It is said that this inflation has continued several years. Even if cash prices increase sharply due to inflation, the equivalence ratios are left unchanged because each price increases rather proportionally.

During the five days between Christmas and New Year's day 1980, monetary notes of large denominations were issued to replace the current ones. No prior notification by the government had been issued, and without warning, all old five and ten *zaïre* denomination notes became worthless. The result was that in the Kindu Zone, for example, there were few people who were lucky enough to get new notes in exchange for old ones, and for an entire month the cash shortage continued. In February 1980, all of the commodity prices in the government-controlled markets in all of the Kindu Zone were forcibly reduced to one-half of their previous levels. This was a measure designed to deal with the fact that although there were a serious

currency shortage, commodity prices had not fallen. The commodity prices at the market of Kailo were reduced to fifty percent of the previous ones, and consequently, the equivalence ratios remained unchanged.

Just after the reduction of prices at the cash sale markets, a court was held at the Bukindi barter market as was described in Chapter 1. When they had settled the problem of a new *kapita*, the chef de localité proposed that post-barter cash prices at the barter market should also be renewed to a lower level. Although men from farm villages insisted that their tradition prohibits the use of cash in the barter market, the women wanted to hear the proposed prices, and were made to know that chef de localité would reduce the price of fish to about two-thirds, *nyangi* to a half and *ngolo* to one-third. The women, much dissatisfied with the proposal, shouted in a chorus that *ngolo* should be sold at two-thirds of the former price until the chef de localité was made to agree. Thus, the chef de localité's attempt to change the equivalence ratio of fish and *ngolo* on behalf of the Wagenia was eventually prevented by the farm women. This was an additional example to show that the equivalence ratios tend to remain stable.

The sharp slope of the line connecting the prices at Bukindi and Elila with those at Kindu in Fig. 10 is due to the increasing demand for food at Kindu because of an influx of population, where large amounts of money are exchanged.<sup>23)</sup> When a fisherman makes a round trip along the Zaïre River, he crosses the price slope, and for this reason, usually tries to sell his fish at a higher price while buying back farm produce at a lower cost. Table 13 lists the seven possible combinations by which a fisherman can trade one kilogram of fish for the three major types of produce, using all of the different markets at his disposal. For each case, the amounts that would thus be obtained are shown. However, the case in which fish is sold cheaply but produce bought dearly, is extremely rare, and has, for this reason, been excluded. When fish has been provided and produce received within the confines of one market,

Table 13. Farm produce obtainable for one kilogram of fish.

Case No.	Selling or bartering fish			Buying or getting farm produce by barter		The amount of farm produce (kilogram)		
	market-place	cash/barter	price for 1 kg fish	market-place	cash/barter	<i>ngolo</i>	<i>nyangi</i>	plantains
1.	Kindu	cash	6.0 <i>zaïre</i>	Kindu	cash	20.0	—*	6.3
2.	do.	do.	do.	Elila	do.	65.0	15.8	15.0
3.	do.	do.	do.	Bukindi	do.	100.0	31.2	19.2
4.	Elila	do.	3.0 <i>zaïre</i>	Elila	do.	32.5	7.9	7.5
5.	do.	do.	do.	Bukindi	do.	50.0	15.6	9.6
6.	Bukindi	do.	2.25 <i>zaïre</i>	do.	do.	37.5	11.7	7.2
7.	do.	barter	—	do.	barter	18.9	8.3	4.9

\* At Kindu bitter cassava was traded as flour, not as *nyangi*.

- 23) For this reason, there are no barter markets along the stretch of the Zaïre near Kindu, and because of the large population which prevents general mutual acquaintance, one of the precepts on which barter takes place.

there is not much differences among the marketplaces a fisherman choses—cases 1, 4, 6 and 7. The largest discrepancy was 1.9 times for *ngolo* in cases 1 and 6. The smallest amount of produce was obtained by direct barter—case 7—and the largest amount by first selling at Kindu and using the money obtained to buy at Bukindi—case 3. A fisherman in case 3 would get more than four times the amount of produce that would be received by someone in case 7, and the breakdown would be 5.3 times the amount of *ngolo*, 3.8 times the amount of *nyangi* and 4.0 times the amount of plantains. The difference between barter rates and barter market cash prices partly explain the reason why the Wagenia attempt to purchase produce for cash, whereas the farmers demand barter.

The fact that the cash price at the barter market is fixed at one-half to three-fourths that of Elila (Fig. 10) is one of its major attraction for the fishermen. As the actual situation is one in which cash often may not be used to obtain foods, the low price level in the barter market is a lure by means of which farmers, or their chiefs, attract the Wagenia fisherman to the barter market.

Supposing that the fishermen from Tongomacho village had bought at Elila the same amounts of *ngolo*, *nyangi*, and plantains that were actually obtained by barter and a small amount of purchase at Bukindi barter market during the two week period in Table 11, they would have had to pay 44.7 *zaïre*. The amount of fish they actually bartered was 14.5 kg which would have been worth 43.9 *zaïre* at Elila (or 131.7 *zaïre* at Kindu). Thus, barter is not more profitable than the use of cash for Tongomacho villagers. Nevertheless, the Wagenia continue to prefer the barter market at Bukindi, of which the reasons lie beyond such calculations of profit and loss. The reasons for the continuing existence of the Songola barter markets will be discussed in the following sections.

## 6. DISCUSSION

### 1) The barter of staples essential to everyday life : general characteristics

#### (1) THE PRINCIPLES REGULATING THE BARTER MARKETS

Based on the information obtained concerning Songola barter markets, the principles regulating them, especially the rates and methods used are examined below.

##### i) Regulations

Barter markets are based on standard rules. Thefts and violence among participants are illegal, and furthermore, the participants normally obey these rules strictly. In order for each transaction to proceed in a just and orderly manner, secret deals must be and are prohibited. The *kapita* are diligent about enforcement. Those who willfully break the rules are judged at a traditional court presided by the village chief *mòkòtà* and punished appropriately.

##### ii) Barter items, units and rates

The foods which may be bartered are limited. Of these, almost all have fixed standards, on the basis of which the smallest unit of barter is set, and trade goes on in accordance with these individual units. If the participants themselves adhere to these

units and if trade is in a proportion of 1 : 1, the barter rate is fairly standardized. This is probably one of the major advantages of using fixed units. In actual practice, experienced participants generally come to an agreement at or close to the standard rate for any given item. An example of barter which deviates from the normal rate will become the center of undesirable attention. To avoid such a situation, the participants make offers and demands that fall within a reasonable range, even at the onset of negotiations. Only those who are inexperienced are likely to make deals that are seriously to their own disadvantage.

The standard rates at the barter market do not fluctuate according to the balance of supply and demand on a single given day. Furthermore, a fixed amount of food item (e.g. sweet cassava) will always fetch a fixed amount of fish. When compared with the fluctuations in the market prices asked for a single item, the stability of the rates at the barter market accounts for the reliance the Songola place in it. Such a fixed rate system, however, inevitably causes an imbalance of commodities. In case there is an imbalance of foods, excesses are diminished by 1) giving gifts, 2) selling those which remain once barter has been completed, and 3) by borrowing over one-week intervals to make up for insufficiencies. As there are these several solutions to the problem of imbalances in supply, the rates need not, in fact, fluctuate.

iii) Barter rates, work required, and calorific value

It is important to clarify the factors that determine the stable barter rates. For each of the major foodstuffs, the amount of work required for its production or capture, the calorific value per unit of weight, and the barter rate were investigated. It was found that based on the three primary fishing methods, the largest amount of work expressed in person-hours was as much as 2.1 times the least amount required to obtain an identical amount of fish. When it came to the amount of produce, the greatest number of person-hours was 4.5 times the least number of person-hours necessary to harvest and process an amount of farm produce that would be necessary to obtain fish of the same weight by barter. In the case of comparative calorific values, calorific value of *ngolo* worth one unit of fish is 9.5 times the smallest calorific value of plantains worth the same fish. Thus, the assumption that the calorific value or person-hours necessary to produce a given food would prove to have some correlation with the barter rates has proven false.

iv) Correlation between the barter rates and the cash prices

What are most highly correlated concerning barter rates are rather the equivalence ratios of the barter rates with those of cash prices when the equivalent weights were in the ascending order of smoked fish, fresh fish, husked rice, plantains, *nyangi*, and *ngolo*. This order actually matches the barter rates and scale. If fresh fish is used as the standard, the spread in price ranges falls within 1.9 times, with the sole exception of husked rice, 2.4 times. The equivalence ratios of individual items do not change over short periods of time in spite of severe inflation. In conclusion, rather than calorific value or required work, traditional preferences for certain foods as opposed to others have the greatest influence on barter rates or the ratio of cash prices.

v) Fixed barter rates and the seasonal fluctuation in the levels of production

Although barter rates of some produce, rice for example, may fluctuate owing to change in its seasonal supply levels, more than 90 percent of the total weight of produce at a barter market consists of cassava and plantains the production levels of which are kept virtually constant all the year round [ANKEI 1981: 133]. Supply levels of produce at barter markets can be kept unchanged with the few exceptions of some seed crops, rice and maize.

Participants at the barter markets must cope with the crucial period when the vicinity of the Zaïre is more or less inundated, towards April. As some fishing camps of the Wagenia are abandoned, and as the catching methods are restricted to *bîkûtû* gill nets, supply of fish at the barter market tends to reach an annual minimum. It is assumed that barter rates remain unchanged even in this period of fish shortage. Many Wagenia fishermen who abandon their camps go to live with their relatives in Kindu and Basoko, whereas the Songola-Enya can rely on their newly harvested rice for a while. Many Songola farmers go to stay at their camps in the forest where they hunt animals with nets and trap smaller fish in the rivulets. Thus it may be concluded that both Wagenia and Songola tend to be more self-sufficing and less dependent on the barter market during the period of fish deficiency at the barter market.

## (2) BARTER, ECONOMIC SPHERES AND GENERAL-PURPOSE MONEY

### i) Similarity of Songola barter economy and pre-colonial exchange economies in tropical Africa

Barter methods and rates and specific descriptions of Songola barter markets can be compared with the comprehensive data compiled by Sundström [SUNDSTRÖM 1974: 66–73] concerning the position of barter exchanges in the economies of various regions of tropical Africa in the pre-colonial period, the results are in agreement to a surprising degree. He summarizes the characteristics of pre-colonial exchange economies as: 1) A considerable part of exchange is carried out by barter. 2) Commodities are bartered either according to established rates or on-the-spot bargaining. Customary fixed exchange rates do not preclude bargaining. 3) Barter exchange proceeds smoothly and profitably, and is usually facilitated by such financial techniques as credit and deferred payments. 4) At times it may be difficult to distinguish between gift exchanges and pure barter, but ideally the former does not allow for an evaluation of the article involved. 5) The most current goods may be exchanged by barter while others are obtained with a “currency (*sic*)”, such as cowries. 6) One trade article commonly has a preferred exchange article for which it is most frequently bartered. Certain goods, especially staples, are more easily bartered because of a standing demand for them and the consequent awareness that to possess them gives a better bargaining position when bartering for other goods. 7) There are fixed social and economic ties between individual villages of different economies, and between pairs of individuals resident in pairs of villages. Different types of food are always the most important articles of exchange.

After this comparison we can reasonably conclude that the Songola barter markets firmly retain the general characteristics of the traditional exchange economies

of pre-colonial Africa, and that they must have survived through the colonial periods and the civil turmoils after independence.

- ii) Introduction of general-purpose money and its influences on the traditional economic spheres

Bohannon and Dalton [BOHANNAN and DALTON 1962: 5] have pointed out that small-scale societies are marked by a multicentric economy in which there are several distinct transaction spheres.<sup>24)</sup> They further state that it seems to be universal in multicentric economies that the various spheres are hierarchically ranked on the basis of moral and status evaluations. In traditional Songola society, bridewealth was offered and received in such commodities as slaves and goats. These commodities must have constituted the highest rank or "the prestige sphere". Traditional, now extinct, external trade by the Songola included such commodities as ivory, camwood, and salt. It seems probable that these commodities constituted another sphere that was ranked lower than the prestige sphere, but higher than the subsistence sphere of everyday commodities as foodstuffs. Today ordinary bridewealth is ten goats, of which half is usually paid in cash.

Contours of prestige sphere in today's Songola economy have blurred due to the use of colonial and Zairean currency, or general-purpose money as Polanyi [POLANYI 1957: 264-266] defined it. There have been several reports [BOHANNAN 1959; DALTON 1978] on the serious effects that the spread of general-purpose money, which accompanied colonial expansion, had on traditional African economies. In addition, many writers have noted that general-purpose money is the major cause of the atrophy of traditional barter economies [BRELSFORD 1946: 122; GULLIVER 1962: 454-456; MIRACLE 1969: 225]. On the contrary, the use of general-purpose money by the Songola for over fifty years does not seem to disintegrate the barter markets which remain a characteristic feature of the subsistence spheres of the Songola economy.

## 2) The reasons for the continuing existence of the Songola barter markets

The principle of barter in present Songola barter markets is identical to that universally found in traditional Africa. However, one is forced to the conclusion that there must be some specific reasons why the barter market system has survived in this region. The reasons appear to be (1) the clear division between cash sale and barter markets, (2) the several different possible combinations involving the use of gifts, barter, credit, and cash, and (3) the instability of the national currency.

### (1) THE DIVISION BETWEEN BARTER MARKETS AND CASH SALE MARKETS

All of the barter markets located within Songola territory and its environs at the

24) Firth [FIRTH 1939: 340] defined the term "spheres of exchange" as "the goods in which are not completely convertible into those of the other series." Some authors make distinctions between gifts and reciprocal gifts [BEALS 1970: 231-241], goods with prices and those which are for relatives [MOERMAN 1966: 360], subsistence and trade [COHEN 1971: 266-281; HARPER 1959: 761-764], intragroup exchange and intergroup exchange [COLSON 1962: 611-616]. Of these, there are those which it would be difficult to include within the term "economic spheres".



present time are situated in remote places from the cash sale markets, and furthermore, the market days are arranged so as to fall on different days of the week, rather than coincide. This spatial and temporal isolation, plus the general prohibition of the use of cash protects the barter markets from the deleterious effects of general-purpose money. The isolation between the two market types and the separation between those situations in which barter but not cash is allowed were the results of the establishment of indigenous political authority and the colonial suppression of the barter markets. When the Belgians established cash sale markets and prohibited native markets, the Songola chiefs made the decision to move their markets to areas which would be inaccessible to the white men, on the assumption that were the use of cash prohibited, the markets would be safe from economic incursion. The isolation was successfully accomplished well before the use of general-purpose money had become a custom among the Songola.

In comparison with the cash sale market, the barter market has more and stronger attractive features for the Songola apart from barter or the items involved. African markets are famous for their non-trade, non-economic functions: they generally serve as a meeting place, where participants can drink beer or palm wine, meet members of the opposite sex, exchange current news or gossip, obtain information, and stop over or rest when en route between two distant points. Songola farm women, although cautious in the cash sale market, feel at home in the barter market where each participant is known to one another. These social functions enhance its attraction and encourage the attendance of those who do not depend on it for their food needs.

## (2) THE COEXISTENCE OF THREE MODES OF EXCHANGE IN THE BARTER MARKET

The same members participating in a given barter market will employ some combination of the three modes of exchange: gift-giving, barter (including credit, or deferred barter) and cash purchase. This is a unique feature of the Songola barter markets. None of these modes has any specific goods strictly limited to it even if there exists some difference in the frequencies of their exchange in a given mode, and most of the goods brought to the market are traded or sold or given without relation to type. Consequently, as mentioned earlier, exchange modes do not fall into patterns which are based on individual economic spheres. Nevertheless, each mode has its own principle and the specific human relationship involved. The markets are under the management of the chiefs and participants are ordered to distinguish the three modes of exchange and to make the mode he or she is now engaged in unmistakable to other participants.

Gifts are exchanged between relatives or very close friends. Gift-giving differs from barter because the return of an equivalent amount, although certainly expected, is never demanded. As a general rule, gifts, while not encouraged, receive tacit approval in the barter markets.

Barter takes place between acquaintances, in addition to relatives and close friends. People generally limit their negotiations to those whose tribe and village they know. A transaction has been completed when both trading partners agree

that the respective goods being offered are equivalent, whether or not they have adhered to the standard rates. The period just after the signal to open the market has been given is considered the best recommended time for barter.

The use of cash is not restricted by custom to relatives and acquaintances, but frequently takes place between those who are strangers to each other. The newcomers to the barter market, or the *Wagenia* other than the *Enya*, are often blamed for their illegal use of money at the market. The market authorities make no attempt to limit or control cash purchase of items which do not fall within the rubric of "traditional goods", for example, tobacco or giant snails. In the case of goods meant for barter, the use of cash is permitted once most of the day's barter activities have been completed. Prior to this point, the use of cash is strictly limited. The seller must be in need of cash, or eager to get rid of a particular item, before cash will be accepted. Therefore, it is usually impossible to persuade a participant to sell an item if he or she declares that it is "not for sale." Purchase is rendered impossible regardless of the amount of money offered.

Although most foodstuffs may be obtained through any of the three above modes as long as the rules associated with each are followed, some are obtained through one specific mode more or less frequently than another. The largest variety of goods may be obtained by gifts given and the smallest by cash purchase. Foodstuffs obtained through one's own work are exchangeable, but those previously bought or received as gifts, are not re-sold or exchanged.

The three modes of exchange and the specific human relationship seen at Songola barter markets can be understood in the light of the three categories of reciprocity delineated by Sahlins [SAHLINS 1965: 147-148]. Gift-giving occurs as a form of generalized reciprocity. The clearest example of balanced reciprocity is barter where goods recognized as equivalent are changed one for one. Cash purchase following a period of haggling over prices where one person tries to take advantage of the other in obtaining the best deal is a form of negative reciprocity. It should be added that theft or failure to settle a debt, the most extreme form of negative reciprocity is subject to strict punishment and, in fact, is extremely rare.

In both the Songola villages of the *Enya* and the *Kuko*, generalized reciprocity receives the widest approval. In contrast with this, in the barter market, balanced reciprocity is preferred. Exchanges based on generalized reciprocity only occur among relatives or friends. However, the market cannot be used only as a place for exchanges based only on generalized reciprocity. Those who are giving gifts will often, at the same time, be engaged in bartering and giving credit. In these cases, the two forms of reciprocity must be clearly distinguished. Market rules prohibit prior agreements even between relatives and close friends, and the fishermen are not allowed to offer amounts of fish much larger than the normal rate simply willing to become intimate with young women. Gift-giving incurs the danger of strengthening ties between specific individuals to a degree to which the balanced reciprocity that forms the underlying principle of the market, and which, in fact, benefits all of the participants, would be seriously threatened.

If there were no limits placed on the use of cash, negative reciprocity would increase. There is the tendency among the fishermen, most of whom habitually carry cash with them, to come to the market and try to buy up produce that is meant for barter, at the lowest possible cash price. In any event, cash is not completely forbidden, and can be used after barter activity has largely been completed, and there is an excess of produce. According to this principle, cash makes up for imbalances of goods that could not be easily settled within exchanges based on generalized and balanced reciprocity.

### (3) THE INSTABILITY OF THE NATIONAL CURRENCY

There are numerous opportunities for the Songola to make use of cash. Cash is needed to obtain manufactured goods such as salt, soap, tobacco and cloth, including those goods which are imported, as well as to pay taxes and fines, school tuition and medical bills [ANKEI 1981: 162-164].

It is said that today's extreme inflation has continued over several years. It is natural that Songola try to keep their currency down to a minimum as this extreme inflation causes its value to decrease speedily. When a member of the Kuko group, for example, wishes to purchase something expensive as clothes, she sells some produce and then immediately spends the cash received for the desired item (see Fig. 4).

The conversion of money that occurred on Christmas day, 1979 was not a single isolated event; it had already occurred at least twice following the independence in 1960. Thus, in addition to inflation, there is the persistent and real fear that the currency one holds will suddenly become worthless. The instability of the national currency naturally strengthens the value placed on the barter market, as it can be managed totally outside the monetary system.

When the commodity prices were forcibly reduced after the conversion of currency, the Enya fishermen had announced that unless the prices of clothing and shoes were halved, they would no longer sell their fish at the markets in Kindu. The Kuko farmers simultaneously declared that unless the prices of salt and soap were reduced, they also would refuse to sell their produce at Elila and Kailo. As a result, for considerable period of time, there were hardly any foodstuffs at all seen at the cash sale markets. Due to this temporary collapse of the cash sale markets, participation at the barter markets increased, but the barter system itself was completely unaffected. It is very likely that the Songola have witnessed numerous such occasions in the past, which have in turn only served to strengthen their faith in the stability and reliability of the barter market.

### 3) Fish as "primitive money": limited-purpose money within the subsistence sphere

#### (1) THE USE OF FISH AS SEEN BY THE FISHERMEN

The fishermen living along the Zaïre River use fish in the following four ways: 1) for their own consumption, 2) as gifts, 3) to barter for farm produce and 4) as a means by which to obtain cash. In other words, fish are the means by which all economic transactions are made, as well as supplying a large portion of the diet of the fishermen. Of these four uses, the most abundant are as barter items and as a means

to obtain cash, these are followed by personal consumption. The amount given as gifts is much less than that consumed. Even when a day's catch has been particularly good, fishermen do not eat unlimited amounts of fish. Instead, the excess is smoked or kept live in baskets submerged in the river to be used in future trading. Almost all of the fishermen sell some portion of their catches at the Kindu cash sale markets. Either they attend these markets personally or they sell to the Lokele middlemen who come to their villages. At such times, they can sell at prices higher than at the market at Elila. Unless people in the Elila region can pay the high prices that the customary at Kindu for fish, they are forced to limit their consumption to the fish that can be obtained by barter and in return for gifts given.

## (2) THE HANDLING OF FISH AS "PRIMITIVE MONEY"

At the barter market, fish is exchanged for produce, given as gift, or sold. The following section describes the way in which this is handled in barter transactions.

The taste of fish depends on its size and type [ANKEI 1982: 10-27], but regardless of this, the fishermen do not permit the farmers to select fish based on either of these criteria. A unit of barter is based solely on an amount that weighs between 0.30 and 0.35 kg. Smoked fish is proportioned as if it were fresh, and a unit of fresh fish is equivalent to a unit of smoked fish. In this way, the standard rates completely disregard the value a specific species of fish might have as regards personal preference. A fish unit, unlike farm produce where each individual item has its own unit, is exclusively based on weight, and has nothing to do with size, type, flavor, or state of preservation.

By putting all fish within one broad category, the task of the fishermen is made extremely easy. Furthermore, because of the rule that fish of the same weight are equivalent, it is easy to keep the barter rate for produce uniform. It is quite suggestive that the *kapita* gives fishermen the signal of opening the barter market by the shout, "*Nunua chakula!*", literally "Buy foods!" It is as if Wagenia were allowed to "buy" farm produce in exchange for their fish. In this regard, the farmers do not believe that they are "selling (*uzisha*)" their produce, but that they are in fact merely "mutually changing foods of one kind for those of another," or "*badilishana chakula kwa chakula*." It can be now pointed out that the Wagenia fishermen including the *kapita*, but not the farmers, intend to utilize their fish as if it is a kind of money. Is it appropriate to regard the fish in the Songola barter market as money? If so, why not farm produce?

In classical economic theory money is said to have the following four functions: 1) a medium of exchange, 2) a measure of value, 3) a standard for deferred payments, and 4) a store of value [GILPIN 1977: 148]. This last function is seriously impaired in conditions of severe inflation [GILPIN 1977]. In the Songola barter markets, 1) fish is a medium of exchange just as cassava, plantains and rice are. 2) Fish is the only medium of exchange whose unit can express the value of all other commodities in the barter market. We have seen that its unit is fairly standardized. 3) It is only fish that its unit is fairly standardized. 3) It is only fish that can be used to settle a debt. However, 4) fish is among the most perishable of the bartered foodstuffs. It last

only a few weeks even if smoked everyday. We must admit that it does not have the function of a store of value, seeing at the same time that Zairean currency is also perishable to some extent as was described in the above sections. In sum, fish in the Songola barter market has many of the functions which modern, Western money or general-purpose money is expected to have. Fishermen can remarkably increase the "money-ness" [DALTON 1965: 49-50] of their fish at the barter market if they succeed in fostering the fiction that all fish are identical regardless of the differences in original or intrinsic value. The author believes that fish in the Songola barter markets deserves the name of so-called "primitive money" or limited-purpose money as Polanyi [POLANYI 1957: 254-256] defined it.

There have been numerous reports concerning "primitive money",<sup>25)</sup> but nearly all of these have dealt only with it as it exists in the prestige sphere. Douglas [DOUGLAS 1958: 121-122] notes that so-called "primitive money" is used exclusively for "status payment" such as bridewealth, and has no purchasing power. If one restricts oneself to the meaning Douglas assigns to money, then Songola fish in the barter marketplace is unquestionably a form of "primitive money" which most justifies the appellation of all those hitherto reported. Fish in the Songola barter market is a rare example of limited-purpose money that is operating in the traditional market of the subsistence sphere. Even the national currency *zaïre* is weaker in purchasing power than fish, and moreover, it cannot be used as repayment for loans in the Songola barter markets.

The "money-ness" of fish combined with the uniformity of its units seems to put the fishermen in an increasingly superior position. However, as soon as fish has left the possession of the fishermen, it ceases to be a form of money, and in the hands of the farmers, is nothing more than food. This is because it is never re-exchanged by the latter, but is immediately consumed. If fish functions as money, it does so in a one-way direction and is not reversible. Wagenia fishermen endeavor to strengthen the "money-ness" of the fish they provide at the barter market, probably in the hope that they can establish a better bargaining position over the farmers. At the same time, it must be pointed out that the farmers have successfully made the Wagenia depend largely on sweet cassava that they bring to the barter markets. Since it can be stored for only a few days, the Wagenia are sometimes short of it, and must visit the barter market almost every week.

### (3) THE BACKGROUND IN WHICH FISH BECAME LIMITED-PURPOSE MONEY

In the barter market, fish is the item for which there is the greatest demand, and hence is the most "saleable" commodity of all. For certain fishermen, the demand for and therefore the saleability of palm wine exceeds that of all other commodities, but unlike fish, it is not an item that excites universal demand. It can be speculated that the commodity in the greatest and universal demand in the market tends to become money, just as Menger [MENDER 1892: 239-255] postulated in discussing the origin of money. The next question to be asked is why fish has, in fact, such great saleability.

25) For example, Einzig [EINZIG 1966] lists some 800 titles concerning "primitive money".

The participating farmers say that if they did not supply the Wagenia with food, the fishermen would starve to death. In turn the Wagenia say that it is they who aid the backward people, *washenzi*, who live deep in the forest, by furnishing them with both money and fish. Actually, there are many occasions on which trade with the farmers is indispensable if the livelihood of the fishermen is to be maintained at normal levels, while fish merely enrich the diet of the farmers. It indicates that indispensability of produce is not related to its saleability.

The agricultural peoples of tropical Africa value meat or fish very highly as foods [BRELSFORD 1946: 118; RICHARDS 1939: 56], and the Songola farmers are no exception. In the traditional methods employed by the Kuko group, fish must be caught in streams and marshes in the forest, and the seasons appropriate for such fishing last only a few weeks twice a year [ANKEI 1982: 7-9]. Hunting methods include net hunting and trapping, but the catch is unstable, and out of proportion to the time and work required. In contrast to the Enya villages where fish is eaten almost every meal, the Kuko villagers actually eat fish only once in three meals. Kwashiorkor, symptom of protein deficiency, is not a rare occasion among the infants of Songola farmers especially in the Binja territory. It is difficult for these farming people to obtain animal protein and they recognize its scarcity. The fishermen, on the other hand, do not regard plantains or husked rice as scarce, and cassava, especially *ngolo*, is considered a mundane item in the marketplace. The scarcity of fish is apparent as it is consumed soon after the market ends, and the demand for it normally is well beyond its supply. In the extreme climatic conditions of the tropical rain forest fish can be preserved no longer than a few weeks even if it is kept smoked continually and protected from flies. The sense of the scarcity of fish devolves also from the fact that it spoils so quickly. Thus, scarcity of proteinaceous foods available in the tropical rain forest is closely related to the saleability of the fish in the Songola barter market.

#### (4) ECONOMIES WITHOUT ACCUMULATION: LIVELIHOOD IN THE TROPICAL RAIN FOREST

Although the Songola, especially farming groups, practice accumulation of "prestige goods" such as goats, they seldom save up national currency in quantities enough to marry a wife with. Nor do they accumulate "subsistence goods" as foodstuffs.

The livelihood of the fishermen is bound up with catching fish, a commodity which cannot be stocked, but as it is readily replenishable, hoarding is hardly necessary. The Enya group adjusts the methods it uses to the seasonal rise and fall of the river in the normal year, and fish can be caught all year round in one way or another.

The livelihood of the farmers is based on slash-and-burn farming and the raising of oil palms. Of the various species they cultivate, the most abundant and the most important for their diet are cassava and plantains. These two species reproduce themselves vegetatively, and if planted in appropriate combinations, provide crops all year round without any break [ANKEI 1981: 135]. Storage here too, is unnecessary, as these crops are, so to speak, stored in their slash-and-burn fields.

Thus, the economic livelihood of both fishermen and farmers can be maintained

at more or less the same level throughout the year without any storage of foodstuffs. This is one notable aspect of life in the tropical rain forest. Therefore, the fact that fish has the functions of limited-purpose money in the subsistence sphere despite its perishability is not only surprising, but rather to be expected in such subsistence economies in the humid tropics as those of the Songola.

#### 4) Barter, symbiotic relationship and the ethnic identity

Symbiotic relationships existing between ethnic groups with different subsistence patterns based on the barter of different types of foods, have been reported from many regions of present day Africa. Of these, perhaps the best known is that of the Mbuti Pygmies, hunters living in the Ituri forest of northeastern Zaïre, and nearby slash-and-burn farmers [HARAKO 1976: 37-99; HART 1978: 330-332]. Another example is the Pokot living in the western part of Kenya. Between the Plains Pokot whose livelihood is herding livestock and the agricultural or Hill Pokot, there are periodic markets at which both cash purchase and barter take place [KURITA 1982: 71-103; TANNO 1980: 96-119]. As for the symbiotic relationships the Mbuti can be divided into several subgroups according to the difference in their languages: Bira-speaking Mbuti, Lese-speaking Mbuti, and so on. Due to prolonged contact with neighboring Bira or Lese farmers they have lost their own languages, and are under cultural influences of the agricultural people. Tanno [TANNO 1980: 117] considers that Pokot, or their mother-tribe who had a mixed economy comprising both agriculture and herding, was caused to have different primary subsistence activities by the expansion of the markets, and finally diverged into the present subgroups.

When these two examples are compared with that of the Songola, one similarity in particular is evident. The barter of foodstuffs takes place between one group of agriculturists and one group of non-agriculturists. Vegetable produce is traded for animal protein, in the form of meat (Mbuti), milk (Plains Pokot) or fish (Enya). Whether the subsistence pattern of the non-agricultural people is one of hunting, herding or fishing, does not matter; the close socio-economic ties, or symbiotic relationships, through barter are universal regardless. The other similarity is that a couple of groups connected with barter ties usually utilize different habitats: for instance, forest and villages including fields (the Mbuti and the related farmers), plain and hill (Pokot), and riverside and forest (Songola). Bartering occurs on the boundaries of the different habitats, especially when barter is carried out in periodic markets, as in the Songola and the Pokot.

As shown above in Introduction, there are divergent subgroups whose members insist that they are the "Songola". The Songola is believed to be an amalgamation of its neighboring tribes, Lega, Zimba and Ngengele [LECOSTE 1954: 24; ABEMBA 1972: 15]. Nevertheless, we cannot simply assume that each subgroup of the Songola has a single, independent ethnic origin and consequently is homogeneous. Of the various subgroups which insist on their identity as the Songola, the Enya provides a peculiar problem on the derivation of its language, subsistence patterns and identity. I believe that the complicated derivation of the Songola-Enya would be better under-

stood through the historical development of the symbiotic relationships based on the barter of foods than rather through such general explanations as “nombreuses années de coexistence et d’inter-marriages” [ABEMBA 1972: 15].

Of those investigated within the scope of this research, it was found that the Kuko and the adjacent Enya use mostly the same language and there is a symbiotic relationship between them, whereas those Enya who have barter ties with the Ombo use instead the Ombo language. This appears to be essentially identical to the situation found among the Mbuti. The Mbuti Pygmies can be distinguished from their neighboring agricultural peoples by their mode of life and distinctive small body sizes. On the other hand, the Enya are distinguished only according to their subsistence patterns and identity, characteristics that may be transformed through generations. Thus we cannot deny the possibility that some of the Songola-speaking Enya derive from the Kuko and other farming subgroups, and some of the Ombo-speaking Enya from the Ombo or the Ngengele. In this regard Bulck [BULCK 1948: 502] inaccurately concluded that the Enya of Kindu are the Ngengele mixed with the Zimba. Oral traditions among the Enya, however, suggest that they have experienced ethnic convergence on one hand and divergence on the other.

There are oral traditions in common between the Ombo-speaking Enya in Kimbulu village and Songola-speaking Enya in Tongomacho, according to which they originally lived in Lega territory, but fled along the Elila River on rafts made of the parasol tree to escape turmoil. If this is a correct narration of history, this would be the point when their original language was replaced either by Songola or Ombo as the group linguistically diverged. This change would have paralleled the development of symbiotic relationships with other groups in the new regions of settlement, supported by barter of fish and produce.

On the other hand, in Tongomacho and Mulumbila, the most closely related pair of Enya villages where they speak a dialect of Songola similar to that spoken by their Kuko neighbors, the Enya from the latter village are believed to have descended from the upper reaches of the Zaïre River, whereas Tongomacho villagers believe that they had come from the upper Elila River when they welcomed the members of Mulumbila village. If this is accurate, their language and identity converged, or “Enyaized”. This convergence may have occurred when they jointly began to develop symbiotic relationships with the Kuko farmers, through the barter of foods.

Today, all of these groups, including fishermen and farmers, share a common Songola identity. It is natural to conclude that the strengthening of the symbiotic relationship established through barter markets played an indispensable role in molding the identity of the complex Songola subgroups, both through linguistic divergence (Ombo-speaking and Songola-speaking Enya) and through convergence of language and identity among different groups (as Tongomacho and Mulumbila).

In conclusion, this paper illustrated that barter trade proceeds smoothly and efficiently in spite of the classical monetary theories which stressed the inconveniences of immediate barter of goods compared with the use of money. Although the



practice of bartering staples was widespread in pre-colonial tropical Africa, impacts of general-purpose money had invalidated most of the traditional barter economies that existed formerly. The Songola and their neighboring fishing groups, the Wagenia, are the unique exception in that they not only practice flourishing barter of staples but also have institutionalized barter markets. It is indispensable for these fishermen to attend the barter markets to obtain their food supplies mainly because riverine agriculture is less reliable than that in the forest. The barter markets are regulated so as to confine the items and to keep their barter rates stable: supply-demand market principles do not operate. On the contrary, barter transactions are carried out in combination with gift-giving, deferred barter and cash payment. The total system of the barter markets seem to operate as a defense mechanism against the Western economy represented by the use of general-purpose money. Fishermen persuade the farmers to accept every unit of fish as an equivalent barter item regardless of its kind and taste. Fish begins to serve as a kind of limited-purpose money when such standardization is admitted by the participants. Thus the fishermen endeavor to establish an advantageous position over the farmers in the apparently egalitarian barter markets. Further studies of the barter economies along the upper Zaïre will not only furnish excellent opportunities to examine the conclusions reached in this study, but also shed light on the little known ethnohistory of the Zaïre River fishermen.

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