Mambila Traditional Religion:

Sua in Somié

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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June 1989
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This work is an analysis of Mambila religion based on fieldwork in Somié village, Cameroon.

An ethnographic and historical introduction to the Mambila is followed by an account of their religious concepts. It is argued that, despite their adherence to Christianity (and to Islam), traditional practices continue to be of great importance in everyday life. In order to examine traditional practice descriptions are given of divination and oath-taking rites.

Translated transcripts of the different forms of the sua-oath form the empirical core of the thesis. The transcripts illustrate the way that Mambila experience and understand the meaning of sua. Descriptions are also given of the sua masquerades. Finally, I examine problems inherent in the analysis of non-literate societies lacking a reflective tradition, and in particular, societies lacking precise, structured religious concepts. This allows for discussion of resulting implications on the relationships between religion, politics and 'symbolic power.'
This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the result of work done in collaboration.
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Acknowledgements

Among the many people who aided my work in Cameroon, and to whom I remain most grateful, I list here those in who helped to overcome logistical and practical problems, and who contrived to make my visits to Cameroon unfailingly enjoyable! Thanks to:- Hans and Liane Beetjes, Bernard Fox, John Fox, Stéphen Giles, Franz Groot, Fred Groot, Simon Ingram-Hill, Norbert Holsen, Ellen Jackson, Priscilla Jones, Jacqueline Kouwenhaven, Simon and Julie Munzu, Paul Nkwi, Mona Perrin, Ann Rossiter, the Schleifer family, Jean-Pierre Warnier.

My research could not have been conducted without the research permits granted by His Excellency the Minister for Higher Education and Scientific Research (R.P. 13/85 and 62/86). In Yaoundé I have benefitted from the help given by the staff of the C.R.E.A., I.H.S., M.E.S.R.E.S. and the National Archives. I have always been helped by the members of the Cameroonian Civil Service with whom I have come in contact - most notably by the several people who served as Sous-Préfet of Bankim while I was in Somié and the members of their staff.

In the U.K. my supervisor, Esther Goody, has encouraged my research from the outset, and has been an invaluable source of ideas and of criticism. I am grateful to Farnham Rehfisch, Mona Perrin, John Hare and Roger Blench who have allowed me access to unpublished material.

Anna Rayne has argued with me throughout, and without her this work would read very differently, yet she is not responsible for the remaining infelicities.

The research on which this is based was funded by the E.S.R.C. (grant no. A00428424416) and by a scholarship from Trinity College, Cambridge. Help for equipment was provided by The Smuts Fund and the Wyse Fund, both of Cambridge University.

My greatest debt is to the people of Somié itself and to those of the other Mambila villages in Cameroon. I will not single out individuals here for that would not be gratitude enough. I can merely say: Mi vraga bi. Jie! Jie! Jie!
A note on orthography

In transcribing the Somié dialect of the Mambila Language (Jù Bà) I have kept as close as possible to the work of Mona Perrin. However, in Cameroon she has worked mainly on the Atta dialect, which differs from that of Somié. I have therefore found it necessary to depart slightly from the orthography recommended in Perrin & Hill 1969, and recently revised in Perrin 1987. Specifically, I do not include [a] as an allophone of /i/. This change remains within the recommendations of the Cameroon National Alphabet (Tadadjeu & Sadembouo 1978). Place-names of towns and villages are written as they are denoted on maps (for example, Sonkolong) but local names are used for hamlets which rarely appear on maps (for example, Njerup, rather than the Fulfulde name, Vamgo).

The following graphemes are used, which have their standard I.P.A. interpretations unless otherwise stated. Further information is provided in Perrin & Hill 1969.

\[ /e/ \quad /s/ \quad /i/ \quad /o/ \quad /3/ \quad /u/ \]
\[ /y/ = /j/ \text{ voiced alveopalatal semi-vowel} \]
\[ /ch/ = \text{ unvoiced alveopalatal fricative} \]
\[ /ny/ = \text{ voiced alveopalatal nasal} \]
\[ /n/ \quad /n/ \quad /nd/ \quad /nj/ \quad /m/ \quad /mb/ \]
\[ /gb/ \quad /h/ \quad /f/ \quad /j/ \quad /p/ \quad /s/ \]
\[ /v/ \quad /v/ \quad /w/ \]
\[ /g/ : \text{ Medial }/g/ \text{ is a voiced post-velar fricative, notably in [-ɔgɔ] which is often very close to } [-ɔŋɔ], \text{ and [-aga] which to English ears sounds like a lengthened and aspirated [a] vowel} \]

The marking of tone is based on the analysis of Perrin & Hill 1969, and Perrin 1973. There are four level tones and five glides between those levels. In these works the tones are numbered 1 to 4 as the tone descends and combinations of numbers are used to record the glides; here accents are placed on the extreme tones only. So tone 1 (high) is marked with an acute accent, and tone 4 (low) with a grave accent. It should be noted that vowel length is not distinctive in Mambila so graphemes are duplicated only to mark tone changes. Thus the vowel length is identical in nde (go) and nddee (come).

Full tone marking is maintained in both Perrin’s Mambila-French lexicon (now in progress), and in the author’s comparative dictionary (also in progress) which amalgamates the work of Perrin, Malasé, Meyer, and Meek as well as that of the writer.

Gender: The Mambila language lacks gender (it is a non-Bantu Bantoid). The third person pronouns (à, bò) are neuter, and the word nùlar, which is freely used without qualification, is best translated as “person.” I have tried to match this in the text, and in the
translations, so that pronouns can be read literally. Rather than use “s/he” or “she or he” throughout I employ “they” as a third person singular pronoun where necessary. This usage does occur in speech, and I prefer it to the alternatives above.

Bold type is used for Mambila words when they occur in the text.

The name “Mambila”.

In Cameroon the group officially called “Mambila”, call themselves Bɔ Bà (The Bà) and speak Jù Bà. In Nigeria is the group officially called “Mambilla” who live on the Mambila Plateau, call themselves Bɔ Nor (The people). This latter appellation was among the earliest recorded (for example, by Meek 1931b). Voeglin & Voeglin 1977:73 give the following list of names (which is based on early, unreliable sources): “Mambila = Mambere = Bamembila = Nor = Omavine = Katoba = Luen = Torbi = Tagbo = Tongbo = Lagubi”. They also note that Atta, Kuma and Myanip have been described as names of various Mambila groups.
Preface: the Theoretical Problem.

Theology in a Society without Theologians

This is the first systematic analysis of Mambila traditional religion. I am sure that the readership of educated and ordained Mambila will find much to criticize herein. I hope, however, that I have accurately indicated the most important aspects, even if I am mistaken about some of the details. I eagerly await correction.

Reflection upon religion is a concomitant of religious activity in the world religions. Its absence places the ethnographer in a difficult position. The problem is how to indicate the systematicity in what occurs without imputing a detailed, consistent theological system which does not in fact exist. My claim is that such a system has not been elaborated in Mambila thought. Intellectual activity has been mainly concerned to resolve immediate problems - the best course of action in any one case, how to resolve a field dispute without causing lingering resentment, and so on... Global considerations are applied in the organisation of the major rituals, but these focus on action. Questions concern the proper way to perform the rite, not why the rite takes place, far less its relationship to other rites. Of course such an attitude is typical of most peoples, including those of literate communities who rely on an intellectual division of labour.

This accords closely with Horton’s type intellectualism (Horton 1967). Yet it is not clear to what extent the effects of contact with Islam and the Christian church and from incorporation into the Nation State of Cameroon are explained by his ideas of religious change (q.v. Horton 1971a and 1975 on conversion, as well as Horton 1967 and Horton & Peel 1976).

Mambila lack both theologians and a theological tradition. This absence relates to the absence of a literate or a reflexive tradition. Jack and Esther Goody have developed this theme, and I am greatly indebted to their work in this field. Jack Goody (Goody 1957, 1977) has argued that literacy not only permits but also stimulates questions of consistency which may not arise in an oral context. He describes the “lure of the new” as an internal feature of western religions which develops into scepticism and allows for the possibility of the evaluation of religions under the influence of literacy. In his most recent work (1986:5) on the subject he goes so far as to link the possibility of “conversion in the strict sense” to literacy. Such extremism, although logically consistent, renders ‘conversion’ inappropriate in much of sub-Saharan Africa, and hence is self-defeating. Recently Ruth Finnegan (1988) has questioned the evidence of an opposition between literacy and orality. She argues that such is the extent of variation and complexity within and between these polar types that the consequences held to follow from literacy cannot be so simply connected with
it. Although her work on the Limba serves to warn against a simplistic and totalizing approach it does not invalidate the general position. Especially in the field of religion it remains the case that systematicity follows literacy, and indeed is often a consequence of it. Such a view is reinforced and complemented by Esther Goody’s analysis of the possibility of questioning (Goody 1978) where social context precludes so-called “Socratic questioning” and abstract discussion. Those latter are themselves products of a limited literacy (as J. Goody has argued op. cit.).

Literacy is now a feature of Mambila society - although few of the most senior people are literate. However, many villages have now compiled a written list of Chiefs, to which researchers are referred. At least one senior man has dictated historical texts to a school boy without any reference to ethnographers, realizing that otherwise their knowledge may be lost. My historical research has greatly benefited from such sources. However, the senior educated Mambila people with training or inclination to reflect on their society are church functionaries who have left the village and work in major cities. Whilst several are interested in Mambila history none to my knowledge has been concerned to analyse the religious tradition in which they were raised up. It is to be hoped that this work will provide a stimulus for such activity.

**THEORY AND TRANSCRIPTS**

The theoretical attitude which is outlined above necessitates a sensitivity and responsiveness on the part of the analyst to both the richness and the poverty of the domain under study. It is then incumbent upon me to produce a body of data which, at least in part, demonstrates that the Mambila religion is as I claim it is. Such is the logic of claims of the non-existence of any item that I can but report that during my fieldwork I sought evidence for but did not discover any myths, nor any systematic reflection about that religion. More research may yet reveal one or both.

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1The Dogon are a well documented counter-example, but after the work of Calame-Griaule (1986) the Dogon can be seen to have a more fluid and less structured cosmology than earlier accounts suggest (Griaule 1965).

2Lewis’s “Day of Shining Red” (1980) is a good example of a ‘refusal’ to make inferences in response to just such a ‘poverty’.

3Let alone the existence or not of an integrated “system of thought.” All such claims are threatened by a logical problem which is isomorphic to “the problem of induction.” The absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.
The evidence I present is of two types: first that summarized by the introductory chapters including the ethnographic context and some general features of religion. This is followed by the presentation of a set of transcripts of various types of sua. These form the basis of further analysis (the full transcripts with word-for-word glosses are given in the appendix) as well as illustrating the bulk of the evidence available to ethnographers and to Mambila themselves. Therefore any understanding which comes from the scrutinizing of transcripts is likely to be (or at least may be) shared by Mambila themselves. An analysis founded on interviews, let alone on more structured albeit systematic enquiry, would not provide even that slim assurance. Such enquiry creates situations which do not arise in Mambila society. The simple fact of enquiry by the ethnographer alone raises problems in the interpretation of any results which I hope to avoid by using unelicited spontaneously-occurring speech.

Theory

The vagueness of the key concepts of Mambila traditional religion was initially a casual impression formed after fruitless attempts to elicit explanation of the concepts continually being referred to. However, it now appears as an important element, to be preserved in any analysis which attempts to remain faithful both to that which was observed in the field, and to that which, I would claim, any participant actually understands. My justification for such claims rests on the implications of the failure to elicit or discover any explanation of concepts, and on ethnomethodological accounts of so-called rule-following systems.

The system (if it warrants the label) consists of a set of actions and activities, together with an associated vocabulary. These are paradigms which define what they call their tradition (dina 1s5, bə njai chum, bə njai da bə tele ba, tou 1s5 (Atta and Sonkolong dialects only)). The tendency of a structurally-inclined anthropologist would be to construct (to discover?) the “symbolic” system which these define. The modest ambition of this work is to discuss the paradigms and to question the extent to which the conceptual spaces between the paradigms are left vague and undefined.

RITUAL AND EXPLANATION

The Mambila in Somié understand clearly the ritual actions and the methods of their performance; the proper sequence of events, for example. Occasionally in the course of an

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1Cf Wieder 1974.

2Boyer (1987) questions the validity of “tradition” as an analytic term, but its use is warranted here by the existence of an indigenous concept of tradition.
exhortation to correct action, a dire consequence of omission may be referred to as a sanction. But these are exceptions, and when explicit questions were put by the ethnographer typically a range of explanations for any particular practice was elicited, ranging from “this is how it has always been done” to “it is not good to omit it, because evil may result.”

This must be borne in mind when considering the “explanations” of actions given in the accounts below. These are minority opinions, but were obtained from senior members of the community who have been active in ritual for many years and whose opinion is greatly respected. It is methodologically defensible to present their opinions since I am confident that many others would concur with them, despite the fact that they did not spontaneously produce these accounts themselves. There may be Mambila equivalents to Turner’s friend Muchona but I found none.

Despite such problems the range of possible explanations is itself a cultural fact and in that sense any (and all) explanations are of sociological interest. Insofar as this is an initial (and preliminary) survey of Mambila religious thought it is adequate to give indications of the acceptable indigenous accounts. I doubt strongly whether there is any unanimity of opinion amongst Mambila on many of the issues here discussed.

**Summary**

The empirical core of this work consists of a set of transcripts of addresses made when sua-oaths were taken. They have been transcribed from tape-recordings, then translated. The translations are presented here (and the transcripts in the appendices) in order that the reader may gain an idea of the means by which Mambila people come to understand the complexities of their own religion and society. There is no formal system of transmission, nor any occasions when the general principles of the religion are discussed as such. Yet people patently “know what they are doing.” Mambila people themselves come to understand “Mambila religion” by participating in the masquerades and by attending when sua-oaths are taken. Everyone hears the addresses, which thus represent an important if not unique source of insight into sua. A further reason for presenting the transcripts is to provide a resource for socio-linguists and for those interested in matters such as conversational analysis. For anthropologists they serve as pegs on which to hang further ethnography, details of which are provided in the extensive footnotes.
Chapter One

Ethnographic Introduction

SUMMARY

This chapter consists of an introduction to the Mambila in Cameroon; in the next chapter the traditional religion is introduced. We will first consider the Mambila in time and space, then the social structure. Kinship, marriage and the economic system are described and the institution of the Chief is discussed. Local political institutions are considered as are the processes of dispute resolution. After considering social change the chapter concludes with a summary of life-crisis rites.

THE MAMBILA

Most of the Mambila live on the Mambila Plateau in Nigeria. The Nigerian population was estimated at 43,000 (LIDECO 1972:41). The Cameroonian population is small by comparison numbering 10 - 15,000. These figures are provisional until the results of the 1987 decennial census become available. Most Cameroonian Mambila are found on the Tikar Plain in Adamaoua Province centred around the three villages of Atta (Ta), Sonkolong\(^1\) (Mbor) and Somié (Ndeba). There are also some in the North-West Province along the Nigerian border; for example, in the villages of Sabongari (Ngom) and Ly.

In Cameroon Mambila (Bâ Bâ) speak Jû Bâ (The language of the Bâ). This is language 710 in the Cameroon Atlas of Languages (eds. Dieu & Renaud 1983)). The language was first described by Meyer (1939) but more recently and thoroughly by Hill & Perrin (1969) and Perrin (1974a & b, 1976, 1978). Meyer only worked on Nigerian dialects while Perrin has worked in both Nigeria and Cameroon. The language consists of a chain of dialects which are locally intercomprehensible, but comprehension decreases with the geographical separation of the villages so that Highland (Nigerian) dialects are almost incomprehensible to speakers of dialects of the Tikar Plain: Fulfulde is spoken when Nigerian and Cameroonian Mambila meet at market. However, conversion between dialects is not difficult: immigrants from Nigeria were able to converse in Somié dialect after a year’s residence.

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\(^1\)Sonkolong is often spelt “Songkolong”; the spelling used here is that of the main maps of the area produced by the I.G.N., Yaoundé.
The main documentary sources of information about the Mambila are all concerned with the Nigerian population. To date no ethnographic work has been written on the Mambila in Cameroon. Meek published the earliest anthropological description of the Mambila in 1931, but since he left the Plateau after only a fortnight, due to illness, the accuracy of this work must be open to some doubt. Subsequently some British colonial officers left records of great value, notably Percival and du Boulay\(^1\). The major documentation lies in the work of Farnham Rehfisch who worked in the village of Warwar in 1952-3. His published work is an invaluable resource for which I am happy to record my indebtedness.

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\(^1\)Full references are included in the annotated Mambila bibliography included as an appendix. It has been published as Zeitlyn 1989.
MAP 1.1 Fieldwork location.
CAMEROON showing the location of the Mambila.
The Tikar Plain

The Tikar Plain is bounded on three sides by the escarpments of the Adamawa Plateau, Mambila Plateau and the Bamoun Plateau; the Mape River can be regarded as the fourth side. Beyond that the plain extends southwards to central Cameroon and the Sanaga hinterland. Ecologically it is favoured with regular and abundant rain\(^1\), and with fertile soils benefitting from the run-off from the surrounding plateaux. Phyto-geographically the area has been classified as a mix of Sudano-Zambezian and Guinea-Sudanian zones (Letouzey 1985).

\(^1\)2200-3000 mm/yr (Letouzey 1985).
MAP 1.2: The Tikar Plain

Scale: 65 km

Approx. area of canton of Somié: 

NIGERIA

Donga

Mambila Plateau

Adamawa Plateau

Mayo Darié

Ribao

Sonkolong

Mbonjanga

Mapé

Arta

Somié

Tikar

Mambila

Kwanga

Mapé

Nkwri

Bankim

1000m

11° 30’

6°

11°
The Tikar form a substantial majority of the population on the Tikar Plain; they live between the Mape river and the main Foumban-Banyo road which was completed in the 1950's. However, substantial Tikar populations are also found on the other side of the Mape, for example, Nditam and Ngute Tikar as studied by Price (Price 1979, 1985 and Thorbecke 1919-1924). Population figures are uncertain in advance of the publication of the results of the 1987 national census. In addition to the Tikar, other populations include those of the Konja and the Mambila. The Konja have settled in the North of the Tikar Plain over the last century, spreading slowly southwards from the Adamaoua Plateau onto the plain. The Tikar chief of Bankim is acknowledged as senior, and Bankim as their place of origin, by the “Tikar” chiefs of North-Western and Western provinces, although there is some doubt as to the status of Tikar origin claims (see discussion in Jeffreys 1964, Price 1979, and contributors to Tardits 1981). Moreover, those kingdoms are far larger and richer than that of Bankim, and yet they continue to affirm its superior position.

Price (1985) describes ten Tikar kingdoms on the Tikar plain, each based around its own fortified capital town possessing a court and a system of associations similar to those of the centralized polities found in the Grassfields and in Western Cameroon. Both the Konja and the Mambila seem to have adopted the institution of chief from the Tikar, but both lack their political system (especially the use of masquerade associations as instruments of power).

Population densities are low and there was no competition for land until the recent establishment of large coffee plantations especially in the corridor along the main Foumban-Banyo road. This situation is now in great flux due to the flooding of many Tikar fields by the Mape River dam (see below).

MAMBILA ON THE TIKAR PLAIN

Mambila have moved down from the Mambila Plateau onto the Tikar Plain over the last two centuries. They occupy a strip of land along the foot of the escarpment, at the top of which is the international boundary with Nigeria. Most of the Mambila population lives in Adamaoua Province although there are some settlements in North-West Province. The three major villages are Atta, Somié and Sonkolong. Sabongari in North-West Province has Mambila origins (and its Mambila name is Ngam), but the majority of the population is now non-Mambila. Each village is surrounded by smaller satellite hamlets, which look to them administratively, socially and economically. There are also smaller villages which are more independent in that they have a ‘chief” (often denoted by the Fulfulde “Jauro”) who arbitrates internal disputes. Such villages may also have their own school. Prominent among these is Lingam, whose Chief claims a common origin with the chiefs of the three
main villages. It seems that some of the other villages have grown at its expense. (For example, early “Rapports de Tournée” from the 1930s consulted in the Yaoundé National Archives make no mention of Atta, whilst they figure both Somié and Sonkolong). The formal status of such villages is not clear. The civil authorities recognize the chiefs of the three main villages, but also in their day-to-day administration they deal with the Jauro of the other villages. Between villages there is competition for status. One case considered below concerns the attempts of a hamlet headman to be recognized by the chief of Somié as a Jauro. The office of "headman" ranges from being nominal spokesman, as the senior man of a small hamlet, to being the chief of a small village. The succession of the latter is described for Somié below. Headmen of smaller hamlets attain prominence in the same way as notables "emerge" (also discussed below); with less power to wield there is less at issue and the rôle may be shared, with one man arbitrating disputes and advising on rituals and another acts as hamlet spokesman in other hamlets and villages.
MAP 1.3 Mambila Villages

The area in which this village is located is officially recognized as a distinct administrative region, separate from the rest of the country. The area is characterized by a high degree of isolation, with a lack of infrastructural development. The village is surrounded by dense forest and high mountains, making it difficult to access and reach other parts of the country.

**Village Location:***

**Village Name:** Mambila Villages

**Location:**
- **Ly:**
- **Kumchum:**
- **Atta:**
- **Sonkolong:**
- **Tamnyar:**
- **Jang 1:**
- **Jang 2:**
- **Kuar:**
- **Hainare:**
- **Nassero:**
- **Kouroum:**
- **Sarkim:**
- **Baka:**
- **Mbwe:**
- **Ribao:**
- **Somie:**
- **Old road to Bankim (closed 1987):**

**Roads and Transportation:**
- **Motorable road:**
- **Track:**
- **Hamlet:**
- **Divisional Boundary:**
- **National Boundary:**

**Scale:**
- **20 km**

**Population:**
- The population of the village is estimated to be approximately 240,777 (1986 tax census). Uncertainty exists about this figure, partly due to the challenging terrain and sparse population distribution.

**Social and Cultural Information:**
- The village is home to the Mambila ethnic group, known for their strong traditional values and close-knit community. The area is rich in biodiversity, with a variety of flora and fauna.

**Infrastructure:**
- The village has limited infrastructure, with basic amenities such as schools and health centers.

**Economic Activities:**
- The primary source of income is agriculture, with the cultivation of crops such as yams, plantains, and vegetables.

**Natural Features:**
- The area is characterized by a tropical climate, with a rainy season from April to September and a dry season from October to March.

**History:**
- The village has a long history, with evidence of human settlement dating back thousands of years. The area was once a center for trade and commerce, with a rich cultural heritage.

**Based on Perrin & Hill 1969:**

The Maipe River (completed 1987-88) has claimed the village to be isolated and unique in its setting. Rapid growth can be expected in the next few years, which will change the population patterns recorded by the writer in 1983. However, at that time the center proper was occupied only by Mambila apart from the few school teachers, nurses at the dispensary and an agricultural monitor who has been long resident in the area. All other immigrants lived outside the center. This was in marked contrast to the other two major Mambila villages, Atta and Sonkolong, where immigrant quarters are conspicuous with the centers.
The fieldwork on which this thesis is based was conducted mainly in Somié, the smallest of the three main Mambila villages. It is in competition politically with the other two major villages, competing for status which may be granted by the civil authorities in Bankim. Hence from the point of view of village inhabitants the other villages and hamlets are relatively un-important and are rarely, if ever, mentioned below.

Marriage to people from other villages occurs; its frequency decreases with distance. There is more intermarriage between people from Somié and people from Atta than with those from Sonkolong. This accords with traditions respectively of amity and distrust between Somié and those villages. Amity between Somié and Sonkolong is frequently suspended and subsequently re-established with ritual accompaniment (see below). The relationship between Somié and Atta does not seem to be as fragile.

THE CANTON OF SOMIÉ

The Canton of Somié covers an area of approximately 240 square kilometres and contains a population of 1,777 (1986 tax census). Uncertainty exists about this figure, partly due to continuing disputes as to which villages are included in the Canton. The major dispute concerns the inclusion of the Konja village of Mbondjanga in the Canton (see map 1.2 above). While its inclusion makes administrative sense from a geographical point of view, it is not popular with the inhabitants of Mbondjanga, who resent being administratively tied to the Mambila.

My research was confined mainly to Somié village centre which lies at the end of the motorable road and which contains the Chief's Palace, state dispensary, a Protestant church and both mission and state primary schools (the last opened in 1987). The population of the village centre was recorded as 1006 by the 1986 tax census. The centre is perceived locally as a unit, but occasionally the name "Somié" is also used to refer to most of the area of the Canton of Somié.

The Mape River dam (completed 1987-88) has caused the village to be less isolated than hitherto. Rapid growth can be expected in the next few years which will change the population pattern recorded by the writer in 1985. At that time the centre proper was occupied only by Mambila apart from the few school teachers, nurses at the dispensary and an agricultural monitor who has been long resident in the area. All other immigrants lived outside the centre. This was in marked contrast to the other two major Mambila villages, Atta and Sonkolong, where immigrant quarters are contiguous with the centres.
Ethnographic Introduction

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

The Mambila are within the southern-most limits of FulBe influence. Although heavily raided for slaves in the late 19th century, they were never fully incorporated into any of the FulBe lamidates until the imposition of colonial rule after the First World War. However both the British and the French policies of indirect rule through the FulBe served to maintain their influence since the Mambila Plateau was administered from Yola and the Tikar Plain from Banyo.

As border populations they figure fleetingly in the historical work on the FulBe, most notably in connection with the death of an early Lamido of Banyo at Ribao on his return from a raid against the Mambila in 1893 (opinions differ as to whether it was Usmanu or Hamma Gabdo).

Jean Hurault has used aerial archæological techniques to estimate past population figures, especially those before the FulBe slave raids began (see especially Hurault 1979 and 1986). At present this work is controversial; high population figures are claimed, and these are as yet un-corroborated by other researchers. It is possible that he has not made sufficient allowance for the mobility of the villages, thereby inflating his population estimates. However, it should be stressed that this writer is not competent to assess his work, lacking expertise in aerial archæology and physical geography.

The History of the Tikar Plain Mambila

All Mambila on the Tikar Plain came from the Mambila Plateau and the adjoining areas of the Adamawa Plateau. I have recorded three waves of immigration into the Somié area. These successively pushed back Tikar inhabitants from the foot of the cliff further southwards into the Tikar Plain and conquering earlier immigrants, the last wave achieving this with the aid of FulBe slave raiders. The first immigrants were called the Liap and came from the area around Guessimi. Little is now known of them. One informant related

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1I have adopted the convention of indicating the implosive b as occurs in the word FulBe by using a capital *B*.


3It should be stressed that this account is based on oral work centred on Somié and therefore is uncertain in many respects and undoubtedly presents a "Somié-centric" view of history.

4This version of events is discussed below.

5There is a story (known only by some old people) of a Liap rite which involved dancing in a cave. One year the cave fell in during this rite and killed many of them.
them to the Wawa south of Banyo, but this account is unsubstantiated. Some people are still occasionally described as Liap by virtue of being patrilaterally related to other Liap.

The second wave of immigrants are called the Ndeba, and this is the local name for the village. Many more people describe themselves as Ndeba than Liap - the area of Njerup hamlet is described as being populated by Ndeba so that the Ndeba are often called Njerup. However, granted this, relatively little is known of the Ndeba.

The last wave of Mambila immigrants onto the Tikar Plain were the Mv3p who came down the escarpment from Mvar village South-West of Dorofi - the site has been documented by Jean Hurault (1979:22 & Plate VII, 1986:131 & Plate III). These were a group of children of Touloum (their common ancestor in Mv3p) who founded Sonkolong, Somié and Atta. Some people say that Atta was founded by a sister's son of Touloum and that its chief therefore does not have the right to make palace fences from elephant grass, and indeed the Atta chief does not use elephant grass fences. I have not corroborated this version in Atta so it is possible that it is an extension of inter-village rivalry. However, rivalry is not so prominent between Somié and Atta as between Somié and Sonkolong, so this account may be correct.

There is some evidence1 that the arrival in Somié of the Mv3p, and their conquest of the Ndeba, was effected in alliance with the FulBe. This is consistent with the fact that until the 1950's tribute was sent by the Mambila chiefs annually to Banyo. The tribute was largely in kind, and included some slaves. The FulBe demands for slaves were met by each chief from among their several hamlets, according to their size.

Until the formation of Bankim Sous-Préfecture in 1982 the Tikar Plain continued to be administered from Banyo as it had been throughout the colonial period. Closer contact2 with the administration is helping to lessen the isolation of the village, if only by easing basic administrative tasks such as tax paying and renewal of national identity cards. The administrative officers can now visit Somié regularly since they are so much nearer, and are increasing the range of services available to villagers.

In Somié two hamlet headmen name new chiefs and are accorded great respect. One of these is the head of Njerup hamlet, thus the head of Ndeba. The other is the head of Gumbe hamlet who is of Mv3p descent, but through a sister's son of a chief so that members of his family are not eligible to become chief. No tension between this and the

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1The clearest testimony is that of the head of an outlying hamlet who has dictated historical texts in French to schoolboys, copies of which I possess.

2Bankim is 70 km by road from Somié whereas Banyo was more than 200 km by road; one had to travel via Bankim until the new road to Nyamboya was opened in late 1988.
situation of the Atta chieftaincy (see above) has been remarked locally, and when it was pointed out the resemblance was not taken up.

Further historical details must await another work.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A description of the social structure is given below. The social structure can be seen as the armature within which social events take place. The introductory descriptions and the footnotes to the texts illustrate some of the types of events which occur in contemporary Mambilasociety.

The kinship system is discussed, also marriage and residence patterns. Authority structures are then considered in the context of the institution of the chief. Further information about the social structure is contained in the texts presented. Rehfisch has published (1972) a description of the social structure of Warwar in 1952/3 (the period of his fieldwork). The social structure of present-day Somié strongly resembles his account.

KINSHIP

Cameroonian Mambila have no lineages, and also lack descent groups\(^1\). Rehfisch (1960) provides a reconstruction of the system of bilateral descent which existed when exchange marriage was practised by Nigerian Mambilla. According to his account each individual was a member of two groups recruited on a basis of kinship and residence: the menim, a descent group in which the affiliation of children depended on whether they were born from an exchange or bridewealth marriage\(^2\), and the man, a group of coresidential, bilateral kin. Neither of these resembled lineages, and there was no segmentation. However, even in 1953 his description was an historical reconstruction. The menim-s had all but vanished by then; they were the groups between which women were exchanged in the system of exchange marriage banned by the British in the 1920's (Meek 1936). Some Cameroonian Mambila now deny that they ever practised exchange marriage, and refer to it as a Nigerian custom. There is, nonetheless, genealogical evidence for its practice. Contemporary genealogies are shallow and poorly maintained: there is no advantage in their knowledge (it is not a means to power or influence) and no pressure to preserve the information per se. Residence patterns lead to groupings of coresidential kin similar to the man. These groups

\[^1\]A descent group understood as a group recruited on the basis of common descent, after Fox 1967:49, but see Verdon’s discussion cited below which sharpens the definition so that a descent group is one recruited solely on the basis of descent.

\[^2\]This is discussed in Rehfisch 1972 and Percival 1938.
are not named nor do their members act as a group, hence the notion of descent group has no utility here\(^1\). A group of coresident kin is not named in Jù Bà, although, the French "famille" is occasionally used to refer to those kin co-resident with the speaker. There are also two phrases which refer to kin: \(b3 \text{nùår mò: all the speaker’s kin, and b3 lòp mò: the matrilateral kin of the speaker. Yet neither of these classes of people act as a group.}

**Household Structure, Residence and Domestic Cycle**

The residential aspects of the domestic cycle are as follows. A household usually consists of a married man, his wives and their children. Early in the domestic cycle a man and his first (or single successive) wife live in one house near the husband’s father or brother. Subsequent houses are added as children are born and after later marriages, possibly leviratic\(^2\). A prosperous middle-aged man may then build a separate house in which he will entertain and eat with guests and his adolescent sons, food being provided by all his wives\(^3\). Each wife eats with her young children in her own house. If there are several adolescent sons a separate house may be built for them to sleep in, but this is rare. Daughters sleep in their mother’s house.

After betrothal a son will seek to build his own house. This cannot always be alongside the father’s house(s) because of space constraints in the village. They therefore build as near as possible. On the death of a senior man one of his younger sons may move into the site of his houses, although the actual house often remains empty, disintegrates and is replaced by a new one. Widows may remain where they are, move to live with other children, or remarry. The net result of these customs is that kin cluster together but without a fixed pattern. "Compounds" are not fenced, adding to the difficulty of defining residential units\(^4\). The word \(b3\) means either house, compound or village depending on context. This results in the residence pattern in Somie being very similar to that described by Rehfisch.

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\(^1\)Verdon (1981) argues that only groups recruited by cognition alone should be termed “descent groups,” and in an earlier paper (Verdon 1980) he distinguished descent as a principle of aggregation from the criteria of membership in what he defines as “simple operational groups.”

\(^2\)Some couples choose to remain monogamously married, mainly in response to the teachings of the Church. This has effectively rendered one brother of the chief ineligible to succeed to the chieftainship.

\(^3\)The absence of a cooking rota means that Goody’s definition of a Gonja household (Goody 1973:254) is inappropriate here. Yet the first element of her double definition viz. “The unit within which daily farming activities are jointly carried out” remains valid.

\(^4\)This is similar to the Gonja q.v. Goody 1973:260.
Authority within a household is largely gerontocratic. Disputes are first referred to father or elder brother, then to a Notable before going to the Chief's Palace. Three parts of Somié centre were sometimes referred to as "quartier X", X being the name of the most prominent man resident in each. However, this phrase is used only occasionally and is prompted by the civil administration's use of the French word "quartier".

The first wife exercises some authority over subsequent wives but this is not formally sanctioned, and tensions between co-wives devolve upon their husband to be resolved. Such conflicts are sometimes cited as the reasons for a wife leaving her husband. Some monogamously married men claimed that they chose to remain so in order to avoid the arguments which result from polygyny. Each field is owned by an individual but work is often shared: a man and his wives dig and weed fields together, but the husband’s fields receive more joint labour than those of the wives. Rotating work parties are organized on an individual basis, so one wife’s membership results in work on her field(s) alone. A woman controls the produce from her fields but must provide food for her husband from it. Arguments are frequent about the contributions that a man must make for the clothing and school fees of children, the men arguing that their mothers should bear most of the expense.

Marriage and Bridewealth

First marriage generally takes place when a woman is in her late teens after some years of betrothal during which she lives with her parents. Her husband will be in his early twenties.

Betrothal and subsequent marriage are consensual, the wishes of both parties being central. Betrothals can be terminated at the instigation of either side. The gifts from the groom’s family to the bride’s family which formally establish a betrothal (baskets, salt and oil) are not returned.

Historically both bridewealth and exchange marriages coexisted, the different marriage types leading to different affiliation of children. In this it resembles the Tiv system (Bohannan & Bohannan 1956, Bohannan 1967), a similarity highlighted by Richard Fardon in two recent papers (Fardon 1984 & 1985). Fardon argues that the Tiv are not the rare and unusual case which the Bohannans' description suggest. He seeks to establish that they have (had) neighbours with similar institutions, notably exchange marriage. He argues

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1 If her parents live in a city she may remain at secondary school. First-generation emigrants are actively encouraging their children to marry other Mambila. It remains to be seen how successful they will be.

2 Goody 1973:65 describes it as "courtship" marriage.

3 Rehfisch 1972 and Percival 1938.
that the Tiv ideology of segmentary organisation masks a range of political processes at the sub-ipaven level (below which they do not segment further). Hence Tiv are led to obfuscate, according to Fardon (1984), a range of political activities which regenerate the Tiv polity. When discussing exchange marriage among the Mambila Fardon is concerned to emphasize the parallels obtaining between this and the Tiv case (Fardon 1985:81-82). He compares the Mambila menim with the Tiv ingöl, the groups between which women were exchanged. Indeed the rules which assign an individual to a menim are similarly related to the marriage type of that individual’s parents. But in indicating the functional similarity he overlooks the fact that the Mambila seem to have had no system of “marriage wards” comparable to that of the Tiv. In particular, a woman was not assigned a “menim guardian” who could then marry her to another man in satisfaction of the debt of a marriage ward, and so on. Neither Rehfisch, Izard (1926) nor Percival (1938) mention any such complications beyond the general precept that if a full sister was not available to participate in an exchange a man could expect his menim to provide a woman to be exchanged for a wife. Moreover, Mambila colonial records are not full of disputes about marriage and wards as are those of the Tiv. This suggests that the Mambila methods of organizing exchange marriages were different from those of the Tiv.

The Goodys (Goody & Goody 1967) have presented a typology of marriage and residence patterns which fits the range of cases found in Northern Ghana. However, neither the Mambila nor the more famous Nigerian example of a double descent system, the Yakö (Forde 1939, 1941, & 1950), conform to their typology. The Mambila do not fit since they are acephalous, have a system of returnable bridewealth, and lack uni-lineal descent groups. The Yakö have a system of double descent and (returnable) bridewealth marriage but no widow inheritance, as well as a high rate of fostering and social paternity. Yakö divorce can be characterized (after the Goody’s pattern) as H.M.L. (High Medium Low) (Forde 1941:71-76) but according to the Goodys’ typology this divorce pattern occurs in “Type One” societies. These are characterized (op cit p. 243) as having patrilineal descent groups, high (returnable) bridewealth, low fostering, “social” paternity, increasingly stable marriage, a high ratio of conjugal residence and widow inheritance. The Yakö do not conform to this model, having a mixture of different elements found in the Goodys’ Type One and Type Two societies.

Mambila exchange marriage was repressed by the British (Meek 1936) and also by the French¹. It does not now occur among Mambila in Cameroon. There is, however,

¹However none of the relevant Rapports de Tournée consulted in the National Archives, Yaoundé, nor any of the Banyo annual reports mention marriage practices.
genealogical evidence that it existed previously. However, informants did not describe it as the important institution suggested by descriptions of Nigerian Mambilla. Possibly this is due to the absence of named descent groups (see above) in Cameroon. It is of note that Jean Hurault (p.c.) has recently failed to find any trace of such groups in Nigeria.

Marriage is viri-patrilocal, and is often delayed until the husband has built a new house beside his father's. When the bride moves into her new home youths perform a dance called Tadup, and for three days she is "displayed," decorated with camwood, on a large carved and painted stool. She is said to be full of shame, because of the sexual implications of her change of residence. To mark her arrival the groom gives a chicken and a spear to her elder brother. The latter then spit-roasts the chicken on a path beside his own house.

In the past, when bridewealth was paid in the form of hoes (sometimes referred to as "shovels" in the literature), there was a clear pattern of division: nine hoes were given to the wife's father and eight to the wife's mother, each of whom would redistribute them bilaterally among their own kin. Now money is given to the bride's father (or elder brother); he will then give some to her mother's family, but in a lower proportion than that established by the ratio of hoes. A hypothetical example described to me would divide the money 3/4 to the wife's father and only 1/4 to the wife's mother. It was stressed that both parents would distribute the money among their kin bilaterally, although continuing the patrilateral bias.

Bridewealth is given in instalments to the bride's father (or elder brother) who distributes the money among close kin. There are no formal rules for the distribution, and I know of no disputes heard at the Chief's Palace concerning the distribution. The general principle for the distribution of bridewealth, as for inheritance, is to divide most of the money between senior male siblings of the same father, token sums being given to the sisters. Thus a father would distribute the money among his siblings as well as his affines (the bride's mother's family). An elder brother, if he is family head, distributes the money among his junior siblings as well as to the bride's mother's family.

Once the couple are co-resident the bride's father will tell an agent of the groom (usually an elder brother) how much bridewealth he wants. In theory this is not negotiable; the amount is stated, and the groom must provide it. However, it is acknowledged that the representative sometimes argues for a reduction of demands perceived to be exorbitant, and this may be agreed in order to obtain speedy payment.

The rate of payment depends upon ability to pay; it may be settled quickly, in one or two instalments over a couple of years, or it may extend over a much longer period. If no cash can be raised a daughter may be pledged; as a young girl (approx. 8 - 10 years) she
will be given\(^1\) to her mother’s family who subsequently receive her bridewealth. With the availability of coffee money this is now rare. Until the bridewealth, or the greater part of it, has been paid the groom is expected to help his parents-in-law with their work, although the series of gifts presented at each stage of the farming calendar throughout the betrothal period ceases on marriage. The groom receives financial help from his father and elder siblings, but he is expected to provide some of the bridewealth himself. There is an archaic term (tugum) for men who paid no bridewealth and made uxorilocal marriages, entering their wife’s families in a lowly position, which is likened to slavery.

The increasing availability of cash, both from the sale of coffee and from those villagers in paid employment in cities, has led to bridewealth inflation. The Chief is concerned to limit this. He made a public statement at a Palace meeting in 1986 suggesting an upper limit of 100,000 CFA\(^2\) (about £200). It remains to be seen whether this will be complied with.

Divorce is common among new marriages, and bridewealth is returnable if no children have been born. Lack of children is a cause for divorce on the part of either party. If children have been born no bridewealth is repaid and the father keeps the children, subject to the possible variations outlined below.

The re-marriage of a divorced or widowed woman is a far quieter event with respect to the ritual. On arrival the chicken and spear are given to her brother. The chicken is spit-roasted outside his house just as on her first marriage, but no other rituals take place. The bridewealth now becomes an issue. For the remarriage of a widow no bridewealth is formally required, but a sum may be given by the new husband to her old affines, especially to her ex-husband’s younger brother who might expect, or be expected, to marry her leviratically.

In late 1985 35% of married men in Somié centre had polygynous marriages.

In the event of a remarriage a Palace case may be brought in order to turn a separation into a divorce. To achieve this the divorcing husband presents a chicken which is roasted and eaten by all present. The new husband may have to pay the standard fee for adultery of 20,000 CFA to the previous husband, as well as repaying some of the bridewealth.

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\(^1\)This can occasion fostering, although she may stay in her mother’s charge but in the capacity of “marriage ward” of the other family. There is, however, no system of marriage wards and marriage lords like that of the Tiv (q.v. Bohannan, 1959).

\(^2\)The CFA is tied to the French Franc. The exchange rates prevailing during fieldwork gave approximately 500 CFA for £1.
If no children have resulted from the marriage the new husband is expected to repay all the bridewealth paid by her previous husband, and disputes arise over the value of the gifts, for example, cooking utensils and clothing. The oil, spears and hoes are not returnable and thus do not enter into the calculation of the total amount of bridewealth. If there are children then only some of the bridewealth is repaid and the father keeps the child or, if it is still a baby, all the bridewealth is repaid and the baby enters the new family along with its mother. If there are several children then no bridewealth is repaid. Individual cases are settled by arbitration, sometimes before the Chief, in accordance with these general principles. A possible solution is to divide the children by sex between the parents as illustrated below:

DIAGRAM 1.1 The division of children on divorce

The first sanction against non-payment of bridewealth is for the wife to be recalled to her father’s (or his representative’s) house. The husband must then negotiate for her return. It is at this point that the offer of a daughter in lieu of bridewealth may be made. Kin fosterage is sufficiently common to make it difficult to establish how frequently this occurs. An alternative to ‘recalling’ the daughter is to await the birth of her first child, which will be claimed either in lieu of bridewealth (if female) or until the bridewealth is paid (if male).

Such bridewealth cases rarely come to the Chief’s Palace, whereas cases of bridewealth repayment on divorce and remarriage are commonly referred there in order that a sua-oath be taken to end the dispute. It is of note that if a man divorces his wife he is unlikely to succeed in reclaiming the bridewealth; it is reclaimable, however, if the wife leaves the husband.

The Chief does not pay bridewealth for his wives.

Terminology

The kinship terminology is bilateral and its use emphasizes relative age rather than generation: except for the lines father, father’s father, mother and mother’s mother, (and

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1I documented only one case during my fieldwork in Somié.
their reciprocals) all other non-affinal kin are "siblings". The terminology is hard to classify comprehensibly: according to Murdoch's cousin-classification it is "Hawaiian", while a classification based on the treatment of the first ascending generation would class it as a "lineal" terminology (Barnard & Good 1984: 612). There remains a problem about mother's brother since there is a term for sister's son but no reciprocal (see below). The terminology is as Rehfisch recorded with the exception of the increasing use of Fulfulde loan masi to distinguish the sex of same-generation affines.

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1 I follow standard conventions for the abbreviation of kinship terminology (as outlined in Keesing 1975: 102 ff) and also occasionally use the distinction between, for example, brother and "brother" to mark the difference between those with at least one parent in common and classificatory kin who can also use sibling terms in both address and reference.

2 It should be noted that although it merges generations the terminology does not class parents with parents' siblings and thus is not of a Crow-Omaha type.
Marriage is mainly viri-patrilocal which places a patrilateral bias on the system since a child will see, in everyday life, more of its father's kin than of its mother's.
Survival also affects the terminology\(^1\): “elder brother” becomes “father” after the death of the father, since the elder brother becomes the family head and should treat his younger brothers as his sons. I have no data on sibling quarrels clearly linked to this. With the deaths of the first major coffee planters likely to occur in the next 10-20 years the inheritance of their fields is likely to give rise to disputes. In the past the inheritance of a field saved some labour, but in the absence of land shortage failure to inherit a field would not have been a very serious matter. However, to inherit a mature coffee field gives one an immediate cash income, avoiding a five-year delay between planting a coffee field and its first crop. A youth at secondary school in Banyo or Foumban may justifiably fear that an elder brother with his own family may not support his studies as his own father would have done.

The word lop (witchcraft) is also used to refer to matrilateral kinship, since witchcraft is inherited matrilaterally. There is no equivalent term for patrilateral kinship. Nor is there a special term for kin, the phrase bò nùär mò (my people) being used where necessary.

**Mother’s Brother and Sister’s Son**

The relationship between mother’s brother and sister’s son is little different to that of other similar pairs (MB-Zd, FZ-Zs, MZ-Zs, and also FB-Zd, FB-Zs although FB may be close to F in the authority he exercises especially after a father’s death). Fathers (including elder brothers) exercise control over their children (and younger brothers) both in the organisation of everyday life and in the control of revenue from the farms (especially that gained from coffee cultivation). The question of inheritance of coffee fields (discussed below) may serve to underwrite their authority. The MB-Zs relationship lacks both these factors, hence it is less charged than that between father and son. The affective element is prominent, tempered by the authority of greater age over youth. It is marked, however, in a variety of ways briefly discussed as follows.

One’s sister’s sons are one’s nyu; however, this term is only used when the special features of the relationship are in operation. It is therefore usually used both by and of men. It seems to have no equivalent reciprocal (thus violating the so-called “law of consistent reciprocals” see Barnes 1978; Good 1978). A variety of terms for mother’s brother were

\(^1\)It is affected at both the address and reference levels, but reference is affected ambiguously. I would typically be told “he is my father, (having addressed him as father) he is my elder brother.” Or “he is my elder brother, he is my father.” This latter usage has the clear implication that the elder brother has taken on the mantle of the father after his death.
elicited, mostly “elder brother” although some used “small father”. This latter usage was never noted in free speech, and is probably based on the model of Fulfulde or Cameroonian French. No woman ever used the term in a natural context, although if explicitly asked (in the abstract) some would say that their sister’s son were their nyu. Similarly, nyu is used in practice to refer to males although in principle it applies to all sister’s children.

Nyu may enter the house of their mother’s brother and help themselves to items of clothing, small sums of money and other objects. The mother’s brother cannot accuse them of theft, nor demand the return of these. In this circumstance he has less power than a father, who has the sanction of his estate: he can threaten to disinherit a miscreant son. However, abuse of the privilege can provoke the mother’s brother publicly to declare that the named party is no longer his nyu, thus ending the relationship. Public opinion and peer-group pressure also operate to restrain gross abuse of these rights. Indeed they are rarely exercised and then not to a great degree.

Reciprocally the sister’s sons are expected to help in the field whenever the mother’s brother has a work party, but this is also true of all the parents’ siblings. The sister’s son, however, has a ritual rôle. When a man wishes beer to be poured onto his father’s grave it must be a nyu who does the pouring and makes the invocation. In the absence of an actual sister’s son to pour beer on the grave either a sister’s child’s son or a “sister’s” son can be selected.

The relationship is most important among the Chief’s family. The nyu of the Chief are referred to as b3 nyu (the sister’s sons) or b3 nyu mgbe (the sister’s sons of the Chief) and they have diverse special functions. In particular, they are in charge of many of the rites comprising the ngwun ritual. They are the agents operating and in charge of the cult of the chiefs’ skulls. Only they can enter the hut in which the skulls are kept. They are specially entrusted counsellors since they cannot become chief, and the regent who rules during an interregnum is a sister’s son. The division of ritual rôles during the Ngwun rites distinguishes sister’s son and sister’s child’s son: both of these are nyu but the former is nyu par (sister’s son (of the) skin) and the latter is nyu chaq (sister’s son (of) peace). Such a distinction is not made among other families.

1The gist of the invocation is to say that good things come to the village and that bad things go far away. Hence it is very similar to the text of Dame (but without the invocation of sua) and to Lom.

2Ngwun is a borrowing from the Tikar, and is partly a war dance and partly a celebration of the institution of chief. It also includes many rites to strengthen the chief. It is performed at the enstoolment of the chief, and thereafter biannually at the new moon in the middle of the dry season (December).
The affinal terminology differs from that recorded by Rehfisch (1956:122) chiefly in the terms labeled “n/m” which “correctly” are nyen, but are now often split between nyen and masi in order to distinguish genders. Nyen is used for an affine of the same status and of the same sex as the speaker, while masi, a Fulfulde loan, is used for affines of the same status but of the opposite sex. Some young Mambila are now uncertain about the previous usage of nyen.

There are avoidance relationships between a spouse and opposite sex affines older than the partner, especially their parents, and a joking relationship of badinage with those of a similar age or younger.
**Ethnographic Introduction**

**A brief note on naming.**

Recently published works discuss naming among groups North of the Mambilá (Siran 1987): Vute, and to the South: the Bamileké (Pradelles de la Tour 1986). Space here permits only brief consideration of the Mambilá case. A person usually has at least three names, two of which appear on official documents. Those two are the name given by the father (and used by his kin) plus a name taken from a world religion (usually Christian, sometimes Muslim). The third name is given by the mother (and used by her family). In addition there is extensive use of nicknames, plays on words, et cetera, which are often honorific. For example, Kwa is a nickname still used to refer to Kolaka, the chief who died in 1949. More work is needed to clarify the range of usage of such names. Sometimes the name from “the mother’s side” is widely used in address but not in reference, and similar ‘exceptions’ apply to the use of the name from “the father’s side” by the mother’s kin.

Naming is often after a deceased relative. Names are held to be meaningful, giving rise to problems associated with their explication as discussed by Siran.

Special names are given to twins: male twins are called Suawe, Gañfi or Gantap (according to the wishes of the parents) and female twins Dan or Ngeya. The parents of twins are also given special names, in addition to their other names (Ga or Ge for F of twins; Moñ or Nun for M of twins).

**THE CHIEF**

The institution of chief among Cameroonian Mambilá appears to be of recent creation. There is no record of the Mambilá in Nigeria having chiefs. The word used in Cameroon (mgbe), is a Tikar word for “sub-chief” and the word for palace (mbam) is also a Tikar loan. The legitimacy of Mohammadou’s grouping of Konja, Mambilá and Tikar on the basis of the similarity of their sacred chiefs and skull cults (Mohammadou 1967:87) must therefore be questioned.

There is a hierarchy of chiefs, relating rights to the symbols of ritual power and authority: the special stool and buffalo-tail fly-whisk. Only some chiefs are enstooled by being hit with the tail. They are called mgbe ti (Tail Chiefs), and they also have elephant-grass fences around their palaces. Mgbe ti have rights to a class of game called mbe (also a Tikar loan word according to Price p.c.). The mbe animals are python (lamsua), Gaboon viper (ngubu), buffalo (yaga), waterbuck (mbolim), and serval (sie). One elderly informant also included the tortoise (kpalox). Price (1985:99) records Tikar “royal

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1Edwards (1984:82) includes a brief discussion of Tiv naming.

2Cf Meek 1931 and Rehfisch 1972.
animals” as being “leopard, lion, eagle or python.” It should be noted that leopards are not
included among the mbe animals. The link between leopards and witches necessitates
special treatment of dead leopards, but this takes place in the men’s sua enclosure, and is
not connected with the institution of the chief.

Chief’s without such rights are mgbe ndun, and range in importance from the
Chief of Atta to heads of hamlets. Mgbe ngui are chiefs of hamlets and mgbe la are
those with important named rôles in the biennial ngwun rite. My working hypothesis is
that the present situation results from contact with the Tikar (there is no published
ethnographic material concerning the Konja, but it seems likely that their institution
similarly results from contact with the Tikar) together with the bolstering effects of French
colonial administration. This rubber-stamped the appointment of chiefs from the very first
inspection tours in the early 1920’s. It is uncertain whether the Chief then had the authority
which he now holds. Sadly, it is impossible to glean data on the point. However, it is
revealing that one old man when discussing the genealogy of the chiefs of Somié denied
that Touloum, their ancestor at Mvar, was himself a chief.

The institution of chief is now well established, and the independent government
continues the colonial policy of underwriting his authority1. This is held to extend over the
population of the Canton of Somié, including the Konja village Mbondjanga who dispute
his authority (see above).

The chief, in contemporary Cameroon, has a dual rôle. Within the village he
exercises authority organizing communal labour (most importantly: maintaining the road).
In his judicial capacity he hears disputes brought to his palace, acting as an arbitrator in the
first instance, and as chairman in tribunal hearings before the village Notables. He also
represents the village before the external authorities, the administrative officers, the
gendarmerie and the local officers of the party (CPDM = The Cameroon People’s
Democratic Movement). Reciprocally, he acts as their mouthpiece in the village, reporting
news from Bankim and decisions affecting the village. He is, though, far from being a
puppet. In Somié the present incumbent expertly uses his contract with the state (both the
gendarmerie and the “civil administrative officers”) to reinforce his own authority in the
village. (By contrast, the Chiefs of Atta and Sonkolong manage less effectively their
respective dual rôles). In part this may be explained by the fact that, unlike his fellows, he
is French-speaking, worked outside the village prior to selection, and is relatively young. It
should be noted that, in contrast to the other two major villages, the absence of immigrants

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1 As a “chief -second class” he is entitled to a monthly governmental salary but in fact receives a salary
by virtue of his former employment as a teacher (see below Chapter 8 fn 2).
in facilitates internal government, avoiding frequent recourse to state officials; which would lessen his prestige amongst the villagers as well the authorities.

At the time of writing none of the Mambila chiefs has been appointed District Chief with the right to hold a “traditional court”. (The nearest of such tribunals is at Bankim and does not seem to be used by Mambila who, if a dispute is not settled within the village, take cases to the civil authorities). All the chiefs do, nonetheless, exercise considerable judicial power despite the absence of this title. Moreover, their rôle is de facto recognized by both courts and police, who expect cases to proceed to them only after a hearing before the Chief.

Dispute resolution

Unlike the centralized, hierarchical Chiefdoms (Warnier 1985, Nkwi 1976, Dillon 1973 & 1979, Geary 1975 & 1979) of the Grassfields there is no means of imposing settlement upon the parties to a dispute. The Chief has no executive branch. The masquerades1 are not used by closed, ranked associations which fill this rôle as occurs elsewhere in Cameroon. The authority of the Chief does not depend on the masquerades. He is thus in a similar situation to the Paramount Chief of Ide in the Metchum valley as described by Masquelier (1978:266-270).

There is strong incentive to settle differences summarily in the forum of the Chief’s Palace, although matters are frequently protracted through several hearings. Should one of litigants fall ill before a dispute is resolved the other will be suspected of causing this. Settlement of a dispute may be ‘sealed’ by a sua-oath2; this is held to prevent witches attacking the litigants. Witches may otherwise use the publicity of the dispute to camouflage their own activity3.

The Chief is accessible to all comers, and is informed of most events in the village. Mambila people enter the inner courtyard to talk to him if he is not in the Jolari, public building of the Chief’s Palace. Many cases never proceed beyond his initial intervention to formal hearings. An aggrieved party complains to the Chief, who, over the next few days, seeks the other’s account. He may summon them both and talk it through with them. If this is done when Notables are present the process is very similar to that of a formal hearing. There is a continuum from arbitration to formal hearing, and for those living in the

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1 The term masquerade is discussed below Chapter Two, section: “Sua: an overview”.
2 This is fully explained below.
3 Rehfisch (1969:310) notes that parties to disputes were held to be among the main targets of witches in Warwar.
centre usually move along it. People from outlying hamlets more often come to the Chief’s Palace requesting a formal hearing, after a failed arbitration by the hamlet-headman. The Chief will probably have been told of the dispute in advance.

Hearings can be distinguished formally by the presence of Notables, and the seating of the parties who sit on either side of the steps into the Palace (see diagram below). Otherwise the disputants do not occupy these positions. If a discussion between parties and Chief becomes heated, “Notables” will gather, drawn by the raised voices, and arbitration will develop into a hearing. The Chief’s judicial function is performed in conjunction with Bɔ Kuku bɔ (lit.: the big people) who are the Notables of the village. These are elders, but not all the old men of the village are classed as Notables. When I asked “who are the Notables?” there was a high degree of consistency in the lists that I was given. I thus repeated Rehfisch’s “opinion poll” conducted during his fieldwork among Nigerian Mambilla (Warwar 1953) (Rehfisch 1972: 159)1 to assess the degree of unanimity of opinion in an acephalous society.

The Bɔ Kuku bɔ are recruited by a combination of age and both peer and self-selection. To be recognized as belonging to this group involves the investment of a considerable amount of time; a Notable must frequently abandon his own work in the fields, even at the busiest times of the year, to discuss a pressing case. Some men are not

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1Although the distribution of percentages resembles that obtained by Rehfisch, in Somie 75% of the sample named the same two people first, whereas Rehfisch has 100% unanimity for the first two positions in his poll. These differences probably reflect the fact that he was working in one small hamlet whereas I was in a village centre. This resulted in some respondents including hamlet heads among their list of elders, whilst others restricted themselves to elders from the centre proper. If the question had been more restrictive it would not have been that used by Rehfisch, thus posing other problems for the comparison of the two sets of results.
prepared to do this. Apart from a small amount of beer there is no financial reward for being recognized as a Notable. Conversely, wealth is not an important factor in the recruitment of Notables.

A single Notable may be delegated by the Chief to arbitrate between individuals in a minor dispute, which will then proceed to a full hearing at the Chief’s Palace only if the agreement arrived at between the parties is not effected. In the absence of the Chief, the Notables can hear cases (and in one case which was witnessed they themselves organized the cutting of sua).

The types of disputes may be roughly categorized under the following headings. Unfortunately my data are insufficient to assess their relative frequencies.

**Dispute types:**

- Adultery
- Divorce - repayment of bridewealth
- Debts other than bridewealth: usually resolved in arbitration
- Farmer-grazier (in the dry season)
- Field boundaries & ownership (as well as ownership of palm- and cola-trees)
- Theft
- Fights: can be provoked by insulting songs, although insults are rarely causes for litigation in their own right. A case involving the insulting of the Chief became part of the dispute concerning his authority over a hamlet head.
- Witchcraft diagnosed by divination as a cause of illness.

**The skull cult of The Chief**

Ngwun and men’s sua are danced following the death of a chief. Chiefs are buried sitting upright in a circular shaft grave. Approximately a month after the burial the head is removed and washed. The skull is placed in a small four-handled Mambila basket (sogba) in the skull house (gua fa) to the West of the Palace.

I was not allowed access to the skull-house, nor were the sister’s sons forthcoming about the rites performed there. In particular, the relationship between the current Chief and the skulls of his predecessors remains unclear. The rites described to me did not involve the Chief himself. Annually the heads taken from their baskets and “washed”, being sprayed with palm wine by the sister’s sons. The day on which this takes place is made “sóó”: it is forbidden to break the soil and to cut elephant grass, so no farmwork is undertaken. The timing of this rite is discussed in the first transcript of Chapter 8 below (lines 185 ff).

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1See chapter 8 Kulu sua, below.
2Other burials are considered below.
In the past non-Mambila immigrants to the village acted as guards and had permanent sleeping-quarters in the skull house, but this practice ceased in the 1950's. The heads are said to shake in their baskets when a Notable is going to die, and the guards were supposed to report this to the Chief so that he could initiate divination in order to discover whose death was portended, and whether any action could be taken to avert it.
The selection of The Chief

The succession to the office of Chieftainship is broadly adelphic as can be seen from the genealogies below. In principle all sons of chiefs are eligible, also their sons. According to Goody’s general discussion (Goody 1966) the chief’s family can be described as a...
"Familial Dynasty" or as forming a "dynastic descent group" (Goody 1966:26). No great-grandson has ever succeeded to the chieftainship, and great-grandsons were never mentioned in discussions of possible successors. A choice is made among the possible successors by the heads of the hamlets of Njerup and Gumbe. The latter is called "Papa" of Somié, and although he is Mwáp he himself traces his descent via a sister of Touloum and therefore is ineligible for the Chieftainship. These two pick a "short-list" from among all the sons of past chiefs and then use spider divination to choose the successor. This process can take some time. During the interregnum a sister's son of the chief acts as regent. This man subsequently chooses one of the previous chief's wives, whom he inherits, and takes the honorific Fulfulde title of "Wajiri." Succession to the "headships" follows similar lines although less data available. Each of the present incumbents has succeeded their elder brother, and each will be succeeded by their son or by a son of his predecessors.

Since the role of chief is in part a government office the Administration has some say in the appointment of new chiefs. In practice the choice made "according to custom" is usually rubber-stamped. However, the Government reportedly insisted that the succession of the last Chief of Bankim (c. 1980) be lineal and based on primogeniture. My understanding is that such "interference" depends largely upon the temperament of each individual administrator.

*Chief Lists for Cameroon Mambila Villages*

The chief lists presented here do not pretend to more certainty than is felt by either author or informants. Where conflicting evidence was obtained it is presented here. The concentration of research in Somié is reflected in the amount of data available, and only there could the author produce a complete genealogy. However, since the full genealogy of the chief is so extensive it is not presented here. The sketches show the relationships between the successive chiefs (where known) and also illustrate the principle points of

---

1When I asked who were possible successors only sons of chiefs were named. Since in the past a grandson did succeed, it was admitted that the grand-children were eligible, but their names were not spontaneously offered.

2The stated rule is that selection is made among "sons of chiefs" but Kolaka was the grandson of Ndinyura. His father Nditi was not himself a chief.

3Goody 1966:22 discusses the choice of successor by divination, and makes the obvious point that it serves to "objectify" the choice, and thereby to "remove the friction between people."

4A fragment is included as footnote 30 to the transcript in Chapter 6.
discrepancy. These are the classic genealogical problems of distinguishing between elder brothers and fathers, between siblings and fathers and sons et cetera... For the other villages I present conflicting lists including those collected by Jean Hurault in December 1954, who has most generously authorized their inclusion here in advance of the completion of his own Doctorat d'État. Dates marked with a star come from Dossier 1AC 1845/3 in the Yaoundé National Archives.

The Somié list is followed by a list of the recent regents who have served during the interregnums. The regent must be the Zs of the chief. The name of their mother, their father (when known), and the chief who was their mother's father are also given. Since there was far more uncertainty about the identity and affiliation of the early regents no attempt has been made to "tidy up" the results of research and all the major variants are recorded after the name of the Chief who they are said to have followed.

*Chief list of Somié*

1. Tulum
2. Ndinyura
3. Chomo/Chokmo
4. Nyura: First contact with Germans (Hurault)
5. Menandi: 8 wives recorded (1WW). c.10 years chief
Two versions of the genealogy of the chiefs of Somié (the numbers refer to the chiefs named in the above list):

DIAGRAM 1.6 Genealogy of Somié Chiefs

Nditi and Mbembe are brothers of chiefs who have figured in genealogies as fathers of subsequent chiefs. The relationships charted here are believed to be non-classificatory.
Ethnographic Introduction

DIAGRAM 1.7 Genealogy of Somié chiefs according to Jean Hurault (collected Dec 1954)

The regents of Somié

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief's name</th>
<th>Regent</th>
<th>Regent's mother (father)</th>
<th>Mother’s Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nua (Nura?)</td>
<td>Nua</td>
<td>Nde (Joko)</td>
<td>Ndinura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeba</td>
<td>Jeba</td>
<td>Nde (Joko)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menandi</td>
<td>Tuü</td>
<td>Dan (Kue/Kuñbili)</td>
<td>Nditi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuü</td>
<td>Nønbe (Kuñbili)</td>
<td>Menandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolaka</td>
<td>Juba/Juba</td>
<td>Ndehi (Jogo)</td>
<td>Chomo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyimake</td>
<td>Bøndia (Kønbe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nimake</td>
<td>Bøndia (Kønbe)</td>
<td>Nura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nimake</td>
<td>Bønjia (Kungbe)</td>
<td>Nura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nimake</td>
<td>Bøndie</td>
<td>Nura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ethnographic Introduction

Ndi
Nyimaka  Bändi (Guŋbe)  Nua
Nyimaka  Bändie (Kuŋbe)  Chomo
Juba  Nde (Gi-jaga)  Nua
Jeba  Nyogacho (Jaga)  Nde

Mage  Michel
Kung (Nafa Jeremy)  Nurome (Suawe)  Kolaka

Chief list of Atta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hurault</th>
<th>Menandi (via DZ)</th>
<th>DZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mvuwarjum</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fumbok/Fumbonaga (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na</td>
<td></td>
<td>Londam (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fomsuawe</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gia (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fomjuwe</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fomjuwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timi December 56</td>
<td>Timi (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merep</td>
<td></td>
<td>Merep (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geya Gaston</td>
<td></td>
<td>Geya Gaston (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geya Gaston</td>
<td></td>
<td>Geya Gaston (8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DIAGRAM 1.8 Chiefs of Atta

Dates and events attested by archival information:
Ngah in place 1942 (Banyo Archives)
1953 Gah son of Gerou & Djoumba was Chief (A.N.Y.)

**Chief list of Sonkolong**

Menandi’s list (via DZ).

Wia
Londam
Ketah
Kelami/Kia (died during installation)
Yié
Yilayør sib of:
Kemi sib of:
Gwale
Kelami/Ka
Bawuro son of Yilayør?
Gwale son of Kelami installed 1961?

Notes on the Sonkolong Chiefs (dz 1988).
Ḳ̄ṃ̄i succeeded once Yaga had been deposed. He was then replaced by Gwaga on whose death Ḳ̄ṃ̄i again became Chief.
Nafa died during seclusion as part of installation.
Archival sources record that Baworo brother of the dead chief Ka was installed in December 1934 and he was still in place in 1942.

**DIAGRAM 1.9. Chiefs of Sonkolong**

Sonkolong Chief lists from Hurault’s data:
1) List of Garba Bini (b. c.1880) 2) List made by Hurault at a meeting of Notables 2/2/85

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years of rule</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Gwale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Gwale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Yabon</td>
<td>F=1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Yabon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Kia</td>
<td>F=2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 Wè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Yie</td>
<td>F=2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 Yié</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Nde Jolomo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>F=4</td>
<td>5 Kea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Wakatcha</td>
<td>F=4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 Nju=Ndijulumo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Londam</td>
<td>F=4</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 Wakatcha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Yilayor</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>F=4</td>
<td>8 Londam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Keme</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>F=4</td>
<td>9 Yaji Yilayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Gwalu</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>F=8?</td>
<td>10 Keme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Keme</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>F=6</td>
<td>11 Gwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Kia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>F=8?</td>
<td>12 Ker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Basuro</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>F=8?</td>
<td>13 Basuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Gwa</td>
<td>1961=&gt;</td>
<td>F=12</td>
<td>14 Gwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ECONOMICS**

The economic system of the village is almost entirely agricultural both for subsistence and as a source of cash. The Tikar Plain is extremely fertile since both the Mambila and the Adamawa Plateaux drain into it and the rains are both plentiful and regular.

The staple crops are maize, cassava, yam, manioc, cocoyam and groundnuts. Subsidiary crops provide materials for the sauces which accompany the daily staple, maize porridge (sér). Throughout the dry season beef is in adequate supply at the weekly market in Somié due to the presence of transhumant Mbororo and their herds. Game is still plentiful, and provides a steady supply of meat to supplement the fish which is a common ingredient of the sauces eaten with porridge. Fish are taken in large quantities using hook and line. Streams are dammed and bailed out in the dry season. Other permanent dams are constructed incorporating fish traps which provide fish throughout the year.

Maize is now the principle grain crop. However, sorghum is still grown occasionally.¹ It is also grown on the highlands and brought to market. Sorghum yields are low due to predation by birds. I was told that in the past children were employed as

¹I know of it being grown once during the three growing seasons which I spent in Somié.
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bird scarers, but now they attend school and are therefore unavailable for this work. Sorghum beer is required for ritual occasions so if none is grown it must be purchased at market for ritual use. Sorghum beer is held to be far stronger than maize beer.

The major cash crop is coffee although both groundnuts and maize are grown for sale as well as for local consumption.

Despite attempts to introduce coffee during the 1930’s (Kerbellec 1932) large-scale planting began only in the 1950’s (Sablayrolles 1954). Some of the earliest fields are still in production, and many new ones have been cultivated. This is one of the factors which has contributed to the deforestation, the pace of which continues to accelerate. Evidence of the scale of deforestation is provided by a comparison of aerial photographs taken in 1949 and 1969 with the present forest boundaries.

All but three married men in the village own coffee fields, either of their own planting or inherited. One of these had consciously decided to prefer the more reliable crops and more rapid return produced by maize cultivation for sale.¹

Organisation of Labour

An individual can recruit paid agricultural labourers from among the steady stream of itinerants from Nigerian Mambilla who seek farm work in order to help pay school or college fees as well as bridewealth.

Another source of labour is the work-party: work is rendered in return for the beer which precedes, accompanies and follows the work. These are called seé lan: work by invitation. Extra hands may also be available through membership of a rotating work-party (seé chuchon: work rotating) whereby work is carried out in the fields of each member in turn, the beneficiary of the work providing beer. Seé lan is used for maize and coffee fields and for house-thatching while seé chuchon seems to be restricted to the culture of food crops.

The Chief organizes communal labour, usually to maintain the main road and the paths connecting the village to outlying hamlets, but also for work on his own coffee- and maize-fields. There are two annual occasions (called ngomdom as are the fields) when the entire village renders such work and there is a beer-drink in the Palace on the return to the village.

In 1987 at the instigation of Women’s Party activists from Banyo the women of the village collected money to pay for an outside contractor to plough a new field by tractor; groundnuts were then grown on this land. The revenue was distributed amongst the

¹In 1988 he told me that he is planting a small coffee field.
women who worked the field. They used the money for clothing, oil and beer. In 1988 the freshly-ploughed field was damaged by cows, and it remains to be seen how much income will be produced.

**Market**

The market in Somié was held on Chuar in the traditional ten-day week, but since c. 1952 it has been held every Saturday. An explanation proffered for the change was that a seven-day market could make more money than the previous ten day market. It should be noted that different villages have different market days, also some variation exists in the traditional day-names between villages.

The market is a forum for local distribution of goods and a source of petty cash, as well as of consumer goods including radios and torches, paraffin, clothes, domestic utensils and farming implements. Some of the traders who bring such merchandise from Bankim buy maize, groundnuts and bananas in bulk for resale in the Bankim market. Coffee is collected by lorries belonging to the decorticising factories, which provide a continual if irregular flow of traffic into the village in addition to the two or three trucks which come every market-day. One small shop in Somié stocks a limited range of goods, and a bar sells bottled beer. The cola route linking the North-West Province to Yola in the North used to run through the village (and is further discussed below).

Two indices of the amount of surplus income are first, that by late 1985 two thirds of the houses in the centre had sheet metal roofs. Second, the richest man in the village is the owner of the bar selling bottled beer, which made sufficient profit for him to buy a brand new car in 1986 (the first owned by a village resident). This was sold in 1987 following an accident in which a motorcyclist died; after the succession of inquiries which followed he decided that the car caused more trouble than it was worth.

Financial management is complicated by the irregular payment of coffee money by the marketing organisation. One solution to this is to sell the coffee within the village, but this involves a considerable reduction in profit. Conversely, if one can afford to wait for the marketing cooperative to pay, large profits can be made by buying coffee in this way. The authorities, periodically make statements condemning this practice. Such entrepreneurial activities are steadily widening the gap between the richest men in the village and the other villagers. However, as yet there are no clear differences either in influence or in life-style between the village capitalists and their neighbours.
Rotating Credit Societies

Savings are managed by a variety of rotating credit societies\(^1\). These range from those meeting weekly or fortnightly, which gather relatively small amounts of money and provide opportunities for beer drinks (the recipient of the fund provides beer for the meeting), to those meeting annually in which up to 20,000 CFA per person may be contributed. Sums then realized are sufficient to reroof a house with metal sheet, or to provide bridewealth in one payment. The members of one annual society make their contributions with sacks of coffee.

Since contributions are recorded on paper by the honorary "secretary" (a named position) it is sometimes possible to make varying contributions - if \(x\) contributes 2,000 CFA to \(y\) then \(y\)'s contribution to \(x\)'s fund must be 2,000 CFA although the norm may be 1,000 CFA. This is not permitted by all societies. Many operate a small savings bank in conjunction with the rotating credit society. This is normally looked after by the 'president', the most senior member who by virtue of the title is the first member to receive the contributions. The meeting at which the society is set-up is usually the final meeting of a previous society as it completes a full cycle. The order in which the members will receive the fund is fixed at that meeting. There seems to be no eagerness to be the recipient sooner rather than later as crude economic calculations determine (cf Ardener 1964). Indeed some people opt for later positions, reasoning that they save money over the duration of the society. After each full rotation the society reforms, usually with a number of members from the previous rotation.

The monthly or annual societies deploying larger sums of money have exclusively or mainly male membership, while the weekly, fortnightly or tri-weekly societies have mixed membership, often with a majority of women.

The meetings start with a Christian prayer, then contributions are collected and recorded before the beer drink commences. Some are closed to non-members but most are open, non-members either paying an entrance fee or buying their beer by the gourdful. This money is used to buy bottled beer which the members drink at the final meeting of the society. Small gifts of cola or beer between those present are announced by a member who acts as a public caller\(^2\). Each gift is greeted by applause and calls of "thank you." A visitor may make a gift to all the members of the society, but gifts between distant kin and affines are more common.

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\(^1\) These are called called dashi djaggi or mogo (group).

\(^2\) A series of transcripts of such speeches has been made.
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**Land Tenure**

There is no land shortage at present in the Tikar Plain; maize fields which were under cultivation when the village was at its previous site have been abandoned in favour of others nearer the village. Population increase means that new fields are being made at increasing distances from the village, but as yet free land is available.

Palm trees are owned individually and are inherited (see below) or sold (rarely), but old people who of the early Mambila colonization of the Tikar Plain relate that they were then free goods: so many grew in the forest that palm nuts could cut at will.

Disputes arise about the boundaries of cultivated fields, and failing agreement these are usually arbitrated by one or several of the Notables delegated by the Chief. The boundary between two fields is marked by the planting of bushes\(^1\) or by agreeing (before witnesses) that certain trees should serve as boundary markers. House sites and garden plots are similarly marked and owned.

Coffee fields are prized possessions. These date from the late 1950's onwards. They are occasionally sold, although the Chief is unhappy about the practice and discourages it. The one sale which I witnessed did not realize a high price granted its potential to produce income. Their inheritance is considered below.

Fields producing subsistence crops and their products are owned by people of either sex, and women can own both palm and cola trees.

**Inheritance**

Inheritance, like succession to the Chieftainship, is adelphic, passing from elder to younger brother, so that the eldest surviving brother acts as the family head and "is like the father to the others". While the kinship terminology (already discussed) widens the range of "siblings," the cases documented all concerned brothers with a common father. Testamentary statements can be made but are rare; usually the devolution of the estate is only discussed after death. Estates are often divided between surviving sons rather than passing intact to the eldest son; such division is decided pragmatically by the family and there is no sanction other than public opinion, although if such a matter were referred to the Chief it is probable that he would argue for division within the family. Daughters can inherit valuable possessions (for example, coffee and cola trees) as residual heirs. Their children then inherit from them. However, they are most likely to inherit as guardians for the young children of deceased brothers. Wives retain usufruct on their fields but otherwise have no rights over their husband's property.

\(^{1}\)Usually koro.
There follow two examples\(^1\). Case A is a documented case. On the death of the father his coffee field was split between two sons, full brothers (1 and 2 on the diagram), both considerably older than their half-brother (3) who received nothing. Case B was a hypothetical case upon which I elicited comment. Informants consistently held that on the death of 1 his younger brother, 2, would inherit, but that on his death the estate would be split between 3 and 4.

![Diagram 1.10 Inheritance examples A B](image)

A more complicated example is given in the commentary (fn 30 ff) on the transcript in Chapter 6 below concerning the inheritance of palm trees.

Leviratic marriage is not forced on either party. However, it occurs frequently in the genealogies which were recorded. This can be taken as evidence that there was previously more obligation to make leviratic marriages.

The Independent administration has continued efforts, initiated in the colonial era, to encourage a more lineal system of inheritance. This has become important only in the last few years as coffee fields and their associated income have begun to be inherited. In the continued absence of testamentary statements the effect of this pressure is to increase the division of estates. Thus in the hypothetical case used above, the estate is likely to be split between 2 and 3 immediately on the death of 1. I have not documented any clear cases of such pressure\(^2\) being applied, apart from the case of succession to the Chieftainship in Bankim (see above)

**EXTERNAL INFLUENCES: FACTORS OF CHANGE**

The cola route from what is now North-West Province northwards to Yola ran along the bottom of the cliff through the Tikar Plain (Warnier 1985:145). Some cola is grown locally, but for local consumption only. I have found no evidence of Mambila participating

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\(^1\)Relative age between siblings is represented by the vertical dimension, so the higher siblings are older.

\(^2\)Villagers, however, assert that this is the case.
actively in the cola trade, although they may have worked as porters. The existence of the cola route means, though, that the Mambila have long been exposed to external influences in addition to those resulting from the market system. The Germans constructed their northern road, linking "Baliburg" (contemporary Bali in North-West Province) and Banyo, roughly along the pre-existing cola route. The road crossed the Tikar Plain and climbed up onto the Adamawa Plateau behind Gumbe having passed through Somié. One rest-house was built at Kuti near the present site of Yokasalla at the base of the cliff, and another one at Nassaro. Despite this, the Germans had little influence on the Mambila in Cameroon. They are remembered as slavers who took people as porters, few of whom returned. Stories are told of villagers fleeing to the woods and of being shot at. German reports¹ make only the briefest mention of the Mambila. Trade along the cola route continued until the 1920's when the British began to create a new route to the West of the Mambila Plateau.

Warnier's analysis of trade and politics in the Bamenda region (1985) portrays the Grassfields as containing a regional system within which a double hierarchy obtains (op. cit. 193 ff). On a regional basis there is a hierarchy of political domination by the large centralized groups over the smaller decentralized polities on the periphery. Warnier links this to the economic system in which palm oil production occurred at the periphery, while the centralized polities monopolized iron production and long distance trade (especially in slaves). The production of palm oil, a basic staple throughout the Grassfields, including the highlands where palms did not grow, was devalued by comparison with the economic activity of the larger polities. Warnier continues by examining the second hierarchy existing within each polity. Even in groups where there are no chiefs, women and junior men are minors. This system of gerontocracy and gender relations underlies, argues Warnier, the regional hierarchy.

The Mambila do not fit into the Grassfields system. Although linked to the Grassfield polities by long-established trade routes they lie beyond the periphery. For example, they have their own blacksmiths and have never been tied to the larger centralized polities by trade relations in which palm oil is exchanged for iron and other goods. Moreover, Mambila, especially those in Nigeria on the Mambila Plateau are not major producers of palm oil: the trees do not flourish on the Mambila Plateau.

The Mambila seem not to have been affected by the slave trade southwards to the coast², despite the contact via the cola route (for example, Koelle reports languages from North-West Province, but not ones from further North).

¹References in Zeitlyn 1989 included as an appendix below.
²Confirmed in conversations with Professor Warnier and Mrs Chilver.
Relations with the FulBe were dominated by slaving. Tribute continued to be provided to the Lamido of Banyo until the very end of the colonial period, but this ceased before independence.

Overall, the influence of the FulBe seems to have been relatively slight; see the discussion below on the influence of Islam.

Changes in Material Culture

These are simply summarized: increasing availability and use of European and European-style goods and practices. These range from guns, and square brick-built houses with zinc roofs, through clothes, and plastic containers to cars.

Now only the oldest members of the community know that weaving was once practised locally. I found no one who knew how to do it. While there are still blacksmiths, their occupation is in decline since most people use imported bush knives and hoes, whose manufacture formed the bulk of the blacksmith's work. With the opening of the dispensary in 1965 traditional circumcision, which they performed, has been abandoned, and so their ritual rôle disappeared. Male circumcision (the only type practised) now occurs at the dispensary without any accompanying ritual.

The introduction of coffee and the almost total displacement of sorghum by maize has been discussed above.

Previously only one cultivar each of banana and plantain was available; now there are many. During the 1930's fruit trees (mango, orange, papaya and lemon) were introduced, as well as crops such as pineapple and groundnuts.

No houses in the centre of Somié made on the old wattle and daub principles remain, and only one round house of the old design still stands; even that is made from sun-dried mud bricks. Old style houses do still exist, but only in outlying hamlets and they are rapidly being replaced. Twenty years ago most roofs were made of grass thatch\(^1\), but increasing dry season grazing and concomitant burning of the plain have reduced the availability of thatching material. Where metal roofs are not used panels are made by bending palm leaflets over a rib and pinning them in place. This technique was probably learnt from the Tikar. There is great similarity between Mambila material culture and that of the Tikar. Thorbecke (1918) has published photographic evidence from Ngambe village illustrating many objects still made today. It seems plausible that many other techniques have been adopted, in addition to that of making palm-leaf roofing panels, following the

\(^1\)This observation is based on study of photographs of Atta taken by Mona Perrin in the late 1960's.
move onto the Tikar Plain, especially in view of its abundance of trees and palms, both of which are rare on the Mambila Plateau.

Due to the flooding of part of the Tikar Plain by the Mape River dam (completed in 1987) great population shifts are currently occurring and although no Mambila villages have yet been directly affected by flooding the road connecting them to Bankim, the local administrative headquarters, has had to be relocated. Some Sonkolong maize fields may be flooded when the water reaches its highest level. No Mambila coffee will be flooded, so they have suffered little by contrast with many Tikar villages. It is still too early to assess the effects on the Mambila villages of the re-routing of the road and the relocation of several Tikar villages further away from the Nkwi river.

Change in Social and Political Institutions

The Mambila were reported as being acephalous in Nigeria1 and seem to have adopted some Tikar institutions, notably that of the chief, during their move onto the Plain. The process of negotiating with the FulBe in the late nineteenth century brought the leaders into contact with the centralized system of the Banyo Lamidate. The French policy of indirect rule, bolstering the authority of the Banyo Lamidate, also served to foster the Mambila Chiefships by underwriting the chief's authority - a policy which has been continued by the independent administration.

Colonial rule saw an end of exchange marriage2 and of the descent groups between which women were exchanged. The change from bridewealth hoes or bride-service to a financial bridewealth marriage is described above. However, the changes in marriage practices can be summed up as the increasingly voluntaristic nature of practices of "traditional" form. This is especially true in the matter of the choice of spouse and in the levirate which, although still common, is not imposed on widows.

Change and the absence of religious institutions.

It should be stressed that none of the changes here described nor the processes of change are sufficient to account for the absences encountered. That is to say: the absences here reported (for example, of ancestral cults, of masking societies or of a complex of beliefs in spirits) cannot simply be attributed to a process of enculturation, to a break-up and dissolution of traditional mores in the face of FulBe and then colonial rule.

1See the section on the Chief.
2As discussed by Meek 1936, Percival and Rehfish, and above.
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The influence of the FulBe has been and continues to be small by comparison with their neighbours further North (for example, NyamNyam, Wawa and Vute1) large groups of whom were incorporated into the FulBe Lamidates as slaves. By contrast, the Mambila suffered slave raids, then came to an arrangement whereby they were left alone in exchange for annual tribute.

The most telling contrast is with the Tikar, who have maintained far greater contact with colonial and post-colonial authorities. Despite this they retain many institutions and beliefs which have no counterparts among the Mambila. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that reasons for such differences between the Tikar and the Mambila lie in factors preceding both the arrival of the FulBe and colonization.

LIFE CRISIS RITES

Birth

Some rites take place on the birth of a child, especially a woman’s first-born. Rites for twins are considered separately below. It is only with twins that any direct connection with sua is made.

Following the birth of a child the mother and child stay in her house until the end of the umbilical cord falls off. Neither parent may eat maize porridge during this time. Women from Njerup hamlet do not eat chickens or eggs throughout pregnancy, nor until the cord has fallen. Since most women of the village centre now give birth in the dispensary where there is a midwife this retreat is only practised for a first-born; on her return from the dispensary the mother goes straight to her hut.

At the end of her segregation a rite as she leaves her hut. A senior woman pours water from the eaves onto the child as it is brought over the doorstep for the first time. It is made to lick some treatments, which are also touched to its forehead and sternum. A second rite marks the end of the mother’s avoidance of both the market and the paths to the fields. A tetaga fish (Synodontis spp.) is cooked on firestones outside the front verandah. Some is given to the baby, the rest to the mother. This is done when mother and baby are said to have recovered from the rigours of childbirth, and hence there is no fixed time for its performance. Indeed, judging by its rarity (I know of only one occurrence during my time in Somié) it is falling into disuse.

Difficult births are explained as resulting from unconfessed crime on the part of the mother and she may, during labour, be exhorted to confess.

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**Twins**

Details of twin names have already been given above (in the section: "A brief note on naming").

Unfortunately no twin birth occurred in the village during my residence there. Twins were born dead on one occasion so no rituals were performed. Her next child was called Mbiti "the child following twins." Twins are seen as "good but hard." Although regarded as a blessing, it is unlikely both will survive. The rites consequent upon a twin birth involve the planting of a tree outside the mother's house and the circling of the house with *fer* (*Solanum* spp *macrocarpum*?) by the father and a senior man, the latter spraying the *fer* onto the father. Both father and mother should eat nothing but chicken for several days, "so that" the twins can see that they will be treated well.

Some identification is made between twins and chiefs but only to say twins are (like) chiefs; the obverse does not apply. Sadly, without having personally witnessed the rites it is not possible to present a complete picture.

The only triple births known had no survivors and were thus reported as being bad, but there was no evidence of a "two, good; three, bad" attitude. Children born with a caul are called by a twin name but full twin rites are not performed. Twins are reportedly not buried with special ceremony (again I did not witness any such event). The death of a twin as a child does not occasion a mock funeral for his survivor.

**Circumcision**

Information on this is scant since boys have been circumcised in the state dispensary for at least 20 years. In the past youths of about 13 years of age were circumcised in groups by the blacksmiths. Yet this rite of passage seems to be, and to have been, neither necessary nor sufficient for any purpose. Entry into men's sua, the men's masquerade society, does not depend on circumcision: neophytes are not asked if they are circumcised, and one man who reputedly refused to be circumcised during the last "bush" circumcision is an active member. This man has married a Tikar woman, and it was suggested to me that this was because no Mambila woman would marry him. It proved impossible in this case to distinguish humorous gossip from reliable accounts.

However, this anecdote is interesting insofar as it emphasizes the way in which women's knowledge is imminent but unutterable (q.v. Bellman). Circumcision is universally described as "cutting the head," the literal statement is never used. Men explained that this was to avoid women discovering what occurs, yet the story above gives the lie to this. Informants who had been circumcised in the traditional manner gave no clear
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accounts of any ritual accompaniment to the circumcision, nor was the most senior blacksmith forthcoming; further fieldwork will hopefully elicit further information.

There is no female circumcision. I know of no female puberty rites.

Death

Funeral rites can be summarized as follows: burial takes place as soon as possible, although no preparations are made until after death. Shaft and chamber graves have been replaced by a grave style borrowed from the FulBe earlier this century. A wide shaft has a small body size trench cut in the bottom. The body is placed in this wrapped in a cloth. Both sexes are placed facing West with the right hand held up. A raffia-pith mat is placed over the body then the trench is roofed in with a screen of poles to prevent the earth directly touching the body.

![Diagram 1.11. Burial styles](image)

Those who touch the body must be treated afterwards to prevent arthritis: they hold their hands over a fire then shake all their limbs as if "shaking off" something. Burial is performed by men, with women attending. It is now usually accompanied by a Christian prayer.

Meanwhile people gather at the home of the deceased and sit there for some days. Food is brought so that no one in the compound needs to cook and money is collected to pay for beer and cola which is offered to the guests. Each guest on leaving pays their respects to the most senior of the bereaved and may discreetly hand them some money.

A feast in which food is given to all comers is held on the third day after death. If death occurs in the evening there is often some debate as to when to start counting; practical
considerations may sway the issue - for example so that the feast day falls on a Sunday, allowing more people to attend.

The house of the deceased is swept with the fuo ya plant (Labiatae ?plectranthus), the smell of which is said to drive the spirit (chàj) of the deceased out into the bush. Close relatives (and affines) are treated as well “to prevent them dreaming of the deceased.” Siblings and spouse(s) tie a cord around their necks. A spouse also wears one round the neck, one above the waist. These are worn for forty days. Then the strings are cut off at the river and their wearers shave their heads and wash before returning to the village for the second feast.

The second feast often does not occur when it should: it is very likely to be held on the Sunday after the 40 days have elapsed, and is sometimes postponed until sufficient funds are available. This is very likely to coincide with the “summer holidays” when “rich” city dwellers return to the village for their holidays and may contribute for the funeral feast of their siblings. However, these feasts do not compare in any way with the “cry-die” complex of the Grassfields (described by Brain & Pollock 1971 et. al.).

The feasts are notable for the absence of any ritual other than the commensality implicit in their existence, although either Christian or Muslim prayers are now included before the meal.

Quite separate from the feasts is the dancing of sua for senior people. This occurs on the night following the death - for a death in the evening it happens the night after.

Men’s sua is danced for a deceased male, women’s sua for a female just as during the masquerades. I suspect that the death of a very senior man might occasion an appearance by the masquerade itself but I have no data on the point. During my two years in Somié women’s sua was only danced at one funeral, and men’s sua at least three times. The dancing occurs as a further elaboration of the visiting already described. No express mention of the deceased is made, and there is no difference (except in scale and hence dress of the dancers) between these funeral dances and the dances which accompany the masquerade.

Rehfisch has photographs from Warwar in 1953 of funeral dances wherein a collection of bells and other objects are dragged along the ground. Although there are currently none in Somié they are known there and exist in neighbouring villages where they are produced at major oaths and during the masquerade.

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1 For example, at the sua-oath taken at Sonkolong in November 1986 to establish peace between Somié and Sonkolong.
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No reasons were given for the practice, nor were criteria explicitly stated for the decision whether a certain person warranted the dancing of sua, apart from generalizations such as "if they are very old" or if a Notable. It seems that an old and respected person with prominent children resident in the village will have sua danced for them. The dances which I witnessed were outside the village centre and I had no chance to be present when the decisions were made.

CONCLUSIONS

The next Chapter continues the introduction to Mambila society by examining the basics of Mambila traditional religion. This operates within the social structure that has now been described. Most sua-oaths, are taken at the Chief's Palace, and are an important element in the supernatural sanction for dispute resolution. References are made, as will be seen, to complicated histories of inheritance in the course of the addresses comprising such oath-taking. Hence this chapter is a necessary foundation for the next, and both are needed in order to follow the detailed accounts which follow.
Chapter Two

Introduction to Mambila Religion

This chapter will set out the basic principles of Mambila Traditional Religion. Subsequent chapters will deal in greater detail with divination, sua itself, and the cosmology in general.

Fieldwork reversed many of the concerns of previous theoretical study: in the field the definition of "the family" was more complex than that of "ritual". The definition of religion adopted was that given by Firth (1959:131): "a concern of man in society with basic human needs and standards of value, seen in relation to non-human entities or powers". Ritual is harder to define, and Jack Goody (1977) has argued for its abandonment as an analytic term. Sperber's definition of symbolism (1975:4) as "activity where the means put into play seem to me to be clearly disproportionate to the explicit or implicit end" may also serve as a definition of ritual if a further requirement of formality or ceremonial is added. This is to be preferred over Loveday's definition (1981:136) "Rituals constitute collective meta-communicative events of societal-constructing significance" since it is operational. Loveday's definition is susceptible to Goody's argument (infra.) that if ritual is to be seen as an "aspect" of actions (Leach 1954:13) then it is too generalised a term since almost every action has a ritual element. Such a wide-reaching application robs the term of its utility. John Skorupski published (1976) an analysis of ritual which Goody should approve since it distinguishes between the ceremonial, religious and performative aspects of the term. He concludes that "if the notion of ritual is to be used at all, it is best applied to the rites involved in an institutional mode of religious behaviour" (Skorupski 1975:171, his emphasis). Skorupski's position is consistent with the usage of "ritual" and "rite" in this analysis.

This work will describe the essential "nebulousness" of the so-called traditional religious system. It will explain reasons for this "under-definition" and will outline some of its consequences.

This nebulousness makes Bateson's problem of "misplaced concreteness" extremely pertinent to any description of the religious system; a distorted picture results if account is not taken of it. To avoid such problems this account begins with the most concrete case: illness, the most frequent of misfortunes, and the responses which it provokes. These lead to a discussion of witchcraft and divination. Illness is also an appropriate place to start, since for the Mambila as for the Tiv "ritual does not seek to

That is: it is usable in the field.
manifest the ... understanding of the divine, but rather to control and avert misfortune from mystical causes.” (Edwards 1983 Fn 42 p 478).

In principle all illness is held to be caused either by chàŋ (the remote creator and supreme god) or by people (i.e. witches). To attribute the cause to chàŋ is to say that it is “natural,”1 so that investigation of its causation is unnecessary. The illness must simply be accepted and dealt with. Such illnesses may have somewhat bizarre aetiologies, for example leprosy2 caused by crossing the path of, or treading in the spittle of, the cha snake. The sight of this snake is held to cause death, and no witness could be found to disprove this belief.

Many courses of action are available to treat illnesses, some or all of which may be assayed depending upon the seriousness of the ailment, and the speed of recovery.

An illness will be regarded as “natural” (caused by chàŋ) unless it is serious or persistent; in those circumstances divination will be consulted in order to determine the proper course of action. An example of such an enquiry is given in the divination session discussed in the next chapter below. This illustrates the wide range of possible causes and solutions considered.

Prior to divination a variety of different 1a (treatments) may be administered, either in conjunction with, or preceding, visits to the State Dispensary. It should be stressed that “European” treatments are not seen as differing in kind from locally produced 1a but are regarded as highly potent 1a.

The most significant aspect of the aetiology of illness outlined above is that no reference is made to ancestors nor to any subsidiary spirit, or “refraction” of chàŋ. Spirits are wholly absent in Mambila cosmology, and the ancestors play a nugatory rôle. Edwards (1984) has recently sought to explain the “non-existence of an ancestor cult among the Tiv” by two factors of Tiv society: the absence of legitimated offices and the alliance orientation of the kinship institutions. The ambiguity with which authority is regarded is due to the ambiguity of the Tiv concept of tsav3, possessed equally by powerful elders and witches. Mambila witchcraft is less ambiguous but, with the exception of the institution of chiefdomship (which I have argued above is a recent innovation), there is a similar lack of legitimated offices in Mambila society. Hence, Edwards argues, there is no transmission of power back to the ancestors which enables that power to be transmitted back to the office.

1Such a system seems widespread in West Africa. Jackson 1975:389 reports the same for the Kuranko.

2Leprosy can also be caused by human intervention.

3Discussed in Bohannan 1955 & 1957.
Introduction to Mambila Religion

holders and so to legitimize their own power (1984:108-9). With regard to the orientation of kinship institutions, Mambila even more than Tiv could be described as “developing alliance rather than stressing the jural aspect of descent.” (Edwards 1984:110). This is due to the past practice of exchange-marriage (as for the Tiv) combined with Mambila bilateral reckoning of descent. Unlike the Tiv there have never been Mambila unilineal descent groups. The existence of Tiv lineages renders the absence of a Tiv ancestor cult surprising, at first sight.

The power of all the “treatments” (la) is universally ascribed to chàŋ; no mention was made to me of ancestors or other spirits. Before enumerating the varieties of witchcraft, let us consider the available courses of action.

1) Treatments - There is a variety of treatments for illnesses caused by people. Some of these resemble the cutting of sua in that they involve the slaughter of a chicken as well as an address. However, neither chàŋ nor sua are invoked; the smell of these treatments is held to drive off the witch or, failing that, to kill the aggressors and hence to stop their depredations.

Other treatments involve the drinking of water squeezed from leaves, and the use of various powders which are either licked, drunk with water, or rubbed into small incisions made in various parts of the body, near the site of any pains. Such treatments may also be used following the cutting of sua in order to aid recovery.

2) Ta nduan. Divination may detect witchcraft emanating from a group of houses, without naming an individual. In such a case, or perhaps for political reasons, the witches will not be publicly named. There may then be a public declaration (ta nduan) from the Palace or in the market that unless the witches desist their witchcraft will be turned against them. Such a declaration did not occur during fieldwork.

3) After an unequivocal identification the witch may be accused at a Palace hearing. This leads to a sua-oath being taken publicly at the Chief’s Palace to set the seal on the denial of guilt by the alleged witches.

Another oath, sua kare (also called sua karup), may be taken privately at home in addition to any of the above. This is a preferred option if no firm identification has been obtained. The choice between different types of sua may be settled by divination as occurred in the example in the divination session reported below.

---

1However one informant BT described sua as being “before” all la The rôle of sua is discussed further below.
Introduction to Mambila Religion

Witchcraft

The vocabulary of witchcraft is summarized in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM 2.1
The vocabulary of witchcraft

- **lap**
- **fum**
- **sar**
- **mgbati/mgbeta/e**

**Active**
- *fum* - shape-changing
- *sar* - shooting invisible spears
- *mgbati* - using buried charms

**Passive:**
- detect witches

**Matrilateral kinship - inheritance of witchcraft**

The Mambila words in the diagram are used to name both a class of people (for example *bà sar bà*: The *sar* (people)) or to name their attributes (for example *wò nde me sar ya*: you go with your *sar*).

Knowledge & Confessions

It should be noted that **lap** is used to describe matrilateral kinship, and witchcraft is inherited matrilaterally. If the mother practised clandestine cannibalism when pregnant, then the children will be witches.

Inherited witchcraft is passive if, during pregnancy, the mother did not practise witchcraft, and did not “eat” anyone. Someone with passive witchcraft has *njulu lung* (open eyes) and can detect witches. Despite this socially useful ability very few people admit to being a witch. Occasional references to “open eyes” are made during Palace hearings, but the suspicion that “it takes one to know one” renders the claim dangerous. Moreover, no one questioned allowed that witchcraft could act unconsciously, as is possible for Zande witches (Evans-Pritchard 1937: Chapter 4). Inert witchcraft can become active. It is therefore difficult to obtain any information about witches: direct questions are rejected since only witches know the answers. However, key attributes distinguish the different named types indicated in the diagram, thus allowing some basic information to be elicited. It should also be noted that **lap** is sometimes used to describe all socially disapproved acts including slander and theft.
Confessions of active witchcraft can arise in the course of serious illness, but are rare. The single explicit confession to occur during my stay in Somié occurred, I was told, during the fatal illness of a woman being treated in Mayo Darlé. She confessed to killing several children and also to transforming herself into wind and blowing the roof off the Palace.

An example of implicit confession arose after the death of three children in one family. During the illness of the third child divination convicted the FyB of causing the illness. When the father, told his yB of the accusation, the latter demanded money rather than denying the charge. This was deemed to be an admission. A possible explanation is that he exploited the situation to try and obtain repayment of a debt. In either case he was gambling on the child recovering. After the child’s death the matter was referred to the authorities in Bankim. The case was eventually heard in the monthly assizes in Banyo. Due to the judge’s uncertainty about the credibility of the two elders who gave evidence of the results of divination the convicted man was sentenced to ten months in jail and threatened with twenty years imprisonment if re-convicted.

A suspicion of witchcraft can lead a victim to change residence between villages, or just to move to an outlying hamlet. This supports Rehfisch’s (1960:254) statement that witchcraft does not cross village boundaries.

**Divination**

If confession to the practice of witchcraft is rare, how then is it detected? Mambila employ a variety of divinatory techniques to decide the response to illness, which involves assessing the possible involvement of witches. Divination is also used to choose new chiefs. It may be consulted concerning the choice of a wife or whether the moment is auspicious to undertake a journey.

Ngam dù, a divination performed with spiders or crabs, is the most important form of divination. Only the verdict of this type of divination is acceptable evidence to convict a witch. Diviners may be called to give evidence at court in Banyo, as in the case cited above.

No explanation could be elicited of the origin of divination or the source of its veracity. When it was suggested that the latter might lie with ancestors or with sua both possibilities were firmly rejected. Chàŋ was mentioned only in the sense that, as creator, chàŋ created divination as well as everything else. No special relationship was suggested.
THE LI ORDEAL

The drinking of a liquid made from the powdered bark of the li tree\(^1\) was, until its prohibition by the colonial authorities, the ultimate response to a witchcraft accusation. Unlike swearing a sua-oath results were immediate and unequivocal. If the drinker vomited and survived then their innocence was proved. If the poison caused death then the deceased was proved to be guilty of witchcraft. I was told that li could be administered to chickens as proxies (in a manner very similar to Zande Benge divination q.v. Evans-Pritchard 1937) but neither saw nor heard of any instances of this occurring. I was assured that in c. 1984 someone had voluntarily submitted to the li ordeal in Somié on market-day, and successfully cleared their name after a series of witchcraft accusations. The ordeal is mentioned in Line 207 ff of the Palace sua transcript. This refers to the ordeal taken at Bankim at the court of its Tikar Chief. This is in itself further evidence for the existence of regional networks of power and of religious activity. If the li ordeal was once more commonplace than now then its abolition has served to lend sua greater prominence on a local level, since there is no longer any alternative to it. The abolition of li also helps to ensure that the more serious witchcraft cases are referred to the civil courts in Banyo. The Chief described the legal process and the imprisonment of convicted witches as a contemporary version of the li ordeal.

CHÀNJ

Now to consider Chànj in more detail. Chànj is seen as the creator of the world and everything in it. (The word generally used for creation (mè) is the verb for house building and potting). It is commonly held that Chànj decides what will happen, and that people cannot avoid this\(^2\). For example, the standard response on hearing of a death is to say Chànj nè ten (Chànj PRES. exists). The word “chànj” has been adopted by the Christians as the translation of “God” and this has been sanctioned both by M. Perrin, a S.I.L. linguist, and by the local Catholic clergy.

There seems to have been no way of interceding with Chànj prior to contact with world religions. Although the incorporation of the Mambila into a modern state has widened their perspective they have not developed any indigenous cult of Chànj but have adopted world religions. This is consistent with Horton’s Conversion Hypothesis\(^3\): that a

---

\(^1\) Unidentified, but not camwood which is used only as decoration.

\(^2\) The extent to which this is an adaptation in response to Christian and Islamic teachings is extremely moot.

\(^3\) This has already been discussed p1 above.
high god cult develops as a result of closer involvement with the wider world (Horton 1971 & 1975).

The other focus of Chàŋ is as personal spirit, usually occurring in the expression chàn mò (chàn mine), meant in a similar sense to the Christian notion of spirit. Mambila "conceptions of the body and person" seem unlike those of other groups¹ in West Africa which are striking for their precision and completeness. Some central Mambila items of vocabulary are given below. However, it remains unclear to what extent chūchuf (breath) has been altered by assimilation from Christian and Muslim doctrine, at the expense of, for example, chàchema (shadow). It seems likely that some changes have occurred here precisely because the concepts are peripheral to the central Mambila concepts (that is: to chàn or sua) and do not have important correlates in ritual and social action. (See Horton 1969 & 1970a for similar changes on the periphery of Kalabari religion).

The following chart lists some terms which can be glossed as "attributes of the body" but also have other senses relating to the concept of the person in a cosmological sense, and hence are relevant here. The main focus is labeled "A)" and given first; additional senses (labeled "B)" are given after the primary focus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.1: Bodily attributes, and their wider meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) shadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chëmen / chàchema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A) breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chūchuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A) liver; sternum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) 1) idiomatic usages of &quot;heart&quot; in English²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.g. notions of centrality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Some examples are described by de Surgy 1983, Buhan & Kange Essiben 1986 and Onwuejeogwu 1981.

²Ochalla-Ayayo (quoted in Lienhardt 1985: 150) reports a similar pattern for the Luo. Lienhardt (in the same piece) also attributes to the Dinka one word for both breath and life.
2) Place of intentional thought

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yor} & \quad \text{body} \\
\text{kumú} & \quad \text{corpse} \\
\text{chàñ} & \quad \text{spirit}
\end{align*}
\]

Chàñ is unique in the list, having no bodily referent other than personal spirit. Moreover, the word chàñ is used in this sense only to describe a dream in which, it is said, the dreamer saw the chàñ of a dead person, or during funeral rites in which the chàñ of the deceased is explicitly exorcised (see above).

One can assume that:

1) both “shadow” and “breath” mean “life” as metonyms. No further meaning is implied,

hence 2) it is likely that most Mambila would accept the equation:

\[
yor = kumú + chàñ
\]

since the corpse includes all the organs.

It should be noted that witchcraft potential is in part a physical attribute of the heart, transmitted laterally.

On death the spirit (chàñ) leaves the body and is then banished from the house into the bush. In the bush is chàñ tandalu. Some people hold that this comprises the spirits of all the dead, others understand by it the spirits of dead witches and other malefactors alone. There seems to be no elaboration of afterlife beliefs, a finding consistent with the low importance accorded to ancestors, by comparison with neighbouring groups (Bamiléké, Grassfields et cetera). This absence also obtains among the Wuli (Baeke 1986) and the Tiv (Edwards 1984). No evidence could be found of any belief in a “village of the dead”, wherein life continues much as on earth, as reported of Nigerian Mambilla in 1953 (Rehfisch 1969:309). There is a rite which involves beer being poured on a father’s grave. The stated purpose of this is that “the good” (in its most general sense) may come to the village and “the bad” depart. No mention is made during the rites of either the man on whose grave the beer is poured or of ancestors in general. It is thus different from the ritual mentioned by Rehfisch which is “performed to propitiate the dead in this society [and] is directed at all a person’s ancestors, both known and unknown” (1969:311).

AN OVERVIEW OF SUA.

The discussion of illness and its treatment contains references to sua as an alternative to treatments (1a) and as resembling some such treatments. The preliminary account given here will be amplified and refined in subsequent chapters.
When sua is not used as a unitary concept it has two main foci: the events referred to (here) as masquerades and those included under the heading of "oaths". The 'power' of the oath is reinforced (at least in part) by the imagery of the masquerade. Mambila explicitly state that there is linguistic and conceptual unity between the two. These are not mere homonyms. Ray and Shaw (1987) have discussed the range of embodiments (their term) of the spirit "Ornabe" in an Igbo masquerade. They argued that the Masquerade itself is one among other embodiments, and that the other forms are in no sense secondary or derivative (although of less interest than masquerades to art historians). This is also true of sua: neither the sua masquerades nor the sua-oaths should be seen as the primary or dominant form.

Kasfir in her introduction to a volume devoted to West African Masks (Kasfir 1988) holds that:

"the universe of forms which we call masks is simply part of a larger universe which might be called vehicles of transformation. If we are to focus upon process, rather than artifact, we must be willing to extend the boundaries of masking to include these marginal phenomena [e.g. body painting and acoustical 'night' masks]. It then becomes possible to view masking as a transformational process which, when enacted as ritual, and when enacted as play, belongs to the social order. But in most African cultures, these domains are not institutionally separated as they are in the West, hence the often dual character of masquerades. It is more accurate to say that mask performances mediate between play and ritual." (Kasfir 1988:5)

The masks considered here operate in ritual contexts, but elements of play are evident especially when the masks promenade through the village "terrorizing" those of the other sex. Hereafter I follow Tonkin's conventions (1979a and 1979b) using "Masks"
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(with capitalisation) marking the ensemble of actor, costume and "mask" (carved face piece) when used. Masquerade and masquerade then name the events in which Masks are used.

Each masquerade has a different dance associated with it, and one can talk of performing men's sua even if no Mask appears and only the dance occurs (as occurs during funeral sua as described below).

Women's sua, the women's masquerade, can only be discussed in the broadest terms. My knowledge consists, in the main, of those parts of the rites which men are allowed to see. These include proceedings which men are permitted to see but normally do not watch since the activities are shameful to male eyes. The biennial rites involve the women mocking men and the sexual act, both of which they portray as ridiculous. The rites are said to be important for women's fertility and also appear to function as an expression of women's solidarity in opposition to men. Similarly, men's sua, the male masquerade, promotes male fertility and solidarity in opposition to the women, but the latter respect is less pronounced than for women's sua. Men's sua is, in principle, performed annually but the dancing and all-night ritual are not in fact performed every year. When the main rites do not take place only the ritual component called "burying the village" will be performed. The women perform a similarly-named rite on the years inbetween their main rites.

The term 'sua-oath' covers a variety of rites, most of which involve the killing of a chicken. Ruel has recently argued (forthcoming) that such ritual killing is insufficient to warrant the term "sacrifice". He agrees with Reay (1988:1) that "We should not broaden the notion of sacrifice, but limit it strictly to practices that exhibit these particular elements[which comprise the definition of sacrifice]." Ruel is fully in accord with Hubert and Mauss's second definition of sacrifice as a "procedure [which] consists in establishing a means of communication between the sacred and the profane through the mediation of a victim, that is of a thing that in the course of the ceremony is destroyed" (Hubert & Mauss 1964:97). He emphasizes that to deserve the appellation a sacrifice must be directed to a deity rather than requiring, more vaguely, a mere "concern with powers", be they personalized spirits or diffuse forces (Beattie 1980). Sua is not directed at a deity, unlike other African sacrificial types described in five volumes of Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire. Yet the main sua ritual performed at the Chief's Palace conforms exactly to

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1The question of sacrifice is treated quite differently in Zeitlyn, S. 1986, but does not figure in Zeitlyn, A. 1988.

2On page 13 of Hubert & Mauss (1964) is the more commonly cited definition of sacrifice as an act which modifies the state of a moral person.

3Volumes 2-6, 1976-1983.
Westermarck's (1908:618) description of sacrifice. For "they are offered for the purposes of transferring curses..." The Moorish 'âr...implies the transference of a conditional curse..." He continues (p. 620-622) to trace similar sacrificial oath-taking (bloody or not), both in space and in time. To some extent the choice of term is unimportant at this level of analysis. "Sua-oath" has been chosen as the more appropriate blanket term covering a range of related rites. But the term "sacrificer" is retained to denote the actor who kills the chicken during those oaths accompanied by a ritual killing.

The most important type of sua-oath is that performed at the Chief's Palace at the conclusion of the hearing of a dispute. The word "sua" is most commonly used to refer to this sort of oath. It takes the form of a set of addresses to a bundle of leaves and to a chicken which is placed over them and subsequently beheaded. It is clearly the same rite which Meek calls Ngub Sho (Meek 1931b:552-553) in his account of the Nigerian Mambilla. The addresses pledge the innocence of the speaker and threaten any malefactor with death. Mambilla in Warwar swore an oath of non-involvement in an illness "that it is not their witchcraft which is causing the illness" (Rehfisch 1969:309). Oath-taking is important in Metchum valley polities; oaths in Ide seem less formalized and the ritual pollution (akien) which arises if an oath is broken may be removed by a ritual expert (Masquelier 1978:214).

Sua-oaths are very similar in form to the we kam oath of the Adangme discussed by Huber(1959), and to Kuranko oaths (Jackson 1975:389). Makambila (1976:297) describes the oath of an anti-witchcraft cult in which the participants ask protection but accept the results if they subsequently are involved with witchcraft. This is very close to the aims expressed in the sua-oaths. Great similarities can also be found between the Tiv swem (Bohannan 1957:205, Downes 1971:12, Edwards 1983:478, Edwards 1984:90-91), and Mambila sua. Both are "conditional curses" and both can be used to ensure the fertility of the fields (Edwards 1984:90). However, as Edwards has recently made clear, swem is directly linked to witches by their common origin on Mount Swem. Hence, like Tiv authority, it is of ambiguous morality. By contrast sua is held to be unambiguously good, and (a different point) also names masquerades.

Sua Kare or Sua Karup is a derivative "private" form of the sua-oath. It is taken at home to protect the household against witchcraft. The occupants implicitly swear their innocence of witchcraft since the oath is held to endanger any witch who subsequently enters the house. Sua Kare is often sworn as a result of divination concerning illness or some domestic problem.

Njerup's sua is the form of sua-oath practised by people of Njerup hamlet. It can be sworn when a new house has been built to complement the rite performed by the
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senior women, the Marenjo. Both rites are optional. The Marenjo can "bury" a house to hide it from malefactors in a manner similar to their annual "burying" of the village at the beginning of women's sua. Opinions differ as to the extent to which Njerup's sua is really distinct from the main sua-oath taken at the Chief's Palace. Some, but not all, men related it to the fact that until very recently the Njerup had their own masquerade and men's sua enclosure, although these have fallen into disuse in the last decade. Certainly in Somié centre no explicit connection is made between the masquerade and the oaths. Entry into the masquerade is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for learning to officiate at an oath-taking.

The oaths so far considered all involve the ritual killing of a chicken; however, there are three further rites which, although oaths, do not involve a ritual killing.

Sua stomach (li sua) is the action which any initiant into the masquerade can take to invoke the power of sua, for example in response to theft. One states publicly, patting one's stomach, that unless X happens the agent concerned will suffer (by implication: fall ill). This is now rare. I witnessed two occurrences, both at funeral feasts, where the organizers had been warned by divination of the possibility of witchcraft. It was feared that poison would be introduced into the beer which is liberally drunk on such occasions. Sua stomach was used to ward off the danger by threatening any would-be poisoner. The paradigm use of li sua, however, is in response to theft. It is used to cause the thief to fall ill, so they will return the goods and make recompense with the gift of two chickens. Thereupon the oath-taker touches his forefingers to the ground and blows over them onto the sternum of the thief so that they recover. This is far weaker than the other sua-oaths, which cannot be retracted, and cause death.

Thus the purpose of sua stomach is very similar to the other oaths described above. It is said that the grandfathers of those now old knew more than those still alive, and had many more types of sua. They could even perform sua stomach and thereby kill the flock of birds which was eating a field of sorghum.

Instead of actually patting the stomach with the right hand, an alternative (seen on one of the occasions witnessed) is to wave an ndungu or dengar sua in the right hand. This is a triangular baton (c. 40 cm. long, 10 cm. at its widest, and less than 1 cm. thick). In origin it is Konja and the two Mambila men who each owned one said, when questioned, that they did not know of what wood their baton was made. The batons are purchased from the Konja. The principle use of the ndungu sua, however, is during kulu sua, the rite

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1 I am an initiant into the masquerade but have not learnt to officiate at the oaths. I am assured that the two sets of leaves used are distinct.
which concludes an adultery hearing in the Palace. Once an admission has been made and the amount of the fine payable by the adulterer has been agreed, he and the husband go into the palace square and kneel facing the East while the ndungu sua is scraped over their outstretched palms. The adulterous woman is sometimes treated separately in her house although the ndungu sua is not then used; instead a Notable will spit a blessing on her.

The dame rite is very similar to two other rites: the pouring of beer on a father’s grave, and the lom rite. Both of these include invocations similar to that made in dame, but with no mention of sua corresponding to that which occurs during dame. During the dame rite the village population gathers in the square outside the Palace, and forms a circle. The Chief sits on his kogo baji (chief’s stool), other people sit or squat on the ground, having removed their shoes. The seating choice made by each individual results in a rough segregation between the sexes, although this fact was never commented upon. When everyone has assembled the Chief nominates a speaker, either one of his sister’s sons or senior sisters. The speaker stands in the middle of the circle, faces eastwards, and raises their right forefinger, as does everyone else. The main thrust of the invocation is that good things should enter the village and bad things pass into the bush. During the invocation (which is typically short, no more than two or three minutes in length, and spoken at great speed) some varieties of good and evil are enumerated. Moreover, dame threatens evil doers with sua. The speaker says, for example, “if someone comes to the village with evil intent, what will they see?” The response is provided by the audience: “They will see sua.” The audience dip their forefingers to the ground as they make their response. This is identical to the behaviour of the audience when the refrain of the main Chief’s Palace oath is pronounced. Although transcripts have been prepared of dame they are not presented here since they are more formulaic than sacrifice texts so can be described in general terms.

Dame and variations.

The dame described is performed regularly in Somié. The description is recognized as dame in Atta and Sonkolong but the version performed in these villages has a different refrain in which no explicit mention of sua is made. The speaker states dispreferred possibilities. The audience then responds by changing the statement to a preferred possibility. For example, the speaker says of a good thing that it will not come (to the village), whereupon the audience choruses “it will come”. I have as yet insufficient data on other villages to assess the significance of the lack of a direct reference to sua. However, when discussing the differences with inhabitants of both Sonkolong and Atta they said that

1Lom is now defunct, so data about it is hearsay.
the difference was small and that it was not significant. Those in Somié concurred with this view. However, the *dama* spoken by Sapka (on 8/12/85) before the sua sacrifice transcribed below contains examples of both types of refrain.

Another manifestation of inter-village differences is dialect-al variation between villages. For the most part these are phonological, leading to distinct village accents. There are some lexical differences, for example, in the botanical vocabularies so in some cases each village has its own name for the same tree.

**SUA AS A UNITARY CONCEPT**

**INTER-VILLAGE SUA**

It may be suggested that there is a difference in type between the sua masquerades and the set of sua-oaths, and that the common name is simply coincidence. This is improbable of such a central and frequently-used item of the ritual vocabulary. Further evidence for the unity of sua comes from inter-village sua-oaths. Such an oath was taken twice in 1985 to establish peace between Somié and Sonkolong. The background to the dispute is described in the footnote to L198 of the first transcript of Chapter 8, below. The first occasion was in Somié (which I did not witness) and the second at Sonkolong (which I recorded and transcribed) is described as follows. By comparison to the 'normal' sua-oath, taken at the Palace as part of an intra-village judicial process, the inter-village sua used more elaborate ritual objects. Significantly, the objects used were those associated with the male sua masquerade. The addresses were accompanied by two men blowing sua whistles, a third using a voice disguiser, and a fourth clanking a bundle of bells and double gongs. When these men processed from the Chief's Palace into the square I was told "sua is coming," exactly as if the Masquerade itself were about to appear. The use of ritual items to accompany both the masquerade and a special sua-oath is evidence of the fundamental unity perceived to exist between them.

The responses elicited by explicit questions about the "many in one" nature of sua were all of the form: "it is just one. There are many sua, but these are all fundamentally the same." This evokes parallels with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity but ordained Mambila, although they recognized the similarity, would not pursue the point.

**SUA COMBINED WITH OTHER RITES**

On occasions in the hamlets *dama* is immediately followed by a sua-oath. The sua-oath is of the same type (the same leaves being used) as those oaths taken at the Palace.

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1 Another case which I have documented is the nomenclature of frogs.
However, its purpose is to benefit the whole hamlet. It serves to set the seal upon the invocation of dama. When both rites have been concluded there is a beer drink for all present. I have insufficient data to assess the reasons for performing these rites. It may be tempting to give a functional explanation: that the rites are performed to mark and to reinforce hamlet unity. This, however, was not among the actors' stated reasons for their actions.

Such concurrences are not restricted to the hamlets. The sua-oath transcribed below occurred during such a combination of dama and sua at the Chief's Palace. The concurrence of dama and sua, rather than a simple performance of sua, after a dispute is extremely unusual. (The stated reasons for the oath are recounted below). Apart from this it was identical to other sua-oaths taped, and is included here because of the topics raised in the addresses.

SUA AS A REGIONAL SYSTEM

The following table lists general names for both masquerades and ritual killing or oath-taking likened to the Mambila sua-oath by the Mambila men who acted as my interpreters. The table covers the Mambila and their immediate neighbours. It provides some evidence that a regional system of shared meanings and inter-related rituals may exist. Further research is needed to establish the extent to which more than mere linguistic similarity obtains. Pending such research the table emphasizes the fact that the Mambila do not exist in a regional vacuum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Masquerade</th>
<th>Oath</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mambila</td>
<td>sua</td>
<td>sua</td>
<td>DZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konja</td>
<td>sop</td>
<td>saär</td>
<td>DZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikar</td>
<td>swoa</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>DZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamba</td>
<td>nwe?</td>
<td>ssta/stap</td>
<td>DZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuli</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>sō</td>
<td>Beake, 1984 Lus village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Religion and Gender

The religious system serves to maintain and enact male power over women by preventing their direct access both to divination (discussed in the next chapter) and to the sua-oaths. Hence women are competent neither to accuse a witch (without the collusion of men) nor to take the most powerful oath in order to acquit themselves of an accusation of witchcraft. This is important, and relevant to the maintenance of the social structure already discussed.
However, neither divination nor sua are primarily intended to have these effects, and it would distort the analysis to suggest that they were.

AN OVERVIEW: THE TRADITIONAL RELIGION IN HISTORY

The changes to religious practice and precept which have occurred since the arrival of the world religions in Sômié can be summarized as follows.

The strand of monotheism exemplified by châŋ, the remote creator-god, has been accentuated. Other elements of the religion, though, especially those not well integrated with châŋ or sua, have tended to fall into disuse. This results in the concepts of châŋ and sua attaining a prominence which they may well not have had previously. Châŋ is used to translate the world religions' "god", and sua, although simplified by the discontinuance of many of its manifestations, remains as the means to solve the problems of everyday life which Christianity is not seen to solve. Islam and the use of Islamic remedies, such as "drinking" Islamic verses, have had a comparatively restricted impact since they are strongly identified with the FulBe and the memories of the late nineteenth century slave trade are still strong.

I have recorded a small catalogue of rites and practices no longer current, and the literature about the Nigerian Mambilla dating from the 1930's and 1940's documents a more diverse set of masquerades than are current in Sômié.

I have found it helpful to picture the traditional religious system as a galaxy of practices; centred around a double centre (châŋ and sua). An individual practice (rite, etcetera), like a star, can die by slowly falling into disuse. It can come into being by purchase from neighbours or by creation (within a restricted cultural vocabulary).

To continue the analogy, the influence of Christianity has hastened the demise of some peripheral, poorly-attached stars, and has even affected the centre by condensing one of the poles, yet in so doing has made that pole (sua) more intense. A theology is assumed (just as variance in practice is allowed) since to question this would be akin to questioning the existence of gravity. It may not yet be possible to write a quantum theory of gravity, but theorists continue to work on the assumption (hope) that it will be written!

The situation in Sômié is, in fact, not so different from the situation prevailing in Europe (for example) where there exists not only literacy but also a radical intellectual division of labour. The existence of these enables the laity, who may never live attempt to tap the expertise which they assume exists, to use a system of concepts as vague (in

1 Details of borrowing and reciprocal influence are well illustrated by the literature on "anti-witchcraft cults" e.g. Douglas 1963, Marwick 1950, Richards 1935, Vansina 1952 & 1969.
everyday use) and as poorly defined as any in use in Somié. Conversation frequently includes words such as "democracy", "freedom", "justice", "equality" which are not best understood by reference to the discussions in the philosophical literature.

In Somié, then, chàŋ is the ultimate cause and reason, sua the ultimate means of action.
Divination
Chapter Three

Mambila Divination

INTRODUCTION

Mambila divination is considered here in some detail not only as a topic worthy of discussion in its own right, and also as an element of the process leading to a sua-oath. I deal chiefly with spider divination since this is the most important form of Mambila divination. In view of the importance of divination in debates about traditional religion and rationality the chapter starts with a brief theoretical excursus. It continues with descriptions of the sorts of divination used by the Mambila.

DIVINATION: THEORY AND COMPARISONS

It is helpful, in considering Mambila divination in a wider context to distinguish between basic types of divination. In setting out this typology I shall criticize some previous commentators who have situated divination in a social and cultural setting before paying any attention to its intellectual characteristics. My claim is that the intellectual activity inherent in the type of divination system used provides a (much ignored) constraint on such contextualising. Moreover, this intellectual activity itself is not determined by the social system. None of this is to deny that client and diviner collaboratively negotiate an agreed solution. This may occur even when the client is mute, or the diviner acting in ignorance of the problem at hand. Such a position has been argued for during the last decade by for example, Parkin 1979, Shaw 1985 and Werbner (in press).

Divination may be defined loosely as any means by which people gain occult knowledge, which is: knowledge not available from everyday, practical activity and more or less esoteric in object. Its practice has been widely reported in societies both throughout

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1I have greatly benefitted from discussing drafts of this chapter with Pascal Boyer, Ian Litton, and James Woodburn, none of whom are responsible for the faults which remain. The discussion after the University College, London West African seminar in 1986 also helped clarify the issues and I am grateful to the organizers for the opportunity to give the paper. An earlier version was published in Cambridge Anthropology as Zeitlyn 1987. This chapter consists of a major revision of that publication.

2Such a definition is applicable to Western Science. Despite the arguments which have followed Horton’s 1967 paper, his remains the best account of the similarities between Western Science and the sorts of activities which I am discussing. More importantly, his explanation of the differences, while schematic and subject to qualification, matches closely my experiences both as a quantum mechanic and as a diviner.
Divination

the world and going back to the distant past\textsuperscript{1}. Such a widespread human concern merits an equally wide-ranging analysis which pressure on space prohibits here. This must serve as a prologemen\textsuperscript{a} to an implicit, wider enquiry. That examination must question whether all those things commonly called "divination" should rightly be analysed together. It is by no means clear that a satisfactory analysis of African divination can be raised to the status of a global theory. For example Fortes' definition of divination\textsuperscript{2} is restricted to divination which is central to a religious system, and is therefore inadequate in other cases.

One approach would be to analyse many regions and then to distinguish structure and variation between these different analyses. However, it must be stressed that the aspect usually examined in cross-cultural comparison is the variation in social context, and the effects which these variations have on the rôle and use of sacrifice, divination et cetera. This is to approach divination from the outside, and severely under-determines the methods of reasoning found in divination. There appear to be great similarities between the methods and the types of reasoning across widely different societies when the perspective of the operator is adopted. This is connected with the commerce in masquerades, cults and witchcraft detection systems that has been widely reported in Africa on a regional basis. My claim, however, is stronger than that: I argue that some similarities between the divination systems in areas which have never experienced mutual contact can be explained by the structural similarity of the intellectual situation within which the diviners operate.

What is certain is that no simple relation exists between social structure and the sorts of reasoning used in divination. It is moot whether more subtle and complex relationships will be discovered. I hope that the data presented above will be used in a study of divinatory systems in the Cameroon/Nigerian area to further the search for such relationships.

Ethnographers often mention only briefly the intellectual rigour with which divination is practised. These claims should be taken seriously, and the intellectual activities which comprise the activity of divination examined in their own right.

Thus the types of arguments supplied by Park (1963), Beattie (1964, 1966, 1967), Field (1955, 1958) and Turner (1975) put the cart before the horse by considering the social use to which divination is put, or its effects on societies or on individuals, whether clients or operators. They have presented a view of divination from the outside, or at best from the

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\textsuperscript{1}See general surveys included in Loewe & Blacker 1981, Vernant 1974 and Caquot & Leibovici, 1968.

\textsuperscript{2}Fortes 1966:413: "Where divination is a central feature of a system of religion or magic, it is a ritual instrument by means of which choice is made, from among the total ritual resources of a community, of the right ritual measures for particular occasions, and with regard to individual circumstances."
Divination

perspective of the client. I am concerned with the diviners (or operators), and their activities. This approach does not invalidate Turner’s work, but demands that before considering the diviner as actor or instigator (1975:241) in a social drama more attention be paid to the diviner as “a ratiocinating individual” (Turner 1975:231).

To begin with I shall follow Cicero (who attributes the idea to Quintus) and make a distinction between “artificial” and “natural” divination (De Div. 1.vi.12). Later authors prefer the terms “mechanical” and “emotive.” The latter category (which Vernant calls “aleatory” 1974:12) includes all types of possession, where privileged access to truth is the result of a direct relationship between the operator and some occult force or spirit.

This distinction defines a continuum with clearly defined polar types and with a range of intermediates. A good example is found in the ethnography of the Highland Maya of Momostenango (Tedlock, B. 1982) in which “the blood speaking” (the divinatory use of bodily twinges) co-occurs with a “mechanical” system of sortilege. Park (1963:202) further distinguishes an intermediate type which he calls “ritual” where divination is “solemnized” but this obfuscates the other two types since either sort of divination could be solemnized, and hence be classed as “ritual.”

“Emotive” divination relying on some sort of “possession” as its “means to truth” will not be considered here. It is, I believe, more suitable to the sorts of sociological analysis which have been attempted by the authors mentioned above since where divinatory techniques are associated with possession they are only preliminaries necessary to attain possession. The truth is guaranteed by the possessed state of the diviner, and as such cannot be questioned in the same way as can mechanical divination. The other pole, by contrast, seems to contain much cool ratiocination which can be questioned in a quite different way, and it is this which is the subject of the following classification. Although practitioners of both types can be accused of deceit and charlatanism possession is an either/or attribute, only mechanical divination can be done “incorrectly”. Yet it must be remembered that emotive divination represents an alternative to the solutions considered below. The focus on ratiocination does not imply that it is the sole means to the end.

Divination has figured as a leitmotif in the “rationality” debate, but of those who have contributed to it only Beattie and Horton (1970 et cetera) have published about divination per se. It has figured so importantly, I believe, because it is held to be a paradigm of “rationality in irrationality.” That is, divination is held to be prima facie irrational, but its practice is, according to the ethnographies (especially Evans-Pritchard 1937), extremely rational. As such it can serve as a synecdoche for religious belief and practice.

1 It is treated in more depth by Lewis 1971.
2 This point was made by my supervisor, Esther Goody, in response to an early draft.
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The practice of divination provides a concrete example of thought in action. Sociological accounts of the use and of the un-intended consequences of divinatory practice fail to take account of this detail, yet it is just this detail which constitutes its interest: it can serve as a rod with which to measure (and possibly to beat) theories of rationality.

What follows is a rudimentary and initial exercise which attempts to account for some of the differences observed between various divinatory systems. This is done by identifying two dimensions of variation. I do not intend to suggest that these are the only aspects in which differences occur, rather that when comparing two systems the importance must be assessed of the following two factors:

1) the degree to which interpretation of the results is constrained, and
2) whether or not the operator knows the questions which the divination must answer.

By constraints upon interpretation I mean the rules of interpretation, the practices which lead the operator from the concrete, empirical results to the interpreted result. Examples abound: in the Thonga system of sortilege, the fall of an astragalus bone was either convex up, concave up, or right or left side uppermost, each of which had an associated meaning, determining the result of divination with respect to the state of the object associated with that bone.

There are two analytically separable points at which interpretation is made. Firstly, the transition from the physical results of divination to its verbalization (usually by the operator), and secondly the interpretation of such statements (usually by the client) in the light of the question at issue.

Since this analysis is directed towards the operator the constraints particularly considered are those upon the first element of interpretation, which is always the job of the diviner. Concerning the subsequent element of interpretation some comments are called for.

a) The client interprets in the light of the question-at-issue the results of divination. Usually these are verbal responses of the diviners. It is therefore clearly different from the process whereby the initial result is obtained. Moreover, the work which must be done to fit the response to the question will vary with the degree to which the diviner knows the question (see below).

b) Constraint upon the first element of interpretation must be accompanied by relative freedom in the subsequent interpretation, otherwise the question will never be answered to the client's satisfaction. Thus one of the problems central to the work of Adler & Zempléni (1972) is the move from the general to the particular, since Moundang divination is so tightly controlled that it can only make pronouncements at the most general level, yet people's problems are very specific. So too for the Yoruba, where in principle the

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1 Junod 1913 vol 2:493 & seq.
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The role of the diviner is literally mechanizable since his role is to choose by sortilege which set of verses to chant "blindly" to the client. The client then chooses the relevant verse, and hence the sacrificial proscription contained therein. Only at that point is the diviner told of the question, and enters into discussion of the sacrificial details with the client.

c) Clearly it is at this second point of interpretation that the processes of negotiation between diviner and client mentioned above take place. As stated, the diviner’s knowledge or ignorance of the question must affect the role they are able to play in any such negotiation.

Although separable it is clear that the two factors are related. This does not obviate the exercise, since the relationship is by no means a clear-cut or determining one. Whatever the degree of constraint on the diviner’s interpretation it must be affected by knowledge or lack of knowledge of the problem at issue. This exercise helps to clarify such relationships and is a necessary step towards to a more complete analysis.

There is a continuum of constraint from the pole of greatest restriction (which we have just considered) to that of relative freedom, exemplified by Ndembu basket divination and the overall interpretation made of a Tarot reading.

Conversely there is polar distinction between cases where the operator is told the purpose of the enquiry and those where the clients conceal it, or even try to mislead the operator. The contrast is absolute between systems found in Northern Ghana, for example, among the Tallensi (Fortes 1959b & 1966), the Sisala (Mendonsa 1973, 1982), and Yoruba “Ifax” (Bascom 1969), all of whom leave the operators to work in ignorance of the questions, and others such as the Moundang (Adler & Zempléni 1972), “spider divination” discussed herein, and the Dogon “fox” divination (Calame-Griaule 1986, Paulme 1937, Griaule 1937), where the operators can interpret the tangible results in the light of the questions being asked.

It is useful to separate elements which would be wrong to consider together. At first sight there are great similarities between Ifa and the Chinese I Ching, yet from the

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1 According to the “official” accounts of Ifa e.g. Abimbola (1976) and Bascom (1969). No study of Ifa divination in practice has yet been published. The Afa divination among the Evhe is similar in this respect to the Yoruba Ifa (de Surgy n.d. & 1981). Barber (p.c.) notes that in her observations of Ifa in one Yoruba town the babalawo was never stopped by the client, but rather gave a single ese verse which he proceeded to interpret. Despite this I treat Ifa “as if it is” as described by the published accounts, in anticipation that further research may resolve this issue.

2 The mathematical similarity has been recently discussed by Klein (1983) but he provides no argument for any similarity at the level of ese. Indeed he compares I Ching Trigrams with Ifa Odu, yet the semantic load and the rôle in their respective divination systems are quite different. All the extensive discussions of the origin of Ifa-type systems as discussed in De Surgy’s thesis: “La Géomancie et le culte d’Afa chez les Evhé du littoral” (n.d.) are inconclusive since despite the homomorphisms between notational
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perspective of the operator, and in the work of interpretation done by the operator, there are major differences between the two systems.

Ndembu basket divination (Turner 1975) is given a median place on the diagram below in recognition of the way which reality blurs such clear cut distinctions. For although the diviners are not told the question they elicit the problem through a series of eliminating questions to the clients in the process of interpreting successive throws. Ndembu state that the diviner is not told the questions. However, the reality of the situation (in which the diviner quickly identifies what questions) indicates the logical impossibility of a full interpretation of the results without knowing the question. Where such interpretation occurs we may look for knowledge of the question, although it may be denied. The possibility of divination systems with this combination of “freedom” and “ignorance” relies on the two types of interpretation distinguished above. The (closely related) Ghanaian systems (Tallensi and Sisala), however, properly belong in the fourth quadrant. The diviners are kept in ignorance and the divination represents a mixture of yes/no questions and the selection from a group of objects from whose associated meanings the diviner weaves an account. In ignorance of the question this interpretation is non-specific, and it is then for the client to relate it to the situation at hand.

Some recent work¹ has stressed the way in which the “results” of divination are actively negotiated and result from the interaction between diviner and client during the divinatory process.

¹Parkin 1979, Shaw 1985 and Werbner (in press).
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The distinctions under discussion can be represented by the following diagram:

DIAGRAM 3.1 Divination types

The exercise helps us ask sensible questions: there is more in common between Tallensi divination and Ndembu basket divination than between the Tallensi system and Yoruba "Ifa" (or "Sixteen Cowries"). Comparison implies difference, but often the greater the similarity the more fruitful the comparison. The inspiration for this approach comes from MacGaffey (1980) who, having established a typology of African religions, continues

Sources of systems shown on diagram 6.
Moundang: Moundang sortilege as described in Adler & Zempléni 1972.
Mambila: "spider divination" as described herein.
Dogon: "Fox" divination as described in Griaule (1937), Paulme (1937), and Calame-Griaule 1986.
Ifa: Yoruba "Ifa" (and the closely related Sixteen Cowrie system) used by the Yoruba, as described by Abimbola (1976), Akinaso (1983), Bascom (1969, 1980).
Tallensi: Sortilege as described in Fortes (1959b & 1966).
Sisala: Sortilege as described in Mendonsa (1973, 1982).
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to argue how those types might be related to different social structural foundations. Here I have merely made the first step, leaving wider sociological questions for another place.

One of the first papers on Dogon “Fox” divination (Griaule, 1937) cites Labouret’s early (1935) report of Bamiléké spider divination. When we make a comparison, we can see from the diagram that the two systems are similar in their knowledge of the question. With respect to the degree of constraint upon interpretation, the evidence is that the Mambila system is more constrained. The only useful detail is found in Griaule (1937) where interpretative rules are listed and thirteen examples given. Unfortunately they are given out of context, and since some of the results are unambiguously contradictory the absence of any further information makes it impossible to use this otherwise exemplary article. We need to know if the contradictions were understood as complicated messages (as in Wôŋ’s response to the contradictory response to Q38 below (Diagram 5b and note [2])) or simply rejected as unsuccessful divination.

THE LITERATURE ON SPIDER DIVINATION

The use of spiders in divination was first recorded in 1621 (De Arriaga 1968) in South America, but this system seems rather different from that used in Cameroon and eastern Nigeria where the variations are on a common theme. The earliest reference to spider divination in this area is Zenker (1895).

The literature on spider divination is varied. Although the frequency of reference suffices to give a good indication of its distribution, there are detailed studies of only the following groups: Banen (Dugast), Bafia Bekpak (Leiderer) and their Bamiléké neighbours (Pradelles) as well as the Yamba (Gebauer) who are neighbours of the Mambila. Much further North a related form of divination using a crab has been described by van Beek (1978:221-233). It is clear that the use of spiders is widespread from the Fang and Beti groups in the southern forest (Laburthe-Tolra 1984:69, Mallart Guimera 1981:48 and Towo-Atanga 1966) to the Yamba/Mambila in the North-West. To the North on the Adamawa Plateau “land” crabs are used for divination. It is significant in this respect that two groups spanning the ecological border, the Mambila and the Vute (Siran p.c.), use both spider and crab for divination. Indeed, Mambila do not linguistically distinguish the two. It is possible that we are dealing with one form of divination which has dispersed throughout the area. However, while this seems incontrovertible with respect to spider divination proper (ŋgam) this writer does not endorse a stronger diffusion hypothesis which would seek to link ŋgam spider divination with the ldra crab divination found in the North. Not only is there no linguistic evidence, but also the details of the crab divination documented by van Beek (1978:221-233), Juillerat (1971:40) and Martin (1970:187-190) seem as close to the (surely unrelated) Dogon “fox” divination (Griaule 1937) as to those of ŋgam-type systems.
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To sum up: while it is plausible to explain the wide distribution of ñgam-type divination systems by dispersion, it does not seem to have extended onto the Adamawa Plateau proper. Groups on the edges of Adamawa, for example, the Mambila and Vute, use crabs instead of spiders (or vice versa) but they do not seem to have passed the divination on. The linguistic homonymity of crab, spider and divination (ñgam) among the Mambila, although highly suggestive, can be explained if one or other animal has recently been adopted in its divinatory guise.

Turning now to the distribution of ñgam-type systems we are hampered by a lack of detailed evidence especially on the Eastern side of Cameroon for example, for the Fang/Beti groups and their neighbours.

Linguistically it should be noted that ñgam is the term used for divination throughout much of the Bantu fringe. It has been documented as far as the coast near Douala (Hegba 1979:146 among Bassa and Beti, as well as Matip n.d.:37) and among all the Beti-speaking groups in the South of Cameroon. ñgam is also used among the immediate neighbours of the Mambila, the Tikar, Konja and Yamba (Kaka) as described by Gebauer (1964). In Hedinger’s discussion of the Manenguba group (Hedinger 1987) ñgam is clearly closely related to the words listed as “spider” (p211) and “native-doctor” (p192). ñgam is also the word for both “divination” and “spider” for the Fang peoples of Cameroon and Gabon, who practise a form of spider divination. Although there is no clear proto-Bantu root to be found in Guthrie’s “Comparative Bantu” it is noteworthy that his roots for the verb “to divine” (B*-B-5k-) and for “spider” (*-babe) are similar (pp 59 & 63).

The detailed studies of spider divination fall into two groups: “southern” i.e. Banen, Bekpak & Bamileké and “northern” i.e. Yamba/Mambila. The “southern” group is characterized by a variety of signifiers that is, by a set of cards plus batons¹ which are interpreted in relation to lines drawn on the ground around the spider’s hole. There are two stages or types of spider divination. A small set of marked sticks is used to assess the broad outlines of the problem, or to give yes/no answers. This simpler system is independent from although often preceding the use of the larger set of marked leaves used to give detail to the answer found by the first method. Leiderer also reports (1982:I.161ff) an additional type of inscribed leaf-card. The Bekpak have, in addition to a set of single cards, some cards consisting of two leaves sown back-to-back, only one of which has been marked so that the resulting leaf has one blank face. Some of these are themselves joined in pairs by a short thread connecting their tips.

By contrast the “northern” group has one single set of cards. There are no internal differentiations such as the doubling by sewing together of a subset of cards. These are

¹A full account requires more than a mere description of the cards and their meanings. Hence Bamoun divination has not been sufficiently well recorded (Parré 1956) to be included here.
Divination interpreted with respect to points fixed outside the spider's hole. Gebauer 1964:39-42 describes a secondary Yamba method of casting the leaves but does not give details of spider interpretation apart from the following passage.

"The leaf cards nearest the burrow entrance have priority in interpretation. To speed up this method of divination, the diviner may place inside the enclosure short pieces of grass, or he may draw lines from the centre of the enclosed ground to the edge of the enclosure. Cards which are pushed close to the pieces of grass or the drawn lines receive the diviner's attention." (p43-5)

At present there is insufficient ethnographic evidence to judge whether such complexities are local refinements of an introduced practice or whether they mark the original inventors of this form of divination which has been dispersed in a simplified form.
### Divination

**Table 3.1. Spider & Crab divination systems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1) Spider</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ayom</td>
<td>Guillemin 1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamileké</td>
<td>Pradelles 1986; Labouret 1935; Masson 1939/40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamoun</td>
<td>Dellenbach 1932; Nicod, 1950; Parré 1956.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bandoun</td>
<td>Maillard 1984</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banen</td>
<td>Dugast 1960</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bangwa</td>
<td>Pradelles 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassa</td>
<td>Hegba 1979; Matip n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekpak (Bafia)</td>
<td>Leiderer 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beti</td>
<td>Hegba 1979; Towo-Atanga 1966, Laburthe-Tolra 1984; Mallart Guimera 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konja</td>
<td>Gebauer 1964</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mambila</td>
<td>Zeitlynn 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manenguba</td>
<td>Hedinger 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbembe, Mfumte, Wuli</td>
<td>Baeke 1984; Pollock 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta'</td>
<td>Forgue 1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkako</td>
<td>Copet-Rogier 1986 (No mention of spiders but nga= divination)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsaw</td>
<td>McCulloch 1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nzakara (C.A.R.)</td>
<td>Retel-Laurentin 1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oku</td>
<td>Krafczyk 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikar</td>
<td>Gebauer 1964</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wiya</td>
<td>Jeffreys 1953</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wute</td>
<td>Siran (p.c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamba</td>
<td>Gebauer 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2) Crab</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chamba</td>
<td>Fardon 1980; Edwards (p.c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gbaya</td>
<td>Burnham (p.c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jukun</td>
<td>Meek 1931a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kapsiki</td>
<td>van Beek 1978</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koma</td>
<td>Edwards (p.c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matakam</td>
<td>Martin 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moukélé</td>
<td>Juillerat 1971</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verre</td>
<td>Edwards (p.c.)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Divination
THE LANGUAGE OF MAMBILA DIVINATION

Ngam is used both as the generic term for divination and to refer to specific sorts of divination, with its unmarked sense being ngam dù (divination earth i.e. spider divination). The verb "to divine" is "mbè," frequently occurring in divination questions as the negative option, meaning "divine further."

MAMBILA DIVINATION TYPES

Two types of divination are commonly used in Somié. These are ngam dù and ngam tubu, both discussed below. Other types of divination used in the village either have very few operators or their results are taken less seriously, being regarded more or less as games. Before discussing the main types in detail I shall briefly examine the less important types I recorded.

Ngam kal: (divination straw) throwing straws and reading their fall. Not taken seriously at all.

Ngam ngolgol: (divination snail). A snail1 shell is threaded on a string and then slides or sticks according to the tension placed on the string by the operator who holds one end of the string between his toes, the other in his hand2. The possibility of manipulation is recognized and it is not highly regarded. I know of only one operator in the village.

Ngam nemu: (divination water). The reading of patterns formed by objects floating on beer was documented by Gebauer, and similar practices are known locally. Seeds of ginger are scattered onto the surface of water in a gourd. If they float this is taken to be a good or positive response. If they sink it is a bad or negative response. Non-practitioners say that diviners can see faces of guilty people in the water.

Ngam nemu was condemned at a public meeting in 1987 by a Notable. I later asked him why he had done so. He said that immigrants (Nigerian Mambilla) were offering to divine for people. This is a sign of mendacity. All diviners ask for money for their services but only liars tout for trade. A genuine diviner is approached by clients who come and ask him to divine.

FulBe sand divination is also known, and some people claim to practise it. Its strongest Mambila association is with the Maka anti-witchcraft cult which swept through the area in 1939. This used both sand divination and a form of ngam nemu to identify witches. After its repression by the Colonial authorities it has not re-appeared. However, in 1988 I was told of some practitioners among the Nigerian Mambilla. Sadly there was not time to contact them.

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1Achatina? sp.
2It is thus similar to Ndembu "rattle divination" briefly described in Turner 1975: 337, and to divination type a7 from Oku (Krafczyk 1982:63).
Divination

A rubbing-hands divination\(^1\) is practised only by Wajiri Bi, and he has practised it as far away as the Konja village of Nyamboya to discover the location of buried witchcraft treatments. I was taught to perform this after he had taught me \(\text{ngam dü} \) (see below). He seems to use it instead of \(\text{ngam tubu} \) as a quick means to test hunches before resorting to \(\text{ngam dü} \). In locating buried objects it may well work like European water-divining, although it is clearly open to manipulation.

The palms are lubricated with spittle after chewing some ginger seeds. Then the question (which has two alternative answers) is muttered while a ball made from two leaves and a chip of tubu vine is rolled between the palms. The ball is discarded and the palms continue to be rubbed with the spittle and juice. If the hands fly apart to end up knuckle to knuckle the question is answered: “yes”. If nothing happens and they continue rubbing then the answer is “no”.

Other types

Gebauer noted several other types of Mambila divination (1964:16), in particular “Sixteen Cowries”, but these are not in use in Somié nor could I discover any trace of them ever having been used there.

LEARNING DIVINATION: FORMAL INITIATION

Much of a practitioner’s expertise derives from experience. Formal processes, however, are undergone before one is accepted as a practitioner. At one level these qualify one simply to repeat that activity, and thereby to “teach” other people the divination. No explicit statements were made to suggest that by undergoing initiation a special relationship would be established with either the divination or its source of veracity, although this is the conclusion of many anthropological analyses (for example, Huber 1965, Mendonsa 1973 & 1982, Middleton 1969, Turner 1975). Hence there is nothing to inherit (unlike witchcraft), although it is of note that most people learn from close kin (father or elder brother).

The data which I am using result from my own initiation into both \(\text{ngam tubu} \) and \(\text{ngam dü} \). I did not witness any Mambila men learning divination, but my own experiences accord with descriptions given by other diviners, and at both initiations witnesses held them to be complete. In both cases I approached senior and respected diviners and asked them to teach me, which they did willingly. I will not present full descriptions but give a greatly simplified account of the main features of each. The principles of interpretation of either divination system were not taught during the initiation. The rules of interpretation presented below were elicited by questioning many diviners before I was formally taught divination. Initiation teaches the names of the leaves used in the initiation and little else. Since initiation is essential if one is to divine it could be

\(^1\)Exactly as described by Meek 1931b:553.
Divination

suggested that there is an implicit premiss that a diviner must enjoy some special relationship established by the initiation to the divination system or its inspiring genius. No aspect of the initiatory rites lends support to this. The ritual of initiation is necessary because it is held to be so. No theoretical justification is needed nor is any forthcoming.

The essential activity of both initiations lies in the cooking and eating of a chicken by teacher and pupil, in the presence of at least one witness. Blood from the chicken’s crest is sprinkled over the fire, and the bleeding head is touched against the firestones and the pot. The chicken is then killed by being held over the fire, and its feathers burnt off. This is a recurring motif in Mambila ritual of widely different sorts, including funerals, sua masquerades and healing rites.

Throughout, when the diviner performs any action the initiand, and any witness, must either help him - by jointly holding the chicken, for example - or hold onto his elbow, so that they are directly connected to the action. This also occurs in other contexts, for instance, in healing rites.

The chicken is cooked with a set of leaves, thirteen for ngam tubu and nineteen for ngam dù, with all but two of the ngam tubu leaves being included amongst those used for ngam dù. Some of those same leaves are also used in the main sua-oath.

Ngam dù initiation is more complex than that of ngam tubu. For example, palm wine is poured into the eyes which are turned to the East. A portion of the chicken, the leaf sauce and the maize porridge with which it is eaten is put to one side and later dropped into the spider or crab holes to ensure that the spider or crab will continue to tell the truth. When learning this aspect of divination I was also taught another treatment which if inserted into the holes was also to ensure truth-telling (such techniques are considered in greater detail below), but this was not formally part of the process of learning to divine.

To learn ngam tubu a single meal is enough. For ngam dù the process should be repeated after a few days, but the second time instead of a chicken either a tetam (Vieillot’s Black Weaver Bird: *Ploeceus nigerrimus nigerrimus*) or tetaga (a type of catfish: *Synodontis* spp.) is used. The latter was used, it was explained to me, so that divination would sting (te) like the tetaga’s spines. The weaver bird, on the other hand is suitable because it calls incessantly, and is always busy, flying from place to place. It must be stressed that these explanations had to be elicited, as were justifications for the use of some of the leaves. Most of the activity, however, remained unexplained, despite attempts to elicit explanation. In addition to providing the chicken the initiand makes a small payment to the diviner who shows him the leaves and who organizes the initiation.

No collective action is undertaken by diviners as a group. They do not form a union or any other organisation. No meetings occur of diviners as such and there are no formal

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1 For an example of this in the treatment of syphilis see field-notes S2072 &c.

2 In 1986/7 this was 2000 -3000 CFA.
Discussions of divination. Since most adult men know at least ñgam tubu, if not ñgam dü as well, informal discussions occur at beer drinks or on other occasions, and it was in the course of such that I learnt many of the rules of interpretation. There was no attempt to keep such knowledge secret from women although women cannot divine. No explanation of this prohibition was given by either sex.

Ngam Tubu

This is the most commonly used of Mambila divination methods. The equipment is both easily accessible and readily portable and is often the first method used when a problem arises. It is regarded as reliable but fallible, therefore any important matter will be put to ñgam dü. (Thus it occupies a very similar position to Zande rubbing-board divination1). Men tend to learn ñgam tubu before learning ñgam dü and become proficient at it while still lacking confidence in the practice of ñgam dü. I know of one senior man who does not know how to do it. He prefers to use the more reliable spiders. I do not know if women are formally prohibited from learning this sort of divination but I know of none who practise it.

Ngam tubu consists of reading the pattern formed by the fall of chips as they are whittled off a length of tubu2 vine. These are read according to their position on a shape traced with a knife point in the dust, which has two poles marked by small cylinders cut from opposite ends of the first piece of tubu vine used. Each cylinder is differently marked with notches. These are “male” and “female,” each of which is associated with possible responses to a question when it is put to the divination.

1Q.v. Evans-Pritchard 1937.
2Unidentified.
The chips can fall with the bark either up or down\(^1\), and most attention is paid to pairs of chips which land close together, either both bark-up, or bark-down or where each of the pair lands differently. The general rules for their interpretation may be summarized thus:

1) alternate:— good, or agreement,
2) same:— bad, or disagreement,
and 3) if a chip falls onto the cut surface of another so that they stick together:— bad.

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\(^1\) bark-up: kibi, bark-down: gaa (lit. clear) or maplim (lit. upside-down).
Divination

Thus a pair of chips landing “alternately” near the female agrees with the response associated with that pole in the question and vice-versa. The questions are put in the form: “If X then take the male, if Y or not-X then take the female”1. When divining for oneself, in order to help think out a problem, the questions are muttered under the breath. In a consultation the client will explain the problem to the diviner who then proposes a form in which to put the question. If the client agrees he then asks it, speaking very quietly or muttering as if alone.

Further possibilities are introduced during the process of divination once chips have been whittled from all around a small length of vine. The cone which remains is chopped off to allow further whittling from the shortened stick. The fall of the conical stump can foretell a death by landing point down in the dust. To land on its side is a bad sign, while landing point up is good. Often the chips scatter over the pattern and form groups in intermediate positions. These give the diviner scope to tailor the answer to the question. It is common, however, for the chips to be simply swept from the pattern since “divination has said nothing.”

Ngam du: Earth Divination

Ngam du is the most important form of Mambila divination, and is widespread throughout Western Cameroon.2 The literature concentrates on the cards and their meanings and there is only cursory treatment of the actual process of divination and of the principles of interpreting the cards3, possibly since other authors have not learnt how to divine. These principles are central to an understanding of the contemporary form of Mambila spider divination which uses the relative positions of the cards rather than their meanings.

Although commonly referred to as “spider” divination it should be noted that ngam du is usually performed by land crabs (Sudanonates (convexonates) aubryi) although spiders (Hysterocrates robustus Pocock, 18994) are also used. Both can be referred to as ngama. Hence “spider” as used here, refers to either spider or crab.

Most adult men apparently know at least the basic principles of interpretation even if they have not formally been taught how to divine. More men have been taught than regularly practise ngam du. Amongst those who do, some are widely regarded as experts.

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1They are thus similar in form to ngam du questions.
2See above for discussion of its distribution.
3Exceptions being the work of Pradelles de la Tour Dejean 1986, and Leiderer 1982
Divination

and attract clients from far afield. There is no formal requirement that a diviner be a household head but most active diviners are of that status. Since the commonest reason for divination arises from illness there is more incentive for fathers to divine than for single men. Wajiri Bi has had clients from Nyamboya and Bankim (70 kilometres away). In Somi6 centre I know of five regular practitioners, and in immediately outlying hamlets were three highly reputed men (Wajiri Bi among them) whom people from the centre regularly consult.

The political rôle of divination, and of njgam dü in particular, is ambiguous. I was told that it is regarded as an essential skill, expected of all senior men. However, this is not formalized, and I suspect that the only explicit statement I received to this effect was little more than an inductive generalization. It is clear that knowledge of njgam dü is neither necessary nor sufficient for political success. Yet it is a common means of achieving of influence, and thus can contribute to the exercise of power. That it is not sufficient is clear since there are successful and acknowledged practitioners who do not take an active rôle in village politics. That it is not necessary is illustrated by the Chief of Somi6 who is a well-respected and influential chief, yet neither knows how to divine, nor consults njgam dü, although neighbouring chiefs are known as diviners. However, when I repeated Rehfisch’s “opinion poll” asking who are the elders of Somi6, all those named (apart from the Chief) know njgam dü even if they are not regular practitioners1.

New chiefs are selected through divination by the headman of Njerup, and Papa the headman of Gumbe. On them alone rests any formal requirement to practise divination, and only for this one purpose.

Njgam dü plays a crucial rôle in the detection of witches since it provides an authoritative verdict. For this, divination must be carried out by two respected diviners who are not personally involved in the case. It is likely that the Chief has increased his authority by stressing his non-involvement with this activity, so that his judgments on the basis of divinatory results are accepted as being more neutral. This is especially important as it concerns the rôle of the Chief in referring witches accused by the village court to Bankim to be committed to the national system of justice in which witchcraft is an imprisonable offence (Article 251 of the Penal Code). At trial in Banyo the diviners who “caught” the witch appear as witnesses for the prosecution. People are sentenced with terms between 6 months and 10 years. Several people from Somi6 were remanded in custody for over a year in jail before being acquitted. Yet njgam dü, although powerful, is not merely a technique by which social control is achieved. It is one of the ways by which men maintain their authority over women since women are not allowed to divine. These considerations alone, however, cannot explain the observed practices. Any such “functionalist reduction”

1Discussed above in the ethnographic introduction.
Divination is inadequate: it can give no account of intellectual behaviour, particularly of the ratiocination of the diviners.

*Basic techniques of Ngam Đù*

An inhabited crab-hole or spider-hole is located and the area immediately around it cleared of vegetation. Alternatively the crab or spider can be dug out of its hole and taken to a more conveniently-sited abandoned hole. Over the hole is placed an old pot (c. 40cm. diameter), the up-turned base of which is knocked out. This is covered with a shard or piece of tin to act as a lid which can be removed to inspect the entrance to the burrow and its immediate surroundings. To begin divination a stone is rubbed around the top of the pot as the diviner blows into it saying “yuo yuo” (“come out, come out”). The procedure for asking a question involves placing a stick and a stone inside the pot, one either side and slightly in front of the hole, usually the stick to the left, the stone to the right. Opposite the hole, about 10 cm. away, the divination leaf-cards\(^1\) are neatly stacked, pointing at the hole.

\[\text{DIAGRAM 3.3 Ngam Đù set-up}\]

Two cards are placed over the hole. These are usually those meaning “End” and “Male” although “Walk” is also used. Their meanings however, are not usually referred to during interpretation. Some diviners\(^2\) put a stone on the stack in the early stages of divination so that only the two cards over the hole can be moved. This stone is only removed when further details are needed. These are then obtained by allowing the crab to disturb the stack. However, the stack is often undisturbed even when unweighted.

The question is posed: a small stone in the right hand is tapped on the pot following the rhythm of the speech which is often muttered. I was told that actual vocalization is unnecessary. Moreover, when I stumbled over the phrases in Jù Bà I was told that I could speak English, and divination would understand. Questions follow a fixed schema

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\(^1\)Gebauer 1954:35 calls them “leaf-cards”, or “cards”: a usage I adopt here.

\(^2\)Ngeyer Abraham, and those that he has taught.
Divination

allowing two possible responses, one associated with the stick and one with the stone, no matter what question is at issue. The general form for a question is as follows:

  My divination, you shape-changer, you witch, if XXXXX then take the stick, my divination.
  No, it is not that, not-XXXXX / YYYYY / divine further, then take/bite the stone, my divination.

Mambilatext:
ŋgam mb, wŏ fum, wŏ sar XXXXX, wŏ sie tuú, Ŧgam mb. Sam Ŧgwa, “NOT XXXXX” / YYYYY / mb3 mb3, wŏ sie/numa ta, Ŧgam mb.

The choice is between one option (XXXXX) and either its direct negation (NOT XXXXX) or an element from its contrast set (YYYYY) which may be more or less precisely specified. Commonly the vague alternative mb3 mb3, (divine further) is offered which always has a negative connotation: further divination is about something evil.

The opening phrase can be extended to include other sorts of witches and idioms for witchcraft, thus becoming a list of possible sources of danger. The crab is described as being a witch since “it must be one otherwise it would not know about witchcraft.” When enquiring further about this I was told that “it takes one to know one,” and reminded that people who have inherited witchcraft have “open eyes,” and can detect witches without necessarily practising witchcraft themselves.

Once the question has been put, the pot is re-covered and the diviner(s) retire for ten to fifteen minutes to allow the crab to emerge and disturb the cards, thus giving its answer. Often another pot is inspected and further questions put while the answer from the first pot is awaited, so a set of parallel questions may be operated. This provides a consistency check on the veracity of the divination. (Truth-telling is considered separately below.)

A new line of questioning is marked by breaking a twig and the fragments thrown away as the diviner states that he will adopt a fresh approach, and the divination is to follow suit.

Divination leaf-cards (mvu Ŧgam)
The divination leaf-cards used are obtained from a shrub\(^1\), leaves of which are doubled over and pressed flat while being stored over the fire. A template is used to cut the outline shape which is common to all the cards, and similar to that illustrated by Gebauer. Ideograms are

\(^1\)The shrub is called mvu Ŧgam, (Darryodes sp.). Yamba leaves were cut from Darryodes edulis (which is the reclassification of Pachylobus edulis given by Gebauer) (Gebauer 1964:35). Leiderer (1982:1.125) identified the leaves used by the Bafia as coming from the tree Oddoniodendronmicranthum. The Wuli use only three cards cut from the euphorbicaeBridelia spp. (tse\(\text{tse}\) in Wuli) according to Baeke (p.c.).
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then incised with a razor. The cards are all of the same form, and unlike those found further South (discussed by Leiderer and Dugast). Each ideogram occupies two cards, on one card appearing only on the left of the central rib (bad) and on the other drawn twice, once on each side of the rib (good). The ideograms are called ng3a, which is also used to mean "symbol."

The meanings of the cards are rarely referred to in the course of Mambila divinatory practice, so although several sets of cards were collected and others documented in the field they will not be discussed in detail here. Of the eight sets fully documented none had more than 35 different ideograms. Thus they are more restricted than those sets described in the literature in which divination leaf-cards have been discussed and comprehensively illustrated.

Cards are kept in holders (kup ngam) made from raffia pith. These too are as illustrated in Gebauer. Often several sets of cards are kept in one holder allowing the simultaneous use of different holes for divination. One diviner placed some feathers from a chicken cooked to provide ser ngam (see below) in his holder but otherwise the cards are treated as utilitarian objects.

Principles of Interpretation.

When the diviners return, if the crab has emerged and disturbed the cards, the resulting pattern is read. Often an abbreviated version of the original question is spoken over the pot immediately prior to removing the lid and inspecting the results. This section outlines the general rules by which the pattern is interpreted.

Expertise in reading the patterns is acquired firstly by divining with elders expert in divination, and especially with one's teacher. Although the stereotypical cases can be recounted (see below) the proper interpretation of an equivocal response can only be learnt through seeing a similar response and being taught its interpretation. The success of a particular interpretation can only be evaluated in the light of subsequent events. While learning to divine, use is made of truth-testing questions whose answers are easily verified for example: "Will I eat maize porridge today?" Controlling the question not only tests the veracity of the crab but also exercises the skill of the diviner. Later one begins to divine alone, but always refining the technique by induction from past cases. Thus I suspect that more experienced diviners rarely reject a response as "saying nothing," while this is more common among beginners.

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1. The set of 161 cards from the Wiya tribe donated to the Pitt Rivers museum, Oxford by M.D.W. Jeffreys are similar to Gebauer's Yamba ones, even in the detailed iconography. Some of these cards have a bell-like outline but otherwise they are all cut to the same pattern. The iconography of these examples is different and more complex than the iconography used on Mambila cards.

2. Especially in Gebauer 1964, Leiderer 1982 vol 1 ch. 4, Dugast and Parré 1956
Divination

It should be stressed that these rules were presented to me as such. In general conversation about divination a circle would spontaneously be drawn on the ground to represent the spider hole, and a stick, a stone and scraps of leaf positioned to illustrate examples. I asked how the divination gave its answers, how it could respond to the questions asked of it. (The responses to further questions about truth-telling are discussed below). The cases illustrated below were presented to me through the use of the diagrams as paradigm cases.

The simplest responses do not involve the stack of cards but only the two (usually "End" and "Male") which are placed over the hole. If a card is moved towards or onto the stick then the stick has been chosen (sie); similarly, the stone may be chosen. The position of each card is interpreted firstly on its own according to these rules, and secondly with reference to the positions of the other cards. Thus the two cards left over the hole may contradict one another.

The first complication of this simple system is the possibility of the cards "looking," which is illustrated below. A card may be viewed as an arrowhead due to the symmetry of its shape\(^1\): then if, when on the stick, it points at the stone it is the stone which has been chosen and vice versa. However, one diviner did not use this interpretation. He disregarded the "pointed-ness" of the cards, concentrating instead on whether the cards had been turned over; this distinction is also covered below.

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\(^1\)See diagrams.
Thus far we have considered the four following possibilities:

**DIAGRAM 3.4. Ñgam dù basic responses**

- **a) The stone has been selected**
- **b) The stick has been selected**
- **c) "Looking towards" the stone**
- **d) "Looking towards" the stick**

The idea of a card "looking" can be used to elaborate on the basic answer which is read from the alternatives attached to the stick and the stone. If a card on the stone “looks” outside the pot as in a) and b) above, this can be used to give more information about the evil which threatens. For example, when trouble in a compound is at issue, a card “looking” outwards directs the diviners to consider a cause outside the compound. This sort of detail is often ignored when the answer selected is the alternative which the client prefers.

In principle these four basic possibilities may be doubled by further distinguishing whether the cards are upside down (maplim). Normally the cards are viewed with the rib uppermost, and this is how they are laid over the hole. In abstract discussion of interpretation I was told that an inverted card was “bad”, possibly warning of unforeseen
Divination problems, so a card on the stick as in a) above, but inverted, is similar to one “looking” at the stone... It is possible to use this principle to aid difficult interpretations, although, in observed divination Wajiri Bi ignored this feature. Baba, who does not refer to “looking,” equated “maplim on stick” to “stone” but said that all cards near the stone were bad. Despite these variations between diviners there is far more consensus than is reported among Bamileke diviners (Pradelles 1986:311-313).

Some responses are portents of death: the pulling of cards down into the hole, the balancing of cards against the pot wall so that they point (or “look”) down into the ground, or the pushing of the cards outside underneath the pot. Baba made the distinction between the simple pulling of cards which remain flat into the hole, signifying a “bad” situation which must be corrected, and the cards being folded over in so doing, which tells of a death to come.

**DIAGRAM 3.5. Ngam dù Further responses**

![Diagram of divination setup]

**Further rules of Interpretation**

1) If the card(s) placed over the hole are inserted into the stack then the divination is taken to have selected the card above the place of entry. The meaning of this card is referred to in the result, usually in the context of the positions of other cards. This is the only instance in which the meaning of the cards is invoked in Mambila divination.

2) A card balanced on its base against the pot wall augurs well, whereas balanced on its point it portends death.

These basic rules are sufficient to interpret the simple cases. The skill in divination lies in the ability to interpret equivocal results, for example when one card is on the stick
and another on the stone. Most often, however, such a result will be rejected as saying nothing.

DIVINATION AND TRUTH

The veracity of any particular divination result may be questioned by the participants. *Ngam tubu* can only be checked inductively by asking easy questions and, unlike its more serious counterpart, no remedial procedures are available if it is found to be lying. It is possible that this omission relates to the degree of operator-dependence. Manipulation by the operator is possible in *ngam tubu* in a direct manner unlike *ngam dù*. Hence the operator can be blamed whenever the divination is proved wrong. The suspicion of manipulation prompted sarcastic comments at a demonstration of *ngam ngofag3*. On the other hand, a variety of tests and techniques is employed to ensure the truthfulness of *ngam dù* which is not operator-dependent.

The most routine check is applied during every divination session by repeating the same question in the same pot. On the second occasion the stick and stone are transposed. This enables the diviners to reject answers resulting from the leaves being pushed repeatedly in one direction. The divination must appear to be paying heed to the question being asked.

Other techniques involve administering an ordeal to the spider. At intervals of approximately a month sér *ngam* (porridge [of] divination) is prepared by the diviner who puts it into the holes while uttering a variety of encouraging phrases such as:

"Take fiercely, take fiercely, tell the truth, tell the truth, and be strong; tell lies and die."

Two or three days later divination restarts with a set of questions to establish the state of each particular pot. Truth-telling is tested by asking either "Am I here?" or "Will I eat maize porridge today?"1.

The spiders may also be asked whether any witchcraft is attempting to interfere with them. This is the only instance where any break with orthodox Western logic occurs. A "Cretan liar" paradox results if the answer provided is "yes". However, I did not succeed in pointing out the fallacy. If an answer indicates that witches are interfering then the spider is not consulted that day.

A less common treatment is to administer the powdered inner bark of a tree2 which has been scraped onto an old-style Mambila hoe-blade3. The bark is sprinkled into the holes, using both hands, to the accompaniment of an invocation similar to that described

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1 The Zande tests of the efficacy of benge poison are similar, q.v. Evans-Pritchard 1937:337.

2 Bop: Albizia zygia (DC).

3 Formerly used for bridewealth, these are now rare and are only used for rituals. I could not ascertain whether such hoes were once in everyday use.
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above. It is unclear whether all practitioners of ṭgam dū use this technique, but certainly all use sēr ṭgam. Central to the learning of divination is acquaintance with the names of the leaves which are cooked and eaten with a chicken before the remainder is administered to the divination pots. Subsequent preparation of sēr ṭgam repeats the essentials of this initiation. It is described as being an ordeal for the spider: only truth-telling spiders can eat it and survive.

As has been said a consistency check is performed by using several divination pots simultaneously, or by simply repeating a question several times. Only if several pots give the same answer will it be believed. I never witnessed a case where this became an issue; most conflicting results were read as adding detail to a single answer. Responses which directly contradict one another are either taken to be "criticizing the question" (see the examples below) or are explained away as aberrations.

With respect to any particular pot a highly empirical attitude is taken. By using the methods mentioned above and by inductive tests, practitioners satisfy themselves that a pot is truthful. If a pot persistently misinforms, giving wrong answers to the tests and giving answers inconsistent with those received from other pots, then that pot will simply be abandoned.

TRUTH, THOUGHT AND LOGIC

To hold that divination is possible has several philosophical implications. On the one hand it relates to Aristotle’s discussion of logical determinism in “De Interpretatione” where the necessity of the law of the excluded middle (that any proposition is either true or false) is seen to imply the pre-existence of future ‘truths.’ Such a position is favourable to the possibility of divination, since future truths may be revealed by some special techniques used in the present: future truths may be discoverable. On the other hand the study of divinatory practice is relevant to the discussion of “modes of thought.”

Mambila seem to be determinists, or at least fatalists. However, there is no named notion resembling the Tallensi concept of “yin” (destiny). When enquiring about the use of divination to establish the appropriate responses to illness I was given unequivocal replies: divination is often used to decide whether to adopt “traditional” remedies or to go to the dispensary. I asked what would happen if divination had indicated that someone would die, and they then recovered after treatment. The indignant reply was: “First we ask if they will die, and if divination says they will, then we don’t treat them.”

Such questions sprang from another line of enquiry I pursued with several senior diviners. In part it served to elicit attitudes towards the truth of counter-factual conditionals. The problem as I put it was this. Before a journey one consults divination. If it says there will be no problems on the road, one journeys freely, and thus has an opportunity to see if

1Fortes 1963 ..
the divination spoke aright. If, however, divination warns of trouble on the road the sensible reaction is not to travel. How then does one ascertain the truth of that divination? (Philosophers would ask whether it had a truth value). I am confident that the force of the problem was perceived, but I obtained few answers of any import. Some said that one would hear of problems which would have affected them had they traveled. However, two senior, respected diviners (Bi and Kung) relied purely on induction. Their justification was that they knew that a divination pot was truthful as a consequence of giving it sër ṭgam and then testing it.

Determinism does not necessitate believing that counter-factual conditionals have truth value, nor does it imply fatalism, although fatalism does imply some form of determinism. Both the praxis of divination and elicited commentary on that praxis provide evidence that Mambila diviners

a) are determinists, and likely to justify this by appeal to an unspecified fatalism, and
b) are usually unconcerned about hypothetical and counter-factual cases even when these may arise as a direct consequence of their actions.

APPLYING THE LAW OF THE EXCLUDED MIDDLE:
INFERENCSE AND INTERPRETATION IN THE PROCESS OF DIVINATION.

Rather than generalize about rationality I consider in detail the processes of intellectual activity which are an essential accompaniment to divination. There follows an account of a single divination session lasting some six hours on 30th January 1987. I was present throughout, and recorded on tape most of the questions posed, as well as the comments made when the results were inspected. The results were photographed when possible and others were sketched. Some of the session is omitted because of constraint on space. The omitted questions were put in order to find out if DZ’s grant money would have arrived at Yaoundé when he went there the following week. (They were answered correctly: no). Later Wajiri Bi and DZ were joined by Worgt Israel who came to divine about one of his children who had been ill with malaria for some days (and subsequently recovered).

Preparations: when I visited Bi on the afternoon of 29 January I found Worgt already there, making arrangements for the next day. I do not know if they had consulted ṭgam tubu before my arrival, but I saw no sign of tubu chips. It is probable that Worgt went to Bi to express his intention to divine about his child on the following day (possibly as a result of having done ṭgam tubu himself, at his home or with another practitioner living nearby) rather than going to Bi to ask whether he should divine.

There now follows commentary to Diagram 3.6 and Table 3.2 (below) which chart the questions and answers. Diagram 3.6 charts the further questions posed by the diviner in response to two unexpected results which referred to death. Each fork marks the alternatives put to the divination, and subsequent forks begin under the branch which was chosen. The numbers in both diagram and table place the questions in the absolute
Divination

sequence in which they were asked. Since the numbers of questions about DZ’s trip to Yaoundé do not appear the numbers do not start at one. When several pots were used concurrently (as in Table 1) the sequence of questioning tended to move from one pot to another so successive questions to the same pot only rarely have sequential numbers.
The questions reveal why he was so anxious: Njetie, his daughter, was in labour, and he had not yet heard how she was. (Wọ́g, when he arrived, told us that she had given
Divination

birth and that both mother and daughter were well). Having reassured himself that the
death did not concern Njetie he was content to leave the subject. A subsequent repetition of
a bad omen was quickly shown to refer only to the death of an animal, and Wadj and Bi
suggested it may mean that a cow was being slaughtered somewhere.

Three days later, however, Wadj told me that a boy had died in Sarkimbaka hamlet
on that day, and he said it was this to which divination had referred.

Table 3.2 shows the questions addressed to three pots used during this session.
The starred alternative in each case is the one chosen by divination. Each question is
numbered in the sequence in which they were put, in the same series as in Diagram 3.6.
TABLE 3.2 Divination Questions.

POT 1
Q 14: *Not seriously ill* vs. *divine further*
Q 20: *Just treat child* vs. *divine further*
Q 22: Child will recover vs. *divine further*
Q 26: Problem with women [1] vs. witchcraft
NB Ambiguous response [2]
Q 33: Sua will end it vs. *sua will not end it*
Q 38: Something buried [3] vs. *sua will end it*
NB Ambiguous response [2]
Q 40: Do treatment (kare) vs. *cut sua* [5]
Q 41: Bi cuts sua vs. *Beya cuts sua*
Q 42: Bi cuts sua vs. *Beya cuts sua*

POT 2[Started late]
Q 25: Waka return to Nyaggi vs. *divine further. Not return*
Q 27: Waka return to Nyaggi vs. *divine further. Not return*
Q 28: Problems for Waka if she returns [6] vs. *search outside*
Q 29: *Problems at Wøn's* [7] vs. Problems at Løbon's
Q 31: Affair in house, Sua will end it vs. Search outside house
NB Response was "death"
See Diagram 3.6, above
Q 34: Ignore death [5]. We come with sua or with kare
*sua will end it* vs. divine further/cut kare
Q 35: Sua will end it vs. *sua will not end it*
Q 36: Male witch vs. *female witch*
Q 37: *sua will end it* vs. witchcraft continues

POT 3
Cont. from lower fork of diag. 3.
Q 18: Illness not serious vs. *divine further*
Q 24: Sua will end it vs. *divine further*
Q 28: Problems at Wøn's vs. Problems at Løbon's
Abandoned before Q38 since "it wanted to talk about death."

Affair in house, Sua will end it. VS. Search outside house
NB Response was "death"
See Diagram 3.6, above
Q 34: Ignore death [5]. We come with sua or with kare
*sua will end it* vs. divine further/cut kare
Q 35: Sua will end it vs. *sua will not end it*
Q 36: Male witch vs. *female witch*
Q 37: *sua will end it* vs. witchcraft continues
Divination

Table 3.2: Notes.

The table charts the sequence of divination concerning the illness of Wαj Israel’s child which involved the concurrent use of three separate pots. After specific comments I shall comment further on some of the inferential steps taken.

[1] The “problems with women” were restricted to the women in Wαj’s house, i.e. his wife and Z (Wαkα, see below [6]), which Wαj explained to me concerned the proposal to start work on a new field - and thus relate to the dispute with Bere [4].

[2] Ambiguous results:

(a) To Question 26: one card was on the stick, one on the stone. Wαj commented “in my house the mouths of the women are not tight (i.e. there is disagreement); outside, people want to do evil.”

(b) To Question 38: a card on the stick “looking” at the stone, the other between stick and the stack of cards, “looking” at the stick. I did not record the interpretation given to this, but suggest, in the light of the subsequent questions, that it was taken as an ambiguous, uninformative answer.

[3] The “something buried” would be some witchcraft treatment, which unless detected and removed would continue to act although its perpetrator might be caught by sua.

[4] Bere, the half-sister (1F) of Wαj’s mother, had claimed that a maize field cultivated by Wαj for several years was hers, that she had given him usufruct rights only, and that now she wanted it back. The case was then suspended until some elders could go and inspect the field boundaries. In the end Gamia arbitrated and told her to leave things as they were. Wαj is her “brother” and cannot be told to leave the field “as if” he were a stranger.

[5] Question 34 and its repetition in Q 40 are interesting since they contrast sua with kare. This, in other contexts, is usually described as a variant of sua, but here is described as a treatment (la).

Further complication results from Question 34 where the question was confused. Bi asked; “Sua or kare, if cutting sua will end it, take the stick; divine further, bite the stone.” However, before opening the pot when he repeated the question he gave it as “sua-stick, kare - stone.” It is probable that he forgot how he had originally posed the question.

[6] Wαkα is the (full) sister of Wαj who had left her third husband Nyajgi in about October 1986 (when I was not in the village). She was his fourth wife. Wαj’s account of it was that he threw her out after they quarreled. She went to Mayo Darlé for sometime then returned to stay with Wαj. In May 1987 she had still not returned to Nyanggi.

Wαj asked divination whether Wαkα could return without hazard to Nyanggi’s house. Receiving a negative answer, he checked whether the hazard concerned their quarrel or whether they were being warned of a previously unsuspected threat of witchcraft from outside the household.
Divination

She eventually returned to Nya’s before Christmas 1987, after he had paid her a fine consisting of a chicken and some money.

[7] Lébôn Philippe, the full younger brother of W31J had recently moved into his new house beside that of W31J, so he checked that the cause of the trouble did not lie there.

Interpretation in practice: questions 31 and 33.

The inspection of the results of question 31 are of interest. A card was discovered pointing down at the ground (ba son). Bi dismissed this, saying it referred to the death of an animal which we had already seen. He then snapped a twig to mark a change of question and instructed divination to leave the affair of the animal and concentrate on our questions. He then proceeded to ask question 33, which I give in translation:

divination, you say we should search for a sua person: for kare or for sua? If tomorrow, that day, we will count their hits1. If tomorrow that day, it will work, work good so the village stops, then seize the stick divination. If you say No, divine further, then bite stone divination.

He interpreted the answer (One card was by the stick looking at the hole, another by the stone looking out) as equivocal. W31J explained this as meaning sua was good but would not suffice to end the problem. This aspect was not pursued after the following question showed that the witch involved was female. I take it that they identified her with the problems about the women in W31J’s house already detected.

Responses to contradiction:

Table 3.2 contains some answers which directly contradict one another. This calls for comment since the acceptance of direct contradiction is taken to be a symptom of “illogicality,” according to the canons of traditional logic.2

The sequence starts with question 33, where a straightforward yes/no alternative was put: will sua end the problem or not? Another pot (Pot 2) was asked a similar question (Q 34) while the first result was awaited. This indicated sua, as opposed to other sorts of treatments, and was immediately followed by Q 35 which repeated Q 33. The response to Q 35 was that sua would not end the problem. However, the next question asked the sex

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1That is to say: if the sua-oath taking has discernible results.

2A possible response is to abandon standard logics and use some of the variants (Haack 1978). Their use has been suggested as resolving long-standing anthropological problems (e.g. Salmon 1978 & Evens 1983) but this must be a council of desperation. Despite not having explored all the possibilities (Zeitlyn 1983) the adoption of non-standard logics would raise as many problems as it (claims) to solve. Even in quantum mechanics where its use was proposed by Reichenbach as long ago as 1944, it has not succeeded in solving the philosophical problems (see the discussion in Jammer 1974, and the comprehensive bibliography therein).
Divination

of the witch (Q 36) who was identified as female. This response was taken to be identical with the earlier diagnosis of "problems among the women in Waj's house" (Q 26, and Q 29). As such it was a problem suitable to be solved by sua, so the question was repeated in a modified form: would sua end it, or is there witchcraft to be dealt with1 (Q 37). After putting this question the response to Q 33 was found by inspecting the pot. It selected the stone, meaning "sua will not solve the problem." This was immediately pursued in the light of the question which had just been put (i.e. Q 37). Hence Q 30 makes the distinction between buried witchcraft substances, or the ending of the affair by sua. Both Q 37 and Q 38 produced the sua alternative, thus giving a believable, because consistent, result. The contradictory results which precede this were henceforth ignored. They forced the diviners into examining the possibilities of more complicated problems, who having eliminated these returned to the main of the enquiry.

A cynical account of this divination would be that cutting sua is the standard response to many problems, and is to be expected in the case of an ill child. The process of divination is thus an empty validating act whose outcome is known in advance. According to such a view divination resembles the game of "Twenty Questions," where play continues until the desired result is obtained. Yet, although I am sure that the participants would have admitted that sua was a likely result, I reject such an approach. Neither this nor the closely related analyses which rely on the increase of psychological comfort by reducing stress leave any room for the actions and, most particularly, the ratiocination of the diviners. It is clear from the attitudes expressed, and the whole manner in which divination is practised, that the actors believe in what they are doing. It is our responsibility as analysts to be faithful to their beliefs.

Contradictions and inference call for comment which would not be forthcoming from those conducting a sociological analysis ab initio. Chains of reasoning and the consideration of hypothetical possibilities occur and are capable of reconstruction, as I have attempted to show above. That some outcomes are highly probable may be considered as a measure of the predictability of the world. The fact that time-tested techniques are repeated does not mean that they are not chosen with care and deliberation each time they occur.

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1e.g. buried treatments.
Chapter Four

Translation & Anthropology

Having presented an introduction to the main features of Mambila society sua can now be examined in greater detail. This is achieved through the presentation of translated sua addresses. Translation was a necessary stage in the production of these texts and will now discussed in its own right before the consideration of the translated sua addresses themselves.

THEORIES OF TRANSLATION

Anthropologist's concern is to understand people in their own situation in the world. This includes both how "they" see it, and how it is from our point of view. Both these objectives are fraught with difficulty, but to abandon them is to render the discipline pointless.

My prime concern is to examine how people understand the world they live in. This raises immediately the reflexive problem of how we are to understand other peoples' understandings. At its most abstract this reduces to the philosophical conundrum of "other minds." Those who take the pessimistic and subversive line which holds that its very situation and contextuality makes anthropology impossible can be shown to be wrong by our very existence as social beings. In order to be able to argue an abstruse philosophical point with one of my peers and to be able to change the way I argue the same point with my professor I employ just the sorts of interpretations which anthropology makes explicit. The acknowledgement of such skills and their systematic deployment is sufficient to establish the possibility of anthropology (and justifies my refusal to throw away any Wittgensteinian ladder).

When considering the particular problem of how to explain, how to reach an understanding of, an ethnographic example there seems to be an increasing pessimism based on versions of the "radical translation problem", also used to undermine the validity of anthropology. This is closely related to the problem raised in the preceding paragraph.

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1The phenomenological "solution" to this (as discussed by Heritage 1984:54-61) is successful as an account of everyday life but cannot remove the philosophical problem. Boot-strapping is not proof, but does not pretend to be such. What the phenomenologists have shown is why the philosophical issues do not arise, and why they do not incapacitate us in the usual round of events.

2This seems to be the lesson drawn from Bourdieu or from Wittgenstein via Winch in the UK.
Bourdieu has presented a sociological version of Quine's "radical translation problem". This gives rise to: "the perennial problem of how to translate from one culture to another. He reports a growing conviction that 'the only way to write sensitive interpretations of other cultures is to write in the style of the people we study.'" (Hendry 1986) This is not a realistic injunction, at least when the written "sensitive interpretation" is of an oral tradition. We write books which are read by others who have learnt to read critically. As far as that goes we are ineluctably distanced and "other" from the people we work with, be they in Africa, Asia or Elmdon. (An exception may be the scientists studied by Garfinkel et al but the lack of interest among scientists of what non-scientists have to say about them verges on the point of dismissal).

The Radical Translation Problem

Quine 1960 started the debate about what is called the "radical translation problem." The argument is that there is no best translation possible - that two or more conflicting but equally valid ways of interpreting (translating) a foreign language can exist. Moreover, each "translation manual" may be wholly adequate, and able to cope with all possible utterances. Thus there is no empirical method of deciding between alternative translations. With the possibility of a "best" translation we must also reject the notion of synonymy since a synonym is a translation from a language into itself. The argument has been further extended within the philosophy of science in its discussions on the under-determination of theory by data (most notoriously by Feyerabend 1975).

Hallen & Sodipo (1986) give a detailed account of Quine's arguments, which they continue to criticize, but their most effective criticism is in their practice: their very success in analysing Yoruba concepts of knowledge (mọ and gbàgbọ) belies the force of Quine's argument. Indeed, despite their critique of Evans-Pritchard, Mair and Parrinder, anthropological accounts are the result of just the "collaborative analysis" which the work promotes.

Kirk (1969) claims that the possibility of "back translation" (a routine check practised by all translators (q.v. Nida & Taber 1969)) reveals a contradiction at the heart of the argument (although another philosopher disagrees (Hyslop 1972). Despite my

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1 Bourdieu is further discussed in the conclusion.

2 Streeker, and, more particularly the Tedlocks (Tedlock 1982 & 1983) would argue for this injunction, but even their work at its most evocative depends heavily on the ethnographic background presented in introductions and in their footnotes.

sympathy with Kirk there is a stronger counter which can be made to the radical translation problem. I explain this below, but I will also provide arguments based on some of the techniques of ethnomethodology which justify anthropological endeavour, independent of argument in the purely philosophical domain. The refutation of Quine’s position can be summarized as follows:

a) All understanding involves acts of interpretation strictly equivalent to translation, even in a mono-lingual situation (Quine 1960, Steiner 1979 and Heritage 1984 ch. 3).

b) Interpretation is an essential part of action - this is a tenet of phenomenology: consider the interpretative rôle needed to distinguish for example irony from sincerity.

c) The radical translation problem implies that translation is impossible ergo d) all action is impossible.

This is clearly absurd, and renders suspect the radical translation problem. Quine presents the problem not to attack anthropology but in order to question the correctness of a denominative theory of meaning. (Translation is only impossible if meaning is denominative, that is to say, if the meaning of words or phrases is modeled on the meaning of proper names. Change the account of meaning and the radical translation problem vanishes.

Another way to present the rejoinder to Quine is to remark that the radical translation problem is not as normally described since, prima facie, we, everyone can perform interpretative acts which are tantamount to translation. Keesing uses the “problematic” of translation (as he terms it: Keesing 1985) to urge caution in the search for “metaphysics”. Anthropologists are apt, he suggests, to mistake “conventional metaphor” (which implies no metaphysical commitment) for metaphysical assertion. However, he does not doubt the possibility of translation but simply advocates caution and sensitivity. Recent papers by Robert Feleppa discuss this issue (Feleppa 1986, 1982) latterly as part of the “emic/etic” debate. Feleppa argues that a translation should not been seen as a set of descriptive hypotheses, hence that it is not susceptible to Quine’s underdetermination-by-evidence argument. Instead Feleppa argues that translations have more in common with rules, especially in the way that both are “violable” without being refutable. Hence Feleppa is able to agree with Quine that translations lack truth values but he maintains that “they still

1Boyer 1989a and 1989b has mounted an attack on “conventional metaphor” preferring his own “pseudo-natural kind” approach to the analysis of traditional religious concepts. Both authors, however, implicitly assume that translation is possible for their disagreement to be a real one.
have an empirically legitimate rôle, akin to that of technical definitions and rules of
inference.” (1986:249). Translation establishes (or codifies) the framework within which
facts are expressed. It is thus a necessary and important step in any ethnographic
description, but is not susceptible to the same sorts of criticisms leveled at “the facts” (248-
249). It is notable that Feleppa cites neither phenomenologists, ethnomethodologists nor
sociolinguists in his bibliography. Scheff in a short reply to Feleppa quotes Steiner and
makes the telling comment: “His argument about translation is empirical in the sense that
there is a community of bilinguals to whom we can appeal.” (Scheff 1987:365). This leads
us straight back to Kirk’s argument about “back translation.” Feleppa and Quine are both
guilty of the “denial of coevalness” (Fabian 1983). The anthropological subject is seen as
“Other” and no dialogue is possible. Bilinguals can and do discuss the adequacy of
translations, and thereby confute the radical translation problem. Indeed Quine allows for
this possibility, but describes it as a “costly” solution: “We can see a way, though costly, in
which he can still accomplish radical translation of [non-observational occasion] sentences.
He can settle down and learn the language directly as an infant might. Having thus become
bilingual, he can translate the non-observational occasion sentences by introspected
stimulus synonymy.” (Quine 1960:47). Dummett (1981:615) calls this the
“anthropological solution” and indeed that is what it is! He also says (op cit p376/7): “If
there is communication between human beings at all, it must be possible for them to adopt
some determinate scheme of inter-translation.” Such a scheme will now be outlined.

An alternative approach to Quine which does not involve such implicit assumptions
of “Otherness” is provided by the “social life solution” proposed by ethnomethodology.
This suggests that we adopt a working assumption to avoid the implications of the radical
translation problem until forced to confront it. It can then be seen that we are rarely, if ever,
put in such a position. The working assumption is adequate for any situation except
conversations with certain philosophers. The success of this implicit positivism enables us
to leave those philosophers to agonize over their position while we get on with the work at
hand. The multi-lingualism predominating in most of the world leaves no alternative for its
inhabitants and those who want to understand them.

Translation, especially translation-as-interpretation, poses no problem in everyday
life. The philosophical problems are assumed not to bite. Shown a rabbit and given a term

1Feleppa 1982 argues the philosophical point at greater length and expressly reveals this aspect (see
especially pp 13 and 15) more than Feleppa 1986 (in which it is still discernible.)
Translation

(pace Quine) there is evidence that “basic level objects” do exist \(^1\) (Rosch 1976 & 1977) so there can be objective justification for linking the term to the rabbit not a “rabbit-part.”

Moreover, translation usually occurs between people with a high degree of cultural similarity, or at least with a long history of cultural contact (for example between Europeans; Cameroonian examples are the situation in North-West Province, and that on the Tikar Plain), and the philosophical problems therefore are not an issue.

In a polyglot environment, such as that found on the Tikar Plain, the strategy of assuming the possibility of translation is repeatedly tested. People act with confidence that translation is possible and find their confidence well-founded. I was able to ask Mambila people to discuss (in Fulfulde) with Tikar, Konja and Yamba the equivalents which these groups have to sua both as oath-taking and as masquerade. All those participating saw these as reasonable and meaningful questions. Indeed stronger corroboration was provided when I was told that Yamba do not have an equivalent oath.

**THE MAKING OF TRANSLATIONS**

In preparing of a corpus of texts with translations two obvious sources for guidance are available. One is the published corpus of such texts represented by series such as The Oxford Library of African Literature and its francophone equivalent, Classiques Africaines. These, however, include little or no explanation of their own production. There is no discussion of the problems inherent in producing translations of African texts which are comprehensible to foreign readers and yet remain faithful to their original form, which is the ideal. Indeed, Finnegan, in the Oxford Library series (Finnegan 1970) scarcely mentions translation, and certainly does not discuss it as an issue. Exceptions include, in addition to the authors quoted below, Jackson (1982:67), and Meillassoux (1967:8) but none of these afford the subject the consideration it deserves. This is partly because the works concentrate on “literature,” that is to say on stories, sagas, myths and performances quite different from the texts presented here. This difference also renders much of the literary discussion, e.g. of the translation of poetry, less applicable to this case.

One of the few to give the matter any consideration is Jack Goody (1972:60): “My aim is the effacement of the translator, though I cannot hope to attain that goal.” And on p. 61: “One’s first task is to present a faithful text and a literal translation, as a base for the discussion of codes, meanings and thoughts. For the great difficulty in the communicating or understanding of the thought of nonliterate peoples is the lack of adequate texts.

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Everything is mediated by a literate interpreter, the extent of whose contribution is rarely clear. For this reason one can rely upon little of the basic data for the study of *la pensée sauvage* and the reader has to be doubly careful of the analyses based upon them" [italics in the original]. Goody has presented both translation and original text, as I do below. Yet the Bagre texts he discusses are seen as fixed texts, they are taught formally and efforts are made to commit them to memory (Goody 1972:57-60). As such they resemble parts of the Ifa texts presented and analysed by Abimbola 1976, Akinaso 1983 and Bascom 19691. The texts translated below are not of this type, being freely composed by the speaker, only the refrains are formulaic. The types of analysis practised by Brown and Levinson and other conversational analysts may be employed. Anthropologists’ aims differ from those of socio-linguists, so the extent of their application here is to provide useful techniques for anthropological analysis.

Strecker 1979 and Lydall & Strecker 1979 together comprise one of the most comprehensive attempts to publish "indigenous ethnography" while remaining truthful and frank about their relationship as ethnographers to the data they present. Translation is discussed briefly in "Baldambe explains" (Lydall and Strecker 1979:viii-iv). They attempt to keep their English as close as possible to the Hamar in order to reproduce the "poetry and expression of his descriptions, ... and the rhythm of his speech ... the fast passages and interludes, the accelerations, the lingering of his voice." The hope was in translation to preserve something of "the quality of the original speech" (p. vi quoting from Volume 1). My choice, unlike Strecker and Lydall, is to publish the original transcripts together with a "free" translation. The fact that the originals are available in the appendix has been a stimulant to accuracy while paying heed to the interests of immediate comprehension by the reader.

"Conversations in Dambaiti" (Strecker 1979) together with "Universals in Human Thought" (Brown & Levinson 1978) constitute a landmark both in the quality of the data used (in the former) and in the approaches to types of theorizing about that data (in the latter). Yet time and again when reading "Conversations in Dambaiti" I have wanted to refer to the original transcript, or at least to have more detail of the overlaps and pauses. I wonder if, after reading Brown & Levinson, Strecker would publish the material in the same form. However, in his most recent work he uses his published material, thus emphasizing, he says, (1988:59) the independence of his work from that of Brown & Levinson. It is to be hoped that he will soon complement this theoretical work with the publication of some full transcripts, allowing a more detailed analysis to take place.

1But see the comments of Barber 1988 on the dangers of taking Ifa's claims about itself at face value.
The second source of guidance is the now extensive literature in both philosophy, and anthropology concerning "the radical translation problem" or the "hermeneutic circle." Such discussion may be illuminating and occasionally entertaining but it has surprisingly little application when one actually faces the task of translating a text.

That translation is hard and problematic should not lead to the conclusion that it is not possible. Ways must be found of reducing the difficulties, of easing a way around the problems, avoiding extreme claims either that the problems are insurmountable or that they do not exist.

Ethnomethodology occupies an interesting position here since on one level it is devoid of theory or at least sociologically naïve (Gellner 1975) but on the other it has led to some of the most interesting linguistic work both on theoretical and empirical fronts (Heritage 1984, Atkinson 1984, Garfinkel et al 1981, Brown & Levinson 1978). Conversational analysis is modest in its ambitions but by its meticulous attention to detail provides a salutary lesson to anthropologists who can avail themselves of its method at the very least, no matter to what end.

Problems of Context

A long-debated problem concerning both monolingual comprehension and translation is that of "context". If a phrase or utterance is only fully comprehensible in its context how can we stop the context from expanding infinitely to encompass all the intersubjective knowledge of the speakers? Clearly this does not occur, or else rapid and intelligible speech would be impossible.

In conversation the structure of "adjacency pairs" underlying turn-taking allows shared meaning (and hence context) to be swiftly negotiated, often without explicit mention.

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1 Apart from Quine 1960, Kirk 1969, Hyslop 1972 and Wittgenstein 1967:121, much of the "rationality debate" is directly relevant to this discussion, see the papers collected in Wilson 1970, Hookway and Pettit 1978 as well as Hollis & Lukes 1982.

2 See Kepnes 1986 for citations of Ricoeur.

3 Needham's examination of Wittgenstein in the context of the translation of "belief" (Needham 1972) is similarly fascinating but unhelpful as a handbook.

4 If applied as method only then ethnomethodology sidesteps Gellner's strictures against its lack of sociological awareness.
The way that, for example, pauses are used to offer a change of turn or to mask uncertainty gives scope for just such negotiation of meaning under the guise of clarification.

The ethnomethodological solution, borrowed from phenomenology, is that speakers make a boot-strapping assumption not to extend context infinitely. If all speakers assume that all the other speakers mean just what they themselves mean, "that they are all talking about the same thing", then they can continue to talk or act, and only worry about meaning/context if there is some breakdown in the action/talking. The work on repairs (cited above) substantiates this.

A more recent and detailed examination of the problem lies at the heart of Sperber and Wilson's "Relevance" (1986). They take the relevance of an utterance to be assumed and then choose a context to justify that relevance (p 144). By introducing the notion of "contextual effect" they prevent the infinite extension of context, since if a widened context allows no further deductions to be made, i.e. has no contextual effect, then there is no point in widening the context. The fear of an infinitely expandable context can be seen to be founded partly on introspection and a sense that subjective, associational meaning is limitless. But conversation, communication, human interaction (whichever label is preferred) continues independent of this argument, else it could not occur at all.

**Anthropological Translation**

Ethnographic enquiry proceeds as a series of conversations which negotiate understanding, partial and fragmentary, between anthropologists and the people with whom they work. The conversations may be occasioned by non-verbal observations but it is through discussion that understanding is achieved. Writing up we tease at our memories of these conversations, both helped and hindered by our field notes, photographs, tapes and memories. All Grice's maxims are invoked as we strive to identify the context, and hence what might have been meant by an utterance overheard one afternoon at a beer-drink, or during a hearing at the Chief's Palace.

Transcripts and their translations are presented here in order to clarify the processes involved, to present more of the evidence on which the larger statements concerning "Mambila religion" are based.

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1 The literature on repairs (when the turn-taking sequence has broken down, or has faltered) is discussed by Levinson 1983 especially p 360.

2This is in accord with the "dialogic" or dynamic, interactive approach as advocated by Dwyer 1977, Tedlock 1983: 321-338 and Fabian 1974 & 1985.
Many of the footnotes to the transcripts below serve to move the point where the sole justification for assertions is that they are "based on field work experience." But it is a very different thing to make such assertions about a metaphor or idiomatic phrase than to make bland statements about Mambila cosmology.

The philosophical issues do not arise during "anthropological translation" such as occurs in this work. By "anthropological translation" I mean the preparation and presentation of texts as part of an anthropological analysis. Such "anthropological translations" have been published since 1935 (starting with "The Coral Gardens and their Magic"). The two theoretical chapters in that work raise problems in translation which have largely been overcome, both by the development of pragmatics as a branch of linguistics, and also by some of the more widely accepted results of structural linguistics. What remains relevant to current debate is Malinowski's stress on contextualisation, which concern is now a central and inescapable part of any "anthropological translation." The texts presented by Malinowski remain paradigm examples, despite the advances in technology (modern texts were usually tape-recorded in the first instance) and questions about his linguistic skills (Berry 1965: xiii).

Those who translate the Bible aim to communicate "the" message attributed to the writers of the Gospels. The intention is that the translation should be "transparent." The translated text should read as though it were written by a native speaker, as though that Apostle had lived next door, rather than in Galilee, although an accurate translation must preserve "the message" as its first priority (Nida & Taber 1969). Conversely an "anthropological translation" must not only be a good translation in the sense that a Bible translation may be judged good, but it must also be open.

Ideally anthropological translation should produce an intelligible translation which illuminates the content of what was said and the reason for speech and also indicates the linguistic devices used to express it. In a given piece of translation reference should also be made to wider social structural account which is being demonstrated or illustrated.

As examples we may cite, in addition to Malinowski's pioneer work, Goldman's analysis of Huli disputes (Goldman 1983), Sherzer's work on the Kuna (Sherzer 1983), the Tedlocks' (Tedlock 1982 and Tedlock 1983) and the analysis of politeness strategies (Brown & Levinson 1978).

It is only by being open, instead of transparent, that anthropological translation can be good evidence upon which to base arguments.

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1 Especially the use of the "contrast set" to understand a word.

2 The theory of Bible-translation is discussed in Nida & Taber 1969, Nida 1979a & b and Noss 1981.
The text then is in part a peg upon which ethnography can be hung, and in part it constitutes that ethnography. Hence, in preparing a translation as an anthropologist, my aim has been not to produce “transparent” texts which could have been produced by native English speakers, but rather to produce intelligible texts which are, moreover, perspicuous anthropologically. By this I mean that they are intended to help any reader unfamiliar with Somié and its inhabitants to understand how some of the concepts under discussion apply, and to examine for themselves some of the evidence upon which my conclusions are based.

Transcripts

Before moving from general philosophical problems to more particular issues I shall set out in some detail the method used to produce the translations (presented below).

Having transcribed the original tape recordings, each line of Mambila text was copied, and word-for-word English glosses placed below their Mambila targets. It is of note that, even at this early stage, context was already being referred to whenever ambiguities fell to be resolved. Both social and linguistic contexts were relied upon to decide between variant readings of a word. Problems requiring such resolution arise frequently when interpreting a second language with a complex tone system, such as that found in Jù Bà.

The next stage was to prepare free translations from the text, the glosses being referred to only for sporadically-occurring nouns and verbs. The first “free translation” produced syntactically correct English sentences, although the meaning of the text would probably be unclear to a new reader. The final stage of “free translation” attempts to render the meaning more clearly. To give but one example, connectives which are implicit in the Mambila have been inserted, especially the hypotheticals. The inference of “if” and “may” is frequently derived from their occurrence in refrains. The inference is made express: the speakers swearing an oath of innocence, of non-involvement, and apparently admitting to guilt would clearly distort the speakers’ sense. What they are saying is: if guilty in this way then may they die...

Finally, footnotes were added for words or phrases which either strike me as being “odd” to an English speaker and in that sense needing explanation, or as being of anthropological interest.

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1 The increasing use of computers with “hypertext” may soon enable us to attach the comments and explanations to the text more intuitively than does the current practice of the liberal use of footnotes.
The texts are presented in two forms. The appendices contain detailed transcripts with word-for-word English glosses on the Mambila text. The main body of the text contains only the free translations which have been annotated.

To make the process clear there follows a short transcript to show the stages by which the free translation results from the transcript of field notes.

The transcription conventions are listed at the end of this chapter, and are repeated on a foldout page at the end of the thesis.

**Stage one: transcript plus English glosses**

1. Bi; Mi cho sua hen. (1) Mi cho hən, mgbe.  
   mi cho sua hən (1) mi cho hən mgbe  
   I chop sua this (1) I chop this chief

2. Ch; Aha  
   aha

3. Bi; Mi yuo sar, mi yuo chibi,  
   mi yuo sar mi yuo chibi  
   I leave witchcraft I leave night

4. mi nde bie Mallam¹ di  
   mi nde bie Mallam di  
   I go ask Mallam some

5. Nuar dəni, ma də bi nə ke wa  
   nuar dəni ma də bi nə ke wa  
   person here if of you is what QN.

6. Mi siri nuar mə Mallam -e  
   mi siri nuar mə Mallam -e  
   I witchcraft person with Mallam

7. mi yila le bu hən,  
   mi yila le bu hən  
   I enter in knife this

8. mi so chən wanyu, mi fa so so.

¹Mallam, an Islamic scholar and proselytiser.
Translation

mi so chén wanyu mi fa so so
I live one else I two live live

9       Yuo sar, yuo chibi,
yuo sar yuo chibi
leave witchcraft leave night

10      Nuár denə baá kita fe, à kiye yap sen.
nuar denə baá kita fe à kiye yap sen
person here PRES. case new he farm-work food his

11      Ama- fii baá mani, à mi ha ngwə də ki wa?
amà fii baá mani à mi ha ngwə də ki wa
but bush PRES. thus he I give NEG. of what QN.

12      Mi bə nyam, mi bə gɔŋ, mi bə lɔŋ.
mi bə nyam mi bə gɔŋ mi bə lɔŋ
I harm animal I harm hunt I harm compound

13      Mi yila le bu hən,
mi yila le bu hən
I enter in knife this

14      mi so chén wanyu, mi fa so so.
mi so chén wanyu mi fa so so
I live one else I two live live

15      Ma mi ko ŋgwa, mi ke njulu baa
ma mi ko ŋgwa mi ke njulu baa
if I know NEG. I look eyes East

Second stage: the initial free translation

Bi; I chop this sua. I chop this, Chief.
Ch; Aha
Bi; I leave witches, I leave the night
I go and ask some Mallam

5  What can you do to this person?
If I charm the person with the help of a Mallam
may I enter into the sua knife
& live for one day only, not live for two never, ever, ever.
If I leave as witchcraft, leave as the night.

10  The person here, it's a new case, he farms his own food.
But the bush is thus, Why doesn't he give me anything?
I harm animals, I harm the hunt, I harm compounds.
May I enter into the sua knife
I live for one day only, not live for two, never, ever, ever.
15 If I don’t know, turn my eyes to the East.

Final stage: the second Free Translation

Bi; So I’ll chop it (1) I’ll chop sua then, chief
ch; Aha
Bi; I leave as witches. I leave as the night
If I go and ask some Mallam
5 if it’s someone here, what are you then?
If I bewitch someone with the help of a Mallam
may I enter into this knife
may I live for one day but not see two, never, ever, ever.
Leaving as witches, leaving as the night
10 the person here with a new case, they farm their own food.
But - so it is in the bush; why don’t they give me anything?
If I damn animals, the hunt and the village
then I enter into this knife
may I live for one day but not see two, never, ever, ever.
15 If I know nothing of it may my eyes see the good.

For the sake of this introduction the words/phrases covered elsewhere in the footnotes to transcripts have been underlined. The recurring phrases of the refrain, for example lines 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, are discussed in the main body of the text on the sua-oath.

Footnotes to the translation above.

L10 I infer that a dispute about field boundaries or ownership has been raised. It may have been heard formally later that day, or postponed to another day. The latter is likely if the dispute concerned boundaries since a deputation of Notables would then have to visit the site in question to inspect the disputed boundaries. Until the ownership has been settled the complainant should not cultivate the fields.

L11 This remains somewhat obscure. A possible reading, suggested by the reference to hunting in the following line, is that the speaker was not given the meat to which he believed himself entitled following a successful hunt. This is behaviour of the animals in the bush, not appropriate to the social life of people in the village. It should be noted that apart from the rights of the Chief to certain types of game (the mbe animals
already described) there is no fixed pattern of meat distribution. The meat, if there is
enough of it, may be either sold or given to kin or affines. The successful hunter must
balance the demands of his family against the potential profit to be made from selling.
Women do not hunt animals but they do fish, and sell sun-dried or smoked fish at the
weekly market.

A NOTE ON METHOD

Transcripts: Tape recordings were used throughout my field-work, from the initial stages of
language-learning onwards. After the Chief gave permission, public meetings, hearings
and oaths at the Chief’s Palace were openly and frequently tape recorded. Indeed
sometimes I was explicitly requested to record something of particular interest.

I could discern no difference between those events recorded and similar ones which
I attended without the tape recorder.

After an initial tape recording had been made it was played back in the field to a
research assistant who repeated what was said phrase by phrase. This second version was
itself recorded, and unknown words and idioms were noted as well as any necessary
contextualising comments.

Transcripts were then made in the U.K., (which task was greatly facilitated by the
TRANSC transcript program kindly made available to me by John Haviland, to whom I
owe many thanks). Once both literal and free translations had been made, uncertain
passages were clarified. Final corrections were made in the course of a subsequent visit to
the village.

The problem of anonymity

It would be impossible to disguise the location of my fieldwork since the briefest of
enquiries in the area would suffice to identify Somié. Similarly, granted the amount of
textual evidence presented here, it is impossible to disguise the speakers from those who
know them. Although in the village events will of course be remembered I have at times
used random letters to mask the identity of speakers where I feel they would prefer that
remarks attributed to them (or made about them) were not committed to print. Most of what
I present in transcript form was said in public on the verandah of the Chief’s Palace during
open hearings. The exception is the transcript of the sua kare oath. The identity of that
household has been protected as well as I am able.
Translation

Transcription conventions

There are slight variations between authors in conventions used to represent prosodic features in conversation (see, for example, the differences between Gumperz 1982:xii and Levinson 1983:369-370, and the contrasts between both authors and the more complete notation of Atkinson & Heritage 1984:ix-xvi). The conventions used here are those suggested by Haviland for use with his TRANSC programs.

“[” marks the beginning of simultaneous speech, “]” its end.

“=” are utterances with no gap between them.

“Q” is a small but appreciable pause. The approximate time (in seconds) of longer pauses is put in the brackets.

Speakers are identified by two initials followed by a semi-colon e.g. “xx;” but full names are used for those making only occasional remarks e.g. “david;”. Speakers are identified only when they begin to speak, so many lines do not contain speaker identification.

“xxxxx” marks unclear passages, often because of the overlap between two or more speakers.

“(variant,alternative)” is used for variant readings, and “??” marks other uncertain passages.

“< text <=” are marginal comments, usually marking the point where laughter occurred.

“>” marks the end of the validity of the marginal comment, if different from a line end.

Passages in italics were spoken in a language other than Mambila, usually in Fulfulde, although some French was recorded. Reference to the complete transcripts will reveal the language spoken.

Grammatical markers are given glosses in capitals which abbreviate their function:

NEG: Negation marker
QN: Question marker
PRES: Present tense marker
PAST Past tense marker
SUB EMP: Emphasis on the subject.
Chapter Five

The Sua Masquerades

In this chapter the sua masquerades and their associated dances are described. The organisation of these rites, and their relation to each other and to the sua oaths, are considered.

Men and women hold separate masquerades. Each is secret from members of the other sex, who, it is said, on seeing the other's Mask will suffer madness and infertility. Since young children wander around during the masquerades many adults have childhood memories of seeing the Mask of the other sex. There is some knowledge of the basic steps involved in each rite by those of the other sex. The situation resembles that described by Bellman (1984), who discusses Kpelle “secret” societies. He concludes that they are largely “empty secrets”. The illusion is maintained by different rights to speak: those who “should not” know may not use their knowledge in speech.

However, there is no doubt that the details of the associated “treatments” are known only to the small group of seniors who organize the masquerade of their own sex; the sua enclosures are only entered by members of the appropriate sex. The men's enclosure (jere sua) is in the village beside the Chief's Palace. It is the site of most of the men's sua rituals and sua dancing. The women's enclosure (gubu sua) is much smaller (according to accounts I have received) and is in the bush North-East of the village near the path to Gumbe. It is the storehouse for the women's ritual impedimenta.

In the past there were several sorts of male masquerades, different suits and head-pieces, but now there is only one used in Somié. Hurault photographed three different sorts in Atta in 1954 although none of these had carved wooden head-pieces. Others are reportedly still in use in Nigeria and the types which have been documented are summarized in Appendix 2 below. Each masquerade had its own separate initiation, and concomitant set of special leaves which are learnt during initiation. Some, at least, had separate enclosures but informants were inconsistent as to whether each different type had its own enclosure.

FUNERAL SUA

Upon the death of an old person members of the same sex may perform sua dances throughout the night outside their house. Local and immediate factors determine whether or not sua will be danced for any one individual; there are no clear criteria. Those of the other

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1The terms Mask, mask and masquerade have been defined in Chapter 2 above.
sex stay cloistered in nearby houses but otherwise participate in the wake. Masks were never brought out at such events during my fieldwork, but I was told that the men’s sua masquerade could in principle make an appearance. Both the songs and the dances are identical to those performed during the main sua rites, apart from the absence of the masquerade.

MEN’S SUA. A DESCRIPTION OF
MEN’S SUA IN SOMIE 29-30 MAY 1988

Men’s sua should take place on the Bam (i.e. ten days) after women’s sua. In years in which the full women’s sua rites do not take place it occurs on the Bam after the Marenjo have “buried the village” (see below). In recent years it has been postponed to avoid coincidence with Ramadan, but it always takes place on Bam.

The following description is based on the events during my own entry into sua. This is the only occasion that I have participated in men’s sua. The variety of sua which is described is called sua mbo. Accounts of the rites collected both before and after I had entered, and the fact that I was not the sole initiand are some evidence that the rites were not altered or partial as a result of my presence. On Sunday 29 May the sua enclosure (jere) was repaired. Kung who supervised the work and much of the subsequent ritual complained that it should have been completed on the previous Saturday. First the site was cleared by some young men and then the enclosure was made. Stakes were from four different trees (two of which are also used in constructing the bogo (Chief’s Palace fence). Some were fetched from the forest, others cut from trees which have developed from previous poles which have rooted. Dried elephant grass was tied in three horizontal bands either side of the stakes and then palm fronds were inserted inbetween. It was stressed to me that they were inserted “back to front”. The side of the frond which faced outwards on the palm was placed facing into the jere. It should be noted that the general principles of construction are those sometimes used to enclose pit latrines. However, in the latter there is no special concern as to the direction in which the palm fronds face, although the clean inner side usually faces inwards.

A length of green raffia-rib was twisted and the spines removed so that the leaves hung down from the rib to form a door curtain.

1 Schneider 1955:117 writing of Warwar mentions repairing the enclosure of the “sacred grove (njir)”.

2 I refrain from naming any of the plants or trees involved as great emphasis was placed on their secrecy by my initiators, as also was the case for my initiation into divination.
The sua masquerades

Most of the men from the village either brought palm fronds or poles, or helped in the work. It was stated that every man should contribute. The work was accompanied by whoops and cries such as "hey, hey, hey partu (cat)". It was explained that sua goes everywhere like a cat. Inside the jere is a single flat stone and a set of three firestones (kola) around which much of the ritual takes place. Although one of these had fallen over the firestones were not touched at this stage. The fallen firestone was replaced later, as shall be described.

Once the enclosure was complete the suit of the sua Mask was rushed into the enclosure. It was passed hurriedly out of a window in the Palace in a bag then taken to the jere and thrown over the fence. It was then unrolled, sprayed with water and rubbed in order to make it supple. It was left hanging on the inside of the jere fence with its arms outstretched, until the leaves had been fetched. It was stressed that it was julu (prohibited, banned) to touch the suit if one had had sex the previous night.

Work on the jere is itself julu since its performance makes contact with women julu. Once the work was finished all those who had participated were treated by one of the men supervising the work. Ash from a pipe was applied with right forefinger three times onto the tongue, then over the kidneys and on the forehead. This enabled those men to resume normal contact with women. The Chief, who had been watching, returned briefly to his Palace, and was treated in order that he could speak to his wives there. The treatment was later repeated for him at the conclusion of the work on the jere.

At about 3 pm a group of six men set off to gather the grasses. The group included two of the three initiands who joined sua that year. One of these had originally entered sua the previous year, so this year was gaining full membership, the other was myself. The third only presented himself with his chicken after our return to the village. It was said that he could be shown the grasses privately on another occasion, without his needing to go into the bush.

One of the men accompanying us to the forest left the village separately in order to cut two sticks which were fashioned into whistles. Our progress was accompanied by whistling and shouting so women could hear us and avoid seeing us. Each of the grasses once found was indicated with an arrow to the two initiands present. The departure from the village had been delayed by the search for an arrow. A spear would not serve in its stead. The arrow was used to point out each plant to me, as the initiand entering for the first

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1The suit was three years old in 1988 and was bought by Muy André for 15,000 CFA in Nigeria. It is woven by women who may see it until it has been ritually inaugurated or used with (no special inauguration) in the sua rites themselves. Before it has been treated or used it is not julu.
time, whereon I had to uproot two specimens. If the stalk broke I was told to discard it and
to lift another plant. As I picked the plant all the others present had either to touch my right
arm or shoulder or to form a chain of people doing so. All the participants thereby “partake
in” the actions. This “common action” accompanied all the significant actions which are
about to be described and can be assumed to have occurred unless its absence is mentioned.
Similar chains occur during other rituals. Once picked, the leaves were placed on two
banana leaves held by the second-year initiand. The top-growth of a single two-year old
plant of elephant grass was also cut. This was subsequently knotted by the Chief to prevent
rain.

While we were collecting the grasses, the houses of women who were either
pregnant or recently come to term were marked off by laying a line of elephant grass across
the path to the house, or at least near the doorway. This sign served to deter the sua
masquerade from approaching too closely.

During the expedition to collect the grasses constraint began to be observed on
touching feet; this continued throughout the sua dance. If anyone trod on the heels of the
person walking in front, both parties touched right hands, and then touched their own right
shoulder. This is thus identical to ha mban (see below) except that it is not repeated three
times and there is no slapping of palms. It was not described as ha mban although the
similarity was readily acknowledged. A touch suffices. During the dance any touching of
feet occasioned this salute.

Having returned to the village the bundle of leaves was placed outside the jere to
the right of the door looking in. The sua suit was then donned for the first time.
Following this, all the men present (each touching the right shoulder of the man ahead of
him) formed a line leading from inside the jere to the bundle; the Chief followed by the
sua Mask were at its head. The Mask then bent down and picked up the bundle. The line
then processed backwards into the jere curling round on itself so that the head of the line
could enter the jere and take up a position near the firestones. The bundle of leaves was
then placed behind them, between the firestones and the jere fence.

The Chief was then given the arrow used earlier to point out the leaves to the
initiands. With it he opened a pod of ginger seeds and scattered them over the fireplace and

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1For example, during the learning of divination and in curing rites or "medical" treatments.
2Rain did not fall from Saturday afternoon until after Wednesday morning. The grass was tied late on
the Sunday afternoon.
3It is not observed when sua is danced for funerals. Therefore it can be suggested that the rule is
connected with the wrestling discussed below.
the bundle of leaves. Everyone looked westwards and touched right shoulders while the Chief “buried the village”. Everyone faced westwards, and extended their hands behind their back to touch someone nearer to the Chief, who had also turned his back to the flat stone (c. 20 cm. in diameter) which was south of the fireplace, against the fence. Kung had lifted it up and scraped away some soil beneath it to make a slight hollow. Into this the Chief sprinkled some ginger seeds, saying:

“They only divide the calm village
may good animals come to the village, evil animals go to the bush,
may good come to the village, evil depart to the bush,
may evil wind pass above, good things come to the village.”

Mambilatext: “B5 mbari ne kaga døle 135 mbo
nyám bàgà ndeë 135 nyám van nden yaga
tong bàgà ndeë 135, tong van nde yaga
fuö van kela ter, njai bàgà ndeë ka 135”

More ginger seeds were then placed under the banana leaves on which lay the sua plants.

While everyone formed a chain the fallen firestone which had been left untouched during the work on the jere was now put back into place. The Chief’s stool and a vase of sorghum beer were fetched from the Palace. Meanwhile everyone present was given two ginger seeds which were eaten. A chain was formed with Kung at its head. He lifted up the bundle of leaves and, facing eastwards, spat on it, top and bottom, three times. Everyone else spat at the same time as him. This was described as “opening up the road”. The bundle was examined, and divided into two smaller bundles, each having one of the two plants gathered. As this was done the individual plants were indicated with the arrow and named again for the benefit of the initiands. The bundles so formed were replaced on the banana leaves. The specimens of one plant, however, were put to one side, near the flat stone.

As has been said this variety of sua is called sua mbo. Mbo are the worm-casts of riverine worms (kap). Towards the end of women’s sua the women administer lab mbo which is said to explain its metonymic name of labbe. Whilst the women treat both sexes, men administer lab mbo only to other males. What followed was the lab mbo of

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1 As has already been said the “burial of the village” is a component of both women’s and men’s sua, and in both cases is the only part of the rite performed on occasions when the dance does not take place (every other year in the case of women’s sua).

2 lab (labbe for repeated action) is the verb used for plastering with mud.
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men's sua. First the participants were treated. Grounds of sorghum beer were fetched from the Palace and poured on top of the flat stone “beneath” which the village had been “buried”. Kung treated the Chief, who then treated the man beside him, who in turn treated the next person, and so on. To treat someone, the officiant dipped his right forefinger into the grounds on the stone, and held it up to be licked three times by the other person. The officiant then touched this finger once to the other’s sternum. This was accompanied by the officiant saying “you speak of sua, you speak with your mother’s vagina” (Mambila text: wò tue sua, wò tue ñguru mif ya), which the other man repeated. This was explained as being an oath with an elided “if.”

When all the participants had been treated the masquerade left the enclosure and toured the village, accompanied as ever by a group of young men who shouted a variety of sexual insults aimed at women and who helped to achieve the trail of mayhem caused by the Mask. Piles of firewood are scattered, clothing is torn from lines, flour is tipped off the drying-mats and so on.

Meanwhile one of the bundles of leaves was taken and twisted together to form a sort of belt. This was put around the waist of each participant and, while he raised his arms slightly, raised and lowered three times while he rose onto his toes. He then turned round, and the action was repeated so both front and back were treated. This was done twice. The Mask (the man in the masquerade suit) was also so treated on its return to the jere. This treatment was said to prevent back pains. (Next morning old men who had arrived later for the beer and the dancing requested and were given this treatment.) Thereafter the band of leaves was replaced with the other bundle behind the fireplace.

It is of note that although great emphasis was laid on the initiands being shown and learning the “sua leaves” relatively little use was made of them in the rites which followed, and no explanations were given to justify the selection of any one leaf, apart from one case which is reported below. A response\(^1\) to my description has been that I am unduly privileging the verbal, and thereby leaving out the possibility of nonverbal symbolization. Hence in the case of the sua leaves it could be that each leaf has a range of associations which will be evoked by its choice in a ritually marked context such as sua. At present it suffices to reply that most of the plants selected are used only in ritual contexts, and these are mainly to do with different varieties of sua. These are, by definition, not known to a young initiand into sua, so his associations will not be as rich as those who are initiating him. The degree of variation of such associations is so variable that it is hard to see the

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\(^1\)Especially by R.P. Werbner after a presentation at Manchester University. I am very grateful to Professor Strathern for the invitation to their seminar, and to Dick Werbner for his comments.
The sua masquerades

purpose of intentionally evoking them. Hence I am not embarrassed by this charge, as long as the linguistic domain is widened to include pragmatic and ostensive-inferential communication (Sperber and Wilson 1985). Insofar as it is noncommunicable non-verbal symbolization falls outside the range of my analysis.

When the masquerade was back in the jere, lab mbo was administered to small boys. Lab mbo means to “smear mud” (lab: to smear; mbo: worm cast, from river banks and marshes; a paradigm of coolness). A leaf bundle containing mbo was unwrapped and the mbo placed on the flat stone instead of the beer grounds which were used for the adult participants. Mbo itself is only used for boys too young to participate, those who have not yet “entered sua”. Men then left to fetch their sons, carrying them if necessary. Each child entered, was taken up to the stone and treated in exactly the same way as the adult participants, except that they did not repeat the oath, nor themselves treat the next person. Children in arms had the mbo applied to their fontanel and a piece of leaf placed on top. The leaf used was the one set aside when the leaves were sorted in the jere. It is deemed to be among the most potent of the sua leaves. This assertion was then justified by making a connection between the name of the leaf and the homonymic verb meaning “to pursue in revenge”.

As each child tried to leave the jere, the Mask, which had stood motionless beside the door while he was being treated, leapt out and beset him provoking screams and terror. Children failing to pass the Mask and escape the jere formed an hysterical knot trying to pluck up courage to run the gauntlet. The children were clearly thoroughly terrified despite the fact that the older boys must have had similar experiences on several previous occasions. Among the elder boys there was an element of mutual daring, the Mask acting as a test of their courage. The adult men stood about laughing, or helping the Mask at the door by catching boys who tried to slip past while it was man-handling another boy. Great force was not used; the principle aim was apparently to make the children scream. A baby was touched to attract its attention then the faceless head of the Mask brought close to it to scare it into tears. One boy was so scared that he forced his way through the fence. Others were caught trying to do the same. By the time the last boys were being treated the daylight was fading and many complaints were made about how late we were running. It was time attention was paid to the chickens and the beer. Everyone attending the sua rites should bring a chicken and supply a pot of beer. Although all the initiands had to bring chickens no attempt was made to ensure that other people attending did so. The supply of beer was carefully attended to; the name of each donor was recorded by a man assigned to the job. He was summoned insistently from the dance to do this, often twice for the same pot of beer: by the donor as well as by the man in charge of the beer supplies.
The seven chickens presented were examined and two rejected as being too meagre for ritual use. One of the best was selected and given to the Chief who cut its comb and sprinkled the blood onto the firestones and onto the bundle of leaves behind it. Kung then put his right forefinger to the blood and touched it to the tongue, sternum and right shoulder of everyone present, starting with the Chief. The chicken was then held briefly over the fire which had been kindled while the young boys were being terrified by the Mask. Once the feathers began to singe it was removed and Kung touched the feathers, and then applied his fingers to the kidneys, sternum and forehead of everyone present.

The multi-necked vase of sorghum beer was fetched from the Palace and put in place (with a twisting motion so that it sat securely) beside the northern firestone (which is the stone furthest from the fence) by the Chief, with everyone in direct or indirect contact with him. Then the Chief poured the first gourd of beer across the bundle of leaves and onto the firestones. (It is of note that the word used to describe this pouring was cha (chop). This is the word used to describe the performance of the main sua oath and also the action of pouring (sorghum) beer onto a grave, as described in the section above on sister’s sons. In this last case the beer is poured in a line across the main axis of the grave.)

The single head of elephant grass was given to the Chief who poked its stem into the ground beside the westernmost firestone and then holding the top, twisted it into a knot. Kung accompanied this action with an invocation that good things come, and bad things leave; he also stated that rain should not fall during sua and that the beer in the vase should not run out. One or two gourds were held to be sufficient to quench the thirst. (At dawn on the third day one of the participants enters the jere to untie the elephant grass, he should find beer remaining in the vase which he drains and cries out proclaiming that day soö, a rest day. In 1988 Kung found only a dribble of dregs left in the vase, and complained bitterly about it.)

Two feathers from the right wing of the chicken were then pulled out and embedded beside the northern firestone. These should have been accompanied by the arrow, but it was forgotten. The Chief mentioned this in conversation several days later, but neither he nor Kung, to whom he addressed his remarks, seemed greatly concerned about it.

Ginger was then given to unmarried men and to those with fertile wives (i.e. not to husbands of pregnant or lactating wives). This action (sie so) also occurs at the end of funeral sua dances and at the end of women’s sua, and was repeated on the morning after the sua dance. A ginger seed was held over an ember, then touched to kidneys and sternum, then put into the mouth. The man being treated holds his right hand up with his forefinger raised. It is followed by the ha mban salute, and then a straw is held between the two participants and broken, the fragments being thrown over their right shoulders.
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(The latter two actions also occur at the end of the sua oath). The officiant says chuyên ha saa (god give luck) at this point; this often evoked amen-a in response. Sie so is held to cause persistent erections among men so treated. Those who continued to drink and dance for the next 18 hours did not seem thus inconvenienced.

The ha mban (lit.: give shoulders) salute consists of slapping right palms above shoulder height then bending the right arm back so that the hand touches one’s own right shoulder. This is done three times.

Following this the chicken was held over the fire until dead, then plucked and further roasted whole before being opened lengthwise, the Chief making the first cut of the first chicken. They were then gutted and spitted sideways to finish cooking. A second fire was lit in the middle of the jere to facilitate the cooking of the other chickens. The initiands were not required to roast their own chickens. A third fire was lit opposite the fireplace. This was allowed to go out once the chickens were cooked, and its ashes were removed so as not to impede the dancers.

While the chickens were being roasted those present were treated with ash just as had been done at the conclusion of work on the jere. No explanation was given of this, and no one seemed to leave at this point. While the chickens were spit roasting the Chief scattered one with "elephant grass salt" and anointed it with palm oil using the two feathers previously placed beside the firestone. Those actually involved with the cooking then oiled and salted the birds. Before the feathers were replaced to beside the firestone, Kung took them from the Chief, touched them to his lips twice, then to the Chief’s lips and then to everyone else there. The salt was also anointed with oil.

While the chickens were being roasted, the first pots of maize beer arrived. They were fetched intermittently throughout the night and well into the next day. They were stored in the Palace and then carried next door into the jere where they were drunk. Other beer was taken in for the women who gathered to sing Yagawe in the Palace compound.

At this stage the senior men of the village first began to appear. They had earlier been noticeable by their absence after the jere had been repaired. The three men who were most active in managing the ritual activity are respected late-middle-aged adults, but are still too young to be routinely described as Notables. No explanation was proffered nor could I succeed in eliciting one concerning this absence. From this stage onwards several Notables maintained a high profile throughout the night.

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1Salt extracted from plant ashes; it was the main source of salt in pre-colonial times. It is still produced and can be purchased at market. It has been replaced by imported salt for ordinary cooking but its use is still obligatory in several ritual contexts.
The *sua* masquerades

About an hour and a quarter after the chickens began to be cooked someone was sent into the Palace to fetch some maize porridge. When the chickens were ready they were left on their spits leaning against the fence. Some banana leaves were fetched and laid out on the ground. Kung took a small piece of maize porridge, dabbed it in the salt, touched it to the chicken then fed it to the Chief. The Chief then broke off a piece of meat, whereon all the chickens were dismembered, and the pieces assembled into piles. There followed complicated and prolonged discussion of how best to divide these among the swelling crowd of people. In principle initiands may not eat the thigh or breast of the chicken until the third time they perform the rite. Portions were given to the initiands, the Chief, those in charge of the rite, and the sisters' sons of the Chief (*nyu*). The remainder was distributed among the others present. It was eaten as usual except that no water was provided for washing hands. After this many men left to dress for the dance, others to see about the delivery of their beer.

The dancing costume consisted of a woman's wrapper (either worn as a loin cloth, or tied around the waist), iron anklet rattles (*kinjung*), and two chicken feathers in the hair suggestive of stubby horns. Many were bare-chested. Not everyone wore the full regalia, and no opprobrium attached to those who did not change at all.

*The Dance*

The dance circled the fire in the centre of the *jere*, (the fire in the fireplace upon which the ritual had centred was allowed to go out). It continued from 11 pm well into the next day, and resumed sporadically thereafter. Drums were fetched from the Palace to accompany the dance.

At this point another minor act was omitted (as the Chief later remarked). The dance should have been started by three slow beats of the *gaga* (largest) drum interspersed with many *sua* cries. The same signal marks the end of the rites and the beginning of the dancing in women's *sua*. A forked twig of one of the fence posts was used as a baton passed from hand to hand during the dance. Before use it was blessed: ginger was spat onto it. Beer was brought in and everyone drank a gourd-full or two. The dance got properly under way at about 11.15 pm. Kung took the baton and prepared to start. There followed a discussion of which way around the fire he should go. Men's *sua* dances clockwise around the fire, women's *sua* and *ngwun* anti-clockwise. With the baton in his right hand, bent double and singing in a low groan, Kung went slowly three times around the fire anti-clockwise; everyone else stood watching, and waiting for the responses,

He then gave the stick to Ngwu Mark, who had also been active in organizing the rites. Ngwu Mark put the stick to the flames, touched it to the kidneys, sternum, forehead
and tongue of Kung, then passed it from one hand to the other around Kung's neck, behind his back, both forearms and both thighs. Ngu Mark subsequently repeated this for himself. Kung then took the stick in his left hand and began the dance proper circling clockwise.

The dance of men's sua consists of a line of men filing clockwise around the fire, the man at the head leading the dance and the singing. He may call for silence in which to begin singing and dancing, everyone else follows him in the refrains. He holds the baton in his left hand and turns to face the man who will dance after him. He dances with his arms widespread, sometimes raised. The right leg takes most of the weight so that the left foot can be kicked out landing near, and sometimes in, the fire. The leader then hops back, away from the head of the line while singing a sua song of his choosing. After about a minute the baton is passed to the man now at the head of the line who then leads the dance in his turn.

This form is followed both in men's sua proper and during the dancing of men's sua at funerals. The dancing of the leading man and the man at the head of the line (who is the next leader) introduce the idiom of wrestling. The man at the head of the line, waiting his turn, can follow when the leader hops backwards, and can push his right arm under the dancer's armpit. When more beer had been drunk they would sometimes lock and grapple. Other people broke out of line to come and dance before the leader, challenging him. A recurring gesture was to hold the hands, palms downward, over the fire (drying them?), then with the palms upward and cupped shallowly together to hold them out to the man leading the dance. Another, but less common, gesture was to turn and bend over slightly, presenting the buttocks to the dancer who was "being challenged". One man in doing this virtually rubbed his buttocks into the crotch of the other. This was greeted with laughter.

As the night progressed the dance increasingly resembled wrestling, and a pair dancing together would grapple, arms locked around the chest, and try to throw each other. Dancers were not permitted to touch feet, and cries of outrage followed any attempt to use fists. The only people successfully thrown were those taken by surprise. I did not see anyone thrown during his turn to lead the dancing. I have already suggested that the prohibition of touching feet relates to a wrestling rule preventing the tripping up of opponents. Kabri (1951:57b) makes passing mention of wrestling as one of the ways in which a young man establishes his maturity; Rehfisch (1960:253 fn 1) mentions the wane of inter-village wrestling. Mambila men explicitly made the connection between the sua dances and fighting (laga) but said the latter was in play.

At 5 am a drunken man fell and knocked over the multi-necked vase containing the sorghum beer, also dislodging one of the firestones. He was made to squat down while the senior men considered what to do. It was agreed that he should pay the fine of a chicken.
The sua masquerades

The firestone was to be left where it had fallen until this was paid. He apologized. The Chief had gone to rest, but when he returned he was told what had happened. He declared that the fine must be paid immediately so that the firestone could be replaced. First the man said that he would pay, but not immediately, and then he left to look for a chicken, returning empty-handed. Faced with the continuing insistence of the Chief and the men in charge of sua (Kung and Ngu Mark) he finally produced a chicken after about four hours. The firestone was replaced by Kung while the culprit held his right elbow. The chicken was then roasted and eaten by the senior men present.

At dawn the Chief presented the chuar ndaga. (These are chickens, one given to the men and another to the women in the Palace, which mark the beginning of the concluding rites). Ginger was given to those present with the same restrictions and intent as described above. Some variation in administering it was noted: one man circled his hand with the ginger seed four times around the embers, another once only, and the third man three times. No comment was made about this variation. Kung and Ngu Mark then treated all present with bark from one of the jere fencing posts. They both took a chip of bark in each hand. The treatment consisted of them biting at each chip and spitting it on both temples, the middle of the forehead (twice) and either side of the head of each person. To do this they grasped his head between their palms, bending it forwards to be blessed. The chips were still held in the hands, and rested behind the ears of the man being treated.

Some older men, late arrivals, asked to be treated with the belt of sua leaves for their back as had been done for the active participants earlier the previous evening.

Earlier in the morning after sua most men “normally” go off to Gumbe hamlet where sua is danced separately. This year, however, many refused to go since the Gumbe masquerade had not come to the Palace the day before to greet the Chief. Because of this, and the fact that there remained beer in plenty in the village, most decided not to go there. This must have been explained in Gumbe since their masquerade arrived in Somié at about 11 am, greeted the Chief and toured the village. Thereafter more men did visit Gumbe.

The Mask continued to make sorties throughout the day. It went to greet all the initiands and demanded gifts (the masker drank beer through a straw). Two small dishes of oil were presented, one with salt, one unseasoned. One of the young men accompanying the masquerade entered the house to collect this tribute then touched his right forefinger to the oil and applied it to the kidneys, sternum, mouth and ears of the masquerade.

The next day was sóô, a holy rest day. In recognition of this the masquerade did not emerge. In principle the Mask may appear until the ritual first planting of the millet in mid-June, although it is rarely seen after the main dance. The sua leaves are left where they were placed behind the fireplace and will rot away, as does much of the sua enclosure,
until it is rebuilt in the following year. It should be noted that unlike women’s sua and ngwun, which are followed by youths dancing tadup, no other dance marks the end of men’s sua.

The sua described above is sua mbo, the weakest form of men’s sua. Initiation into it does not permit one to officiate at the taking of any oath involving the killing of a chicken, only to perform li sua, i.e. to threaten illness while patting one’s stomach (or while waving an ndungu sua stick). Once one has “entered” sua, that is, been shown the leaves and participated in the sua dances, one is said to “have” that sua. Li sua can be performed immediately and no further repetitions of the men’s sua rites are necessary for this.

In the absence of someone initiated into sua dama (the most powerful sua type), a man who has entered sua mbo as described above may perform kulu sua in an adultery case. Sua dama enables one to be the sacrifier at the main sua oath, as well as to enact dama in order to protect the village. Learning sua dama consists of being taught another set of leaves, and cooking them, just as occurred in the sua mbo described above.

WOMEN’S SUA

This account is of necessity extremely limited. Since most of the rites are closed to men this writer only witnessed the public parts of the festival which men may see. Women would not discuss the closed parts of the rites with me in any detail, although some general statements were elicited (for example, about initiation into the sua moieties discussed below). Women’s sua was performed twice during my fieldwork in Somié.

The central actors are the five Marenjo, the senior women of the village. The most senior of the five Marenjo is currently Sapka, the eldest sister of the Chief.

The five, listed in order of precedence, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ritual Title (name)</th>
<th>Hamlet</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faniaga (Spaka)</td>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>d of Chief Menandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowani (Kɔɔbɔn)</td>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>d of Chief Kolaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foachen (Lɔva)</td>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>sd of Chief Menandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fɔame (Ni)</td>
<td>Gumbe</td>
<td>d of head of Gumbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbɔgɔm (Njiɔ)</td>
<td>Njerup</td>
<td>d of head of Njerup</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1The criteria for selection are that those Marenjo from the centre must be “daughters” of a chief, and the other two be daughters of the heads of Gumbe and Njerup respectively.
The suá masquerades

The last two Marenjo, who are not of the Chief’s family, are sisters of the two hamlet headmen who name the Chief. The two most senior Marenjo each head a separate moiety group of women who are in charge of different aspects of the women’s suá rites. It is not clear whether each group has (or had) its own Mask. Recruitment to these groups is at the instigation of mothers who divide their daughters between them. Generally the first daughter joins the Mvop, the second the Bâgâ, and so on. Hence a moiety system operates among all women who participate in the women’s suá in Somié. This includes the women from the hamlets.

Faniaga (Sapka) heads Sua da b3 Bâgâ
Fawani (Karaban) heads Sua da bɔ Mvop. If a newly selected Faniaga (or Fawani) had previously belonged to the other moiety she will change her affiliation following her selection. The affiliation of the other Marenjo is not linked to their titles in the same way, and is determined as for other women, by their mother’s choices when they were girls.

Women’s suá occurs biennially early in the rainy season (approximately March or April). It involves rites on three successive Bam’s. Bam is one of the holy days in the traditional ten-day week. It is the day on which all major rites occur.

The rite on the first Bam is performed every year. It is the only activity of women’s suá to take place in the years when the Mask itself does not dance. This is called “the burial of the village” and takes place at the river near to the village. It is performed in order to protect the village from evil influences and to ensure the women’s fertility (it thus bears some resemblance to the dams rite). On request the senior Marenjo (Sapka) performs a variant of this rite to protect a new house, in return for a gift of oil (some of which is used in the rite).

The next Bam is called “the digging of suá” and includes the induction of the initiands, the girls who are participating for the first time. The events commence with the women invading the Palace and dancing in front of the Chief’s house; he takes refuge inside it. (In 1988 they also acted out a parody of cutting suá, discussed below). They then dance in front of Sapka’s house before going to Gumbe and Ngwe hamlets. Later the initiands are inducted through eating tetaga fish and goat in the gubu suá, the women’s suá enclosure in the bush.

What might be termed “women’s suá behaviour” is much in evidence in the days preceding that of the main dance, and during the dancing on the Bam of digging suá. This

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1This is where Karaban lives.
2a type of catfish: Synodontis spp.
The sua masquerades

is exemplified by the loud shouting of sexual words not normally uttered. Men hearing these shouts find them very shameful, and on market days preceding sua if a man enters a hut where women are dancing and drinking beer he risks being driven away by "shameful" talking. One of the most frequent examples of such talk is a woman asking a man for his scrotum to cover a drum (the choice of drumstick is then obvious). This is often accompanied by gestures indicating that the man's testicles are huge. Big testicles are considered shameful, but no reason could be elicited for this; elephantiasis is not a common disease in the village. Some of the lyrics of the songs accompanying the dancing follow the same line.

On the day of digging sua some women don trousers\(^1\), and one (in 1988) tied some tin cans between her legs representing swollen testicles. Clay penises are fleeting revealed to the men during the main dance. The men are particularly shocked by mock rapes which are enacted sporadically throughout the time of women's sua. Some men literally curl up in shame at the sight. A woman is flung to the ground, often from behind so she is taken quite by surprise, and her attacker, usually abetted by several other women, mimes intercourse with her. While doing this, the assailant herself may be "raped" from behind in a hectic and short-lived orgy. Afterwards the participants salute each other with the hamban salute, described above. It is found greatly enjoyable by all except any men who accidentally witness it.

On the eve of the final Bam the Mask\(^2\) walks around the village. It is accompanied by groups of women in great excitement who chase men away so they cannot see it. Its sight is said to cause male infertility and madness. There follow rites in the Palace attended exclusively by women. These end around midnight with the beating of the big Palace drum. The dancing then starts; this the men may watch. Thenceforth the men beat the drums. A fire is lit in the centre of the Palace square and kept alight until the end of the dancing. Men are told not approach it since impotence results from contact with its ashes. The dancing continues throughout the next day and night. The women circle the fire anti-clockwise waving decorated sticks, swords or just pieces of twig. Some men dance on the furthest periphery of the circling women. The day is marked by large-scale public beer-drinks in which great largesse is displayed to the many visitors from other villages.

Periodically throughout the first night and day groups of women enter the Palace for further rites, some of them emerging with knotted stalks of grass to prevent rain falling during the period of the dance. The rainfall in 1988 was attributed (by men) to a lack of

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\(^1\)Meek 1931:553 mentions female ritual transvestism.

\(^2\)The women's Mask is an amorphous mass of vegetation.
The sua masquerades

unanimity among the women. Several times a procession of the Marenjo emerges from the Palace, Sapka wearing the Chief’s ceremonial hat and all the three Marenjo from Somie centre carrying buffalo-tail fly-whisks. After the Marenjo come the wives of the Chief. All wear vines tied as cross-straps across their chests. They process anti-clockwise around the fire three times and then return to the Palace.

On the afternoon of the day of the dance a line of Chief’s stools (kogo baji) are placed outside the Palace (on the right of the steps as seen from the square) and the Marenjo sit on them in order of precedence with Sapka nearest the steps. The crowd remains silent while they each drink two gourds of beer in single draughts. Everyone present then whoops and cheers.

Thereafter the mood becomes more jovial. More men dance, but only outside the main circle of women. Once the end of the event approaches the men begin to tease the women, making funerary greetings “since sua is dead” and anticipating men’s sua, when they will be able to insult the women.

During the night some of the women extinguish the fire and scatter the ashes into the stream to the West of the village. The next morning in the Palace square the women “take ginger” (sie so) and “smear mud” (lab mbo). (Both these are described below).

Subsequently the first of the moiety groups, the sua b3 Bâgà, go to the river and bury in a hole the cross-braids and knotted stalks which were carried during the rites. They return to the Palace square entering in procession from the corner nearest to the river and walking backwards, singing Yagawe, a funeral song1. They circle the fire-site three times accompanied by the oldest woman in the village who alone walks forwards beside the line of the other women. The night before, with the “death” of sua, men said that she had died.

The next day the other group, the sua de b3 Mv3p, go to the river and cast adrift their ornaments, but make no further public display. After the procession the women also “smear mud” (lab mbo). A senior woman, assisted by an initiand who actually holds the mbo in a packet of leaves, treats both men and women in separate groups. The recipient faces eastwards, and closes their eyes. The senior woman dips her right forefinger knuckle into the mbo and circles her hand around the head three times anti-clockwise pausing briefly in front of the mouth whereon the recipient blows on it. Then the mbo is touched to the sternum, and on request, to the small of the back.

Different reasons for “smearing mud” were given: one man said that it prevents cutting oneself with knives after accidentally touching the fire ashes; while a woman administering it said it was to ensure health, so the body was no longer unwell.

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1This song is also sung by the women while men dance men’s sua.
The sua masquerades

It should be noted that before returning from the river the women "smear mud" amongst themselves before treating other people, both men and women. There are some differences between the two groups: when sua de b3 Mvop "smear mud" they do not circle the head as described above, but touch the mbo on sternum, back of neck and small of back.

Sie so, the taking of ginger, is a fertility rite which is also performed, with some small differences, after funeral sua dances. A person being treated after women's sua faces eastwards, and some grains of ginger seed are carefully placed in a gourd of beer which is held up for them to drink. If the recipient's spouse is present they then perform the ha mban salute. If their spouse is not present, then without speaking the treated person must return home and salute their bed in similar fashion.

A woman pregnant or who has recently given birth is not treated, nor is a monogamously married man whose wife is pregnant since sie so is said to cause erections which endure for twelve hours or more.
Chapter Six

The sua-oath

The oath is the commonest form of sua. Its several different forms are described below. Many, but not all, of these involve a ritual killing.

I shall first describe the sua-oath taken following the resolution of a dispute. It is stressed that women must not witness this. The oath is taken outside the Palace. The women sit inside and the doors are closed. If it takes place elsewhere women must turn their backs and cast their eyes to the ground. They are however, encouraged to hear the addresses, but no woman may address sua even if she is a party to the dispute.

Once the decision to make the oath has been made the Chief selects one of the most senior members present, who then collects leaves, and acting as the sacrificer kills the chicken at the conclusion of the oath-taking. While he is picking the leaves from the nearby bush the chicken is fetched by the plaintiff. This is explained as expressing the wish to finish the affair. The defendant provides a sum of money (the laga sua), which is given to the sacrificer. The size of this is decided in debate, but it is generally small and is a separate consideration from any fine which may have been imposed, the amount of which will also have been fixed during the hearing.

Once the leaves have been collected the sacrificer sorts through them. He stands in the square to one side of the Palace building, and either passes them one at a time from one hand to the other, or places them, one at a time, on the ground before him. In important cases he will call another Notable as witness that no maleficent witchcraft grasses are included in the collection of leaves. The chicken and the bundle of leaves are then "presented" to the Chief. Properly they should be held before him whereupon he spits a blessing onto them, but often they are just held up from the Palace square so that he can see them. The sacrificer then sits down and completes the preparation of the bundle. The leaves are placed in pairs. First the julu\(^1\) grass is set apart since this will be treated differently from the others. The other leaves are laid back to front in their pairs. The end of each piece is knotted so the final bundle has grasses with knots in both the leaves and stalks at each end. During this operation he intones the refrain of the sua speeches, usually in an undertone.

When the bundle is complete the sua oath-taking proper begins. The actors stand some distance away from any audience; if at the Palace they stand at the foot of the steps

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\(^1\) *Sporobolus pyramidalis*. This appears to be the jiro grass discussed by Meek (1931:552).
The sua-oath

leading up to the Palace. The area thus defined is called mo sua and only those actively participating in the oath may enter. Since all parties to the dispute can make an address during the oath this restriction does not exclude people without sua be (see below).

The sacrificer squats down with his back to the Palace, facing East, the chicken on top of the bundle of leaves, often over a piece of wood which acts as a chopping block. If it is a chick it is held still with his left hand; his right hand holds a knife or machete which is rested on the chicken's neck during the addresses. If it is a bigger bird, one of the other participants will squat opposite the sacrificer and help keep the chicken still by looping a couple of the grasses of the leaf bundle around its head. One blade of julu grass is placed beside the bundle (and is not cut), while the other is held against the knife.

The other participants stand around the bundle; when speaking they often bend down and address the bundle, especially when they utter the refrains to their speeches.

The sua addresses employ a slightly modified form of everyday speech. There are clearly defined refrains marking the ends of paragraphs, and formulaic paragraph introductions. Lines are defined rhythmically as short phrases each marked by a short pause. These features can be seen in the appended transcripts (although it should be noted that the line definition of the transcripts is a compromise between phrase length, the constraints of the page size, and lines as suprasegmentally defined)².

The refrain has the form “if I/you/they did evil, may I/you/they eat maize for one day, not two. (“Eating maize for one day, not two” implies a swift death). If not, if innocent, may I/you/they be strong and turn my/your/their eyes to the East.”

Paragraphs often commence with a list of evil possibilities similar to the lists of evil options proposed during ŋgam dù divination. There the intention is to enumerate all possible sources of danger, here it is a rhetorical feature stressing the speaker’s innocence of all the listed transgressions.

The audience listens, each with their right forefinger raised, but as the refrain begins the finger is pointed to the ground, to point up again when the positive alternative is posed. As the refrain is uttered the knife is bounced up and down upon, or slowly drawn across the chicken’s neck miming the actual cutting.

The sacrificer makes the opening and concluding speeches; inbetween these any interested party may speak. One case followed the death of a self-confessed witch. Her husband and her male sibling set each took a sua-oath denying having bewitched her into her confession and death.

²The tapes are available for further analysis in the Cambridge department of Social Anthropology.
The sua-oath

At the refrain of the final speech the chicken is killed with a single blow of the knife, often to laughter, as of the release of nervous tension, from the audience. The same blow bisects the bundle of sua grasses. If the neck of the chicken has not been cut cleanly this is held to be a sign that the matter has not been debated to a conclusion. The fall of the body is watched keenly. It does not reflect upon the success of the oath\(^3\), but is viewed as a more general omen. If the corpse falls left wing up, or on its front, this is "bad" and it is taken to indicate that a senior person will soon die. Conversely, if it falls right wing up\(^4\) or on its back, it is "good". Exclamations and intakes of breath greet a "bad" fall. Yet I know of no action occasioned by such results. For example, no divination is effected to discover who will die. However, I suspect that this may occur if a "bad" fall occurred during the serious illness of a senior person.

After the sua bundle has been cut the attention of the audience is no longer fixed on the actors; they chat and comment upon what was said. Meanwhile the actors complete their work:

A) The bundle of leaves is chopped up into many small pieces (so that the grasses cannot be identified) and thrown into the bush with the corpse of the bird if it was a small chick. (The body of a larger bird is taken by the sacrificer who will roast and eat it later, sharing the meat only with other senior men). Before this the head and the body are together shaken or brushed across the top of the Palace steps.

B) Thatch is brought and set alight, or a branch with red embers from a fire is fetched. The sacrificer touches his right forefinger to the embers, then to his lips three times, and then touches his kidneys, forehead and sometimes the small of his back. Having treated himself, he then treats the other participants, touching the small of their backs at their request. The only explanation I could elicit of this was that it was to enable the participants subsequently to see and be near corpses. Without such treatment the presence of death would "contract the sides of the body", and illness would result, especially if the corpse were touched. It is of note that those who have helped at a burial, specifically the grave-diggers and anyone who has touched the corpse, undergo a very similar treatment.

C) Finally, each of the participants breaks a straw with the sacrificer. Each takes one end in their right hand, and pulls until it breaks. Each then throws the fragment

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\(^3\) Contra Meek 1931:552.

\(^4\) As occurred on the occasion considered below q.v. line 480.
remaining in his hand over his right shoulder. They then give the ha mban salute described in the Sua masquerades chapter.

Restrictions on the Sacrificer

To officiate at a sua-oath a man must have sua be (that is: be an initiate of men’s sua) and, further, have acquired the right to perform that form of sua-oath. During the night before an oath, the sacrificer must not ejaculate, whether in the course of intercourse, masturbation or dreams. Semen, like women, must not come into contact with sua.

WOMEN’S KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUA-OATH.

Women are not permitted to see the sua-oath performed by the men. Although they cannot, themselves, make an address they are encouraged to hear the addresses. When a sua-oath is performed at the Chiefs Palace all the women present must remain inside the jolori building and its doors are shut for the duration of the oath-taking. If any women are seen approaching the square they are shouted at, and told to keep away. However, when oaths are being performed in hamlets, or when a sua karup oath is taken in a house, the women sit near the men but facing away looking down, or with their backs directly to those performing the oath. It would not be hard, in these circumstances, for a woman, unnoticed, to catch a glimpse of the proceedings.

The extent of women’s knowledge of the oath was demonstrated during the preparations for the women’s masquerade in 1988. On the Bam before the main rites the women went and danced inside the Palace; the Chief stayed in his house. The dancing itself was preceded by a mock sua-oath performed by several senior women dressed in men’s clothing. Since they hear many sua addresses it is not surprising that they know the verbal form. However, actions were also accurately mimed. One woman squatted holding a bush knife over a bundle of grasses picked from behind the houses, and at the appropriate point in the refrain she bounced the knife up and down. Clues for this action may have been gathered from simply listening to the proceedings since often the chicken will squawk only when the knife is tapped on it. However, the full refrain was not produced, just the final

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A similar action occurs in divination when a chain of questioning is to be terminated and before a new set of questions is posed.

Compared to entering men’s sua the “acquisition” of the oaths (i.e. the ability to officiate at the taking of the oaths) is far more like the “purchase” of divination or a treatment. One is shown the leaves and their preparation in a ritually circumscribed way involving commensality with the teachers. But there is a further restriction on palace sua: it cannot be cut (i.e. an individual cannot act as sacrificer) while either parent is alive else the parent(s) will die.
The sua-oath

words “so so so so...” (“not-live not-live not-live not-live ”) When each speaker began her speech she announced herself as one of the senior men prominent in sua activities in the Palace, e.g. Papa and Bi, the heads of Gumbe and Njerup respectively.

The tone of these addresses was that of most women’s sua activity: ridiculing men’s activities. However, it also contained a “sua-like” threat to all males, be they even so high as the Chief, that should they pursue unmarried girls they will die, and their wives will not bear children.

*Background to the sua-oath taken on 8 December 1985*

Sua-oaths are frequently taken at the Chief’s Palace; I have attended many throughout my fieldwork and tape-recorded eight separate occurrences. The oath-taking presented here took place at the Chief’s Palace at the conclusion of a meeting of the whole village (both men and women). Before examining the transcript of the addresses made during the oath I shall describe the events which preceded the oath. It should be stressed that this is an unusual example for two reasons. Firstly, the sua-oath followed a discussion at the Palace about the entire village. It did not, as is usual, concern the settlement of a dispute between individuals (or their family groups). Moreover, the meeting which the oath concluded also contained a *dama* rite. *Dama* is only infrequently performed. I have included the text of this sua-oath here since the addresses are of more than usual interest, being less restricted to the intricacies of the case at hand than is normal.

The events at the Chiefs Palace can be summarized as follows.

While most of the village were at church the Notables (who, mostly do not, attend the church) were already on the verandah of the Chief’s Palace talking with the Chief. They discussed the relative powers of the civil authorities and the missionaries, before turning to the recurrent problem of the relative authority of Njaibi and Sarki.

Njaibi is a Notable whose prestige derives from his age and reputation, and also from his position as the headman of Gumbe hamlet, being thus one of the two Notables who “name” (that is: choose) new chiefs. Sarki is the headman of Kuti, a settlement contiguous with Gumbe. Sarki is grandson of the keeper of the rest-house established by the Germans early this century on the road linking Bali and Banyo. He is a prominent Muslim and is accorded the Fulfulde honorific “jauro.” Yet the population of Kuti (insofar as it can be distinguished from that of Gumbe) is small: less than ten households. Clashes between Sarki and Njaibi are frequent concerning precedence during official visits by the Sous-Préfet, and concerning the recognition of their positions by the Sous-Préfet and other officials.
Sarki left after this discussion and a Notable, Jacob, was directed by the Chief to summon the villagers to the meeting: he walked to the far side of the square and gave the call to assemble everyone to the Palace “B ë. nùar dɔ.ŋ pat! bĩ ndéé ooo!” (Everyone! You come here!) People slowly arrived, the women either entering through the side doors or walking swiftly across the verandah to the big room inside the jolori building from which the men’s discussion is audible. Meanwhile some young labour migrants from Nigerian Mambila continued their work, making bricks beside the Palace building. They were not expected to participate in the meeting. Had they been older they may have attended but would not have been pressed to do so against their wishes. Some but not all the immigrants from Nigeria attend village meetings.

The Chief raised three topics for discussion at the meeting.

1) Farmer-Grazier disputes.

The meeting took place at the beginning of the dry season when transhumant Mbororo bring their cattle down onto the Tikar plain. As the Chief put it: “the cattle come, and disputes come along behind.” The Chief outlined to the meeting the roles to be played by himself and by the Agricultural Monitor (who lives in Somié) in settling farmer-grazier disputes. He had on the previous day met with representatives of the Mbororo and explained these matters to them.

He took the opportunity to communicate the official disapproval of local commerce in coffee. Coffee should be sold only to the decorticising plants, not among the villagers. (This is discussed above in the section on Economics).

2) Communal work on motor road and on paths linking the hamlets to the centre.

The Chief expressed his concern about absenteeism from the sessions of communal work which he had been calling weekly to maintain the roads. In particular he called attention to the absenteeism among the young men which was attributed to their abuse of moonshine (argi). This led to the main topic.

3) Moonshine (argi).

The civil authorities look to the Chief to enforce the prohibition of argi (which the Chief supports). Moreover, the poor turn-out for work on the road had angered the Chief. A long discussion ensued, particularly between two Notables, one for and one against the prohibition. After some time the Chief began to sum up but was interrupted by another senior Notable who emphasised the gravity of the problem. At that point Sapka emerged from inside the jolori to voice the women’s opinion: “Men drink moonshine then beat up women.” The women applauded Sapka’s speech.

Jubon was then sent to fetch the kɔgɔ baji (the stool of the chief). This was in anticipation of dama.
The sua-oath

The Chief's final words on the subject were: if you must drink *argi*, don't do it here - go to Bankim and do it! Lines 146 ff of the first transcript in chapter eight reflect some of the resentment which was felt at the imposition of this prohibition on the village.

In the Palace square, before Sapke performed the *dama* address, the Chief lectured the villagers on the proprieties of coffee transactions and deprecated sharp practice. Even youths, if they have fields, have rights. He repeated his disapproval of the internal market in coffee. It should only be sold to the national marketing co-operative in Bankim. Otherwise, he said, it is like theft.

In the *dama* address which followed Sapke referred to the problems of road maintenance: "cars will come, if they don't come it's bad."

Once the *dama* had been completed most people returned to the Palace (some men left to go fishing or beer drinking). Talk resumed, matters raised before the *dama* were discussed. Further discussion of road maintenance was followed by the introduction of a new topic: the payment of bridewealth and problems caused by bridewealth inflation.

Before the sua-oath was taken the subject of the problems caused by alcohol abuse was resumed. Women get drunk in the bar. The Chief mooted a proposal that women be prohibited from the bar. Jacob said that one could not debar women from other villages, women must be allowed their freedom. This was greeted with much laughter, and led straight into the transcript that follows. Guanam, who officiated, had meanwhile been outside the Palace preparing the bundle of *sua* grasses with Tam as witness.

There is an apparent gap between the events leading up to the oath-taking and the addresses which follow. In part this is due to the unusual circumstances in which this oath was taken. It did not conclude a dispute, so the parties who made the addresses did not have to deny their involvement in a specific event. The oath was being taken to mark the prohibition of moonshine from the village. Yet this topic is not directly addressed (and when two years later a man in possession of moonshine was found in the village he was fined heavily but no mention of *sua* was made). Instead the Notables who made the addresses focussed on general and endemic problems, on witchcraft and on historical disputes which may still occasion hostility and therefore invite the aggression of witches. The more recent events of the destruction of the Palace roof and the suspicions of Sarki were mentioned but only in general, in such a way as to bind anyone and everyone harbouring such intentions.

*sua-oath transcript*

Speakers:

Ga= Guanam
The sua-oath

Ta= Tam Umaru
Nj= Njaibi
Jb= Jacob

0    Jb; Listen you women inside
     Hey, hey you listen to the work of sua.
     Ga; You witches, you shape-changers. Today Tam has talked to the end of the case
     You spear people, you bad people

5    you bewitch whose compound, you bewitch theft.
     don’t harm, don’t you “bless” women
     Person which has buried a hen’s egg
     We find the thing in ground, may sua seize you, seize you
     Woman, man you sort out your home

10   You shape-changers, they talk to the end of the village’s case.
     You see a person, you say kill a person
     Maize in this plain I eat never, ever, ever
     If I don’t know, I live with an open heart
     We, my friends will stop quarreling thus.

7“You witches, you shape-changers” this phrase, and variations on it, marks the beginning of a paragraph in sua addresses. The variants permute the different types of witchcraft, the basic vocabulary of which is given in Diagram 2.1 above
For a different form of variant see the note to sua kare L 54/55.

8Kulu, “to bless with spittle” has the extended meaning to have sexual intercourse (m.s.). The analogy is obvious. Another extension is possible but was explicitly denied by informants. This would relate blessing to the action of beer yeast (kulu) which is a homonym even in tone. Granted the importance of beer in the society (and in its religion) plus the opportunity granted by the homonymity it is of note that all connection was denied (both to D.Z. and to Mona Perrin).

9The implication is that the egg is part of some evil treatment.

10If the affair has been talked through and finished then there remains no dispute for witches to hide behind. Some of the pressure to resolve disputes speedily stems from the fear that a witch may attack one party a hope that their opponent will be wrongly accused of causing the witchcraft-induced illness.

11The refrain has been discussed in the section “The sua-oath”.

140
15 Village of Ndeba\textsuperscript{12}, or the Atta, say kill a person into the ground
I a person I eat never, ever, ever.
I this one here
my wife comes from above with blind eyes
they really kill her
20 You say you pay to really kill her. You xxx,
Don’t pay someone
or you’ll see, not eat never, ever, ever.
You refuse maize, you refuse sorghum.
The head Chief which is here, your Chiefs
25 Now they () say to the Chief, speaking with open hearts
They shake his intelligence, his wives, his children.
All the Ndeba women, men
You say you saw a woman, you intended evil
You intended evil of man, of woman.
30 Stopping in the form of snake, tree\textsuperscript{13}
You’ll die, thus you won’t eat this maize never, ever, ever.
If you have one mouth\textsuperscript{14} your heads\textsuperscript{15} will be strong
Come do this sua <= to Tam
Ta; I, this person say;
35 Yesterday when Chief Mago died\textsuperscript{16} I was here
When he was ill I called
all the elders of this village here
I gathered them in one place to divine about him.
You look at the thing over there to see which chief is true
40 You looked with your eyes
What did you see? How was it?

\textsuperscript{12}Ndeba is another name for Somié village.
\textsuperscript{13}This refers to the transformations discussed above ( note to L 3).
\textsuperscript{14}A “shared” mouth is a conventional metaphor for agreement.
\textsuperscript{15}“head”: as metonym for person. “A strong head” means to be in good health and
to be resilient, hence a “bad” head means to be ill, although it can also have the additional
meaning of being a bad person, i.e. a witch of some sort.
\textsuperscript{16}Mago Michel died c1977 (the present incumbent succeeded in that year). Note
that Tam first talks of the time of his fatal illness before his death.
Even then Njai\(^{17}\) here, you here
I had called him already
Nj; We two were right up\(^{18}\), right over there

Tam; So, I called the Ngeya, the Ngon, the Taba\(^{19}\)
The Nyimado\(_{j}\) and the Nia\(^{20}\) this one
I called them all. These which are here
You saw that a suitable Chief was up over there
You saw with your eyes. How was it suitable?

Did you divine for us, or didn’t you divine?
I sorted it out with an open heart\(^{21}\)
Did I see with my eyes?
Divination was at another place
I was with my things at Atta, touring

I was there, I saw earth divination
Divination went too hot\(^{22}\) at Atta
I came to this village
I took Njai and Jumvop\(^{23}\) who was there
We sorted it out, organized till we saw

Divination was too much for us.

---

\(^{17}\)Njai = Njaibi, or Papa the headman of Gumbe hamlet, one of the two most senior men in the village, with the special duty of naming the Chief. Tam speaks here as the most senior sister’s son of the Chief.

\(^{18}\)“Up” at Mayo Darlé, at the top of the escarpment to the East of Somié.

\(^{19}\)A list of the names of some senior men. Nia is another name for Guanam, the sacrificer.

\(^{20}\)Nia=Guanam

\(^{21}\)lit. “one heart”. This relates to san chèn the one “shared” mouth of agreement, and is a conventional metaphor for honest and open action, without secret motives.

\(^{22}\)“too hot” as a metaphor for being too much for him, either beyond his comprehension or (more likely) warning of the death of Mog3 but giving no clues how it could be averted.

\(^{23}\)Jumvop a senior man (now dead) of Gumbe hamlet.
I sent for Bi. Bi had said, Go up, talk with that woman. She returned, the Chief didn’t return to the village. Was it proper for the Chief to stay up there?

Tomorrow the Chief will die, up over there. They went to fetch him.

[Nj; xxxxxx]

Ta; So that I may avoid shame I say. You will be people with a body of shame=

[70 Ga; =thus]

Ta; When his days are ended he must come, he must die in the village. Bi here, a living person. (1) Bi here went up and so that if he got really bad I said to them: they must not treat the Chief any more.

He must return to the village so we can do again the traditional thing. They said “hoi”. They said we haven’t finished the treatment yet. But I sorted it out with an open heart. Yesterday he died thus. They took and they chopped, searching there () we sorted it out.

We are tired with hunger, don’t be tired tired tired. Children of the Chief, they say seized and took Dega thus, and not otherwise. We end completely not otherwise. Chief they divine us freely.

We say the Chief takes you. Why are you jealous of me? Someone, anyone says if I don’t cross them they could be sitting on the stool.

---

24A puzzle which remains unresolved. Bi is as senior as Njaibi (the two of them name the Chief) so it is strange that he was not called in as soon as Njaibi. Possibly he was too far away at the time. Since the village was at that time administered from Banyo this is likely.

25The woman was the healer in Mayo Darlé to whom Mego had been sent.

26i.e. they cut sua.

27Dega is the current Chief of Somié.
Someone, anyone says if I didn’t cross them
they would be sitting on the stool

90 I say clearly to sort it out so you hear and clear it up properly
(1) So you hear and clear it up properly.
I speak so you hear it properly
If you don’t leave off death looms open.
Chief, you will be tired to death to walk afterwards don’t do it. 28

95 We are tired, tired of his work, he will die of it. (2)
I don’t want today
which we take you, we put you in the village
Evil things come today. You will walk to your death
Tomorrow you walk to your death.

100 Our village has something - If we go thus
If the village stays - your village here, here -
That’s the matter, that’s the point.
Your village isn’t a good village!
The death we hide from is a thing to hide from!

105 We hide because of it.
We two, children of a Chief
You borrow a thing, or you don’t borrow a thing 29
I harvested my father’s palm trees, and my mother’s palm trees. 30

---

28 Tam worries that the recurrent cases which are heard in the Palace
will wear the present Chief to death.

29 “The thing borrowed” refers to the palm trees discussed below.

30 It must not be assumed that this speech was clear to the audience. This is
especially the case with this speech since genealogical knowledge is shallow and not well
maintained. I attempted to reconstruct the genealogy in question; it is a part of the Chief’s
genealogy which might reasonably be expected to be the best known of any. It is also
relatively well preserved because of the dispute itself. There was greater uncertainty and
inconsistency between informants than can be explained by the fact that the inheritance and
hence the genealogy is disputed. The names are known, and recognized as dead proximate
kin, but to the audience the speech posed, I claim, as much a problem as it did (does) to the
anthropologist trying to make sense of it. One of the differences from ordinary speech lies
in the fact that Tam was addressing sua, so the audience did not have to understand, or to
/cont.
reveal the limited extent of its understanding by responding in any way. Instead the audience could assume that what it was hearing made sense, that both sua and "real" Notables understood. Such an assumption lifts pressures from both audience and speakers, who can indulge in more obscure rhetoric, raising laughter at the expense of understanding. This is very similar to what Sherzer (Sherzer 1983:90) describes of the Kuna.

The dispute over the ownership of these trees has a long history, and it remains unresolved. There is an established modus vivendi by which the palms in question are called "Tam's trees" although at least one of the other parties would not agree with that appellation. The genealogy which follows is presented to help the reader understand the history of the inheritance of the trees and the relationships of the parties to the dispute. This genealogy, however, is not reliable and further research may result in some individuals being assigned to different generations. However, it is sufficient to make sense of the text. It also by its very uncertainties serves to illustrate the extremely short range of Mambila genealogies. /cont.
The sua-oath

DIAGRAM 6.1

Tam Umaru: Paternal Genealogy

Key:
M<= .... link to maternal genealogy.
=>F .... link to paternal genealogy.
d.y. .... died young.

Tam Umaru: Maternal Genealogy

/cont.
The pattern of inheritance explained by Tam is shown in the summary of his maternal genealogy which follows. Line numbers are given when specific details are mentioned in the text. The dispute centres around the trees obtained by Kwe [33] from Menandi [27]. These are labeled (5) & (6) in the next diagram. After Kwe they were passed to Toō [44] (labeled (1)) then Njitaba [43] (labeled (2)), when still an infant. Kolaka [30] (labeled (3)) acted as his guardian and thereby gained control of the trees. Children of Menandi (for example, Gamia[49] and Chenuar [48]) claim the trees should revert back to them, not to Tam (labeled (4)) who is a grandson of Menandi’s brother.

/cont.
From the place my mother died

110 They put to work the things told in the open.
My elder brothers died, they put to work the things told in the open.
the things which Kwa\(^{31}\) said are in me here
the things which Ti said are in me here
the things which Kwe said are in me here

115 I am a small child with no father
I am between them which have already died before now
The palm there was in the hands of Too
Too died already
Njitabø entered there

120 Njitabø died, Dodia came, she died already
Njitabø remained on his own. Kwa took the palms
he went and found Kwa
they slept at Kwa’s
The sister’s child was an orphan. Now if your sister

125 if...if... your child remains to take it

---

**DIAGRAM 6.2:**
The Inheritance of "Tam’s" Palms

---

\(^{31}\)Kwa = Chief Kolaka d. 1949.
the child takes it, you don’t take it

\[
\text{xx; you take it}
\]
Ta; You sort out the orphan, you say:
Kwa he stayed so he can fatten on the palms.
Njitabọ at this Palace went into the hands of Kwa
130 he stayed there because orphanhood was too much for him. He fixed his orphanhood

So Kwa stayed, Njitabọ cut this palm
this is, this is, is is
is the palm that Toọ cut and treated
135 Those of Kwe we we all stole their palms ()
Chief Menandi gave to them
the palms that Gamgbe cuts now at the Makobo\(^{32}\) over there (2)
Chief Menandi gave those palms to him
Over there even if they intend something evil of me

140 I will not plant my foot in it
Even if palm-nuts tumble and fall to the earth
If I take, and I pick-up and eat from the ground
When I return I will pay at the Makobo over there.
Were I to cut the palms chàg would refuse me (1)

145 I pass the place, I pass the place where my father’s palms are
and those of my mother.
We two children have no motive to do something evil (3)
The Chief dies we sort it out
This one he didn’t stay. We fixed him\(^{33}\)

150 He said: we the elders,
do we not take and fix the village?
We didn’t take and fix the village. We took what village? Where?
Didn’t we talk about repairing it?
Someone, if you’re jealous of someone, is it me here?

155 You who say: If I stay what is the place?

---

32Makobo a river in the plain nearby.
33A passing reference to the initial reluctance of the current Chief when selected for office.
So you remove, drive me out, then what's left?
I opened my mouth to say the palms over there
they are my palms
Why did I open my mouth?

160 So they kill and pull me off from that palm (1)
You have listened carefully and well
We start and my divination shakes
Illness found you there at your compound over there
In one year I buried three people at that compound

165 We will bury two more of you
If I'm already dead, my wife will come back
to my compound and die there later
I see right to the end, the Chief gave me people
and I am properly thankful to the Chief.

170 They saw divination with their own eyes
I close here by saying in closing
The Chief here, we took him and made him.
Where is he without our glory
If today he flies above the house up up up up thus?

175 It's bad. I flee because of this (1)
Only if the Chief opens his mouth to say cut it
If you have already paid we are fine
If you don't release me then war will come
I say, it's me who says: war will be amongst my children

180 If I'm already dead () my children
the Chiefs will afterwards not agree
because I have no life
Here they will speak () to the Chief, his younger brothers

34 This has a negative sense to it: possibly the divination shakes because it has so much to warn of that the whole divination enclosure is shaken by the spider as it arranges the divination leaves...

35 The Chief, through his actions against witches, has enabled more people to live in the village; there are less deaths through illness, so Tam is surrounded by more people, for which he thanks the Chief.

36 He refers to the cutting of sua.
and his elder brothers will find their mouths\textsuperscript{37}

185 But after my death they will not agree
I don't want to fall
They are all there at school finding out things
If something is too much for someone
They send to those outside the village, they will help them

190 they will all help that one
that's all his war spears
that's all his feet, that's all his sticks
Ga; Thus
Ta; (2) So, someone, if you're jealous of me

195 If it's some child go and find the Chief
Go to speak with the Chief. Say to the Chief
The thing I did is this. I did this
Your heart doesn't want it
Send me money, I will buy and give you things

200 If it is thus, that person I will give life
I must give you life
You take some of that, you rise, () you...()
he will give you. That I will give to you\textsuperscript{38}
Today one vanishes, tomorrow one two are carried off

205 One person vanishes - that I do not want. ()
I dug into divination till... I saw right to the end of divination ()
If I will drink the li ordeal
I will go before the Chief of Kimi
and the District Officer at Kimi - I will go and drink the ordeal there\textsuperscript{39}

210 I climb up to that village
a person goes to different people for that

\textsuperscript{37}"find their mouths" i.e. come to agreement.

\textsuperscript{38}What is being given is life (L 201) in contrast to the actions of witches.

\textsuperscript{39}The li ordeal is taken as publicly as possible so no one could doubt its results.
To go to the regional capital and take it before both Chief and District Officer is thus the apotheosis of such a publicly accountable act. His rhetoric stresses that he has nothing to hide.
The sua-oath

xx; One, just one over there.
Tam; Me here, if I say
I do this, do you suffer you children of the Chief?
215 So if I take some evil things
So I harm things may I enter into the knife
I live for one day, may I not live two never, ever, ever.
I am a jealous thing here
They must speak clearly to the end. I’m through.
220 Ga; Oi vay!
Ta; At my compound divination says my head is bad
This year I will not climb
I do not harm the things of this person
They the children will leave there in a bit.
225 Its the end, my younger brothers, we two, will leave in the case of the field
They will say clearly to us
We do chop this sua right to the end
They leave the things already, the odd things of before
They leave the things already, the odd things of before
230 So they can gather together afterwards
Do they undermine me? So they can remove me

40 “head”: as metonym for person. “A strong head” means to be in good health and
to be resilient, hence a “bad” head means to be ill, although it can also have the additional
meaning of being a bad person, i.e. a witch of some sort.
41 This remains obscure. There are at least two possible interpretations of “climb”:
1) literally climbing palm trees to cut the nuts, or climbing the cliff to Nigeria or onto the
Adamawa Plateau, or 2) climbing as metaphor for an increase in importance.
42 By the time the translation was made it was too late to elicit clear accounts of
what the case was but it seems that this dispute over field boundaries is the explanation for
the re-emergence of the question of the ownership of Tam’s palms since the same two
disputants were concerned.

Elicited accounts of the sua-oath held that it can only be taken once the whole affair
has been settled. Despite this I have recorded several cases, such as this one, in which sua
has been cut in the absence of a resolution. It is then taken to mark the absence of evil
intent from either party and their agreement to abide by the arbitration of the Notables.
So tomorrow () if someone will quarrel saying
Before who was it? ()
If you are jealous of me, if you jealously threaten with false treatments "eugh
eugh eugh"

235 You enter into the sua knife
You don’t live one day, you don’t live two days never, ever, ever.
If you there say I tell lies, get up to do sua

Ga; xxxx xxx xxxxx xxxxx
xxxx xxxx

[ 240 Ta; Illness will come
Jb; You all listen
Ta; Put the... the... the quarrels. Quarrels come to this village (2)
if... if... an odd person leaves that child bad.
From the hand of an odd person that child goes bad.

245 Ga; It’s the work of cât
Ta; If it’s the wind from the East, sorting it out alright
If its a thing of treatment, we never treat our village
For them, if it’s like they will wash and clean us afterwards
Tomorrow the village will be cool. () Any small child “iii”

250 Person dies “iii”
Bite the stomach, oh, odd things, oh; odd things, oh.
That’s not good. Person you talk evil
You enter things into the compound
So small children will close up, dead.

255 so... so...many people will close up, dead.

---

43Wind from the East. This is usually a synonym for the wind of cât, but the East is unambiguously good whilst the latter is ambivalent. The wind of cât is given as the cause of unwanted events. It should also be noted that fuo means both wind and breath so fuo cât could be translated as the breath of god (cât) rather than the wind of god (cât).

44Treatment (la) is a neutral and wide-ranging expression, here used in a negative sense i.e. referring to poisons et cetera.

45As do intestinal worms
The village will come second
You enter into the sua knife
You don’t live one day, you don’t live for two days never, ever, ever.

Ga; xxxxxxx

Ta; if we don’t know, we turn the eyes to the East

Ga; xxxxxxxx

260 20 second fast exchange between Tam and Guanam, with
interjections from Jacob and others, discussing
whether problems arising from coffee cultivation
should be mentioned during sua, or merely discussed.
Guanam says that since illness means not working, it
is better to cut sua <= laughter.

Ta; Listen. You dig thus
You put it thus - yesterday wind came against the house46

Ga; Aha. Yowa.
Ta; Go with it. Come to this house with it
We look together afterwards we all look look look
You in this place, we we are here freely
or aren’t we here freely. We’re here to see

275 The wind which came here if god did it all, there’s nothing more to say
At the Chief’s compound if they pass above his house
Someone who passes there will die
If the Chief is not injured there
Some child, woman, some child will pass over and die

280 Two people pass and die, leaving the Chief’s palace
That is what we saw in divination
I don’t speak with my mouth, divination says thus

Ga; Says thus

---

46 Tam refers to the storm which blew the roof off the Chief’s Palace two months before (7 Oct 1985). This was widely attributed to Yamba witchcraft (q.v. L 287).
The sua-oath

Jb; Thus

285 Ta; If it is a thing which çhà th blew down
freely from the East, no one knows nothing alright
That person, you call thus afterwards a Yamba person
you go, you pull up
They have war spears in hand
290 They have war axes in hand
They will come they will cut the things off
They enter the house here

[ Ga; xxxxxxxx
Ta; You cut out the bricks?

295 So the shape-changers remove the Palace from the ground
Why is that a good thing?
Person you enter into the sua knife
You live one day, surely but, you don’t live two days never, ever, ever.

[ Ga; you live one day

300 Ta; If you take the Chief with one heart among the whole village
Ga; Here is maize, here is sorghum
That’s good if you take this
Ta; We see good things with my eyes
Jb; The lorry\textsuperscript{47} was stuck in the road

305 xxx all there on the open road

[ Ga; They dug, water didn’t come
Ta; We pushed the thing with our hands, we took chicken and gave them.
We took other things and gave them. We left things here
to do things, things worth 10,000 CFA

310 We gave them all to the people who dug the thing

\textsuperscript{47}The lorry referred to was a drilling rig for installing a foot pump well in the
village. It got stuck in a notoriously bad bit of road where it crosses the Mabon stream 2
km from the village. The site originally chosen for the well (beside the Chiefs Palace) did
not produce water so the pump was finally installed near the state dispensary. The question
is whether this occurred as a result of witchcraft or as an “act of god”.

155
The sua-oath

this water hole
They dug a well. They didn’t see anything in it
They went to the open road, they pulled the lorry, pulled
the lorry didn’t go, there at the Mabon over there
315 the road just there
there it is bad. This water
Now water by-passes the square
Whosoever if thirst takes you
You will run
320 So you dip and drink. You enter into the Palace
You stay there satisfied. If it’s bad there
If it is fate they find stones in the ground.
If stones were too much for them, alright
Someone you come, you shape-changers
325 Those who think evil, you with witchcraft

[ Ga; your powers, evil powers
Ta; Spearer, night person you eat, you harm the repairs
Odd things stay harming the square
That they stay where?
330 you women, men, () tomorrow your village
will have no Chief
then tomorrow in a beer-house even a chicken won’t drink48
You father won’t drink, your mother won’t drink, alright.
Beer which I won’t drink, alright
335 My mother won’t drink alright
This old sua of ours even your father isn’t amongst
it alright
if your father were amongst it
You say: you are clearly disturbed, you,
340 you go and do harm, removing the Palace roof
Who knows who came to the palace?
You enter into the sua knife

48 Were the Chief to be vanquished by witchcraft then even chickens will be too frightened (of poison) to drink beer.
The sua-oath

You live one day you don’t live two days never, ever, ever.

[ ]
Ga;xxx xxx

[ ]

345 Jb; They harm divination

They harm divination

[ ]
Ta; They harm divination

You the people who divine at the divination place

You look. Njai here, his head⁴⁹ is bad

350 Muyna his head is bad

If I’m already dead, after me comes Njai

after him comes Muyna

after him comes Bi

They the seniors they’re all dead

355 The Chief remains on his own

Who will talk with him? War will take us in the bush

It’s you spearer, night person, you remove people from the village

Haa? Person if you think of that?

You enter into the sua knife

360 You live one day you don’t live two days never, ever, ever.

Ga; I stay⁵⁰ in maize, I stay in sorghum

A snake comes and bites me then

Even us, the talk bites us

Then I will chop this sua myself

[ ]

365 Ta; If you here say I tell lies

You will do this sua

Ga; They do chop. You do it <you do it> laughter

Ta; You will do this sua <=laughter

Ga; All do it, you do this sua, do it do it. <=laughter

⁴⁹“head”: as metonym for person. “A strong head” means to be in good health and to be resilient, hence a “bad” head means to be ill, although it can also have the additional meaning of being a bad person, i.e. a witch of some sort.

⁵⁰“Stay” is used to mean: “transform into”. 
The sua-oath

370 Nj; the work of sua will flee you
Ga; do, do some sua
You will enter into the body of the discussion. Go and do the discussion
I Guanam, here now. You do it
Jb; You listen. The day which they did look at divination

375 Tatiya wasn’t in the village. Patience
Ga; They pull things here, our sua won’t see it
Jb; So, Tatiya wasn’t in the village
He looked at his compound. I said: its bad ()
So, () and Miya his wife, () her head won’t get better

380 They look here if it’s this thing afterwards
They know it’s a woman, she fell by herself
There’s no male involved
You know women have poor eyes
Yours are thus, yours are thus, yours are thus

385 That is to say: we must organize her head amongst us
There are her palms, there are her cola trees
split hers, divide them. They have sorted out her palms right to the end along
with her

This it’s finished, the cola thus.
You, someone, if you will go, if you will cut

390 Thus the cola, you must come back and give it to her
That is to say they divined that it’s at
there in divination () it’s bad
even your lies divination says it’s hidden alright
If it’s their person you say you’re jealous of them

395 They remain amongst them. Who does it?
If they must die
If it is thus how can they give birth

51“Pull things” the speaker objects that different issues are being confused.
52She has been ill for a long time.
53Possibly implying she’s been caught by anti-witchcraft medicine, or by sua karup, hence is a witch herself.
54Suggesting that her illness arises as a result of the question of who has the usufruct of her trees (see below L 404 ff) and footnote thereto.
If it’s thus you women, you men
you enter into this knife then else
400 you eat a day never ever ever

[ Ga;  Snakes bite them
sticks strike them
thus evil things regard them

[ Jb; In the talk of palms, she gave to some people
405 If she gave with an open heart
Person, palm person, you take the palms
You return with palm-oil you give her, she licks it
If the work isn’t straight
She removes you and gives to another person

410 Behind the woman you pass and enter in the things of her father
That is to say you kill amongst them
You kill lots, you’ll not eat for a day, never, ever, ever.
If you don’t know, you look to the East
Ga; xxxx

[ 415 Jb; This is hard work for people
You don’t do this that is to say: Chi’s child
57 goes to that house

---

55Usufruct of palm and cola trees. The usufruct of palm trees is at the discretion of
the owner. If a woman inherits some palms, or if a man has more than he is prepared to cut
(or has become too old to climb) then the usufruct can be given to the man of their choice.
Only men climb palm trees to cut the nuts. The relationship thus established can be long-
lasting, but may be short-lived if the owner is not satisfied. In such a case the usufruct can
then be reclaimed and given to someone else. In one case, however, a young man was
given usufruct and without consulting the owner cut the tree down in order to make palm
wine to the owner’s displeasure.

56The usufruct relationship is normally maintained by an annual gift to the owner of
oil (or nuts) from the tree made to the owner. The gift marks the acceptance and
continuation of the transfer of usufruct rights (q.v. L 407 & 8)

57Chi’s child is Monday, and Chi is the wife of No Mark.
entered there you measure$^{58}$ the woman $\leq$ laughter  
My wife, my children you die the death 

420  don't come don't come, don't come  
Ga; Snake comes to the hearth and takes food from the fire  
Jb; After, will they let death enter the house  
You try out the women with my children  
you try out the women, the boys, my children. 

425  Ga; You die, die  
Jb; You die. I'll split and eat$^{59}$ only at your funeral  
   [  
Ga; You die and not eat this maize never ever ever  
Jb; You die and I'll split and eat only at your funeral  
I'll split and eat cola only then else else else else else 

430  Ga; You, I'm Gia$^{60}$: may snakes bite him  
May things look$^{61}$ at him  
O I say it: may things look at him  
Oi, snakes bite him "Pal!"  At a fish hole  
Nj; You two, the Tarchimi$^{62}$, you two Tarchimi  

435  You're just small children  
The case, the old case, does for us thus ()  
We the people here, we've heads like flies  
We never cut through the understanding of a person's thing

$^{58}$to measure or to try out someone, is to "try something on them" i.e. to attempt some evil of them. 
$^{59}$"to split and eat" cola together, the standard mark of hospitality and friendship. 
This is here being denied: he will eat cola only at their funeral feast. 
$^{60}$"Gia" Guanam makes a play on two of his own names to make a third: Guanam + Nia (q.v., line 46) = Gia 
$^{61}$"look": Rather than an implication of evil eye the idea is that (bad) things search out the person concerned and plague them. 
$^{62}$Tarchimi was a FeB of Guanam, and affine(??) of Jacob; he stands as a paradigm senior to both of them.
A child of the Sarki63 people did it

You man, woman
You will enter there
the hearts are ill so they say its Sarki64
which did it all then
may that person enter into the sua knife

you live one day, you don’t live two days never, ever, ever.
If Sarki did it () yesterday
he went for a stroll to look at the bricks on the ground
he went for his walk he went to take something
which he had found in the bricks

He did uncover it and if he did it so with a needle65 in his hand?
They enter, they kill the hearts
They enter into the knife, they live for one day, they don’t live for two days
If he doesn’t know, may he turn his eyes to the East
We men, women, () you someone

you enter there so they say: Sarki did the thing
Ylegg66 has children, and a mother
his younger brothers have children
they have wives
if they go and enter67 there, Mambila

FulBe, you enter into the knife
You don’t live one day, you won’t live two days never, ever, ever.
Someone who doesn’t know, turn their eyes to the East

63Sarki is headman of Kuti, a small immigrant hamlet contiguous with Gumbe. He is a descendant of the family installed as guardians of the German rest-house on the road which the Germans built between Bali and Banyo.

64Sarki was suspected of being a possible agent in the destruction of the Palace roof; his actions while inspecting the damage were seen to be suspect so he is mentioned specifically. Sua will kill him if and only if he is guilty.

65The use of poisoned needles is attributed to witches especially those called sar.

66Ylegg66 is a son of Njaibi at Gumbe hamlet. I do not know why he was singled out here.

67“enter there” that is to say into the affair of the Palace roof.
The sua-oath

Ga; Blow and look into divination\textsuperscript{68}, things are bad in Ndeba 
They do people’s compounds, today a person’s compound, tomorrow a
person’s compound

465 You a woman who intend evil of divination in the village
You a man you go to the divination hole
You take evil to the [spider] hole, give it to the divination so it doesn’t work
I, Guanam, I chop in the square
You come, you wait while I’m on the road\textsuperscript{69} <= laughter

470 You of the centre you have the site of the \textit{sua} enclosure
You wait for me I chop \textit{sua} cleverly. I don’t add anything evil to it
I don’t add a thing of snakes, a witchcraft thing
You a witch you put something threatening me, Guanam
You thieves you take some maize

475 you threaten the Chief, and you all of the Ndeba
You women, if you are of accord your heads will be strong
You someone, you go and threaten someone
You say the village is bad you die
You don’t eat maize this year never, ever, ever. <
<= Cuts the \textit{sua} bundle. Laughter, and talk

Guanam continued in the same vein while chopping the bundle into fragments for about 15
seconds. Remaining sections of the tape have been transcribed where possible..

480 The right foot is up. It’s chopped to the end
You person over me
\textit{Sua} takes you, you don’t eat never, ever, ever.
Nj; Can you see the person with your eyes?
Gwen; Women don’t come in front!

485 Ta; They mustn’t look.

\textsuperscript{68}{"blow and look" at the beginning of divination the diviner blows into the spider-
hole to encourage it to emerge.}

\textsuperscript{69}{Guanam lives about 1 km outside the village. He jokes about being old and
hence walking slowly so arriving late for village meetings.}
The sua-oath

Get dry grass
Ga; Some, they will look for people's heads
They will put them
That is to say: don't cross the open road, people

eat good things just avoid people's heads
My maize, this farm: if you enter it you'll eat never ever ever
Nj; You yourself then, have you seen a person do such a thing? laughter
Ga; You that person you know in your stomach
they touch wrongly thus ??ŋunguŋ?? laughter

Nj; Nia, you stay there as if you seen such a person
Ga; I said it clearly when I cut my sua
I cut my sua "kup kup kup"
Buyər Vincent; I'll find my money so I can cut my sua with it

Nj; Give a pipe
pause: 1 minute
Ga; cut through thus, cut through his back, carry it outside. I said carry sua outside
You'll thus not eat this maize never ever ever
Nj; Have you got any matches?

Who dies dies. You say it out outside
Ga; At the compound [is the mark of] your hand, so say it out outside
You die the death
Sua leave their backs, sua leave them
cut through their back, they say it out outside

Nj; It is thus, they leave the harmful things to enter the ground

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70 This is the thatch which provides the flames and ashes used to treat those who have participated in the oath-taking at the conclusion of the rites. In this case no thatch was fetched so a pipe (q.v. line 500) was used to provide the ash.

71 Unknown word.

72 The money is the laga sua needed so a sua-oath could be taken for a different case to which Buyər Vincent was a party.

73 This is the pipe referred to in the note to line 486.

74 Guanam is saying this while treating himself and the others who have addressed sua. (q.v. L508 & 509)
The sua-oath

Their mouths don’t die though, their mouths don’t die
That is to say: come over there, they’ve not taken it already
Ga; Sua not eat never ever ever
They will not eat out this year, for they’ll be buried already

515 Jb; For them, they won’t eat out this year
They do something which will not be understood
They will say they treated xxxxxxxxxx
They say it’s you here. They put out the fires.

After killing the chicken (L 479 above), the sequence of actions performed by Guanam (the sacrificer) was as follows. (Orientations are given looking from the Palace. The right is the South side of the Palace, whose main entrance faces East). Guanam:
1) chopped up the “right hand” half of the leaf bundle.
2) touched the bloody stump of the neck of the chicken to the forehead and then crown of each of the orators, starting with himself.
3) chopped up the “left hand” half of the leaf bundle.
4) scattered the pieces inside the Palace verandah
5) threw body of chicken away onto waste ground to the North of Palace, and the head to the South.
6) attempted to give Jacob some of the pieces of the bundle to scatter to the North of the Palace whilst he scattered them to the South. Jacob refused. Guanam threw the pieces down onto the square, (not scattering them) but slightly to the North.
7) Wiya brought thatch from a nearby house
8) Guanam lit the thatch and swept the burning bundle over the bottom of the Palace steps. He was careful to touch the flames to places marked with blood from the chicken.
9) Guanam lit a pipe, then touched his right forefinger into the bowl (touching a live coal). He licked the finger three times then touched the left forefinger to the bowl and licked this once. He then touched the right forefinger to the pipe and rubbed it (in this sequence) onto his right kidney, left kidney, his sternum and finally his forehead. Having thus “treated” himself he proceeded to “treat” the other men who had spoken.
10) Taking a straw lying in the square, Guanam and Jacob held an end each in their right hands, pulled the straw apart and then each threw the piece remaining in their fingers over their right shoulder. Note that this action also takes place during divination to mark the end of a chain of questions and the beginning of a new topic, and at the conclusion of the sua masquerade dances.
11) The women left (End of tape recording)
The sua-oath

12) Guanam took some julu grass, split it in two and laid it across the inner door of the jolori (the door from which the women have just left)

Many men then left the Palace; a nucleus of Notables remained and heard other cases.

Comments on the text

Sua addresses allow speakers to pass comments free of the cooperative constraints of "ordinary" speech. Usual turn-taking rules are suspended, the audience on the Chief's Palace verandah cannot query what is being said. They are an audience, but one which is to some extent redundant. Sua addresses are not designed to be fully comprehensible to the audience. The audience is mute like a jury, but is not called upon to make any decisions, so there is no necessity for it to follow every step of the argument (q.v. Atkinson and Drew 1979). Thus obscure speech is neither counter-productive nor disapproved (see fn 30 to I. 108 above). Particularly in the example given above, but even in the addresses made during of sua-oaths resulting directly from particular hearings, the elders involved (especially the sacrificer) voice their personal pre-occupations and comment on any aspect of affairs in the village.

In the text above Tam rehearsed the immediate history of the Chief and his selection before referring to the long-disputed ownership of some palm trees whose produce he now enjoys. Mention was also made of other recent problems of general concern, specifically the loss of the Palace roof in a storm, and the problems encountered when a well was sunk in the village by French development workers. The subject of moonshine was never mentioned by any speaker, yet its prohibition was the reason stated for the oath-taking. No subject is specifically excluded from a sua address. The refrain is the only fixed element. The addresses therefore provide a valuable and spontaneous indication of people's concerns and their conception of the world in which they live. Those taking a sua-oath are neither intending to explain themselves to an ignorant ethnographer nor holding an ordinary conversation. Allusion abounds, as in conversation, but transcripts of sua addresses are easier to understand than transcripts of ordinary conversation since the paralinguistic components of conversation are absent. In the absence of feedback from a co-conversationalist the speaker must be (slightly) more explicit. Hence if a speaker wants to include a long-running field dispute within the ambit of a sua-oath he must explicitly include it. For example, sua was directed to consider whether the problems which hampered the sinking of the well had been engendered by witches, and if so then to kill them. The sua addresses consist of many "If...then..." clauses. Yet sua is not addressed in the same way as divination. It is not asked whether a certain event occurred, or whether
human agents were involved. Such questions are put to the divination, especially to ŋgam dû. Rather, the power or agency of sua is invoked to execute the consequents.
Chapter Seven

The Sua Kare Oath

INTRODUCTION TO SUA KARE

Sua kare is a variant of the sua-oath and is performed at people’s houses. Like the main oath (taken at the Palace) it involves the ritual killing of a chicken. It is concerned with protecting individuals and their families. Sua kare may be performed for a new house as part of the ‘house warming’. As was said above (Chapter 2) sua kare protects houses so the householder swears their noninvolvement in witchcraft when they organize a sua kare oath. The restrictions on the sacrificer are less than those for the main sua already considered. A man can perform the oath even while his parents are alive without fear of injuring them. One informant related this to the method of decapitation; in sua kare the chicken’s throat is cut by the knife being drawn across it, while (normally) decapitation is effected by a downward chop of a bush knife. However, no one else related this difference in the sacrificial technique to any difference in the restrictions on the sacrificer. Unlike the sua-oath taken at the Chief’s Palace sua kare can be performed by one person alone, although this is unusual.

Sua kare may be aimed at a specific person detected by divination, or in response to illness caused by unknown aggressors. In either case the bisected bundles of leaves are placed in the roof after the oath has been taken; this is held to deter witches from entering, and thereby protect the inhabitants, in addition to the protection which sua affords by directly affecting witches. It may also be performed for a new house (as an alternative to sua njerup already considered above), and in one case it was enacted to ensure a good maize crop by protecting the fields of the oath-taker.

East-West symbolism

The association of East with “the Good” is made explicit only in the refrain of sua-oaths. Conversely, little use is made of the implicit West “Bad” connection. However, there is a superstition, albeit little more than that, that if a rainbow is seen to the West of the village then someone may die. It must be noted that the village sits against a low hill to its Western edge looking over the plain towards Guengue mountain from behind which the

1There are two different verbs which the informant in question used: cha (chop) and quap (cut), usually used to describe the action of slitting a chicken’s throat.

2Beliefs about rainbows are not greatly elaborated. The cha snake is said to “blow” rainbows, but this statement was never explained with respect either to snake or rainbows. A fifteen year old boy said (on a different occasion) that if the end of a rainbow touches you, you become a leper or die. The Tikar belief (Price p.c.) that the rainbow is a reflection of a snake seems not to be shared by Mambila.
The sua kare oath

sun rises, and from which most of the rain blows down onto the village. Yet when questioned explicitly on this point informants said that both good and bad things come from the East.

With respect to fireplaces I recorded a suggestion that the fireplaces (ko la3) of witches point to the West, while others point to the East. Normally the equilateral triangle of three firestones is placed so that the largest is to the West, but leans in, and hence is said to look to the East. Witches invert the norm, so their fireplaces look to the West.

A CASE STUDY: SUA KARE 26/11/86

Reasons for taking the oath

The background to the following example4 concerns SS's attempts to divorce his second wife. SS's second wife had also been married before. Her first marriage broke down after a short time without any children being born. She subsequently married SS who paid bridewealth for her.

They had separated in about August 1986, not as is often the case because she was infertile. In the ensuing dispute about the bridewealth her father asked for an extra 20,000 CFA to be paid as compensation for her divorce. He also contacted SS's mother (who lives in another village) and she said SS should let the wife come back.

The dispute was brought to the Chief who said that the marriage should not break up without grounds. The Chief continued to recognize her father as SS's affine (guna). He said that if SS wanted a divorce, SS must pay some extra money to ensure the filiation of his children by the second marriage. SS refused to let her return saying that he wanted to be able to take communion again. SS was the village Catholic catechist until he made his second marriage, whereupon he was obliged to forfeit this position. This was the only reason he would give for wanting to divorce his wife. The dispute continued for months, the second wife living with her parents near SS. The bad feeling culminated5 when one of her children died suddenly the week after SS had had a fight with her mother. Witchcraft accusations were immediate on both sides. However, the matter was taken no further after the immediate passions and sorrows had subsided.

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3 Lit. fire-stone treatment.
4 Since sua kare occurs at home it was difficult to document. The case examined here is the only one tape-recorded, although I was present on two other occasions when a sua kare oath was taken.
5 This happened 19/4/1988, eighteen months after the oath transcribed here.
The sua kare oath

Other reasons for performing the oath are mentioned in the text, namely the miscarriage of SS’s first wife some time before the oath was taken, and the problems involved in marrying his first wife’s eldest daughter.

This oath was taken at the house of SS in the absence of both his wives. Muy André who performed the oath is kin of SS’s first wife. Muy André arrived bringing a knife and a slim bundle of leaves. SS and his sons gathered behind the front door which was unusually shut for the occasion. Muy then took the chicken from SS and held it by its feet and neck, together with the leaves. He stood in front of the group, facing them.

Before the rite started the daughters were summoned to come and sit with SS and his sons. As they approached Muy turned so that his body was between them and the chicken. They sat facing away from him. The eyes of the children were closed, SS lowered his head and did not look up.

SS: an abbreviated life history

born c1950. His parents were party to a sister exchange marriage.

1966 W1
3d 3s; 2 male twins, one survivor with polio Ngu/Nuaga, now c 10 years old.

c. 1967 Catechist of Somié village under Jean-Pierre Malasé

1983 W2
1986 end of the year: Separated.
Her first marriage was childless. She had two children (s,d) with SS.

SUA KARE TRANSCRIPT. 3 DECEMBER 1986

Speakers:
SS, the instigator and host
MA = Muy André, the sacrificer

Muy spoke holding the bundle with the chick. Whenever SS spoke Muy held the bundle over SS’s head.

1 SS; It is good to place the chicken
place it on all of them
MA; mmm, everyone will say their piece (1)
MA; Nuaga6, whose lap will he sit on?

5 Give him to whoever will hold him.
MA; Kusum7, a person with magic spears, with witchcraft, with poison;

6"Nuaga" is SS’s son crippled with polio.
7ideophone for blessing with spittle.
The sua kare oath

even I, should I be that person, which treats them. I leave as witchcraft, 8
I leave as the night. Maize of people, chicken of people
People, if I harm you, (1) so you will kill someone

10 let it return threaten me.
if I don’t know about this, I turn my eyes to the East.
You witch, you person of the night, if you say:
“oooo” I placed grass,
I took evil grasses to harm my compound,

15 my women, and children
I know them 9. <= Chicken squawks, being gripped firmly in the hand
(18) <= During the pause MA spat a blessing on SS, on his children, and on the
chicken to be sacrificed

The woman for whom I bless the grass
She stays, she looks at my husband
SS; eee Nju 10 don’t look again

20 MA; Nuaga don’t look again (7)
He mustn’t look (17)
SS; don’t look with your eyes (3)
MA; turn the eyes to the ground (16)
< Will you do it then> (1) <= to DZ

25 SS; He is just watching
MA; aha Don’t look <= To Nuaga
SS; don’t look, don’t
MA; [ 
SS; don’t
SS; don’t be annoying (4)

30 Come and sit here
(3) Thus with Mbiti 11 (2)
MA; This, I leave as a witch, I leave as the night

---

8 This is a personalized variant of the paragraph introduction, fitting the more personalized (private) form of sua karup by contrast to sua cut at the Chiefs Palace although this personalized form also occurs at Palace oaths. The speaker here is saying "If I transform into a witch ... may I enter into the sua knife" [ die like the chicken].

9 A possible reading is that the malefactors cannot remain hidden, that Muy will come to know them.

10 Nju is an abbreviation of Nuaga who was not looking at the ground as he was told.

11 Mbiti is Nuaga’s younger sibling. Nuaga was a twin (his brother who died of the polio which crippled Nuaga). Mbiti is the name given to the child following twins.
The sua kare oath

Someone asks that I help them
I will help them with an open heart

35 If I take evil grass and put it there
I divide evil treatments and put it there
So I kill them ()
So I harm their compound, may it return threaten me
If I don’t know, I turn the eyes to the East

40 You male, female you say
O o why should you help a person?
You slander me
You slander my women
You slander my children (1)

45 buried poison looks at you, the ordeal looks at you
I cut through your children
You descend and harm wantonly
You, your eyes won’t see never, ever, ever again
Those who listen with an open

50 heart, totally open
they all turn the eyes to the East. (2)
So, the work is for the head of the house then. <= To SS
SS; (1) I, I say, I that am here ()
I leave as a witch, I leave - (1) I leave as a witch 12

55 I leave as () ants 13
If I (harm, enter) someone’s house so that I harm the things of others
may I enter into the sua knife
If I don’t know may my head be strong
For those over my children, all of them

60 over my wives, over my children

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12 See note L 7.
13 "I transform into ants": of interest because of the pausing. He was searching for extreme examples to encompass any or all forms of witchcraft. The point is that any sort of transformation is evil and will be caught by sua subsequent to this oath. This is opposed to the similarly phrased paragraph marker found in divination: "wọ yuo sar" which is metaphorical while this is more literal. Divination is to be as wide-ranging as witches are, to be alert to all their possible transformations. During sua karup the speaker denies making any such transformation be it even into something as insignificant as an ant.
Only if they have some kind of motive\textsuperscript{14},
let them tell me and I will freely pay them
Freely, openly!
They slander me

\textbf{65} They say I am of what place
They harm my work which is getting behind
This all of it,
only if it is the wind of \textit{chàŋ}, fine
But be it () in someone's hands. They say: I do this

\textbf{70} Why should I get help?
Only the road which I cut
person there mustn't cross
if a person crosses intentionally
I'll hear them

\textbf{75} They enter into this knife then
tyey don't eat this day out,
if they don't know, their heads are strong. (1)
This here,
If I'm looking for fights, even tomorrow ()

\textbf{80} So I drive away the children with them.
Illnesses which pursue
this house here
my wife whose stomach left badly\textsuperscript{15}
Only if it's the wind of \textit{chàŋ}

\textbf{85} leaving people's things\textsuperscript{16}
If people enter their hands there
They say: aaa me?
I, for myself, I...()
Are these children so many times too many?

\textbf{90} If they have something the matter
They tell me. I will pay them.
If I don't know about that, may my head be strong

\textsuperscript{14}Note the similarity between this and lines 195-199 of the transcript of the sua-oath in
Chapter Six above.
\textsuperscript{15}"Stomach": a common idiom for pregnancy. SS's wife had had a miscarriage some
months previously.
\textsuperscript{16}Implicitly, the "things" have been left in disarray.
The sua kare oath

My daughter staying here
If she doesn’t want men

95 Only if it’s the wind of châŋ, alright.
If it isn’t the wind of châŋ ()
may they enter into the knife
If they don’t know, then
may their heads be strong (2)

100 MA; You sat today

[ SS; Threaten, threaten my mother
Or leaving here to follow there in the open bush17
Only if it is just illnesses which stay with them
If it is the hand of châŋ, alright.

105 If it’s to look for a person, someone
You’re a slanderer
You say: yes you do it, you yourself
because you will call us, afterwards
Why should we stay saying () “Oui?”

110 For you, if there is a motive, alright.
If you have no motive
then enter into the knife itself
If they don’t know, may their heads be strong
My younger brothers which stay round here

115 and my sisters, my wife which stays here
They don’t own this here ()
Only if it is harm- Only if it is the work of châŋ.
If it is the hand of people, (1) if it is thus some child, a girl
She tells, we pay freely.

120 If it is not some child
You, all of JJ18
If I here am something which annoys them
Only if it is the wind of châŋ alright
If it is not the wind of châŋ

125 They enter into the knife this itself

17 Those in the open bush = all those not in the village.
18 JJ - a full younger brother of SS. He works in Ngaoundere.
The sua kare oath

If they don’t know, may their heads be strong
MA; Find him, this person, SS, he himself says
he leaves as witchcraft, he leaves as the night
if he divides evil treatment to kill people

130 he enters into the sua knife
if he doesn’t know, may he turn his eyes to the East
That person, woman, man
You slander him
You slander his wives

135 You slander his children
You slander his younger brother’s
You slander his sister’s
You slander his mother
If you have reason for badness, alright

140 If you don’t know, you’ve nothing in the hand
but you slander, slander them
May that person enter into the sua knife
If it is () illness which finds them
If it is just the wind of chäŋ

145 If it ends right there in the East,
then you here turn your eyes to the East.
Even the treatments from the mother, or from the father 19
even if it takes them,
or those beside them

150 Even the treatments from the mother, or from the father, take them
Tie up these people
You female, male
You say you slander whose compound?
So you harm their compound

155 May that person enter into the sua knife
and not eat maize for a moment more
If you don’t know, turn your eyes to the East ()
Person who takes the head of my compound ()
Me myself (), if a person quarrels untreatably

19Evil treatments from kin of the parents are implied. The point is that even if the evil-doers are kin they are to be taken by sua (i.e. made ill, possibly fatally).
The sua kare oath

160 that person will not be named.
That person will harm the earth, and not be named.
Those who take this are just (20
Snake night witch, evil leaf
MA; If I know already
165 If I measure anyone's compound, may I enter into the knife
If I don't know, turn the eyes to the East
witch person, night person, you slander me,
you slander my children
Why stop and stay like that?
170 That person, you, the person will not look up
If you don't know,
[ ]
SS; School...
MA; then with one heart, they all turn their eyes to the East ()
SS; School overwhelms my children
175 enter in this knife
Only it ends there ( ) in the work of god, alright
If it is some person, anyone, you say
you will go then
If you do thus, you slander thus
180 Tomorrow I will go to call them
If they do it with motive let them tell me
& I will pay them freely.
If they act without reason
They slander us all all all thus
185 They enter in this knife, then
If they don't know, may their heads be strong
MA; Today all of them, if they take
them which go to school, it doesn't work
If there is some reason for it
190 which surpasses them completely, alright.
You person you leave as witchcraft, you leave as the night

20 These lines remain obscure. Possibly the threat is that the name of the evil doers will not be perpetuated, or they do not deserve a proper name only the name of the variety of witchcraft which they practise (given in L 163).
The sua kare oath

You enter a Mallam’s house so you can take them, so to harm them
If a Mallam knows about this
may that person enter into the sua knife
You live for one day only, you don’t live to eat twice
If it doesn’t surpass you altogether
all, everyone turn the eyes to the East
SS; (5) Shut your eyes Ngu
MA; This child is too much, she is too fat (big)
She doesn’t marry any husband, today at all,
people, young men bless her
[ SS; it’s forbidden
MA; young men want her, young men bless her
She doesn’t marry a husband
If it is fate that a husband doesn’t come, alright
Someone, you go and you harm her
You enter in the Mallam’s house
You go with a charm
you go with evil ordeal poison
you ask the Mallam to harm her greatly, so she doesn’t marry a husband
Even, () if SS, or the wives harmed her
If it’s from the house of someone else, alright
That person do no harm!
You threaten child
You threaten and say:
You say “Jak”! If you say “Jak”! She will not find a husband to marry
Person you enter into the sua knife
You live for one day only, you do not eat for two.
If it is a person’s fate that a husband didn’t come

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21Mallams sell treatments and spells for a wide range of purposes, including (by repute only) witchcraft.
22Seven months after this she married and her first child was born in May 1988
23SS is still speaking to Nuaga who had been looking up to see what MA was doing.
24If it is not a household member who is causing the problems then it is much less serious: they can be commanded to cease their harm (L. 215), and if they are taken by sua (i.e. made ill and possibly dead) then it will not affect the household purse.
25Ideophone.
then she here will turn her eyes to the East
SS; The child with a dead foot, this one here,
only if it is wind of chãg, alright

225 If it is people who go and say
ah this child will go to what place?
Only if they have a motive, they will tell me and I will pay
If there is nothing
They enter into this knife

230 If they don't know, may their heads be strong.

[ sit down & take the chicken <= To SS
SS; Yuaga - sit down on the ground!]

235 Simon; Yuaga - sit down on the ground, Ki! (7)
SS; Take hold! (5) Nuaga close your eyes!
MA; Anyone coming over his children
I myself, I the person doing the treatment
If I leave as a witch, If I leave as the night

240 people's houses, people's children, harm people
If I harm (1) with witchcraft spears, night, & witchcraft
Let it return over me, may I enter into the sua knife
may I live for one day only
and I will not turn my eyes up to the East, never ever ever.

245 If I have an open heart
to sort it out well, we are good, people are good,

26 SS mentions Nuaga. The curious thing is that the illness was several years ago (1983?) and SS must have cut sua many times not only during the actual illness which killed Nuaga's twin but also since then for many other reasons as well. Yet the case of Nuaga's misfortune is still raised. This raises the possibility that the disability left by polio is seen as a continuing illness (rather than as a passive legacy), and hence remissable. Remission may be being prevented by witchcraft. Some evidence for this is in the attitude of the father of another young boy crippled by polio who was not impressed by the improvement in Nuaga after he had spent some months in a mission hospital where he was given calipers and learnt to walk short distances. If the crippling is held to be remissable then Nuaga's improvement could legitimately be seen as not very great.

27 "break this" MA is referring to the chicken which is about to be sacrificed.

28 Yuaga is another name for Nuaga.

29 One of SS's sons.
may I turn my eyes to the East
You witch person, you night person
you go to swear
250 If it is what kind of treatment?
may I enter into the sua knife
you live for one day only, not live to eat two, not not ever.
SS; The coffee hasn’t arrived
MA; This compound with this farm
255 you are ill today only by the way.
Tomorrow illness, the day after tomorrow illness
Only if it is the chief god who gives it to them, alright.
You witch, you night, women, men
those from your compound harm them
260 You swear you will do much harm.
Listen all of you, your compound isn’t happy
Even if it is (1) someday then on the old path, the path of sua
If you know about this consider, even if you are Paul Biya
That person if they harm a compound
265 you enter into the knife
You live for one day only, you do not live to eat two, never, ever ever.
< Your coffee hasn’t arrived? <= To SS

30The movement between 1st and 2nd persons in the pronouns occurs quite commonly during the sua refrains. An interpretation of this is that while in the address the speaker has been covering himself, swearing his innocence, a corollary of this is that the guilty party is someone else, and it is that person who is charged to die. The assertion of personal innocence and of the guilt of some anonymous other combine, in the passion (which is clear in the tapes) of the declarations, to result in a “confusion” of pronouns.
31SS refers to the non-arrival of the payment for the previous year’s coffee crop. By June 1988 there were still a few villagers who were waiting for payment but the bulk had been paid by then.
32A rare usage of mgbe chàj (chief god), which is here synonymous with the usual fuo chàj (wind of god).
33This is an index of Cameroon’s success as a constitutional state. The name of the President, His Excellency Paul Biya, is here used as a metonym for the rule of law, from which no one can escape. President Biya’s name is sometimes used in ritual utterances as a marker of beginnings - he is still seen as the “new” president. For example at the beginning of both men’s and women’s sua, when the masquerade makes its first outings some of its attendants shout “Paul Biya” “Paul Biya” and conversely at the close of women’s sua some of the men who were then mocking the women in anticipation of men’s sua shouted “Ahidjo” the name of the “old” and now powerless president.
The sua kare oath

SS; Only if they come to the Chief’s house
MA; Alright. The house isn’t happy
270 Even if it is () money
   If the earth is bad of itself, alright.
   If it is in the hands of someone, who harms them
   who harms children, your children even
   Then some day, tomorrow you will know
275 Which child?
   They slander your children, the stomach with child went badly
   Even if it is () the fate of the stomach, a gift of châŋ itself
   Truly then alright. If it is someone’s hand

   SS; They come to the beer house, they listen to people
280 They listen to good things, alright.
   MA; They that harm the stomach
   If it is the oath of whom?
   The woman has been put to harm,
   or has she not been so put?
285 You enter into the sua knife
   You live for one day only, you don’t live to eat twice never, ever, ever.
   May even a child not touch a person’s breath.
   Outside may the breath of a FulBe not pass,
   may you not eat the breath of a person never, ever, ever.
290 You enter into the sua knife
   You live for one day only you don’t live to eat twice never, ever, ever. (1)

The chicken was beheaded (10)

I will leave the chicken over there, then. < to SS

34 SS doesn’t expect to get paid before the Chief himself gets paid.
35 “Dites donc” This is an emphatic which MA has learnt in isolation. He does not otherwise speak French.
36 This is a variation on the idea of natural causes (usually expressed by fuo châŋ) which cannot be avoided. If the house is unhappy (L 269) ‘simply’ because the ground is bad i.e. of itself, then there is nothing to be done, but if witchcraft is involved then steps can be taken.
The sua kare oath

(50) So, bring fire
SS; So, Ngu don't look with your eyes

295 MA; He can look
SS; You can look
MA; Kidneys not stones. Kidneys not stones. Kidneys not stones

(1) It’s finished now

After the addresses SS and Muy held the chicken while it was cut. SS took the feet. Then Muy touched his finger from the blood on the knife to his tongue twice then the third time to his kidneys and sternum. He repeated this for SS three times to tongue, kidneys and middle of his stomach.

Then Muy put blood from the knife once onto the head of SS and of each child, followed by a libation of each person three times with ash. The chicken body was then shaken outside the back and front doors.

After a short discussion as to the best place to secure it, DZ helped the other two to fasten a package made from the head and some of the leaves under the eaves over the front door.

Muy took the body of the chicken home with him. He said he would roast it and eat it at home, but that women and children could not eat it, only notables may eat a sua chicken.

Comments on the text

This transcript is of a sua oath taken in private. The addresses made in the course of the oath-taking reflect the private and personal concerns of the householder. They also strongly resemble the addresses made in public outside the Chief’s Palace in that the topics covered range widely, going far beyond the immediate issues. The refrains are identical.

The oath-taker, SS, had told me that the reason for taking the oath was the problems he was having with the divorce of his second wife (explained in the introduction to this chapter). The text reveals several other reasons for taking the oath, especially his first wife’s miscarriage. This could be included among the problems with the divorce if it were attributed to malevolent action by the second wife or her kin.

37Some chat between DZ and SS is omitted here. The corpse of the chicken was recovered from behind the water pot where its death throes had left it.

38Said whilst MA touched ash to himself and to SS, the two people present who had addressed sua. The ash was touched to kidneys, breast and tongue. If these final rites to desacralize the participants are not performed they are said to suffer pain in their kidneys, and in their sides. The phrase uttered refers to this.
The sua kare oath

Footnote 20, above, refers to the mention of the son crippled by polio. Since the illness which killed his twin and crippled him was some years ago (c. 1983) this cannot have been the first time that the illness was mentioned in a sua address. In the footnote above, I suggest one explanation of this. A weaker explanation is that the case of Nuaga is mentioned, despite what he says, more as an example of past misfortune than as a present problem to be remedied. Sua is to avert any such contemporary threats. “The sua knife” and its power to cut is the protection that the oath-taking affords.
Chapter Eight

The Kulu Sua blessing

Kulu sua is the short blessing which ritually reconciles a husband and the man who has committed adultery with his wife; there is no ritual reconciliation of husband and wife.

The two long transcripts forming the core of this chapter follow an adultery case through two separate hearings at the Chief’s Palace, the second culminating in the kulu sua rite. They also serve to illustrate the types of argument and rhetoric employed during hearings at the Chief’s Palace. They touch on several other aspects of Mambila ethnography apart from adultery and sua. Indeed the first transcript begins with a discussion of the events of the preceding day (described immediately below). Although adultery and divorce cases occur on a regular basis, kulu sua itself is not always performed due to, for example, the incomplete resolution of an adultery case, or the decision to perform the rite only when the fine is paid. I have witnessed it on only two occasions, one of which is the case discussed in this chapter.

A FIGHT AND A QUARREL OF JURISDICTIONS:

Excerpts from fieldnotes:

C 1 pm Saturday (market day) 22 November 1986. Merup in his rôle of “party policeman” had a fight with Dd from Yokasalla when attempting to “arrest” him. Dd had insulted the Chief (calling him “shit”). Dd pulled a knife on Merup who was trying to take him to the Chief’s Palace to answer for his words. Merup’s arm was scratched and he was then involved in bitter arguments with some of the women from Yokasalla and Gumbe hamlets who gathered round to watch and help separate the combatants. In the course of this he was hit by Mb¹ twelve times! The Chief said this should not go to Bankim but must be sorted out here.

¹Mb is not the mother of Dd but mother of the headman of Yokasalla, and FZ of Dd
3.45 pm I returned to the Chief’s Palace to find the headmen of Nassaro and of Yokasalla (Jiji) having a long discussion with the Chief about the virtues of the chief as institution, and how he’s paid - qua government employee by virtue of his previous job² not qua Chief... This conversation took place in French, the language of educated sophistication and of the administration.

The talk then turned to Dd and how he has insulted the Chief once before and the Chief let it pass. The dispute was about who should deal with this.

The headman of Nassaro bought three bottles of beer; the Chief four. These were shared among all present

The Chief explained to DZ later that day:

The Yokasalla people used to be farmers for Banyo (NB he didn’t say “slave”) and they do not recognize Somié fully so they don’t work in the Chief’s fields or help maintain

²He was a primary school teacher before becoming Chief.
the palace wall &c. However they do do “European work” i.e. road work. Yet on the previous Thursday which had been designated for road work there were no men from Yokasalla at all. Consequently the Chief was threatening to report them to the Sous-Préfet in Bankim. The beer marked the sorting out of this dispute.

On Sunday 23/11/86 a meeting was held at the Palace. Before the tape started there was talk about the quarrel between the headman of Yokasalla (Jiji) and the Chief. No men from Yokasalla had been sent to the communal work session the previous week since Jiji wanted a separate summons to be issued to him rather than, as was usual, for his hamlet to be summoned “along with”, via (and hence of less prestige than) Gumbe hamlet. There was also some chat about other things such as the availability of petrol for the cars which link Somié to Bankim.

The recording started after the mention of the question of access to Myam lake for fishing, and of various claims to privileged access thereto. This discussion is alluded to below (lines 75 ff).

A case of adultery.

The main case at issue in the transcripts below (line 237 ff) was an accusation of adultery against two young men made by the family of the husband with whose wife the adultery allegedly took place.

ADULTERY IN GENERAL.

There is a positive injunction on women to admit to adultery else illness among the family will result. Indeed the injunction to confess is put at least as vehemently as the injunction not to practice adultery in the first place!

In practice confessions arise only when illness occurs or as a motive for divorce.

AAA daughter of a previous chief is married to NG, son of GW. She had not conceived in the first year of marriage prior to this case, and they had quarreled repeatedly. Following an illness she confessed to GW, her father-in-law, that she had slept with two young men from Gumbe hamlet in a house in Somié village. GW had paid for her treatment at Bankim, and said that he was prepared to send her to Ngaoundere for treatment. The supposition is that sua made her ill because she had not admitted her adultery.

GW then accused the two young men from Gumbe hamlet of adultery. Both denied it, and one persisted in his denial refusing even to attend the hearings. I remain uncertain as to what actually happened. She was never questioned openly in the Chief’s Palace and

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3 An allusion to this may be behind his remarks in the second hearing (line 36) about Ngaoundere.
The Kulu Sua blessing

despite the liberty afforded me as being outside many village constraints I could not explicitly ask her about the truth of these accusations.

When looking at the power relationships involved the refusal to attend attains greater importance than the actual events that were being discussed. The strategies of the two accused can be summarized as follows:

BT, who attended the hearings and who was prepared to pay the fine, was at the same time accepting his position in the existing social structure and simultaneously making a bid for higher status therein (qv Line 274). This revolved round his economic success as a coffee farmer, and can be seen as a claim to be recognized as being fully adult.

KG is a contemporary of BT, also a coffee farmer and married. He, however lives with his elder brother, and as such remains a minor. Yet what seems more at issue is his refusal to accept the jurisdiction of the Chief’s court. In effect the accused cannot persist in denial. Guilt is prescribed and the fine consequent on that guilt cannot be avoided. KG by refusing to participate was stressing his avowal of innocence. The Chief could have trumped him by sending the case to the civil authorities in Bankim but he is reluctant to do this for everyday matters since it erodes his authority in the eyes of both the village and the authorities. The latter is particularly important since all three of the major Mambila chiefs are in competition to be made “Chef de District” with concomitant, officially recognized “traditional court.” Yet KG’s actions were not those of a ‘responsible adult.’ Social life in the village as it is constituted makes it more important to pay the fine and do the kulua Sua ritual than to pursue the issue of the truth of the accusations. By refusing to participate he was threatening the health of NG, his wife and kin as well as those of KG himself. His actions, whilst demonstrating his independence and strength of will did not, as BT’s did, serve as evidence of his maturity. And with recognition of maturity goes the likelihood that denials of guilt be given credence...

NOTES ON THE CASE BY THE CHIEF:

“Le jour 23-11-86 la nommé AAA reconnait avoir commis l'adultère avec BT et KG tous deux du quartiere Gumbe.

Question aux accusés:
Reconnaissiez-vous les faits qui vous sont rapprochés?
BT: Je reconnais avoir parlé à AAA mais jamais on a dormi sur un même lit.
KG: je ne connais rien.

4 The Chief very kindly made these notes on my behalf.
Les notables doivent vérifier les situations selon la coutoume et la prochaine audience aura lieu après résultat des notables car pour l'heure tout paraît obscur.
(Déclarationscontradictoire)
A savoir que AAA est l'épouse à NG.”

“Adultere Le 6-12-86

Suite affaire du 23-11-86

Depuis la déclarations de AAA en date du 23-11-86. L'un des accusés en la personne de BT reconnait le fait; d'après la tradition il paye trois poulets plus une amende de 20 000 CFA (vingt mille franc)"
The Kulu Sua blessing

First hearing

speakers:
Bb: Bëba
Bt: the other accused youth.
Ch: chief
Ga: Gamia
Gw: Ng’s Father
Kg: one of the accused
Kp: Kotap Jeremy
Ng: the husband of the woman who allegedly committed adultery.
Nj: Njaibi

22/11/86

Ch; To start the thing then ()
I’ve gathered you together today
here so as to talk to you about the small thing5 that happened yesterday (4)
I say it publicly because () something small was in my hands ()
5 You found it to be a small thing.(1)
but after that I saw that it didn’t stay a small thing (7)
Since I saw that the powerful had
entered there amongst it a lot.(4)
They don’t know what happened
10 Its clearly work for real people (4)
I stopped here, I stopped up here to see
since if the women make war, its just a mock battle.(6)
Even if its your child even if its your mother,
even if its your younger sibling, even if its your elder sibling ()
if it is true
When you arrive someplace and you start hitting out
its a fight. What
you will do is one.
That’s simply fight, () and its over.
20 If you’re a true person, you just take the fight (1)
If its one of your kin, you take the person, you leave with them
After that you ask about it (2)
But if you don’t know about it
you arrive and enter into it (1)
25 that says: from before
you know, you’re not loosely entering (6)
Alors, you women that I saw, you all ()
you’re in my notebook
For me since yesterday
30 Here, we spoke here. I, I said with my mouth:
They said that this affair is over but (1) because of it is scorn.()
and I cannot allow disrespect for
me not today, not tomorrow nor the day after that.(6)
35 Even the elders who are grey with age
They cannot when they arrive

5The Chief is referring to the fight and the slandering of his name which has been
discussed in the introduction to this section
enter and find me in the palace
They injure me if their hearts want to
even if they are grey with age they cannot do thus (1)
So, () afterwards to sort out the argument (2)
to sort out the argument. Everyone walked from the task (4)
From the tongues, from all the people who made tongues
Whoever walked from the task,
because all of you are in my notebook.
If I wasn’t outside here
perhaps you thought to yourself
perhaps I didn’t see
and don’t know about it
Me, I was outside here. I stopped
outside here by the thing that happened, until they all came.
I passed down there so as to see and understand clearly
To look and see and now people say, say of me
I climbed up from the palace
They think I did it because
I wanted to go to the fight.()
It starts here the work that sees the start of the thing
until we reach the end of it.()
Because if I go thus,,
to say I thus find the place of the things
I now say here (2)
A person left, then came and found me in the palace and called me shit.
You women you left, and then you shouted6
You said Party Police7 don’t take him ()
don’t do it. Today you light something else (3)
But you will talk honestly about all this
Because its all in my notebook
Someone passes, you know if you lay your hand on the Party Police
If you touch him, if you just touch him
Then I’ve nothing to say to you (1)
But if you strike at him, () you go in my notebook (3)
For you until tomorrow or the day after that () if you say the hearing will end
(32) Gap, general throat clearing &c
You're lying. Till today or the day after
This affair () If I say to you here
Its not my case () that I put to you here.
For me they insulted me here.(3)
Me, I will go outside tomorrow just like you all
You walk, you leave again so as to sort it out with me. (2)

6Lit. "planting stones": the idiom for quarreling; the imagery is of stamping feet on the ground
7Two men from the village centre have been designated Party Police and have uniforms modeled on those of the police (i.e. a khaki shirt and beret) which they wear on special occasions. Some elders call them "messengers" (clearly a borrowing from Pidgin) and indeed that is their usual role.
Yesterday here they talked a territorial hearing\(^8\). (1)
If not a hearing of fish dams
They talked a hearing of bailing fish. Bailing fish like that of women, ()
a hearing of work. () People don’t go to one place,
People don’t go to one place
Today I think to say that if people will go and do the road\(^9\)
Some people don’t go, they sit around
The road is of everyone, all who use it. I think to say
85 You people, they send you, you will go until you’re not many
because it is only an open mouth, the work they send you to.(11)
Today I am in the village, (1) close it today, I’m in the village
Its you a male child, () its you a woman()
If you know that you have raised a hand to the Party Police
90 Its your hand that was raised, if you touched his body? (4)
You come and find me, or you go and find some other senior person
You come and you say that I shouldn’t go down to Bankim\(^10\) (3)
If its not thus, I’ll go down and it’ll be before us no more.
If you know they’ll stop the hearings
95 They’ll stop the hearings. () For me that’s the end of it
I have only this day today (1)
If I’m at home tomorrow.... If I’m thus at home
If its clear tomorrow a person wont go again().
If its clear tomorrow a person wont go.

(12) gap, general throat clearing followed by a Fulfulde translation of the discussion of road work.

100 So, like they do the talk of work. () This is the work which is sent, (2)
Its not work for your kin, I could send someone else ()
No, we send these here to work
We send to work this particular person, not “people” ()
Like the day when we went over there on the road (2)
105 Now its fallen in, how can I say to start it again? ()
You of this wall\(^11\); this wall.
They musn’t think they will raise it
There is a wall here. ()
They musn’t think they will raise it.
110 There is a wall here. Until they forget about it
my name is in it, right until they forget about it.
This wall, it is in it there. (2)

---

\(^8\)This refers to a dispute over access to the fishing around Myam lakes. Some of the nearby hamlets were claiming precedence over those from farther away. This had been discussed the day before and earlier that morning before the tape recording began.

\(^9\)Regularly the chief will choose a day on which all the men go and maintain the roads - either the motorable road which connects them to Britain or some of the paths in the bush which go to the outlying hamlets and to Mbonjanga.

\(^10\)Bankim is the seat of local authority. The chief implies that unless confessions are rendered he will go and report the affair to the police in Bankim who will then come and arrest the people in question...

\(^11\)The passage below makes it clear that the Chief is here referring to the communal work called to make a brick wall enclosing the Chief’s Palace, replacing the old fence. The sections built by some of the outlying hamlets fell down in the next rainy season.
That’s just like you, it goes thus:
if someone comes before you to make an insult
115  No, today, the yeses. Tomorrow comes and I say no again.
      You must fix it. (5)
So don’t look at the wall over there with a wounded heart()
      For me I say: everything is good.
      Today I struggled me myself, I struggled (1)
120  But you injure my heart (1)
You of the village you injure my heart
      Because if another time I think again on it and say:
      Kie! My time is just shit.(0)
      That other time my heart will be hurt (4)
125  so to say that all the things that I do here
      All of them, you don’t see. (2) Properly they want to do
      Everything you see in your hands is bad. (3)
      If I touch the body of the hearing with talk of moonshine12 thus
      Where was it outside? I came amongst this
130  I called you together in the centre here, they just talked (2)
      Alongside here they said I made the talk of moonshine.
      It ends here beneath my feet.
            but if its not taken, can I go and take it alongside?
            Women of the centre here
135  the day when I call them together
      they, those outside didn’t hear
      Here today I talk about that yesterday the head
      of Yokasalla, Jiji what did he say here?

Break in recording: change of batteries

Nj; To Ga13, you. The chief said it was bad but from your hand
140  I say it’s you if you don’t tell us.
      Before, of moonshine, the chief said Thank you .
      Oh, if you have moonshine
      We were thankful for it, but if you didn’t give it
      then we didn’t thank you. But they took it.
145  Ga; Chäg took it.
      Nj; Who asked us? Who asked if it should be banned?
      Or if it shouldn’t be banned?
      If they’d given the thing then
      you go and take it.
150  If we’d said ok, moonshine is
      the thing that harms their village
      then this thing, who would have brought it up again?
      You asked us, you didn’t forbid it all by yourselves
      We said forbid, forbid it. That’s not to say: its you! (3)
155  If someone is found in a house, that person
      that person we give them a hearing of this place.

12locally distilled manioc spirit is illegal, and moreover was banned from the village by the
Chief who reinforced the ban with the sua-oath transcribed above. Now villagers who
want to drink it must go elsewhere. There was a suspicion that the offender in the events of
the preceding day was drunk on argi.
13Ga used as a nickname of the speaker Ga;
The Kulu Sua blessing

This is not thus, that person hasn’t given\textsuperscript{14} so the Chief doesn’t have to return to it to again.

\textit{xx} xx xx xxx

160 xxx xxx

\textit{Nj; Divination, go and divine your divination}
it was at Bankim but the thing they gave to the chief\textsuperscript{15}
if you know then say it’s true!.
The thing that the chief speaks about,
165 someone if you have that thing, give it to the chief
someone if you’ve not done it, the hearing is finished.
Someone if you find something give it to the chief
We left it thus. Buffalo, whose luck?
elephant whose luck? Who will give it to him saying the road is coming.
170 And the road, that’s whose luck? So, animals, where’s the luck?
This buffalo, where is it? where’s the elephant?
Where’s the leopard? The Chief’s animals\textsuperscript{16} they have passed before
Now they don’t kill leopards.
They don’t kill other things

Break in recording: change of tape

175 Ch; If your talk is finished we’ll have another subject (heading)
\textit{Nj; It starts in divination, in the divination that went before that.}
So you, so you, you are clear,
you the sisters’ sons\textsuperscript{17}, () you all the sisters’ sons’ of the palace here
I put the talk to you
180 I say to you then a person who is house-bound
they ask much of us, who are they?
Now you cleverly do the hearing and avoid mocking songs
You two don’t come
Now you all the sisters’ sons of this palace
185 it was two or three \textit{Bam}’s ago they heard
They said in two or three \textit{Bam}’s time

\textsuperscript{14}A possible reading of an otherwise obscure phase: Jiji hadn’t given his accord or acknowledged the Chief’s authority either by first sending people to the work on the road, then second by not appearing at the Palace on the day that the tape recording was made or the day prior to it when he heard the news of his villager which had so grievously insulted the chief.
\textsuperscript{15}The official ban on the manufacture and consumption of moonshine came from Bankim i.e. the seat of local government.
\textsuperscript{16}The mbe of the Chief are the animals which are his of right. All those under his authority must give them to him if they are so lucky as to succeed in catching them. They are further discussed in Chapter One above. The leopard is not usually included in the list. Its capture is [was - leopard have been locally extinct for about 20 years] surrounded by elaborate precautions and ritual but this is not to do with the institution of the chief but rather with the fact that a leopard is held to be a metamorphosis of a witch and that its whiskers form the basis of the most deadly of poisons.
\textsuperscript{17}“sister’s sons”. The sister’s sons of the chief (all those born of the sister of any chief, Zs, Sds, dds?, Zss.) are in charge of the skull cult of the chief, notably the biannual “washing” of the skulls in which they are removed from the Mambila baskets in which they are kept and sprayed with palm wine.
The Kulu Sua blessing

they will hear, they wash the skulls and again....
Now nothing. We’ve finished asking you if you’re going.
What are you doing?

190 You don’t wash the skulls. Is this thus?
Ga; Palm wine, they cut palm wine, they spray the skulls with it.
Nj; They wash the skulls.
It’s us, two Bams three Bams, five Bams come
For us one, two Bams ago we heard they’d washed the skulls

195 Someone who stays there, they wash their bodies in the place.

Lobon Zebedee gives a Fulfulde summary of some of this discussion, then, after prompting (by Nj) continues to give Fulfulde resume of the proposed road building programmes: the road linking Somié to Sambalambo and Banyo as well as the new road to Bankim via Nyamboya.

Ch; So, after that there was the hearing... you know it was...
fifteen days ago
in the past month those of Sonkolong18, they were here.
@ They came here. (1) Old war was done between people

200 After that you closed your mouths, you forgot the things of war. (3)
They came here so you must stop the hearing
You know from before
if they came here many times. ()
The agreement was they have their own head, then.

205 Many many Bams ago they came here (1)
So that day we chopped sua here.
You saw the speeches that came after that (3)
all that came then (2)
was your speeches

210 From before you spoke true speeches. ()
Anyone leaves here and goes to Sonkolong
Aaa they say thus: they say the Ndeba
are thus. Aaa they say that.
Leave Sonkolong and come here, they say:

215 Leave here and go and go to
Sonkolong to say thus. (2)
So () here we cut sua in that space
A person with something to say, you go to Sonkolong
to say the thing which comes from this village

220 That thing is right, you heard with your own ears
on the day that they ask you,
that you, you go and listen to them.
() Alright. If its to say you think you’re free
Allah, you come, you say it, you leave here

225 you go to Sonkolong you say it, you enter into the knife of sua.
If you say... if, if they take up your affair
they put questions like lies.

18The chief refers to the first of a pair of sua-oaths (one in each village) taken to heal the rift between Somié and Sonkolong which followed the imprisonment of several people from Somié often being accused before the authorities of causing by witchcraft the death of a man from Sonkolong. Eventually the charges were dropped and the accused released after they had spent a long time on remand in prison.
The Kulu Sua blessing

They treat you as a liar, if you are of Sonkolong
You are from the Sonkolong side, there’s 10,000 in your hand.

If you’re from this side there’s 10,000 in your hand.
Nj; The chief of Sonkolong has already called the women.
He was here, he called the women.
They said no.

Section not transcribed: Lôbôn Zebedee gave Fulfulde summary. Sarki then added a bit more (also in Fulfulde). This was followed by an exchange between Ga and Nj about the importance of informing the women of the implications of the reconciliation with Sonkolong. The chief then talked about the arrangements for the return visit to Sonkolong. He read from a piece of paper a list of senior men who should go. There was then a discussion of how the money for the taxi fare could be raised. Sarki added to this in Fulfulde. Finally the chief told everyone to wash their clothes in anticipation of the forthcoming official visit.

Ch; Of this, it’s only if they clear it up again because this thing here...

The thing that you say I don’t fully understand
They find a few people
Bb; We must start this, we must start this¹⁹
Truly, we must start this.
If we’ve to settle this, succinctly, truly, truly, Allah.

After that it will grow till it’s a big job.
That’s there where you went to the shouting
Nj; Sua is a venerable thing
It’s not something new that is there
It’s old, old.

Bb; There’s a lot of work there.
If you’ve a big job, if you yourself find something
Nj; They do that: they do thus so the child cries "ee" "eee"
They do it so the child cries "ee" "eee"
We go and put it to sua.

Sua works until the death.
Sua is still there, you go and cut it
Kg; For me I talked with Njaibi here, you are to say stool or then sua
A woman stays at ground, she licks. If I slept with him <=laughter

Nj; BT for you
Bt; For me? How can I open my mouth
The end was like I said before, in that place.
Kp; It’s not that. Did you sleep with her in one place?
Where did you sleep with her?

Bt; How did I sleep with her?
Kp; Isn’t it to say she found you in the house they slept in
You blessed her then
Bt; I don’t say that afterwards she slept there
I don’t say that afterwards she slept there

Kp; Where did she find you?
Bt; She found me in No’s house over there, in the house of No Mark (1)
I’d returned from Atta when night fell
when I arrived I slept there (1)

¹⁹Beginning of the adultery case proper. NB
Kp; Till you blessed her there.

270 Ch; Till she knew that you, you were there then, xxxx
Ga; How could she knew that?
Bt; but here she said she slept with him.
Its not. Its not me who knows...
Me, I've a field of coffee20, I will split it up

275 I will give him some money
Ni; Its not a field of coffee, its not
Bt; Thus I talk of something else. I said I was there
since the day before yesterday
you weren't near me. How can I speak

Ga; But he talks of coffee
Then he knows its true
xx; xxxx
Ni; But if you speak of coffee then you know its true
Right after the coffee says its true.

285 xx; xxxxxxx
Ni; You talk of coffee, then you know its true.
Right after the coffee says its true.
Bt; How do I know? I don't know to give something different.
Ni; If he doesn't know say a little thing and lick the thing

290 If they do lick it. He will say again he walks freely to the coffee field
Ch; xxxx then
Bt; If the thing is licked by them, they will know
Ni; They ask to lick about a small thing, small.
For me, I said to them, both of you

295 I knew you
don’t you hide it. Our sua is a venerable thing.
Ga; Its an old thing
Kg; For me, I didn’t see anything21
so for me I don't know anything

300 Tailu; Not good
Here they chase after you until they catch you up.
That’s not good
Ga; you do lots of work but that is just work.()
Ni; So, listen you. You called him so he comes here.

305 Kg; They put it22 on the ground, we lick it.
Yes they put it on the ground, we lick it.
Bt; He must come before you, you must see.
Ga; They'll lick afterwards or will they lick now?
Ni; You hear the thing I want to say now

310 Now the hearing is in my hands
I heard BT now looking at the divination
() Because of this thing it must be said:
sua is an old thing,
its not something new.

315 Its something traditional. Its traditional that
we take sua outside.

20The move to talking of coffee fields and money is taken as an admission of guilt (e.g.
280/281) for otherwise he would not be prepared to pay a fine.
21Kj lives opposite No Mark so could have seen something.
22"it" the Chief’s stool for oath taking.
The Kulu Sua blessing

That *sua* is something traditional
We here we will only die in *sua*
You heard of the arbitrary death of someone
320 You talked a hearing in the palace square
there the talk catches a person not a piece of wood\(^23\)
But if you know already,
you say it so we know.
But here I say
325 when they've summoned him already
only if he says:
No I didn’t send you.
What will you say then?
From before when you didn’t call him
330 You want, you want to say here: Its me.
I just avoid it, it’s a deceitful thing
If you do say yes then you want it tough
(3) So, you know what I will say here today
if you want such a thing I wont go again. ()look to him()
335 Is the Chief’s stool funny?
Kg; aaa the thing that I don’t know
I want to take it, mmmm do I say that I know?
Nj; I was just asking (4)
Kg; I must speak as if I knew
[ 340 Nj; But() until the chief sent
to say I know, so we understand
You of the palace here, you call me urgently
They arrive, they tell me oh they don’t know
So it was that BT said, so Bt said.
345 BT for himself he didn’t say I know about that,
hedidn’t say he knew about it.
This is because he doesn’t know anything.
If they want to see the thing they must do it.
xx; Goodbye
350 Ch; So (1)
Nj; You want them to say, they will say: we bless *sua* with lies.
I don’t want to. We, we say I say: you again refused
But you don’t want it.(3)
Yiaig\(^24\); () Let me say my piece\(^25\).
355 For me I was far away over there.
It is for this that I came
I myself, I xxxx just to say: the sun is sinking
I don’t want the young men to have to come back again.
The sun is sinking down, consider to say, suffer to say
360 I go I look at you so that
I walk again - he looks at me

\(^{23}\)The point is that *sua* will kill the guilty parties. Cases heard in public at Palace affect people not bits of wood.
\(^{24}\)Yiai is the husband of Yi, Sondue’s “grandmother”. They live in Dar hamlet.
\(^{25}\)Yiai was acting for a younger “brother” who had never been paid the compensation after he had been knifed three months before the meeting.
The Kulu Sua blessing

during the funeral of my in-law at Ngwe,\(^{26}\)
I found it like war there.
Ch; Have a little patience
365 Whilst I do cut through to this thing then
Yiangi: That's fate. For me, I've had a long road
He's not at the village then
Ch; No today, today he will break through to the truth
Its not clear so they return

Break in recording: change of batteries

370 xx; xxx xxx
Ga; Its a thing for the stool
Baba; He says he's not seen the thing. How's that?
Ga; For me I say its a thing for the stool
Baba; xxx
375 Nj; For me, must I do it again now? Me, I'm off.
Ch; Now the hearing is in their hands.
If its "yes" its "yes" then.
If its "no", we pass before then.
Nj; Now Chief, this () their hearing...
380 Their hearing... They, they, they must call the women,
they lick sua
So if I come back again to say :
Machete xxx they enter into the hands of they who lick sua,
because I think within me
385 Talk of women... if she falls to the ground,
she xxx leaves again freely
Its whose child?
So () the in-laws () do stupid work,
we talk through the problem\(^{27}\)
390 We're all clear, that's not stupid.()
So, the things that you said,
you listen to understand
You, its just in your hands
You must fix your hands then.
395 GW; Good. I myself, until tomorrow these children
here, you take something from me.
I must leave the ground.
I know to say the talk of sua
in my compound, the thing that I don't bless.
400 I pursue it.
Others they pursue it from the compound.
Others chase it thus: they pass by the place
They say to me ()
Its not to say they don't do a small thing
405 So, I () a woman enters a house,
a woman goes and enters a house.
I myself I fight over the thing. Is it still today?
Nj; It was thus if divination gave it to you then

\(^{26}\)Funeral of Yiaji's guna: Nima, the mother of Kuwo Pierre.
\(^{27}\)idiom for talking through a problem lit. open open clearly.
GW; I fight the fight,
410 I go and ask her
Now illness comes. I found before, I gave a thing somewhere
They say its true, their illness arrives.
Illness arrives, illness then
My wife I see if you don’t speak openly
415 then illness enters (1)
Even the husband if he finds me to say: for him he knows nothing, its not up to me.
No () but to say: yes I go and this person says
says, this person just says “pht” <= blows raspberry
The Chiefs will call this person, then “pht” <= blows raspberry
420 It’s just () that thing ()
There I myself, I must say "no"
If its lies, if its true
Nj; Give it to divination divination
GW; if it avoids the issue
does he say its true?
For me I say we that called me here to the palace
I say there they call the children
because I want to ask them as witnesses.
Nj; aha so it is.
430 GW; if they don’t know they leave their things
So, for me I say that now today, ()
their shameful heads
now take him if they don’t know
they chop sua for the house, they do it with what?

Lines 435-480 consist of rapid and overlapping speech which has therefore not been transcribed as reliably as the rest of the text. Some speakers have been omitted when their utterances are of low volume on the tape.

435 Shame does for them
Nj; don’t do it, don’t do it, don’t do it
GW; So, you go on. () So for me until its finished, this is already finished.
Nj; No its not, go and ask away. () Ask away then.
don’t you laugh.
440 GW; They leave it. For me I say they leave it.
As I say here. Thus it is finished.
NG; For the hand, we wont ask again
Nj; I haven’t refused
I haven’t refused anything
445 GW; For me then, do I want medicine like this?
NG; For me, I want medicine like this.
Nj; Its not just a mouth talking vacuously.
XX; For NG, he’s not free to speak.
What does he say there?
450 Yianggi; NG what will you say?
Its not your father who speaks for you
Then there how can you speak?
Baba; This thing that we want to say, do you, do you know it?
Nj; GW, do you know what to do?

28Ng’s wife = Gw’s wife.
Talk of sua, sua is an old thing, that's tradition!
But the people that will be here afterwards, they'll say
to NG not to open his mouth, its only his father.
Aaa to those who refuse.
They want it, so look to them. Sua is an old thing.

Baba; You two, you get up, you walk outside there
Till the chief he says, he talks to you you come, you come
Ngendoge; Aaa you go to where?
XX; You go outside, the chief removes them
Baba; Does the chief remove them?

But he said to you, you come, you come here.
Till they came then.
XX; They come where?
Yiajgi; You wait patiently.
Nj; The chief didn't come, until you, you left afterwards

How could you just leave? No.
Gw; Its something small in my hand
Tt; For now, if you know about it say:
yes I know about it, if you don't know
you say no I don't know. And so its finished.

GW; Don't do it, I don't ask. If I'd asked already
Sua wouldn't have seized me.29
For me I arrived amongst this, if I asked
it would be over for me just like that.
Yiajgi; So BT

Gw; He wanted to, to cool the thing that didn't end
the thing that they didn't see, never
Ga; For that, its not a new thing
That's a traditional thing.
Yiajgi; So for now they ask you the thing

BT yesterday was at hand when the notables were quiet
that they talked of the thing with these here
here on the ground. The only ones to know are the serious notables
Here if I call BT, that's to say its our ancestors
Bb; What he wants to say

Yiajgi says it is the ancestors that call.
Yiajgi; so now for that thing it is good to say
You must summon some serious person
Afterwards you say to him you know about it.
Why is that? The person that was put onto the stool here

They say he is a small child but now he is a senior person
That's to say if you don't know xxxx the end. If you say
you don't know then you don't know about it.
I stay asking if you don't know. You say you don't know
But if you know you will call some senior person

you say to him, you say to him, you know about it.
Because in GW's group we're the head, we who remain.
If you know about it, if you touched her with your hand
then you want it
that's to say you can call someone

You tell them to come that you know

29 reference to illness of Gw's second wife. She died later that year.
you touched her with your hand.
You call someone, you tell them that you are seized by shame.
This is the thing that you did. Go and tell it.
But when he's done so. This is what we want to say.

They know to say: it is a kind like so.
It doesn't start with you: its an old thing.
Ch; Baba go and have a look see
Nj; Its an old thing. Your shame doesn't just begin
So surely they understand ()

for us, we of the hearing
That's to say cool, we don't want it to leave off as it is
They do want that today
You say "no" I said, you said yes
then it doesn't leave off

For the hearing then, if someone comes and gives you something for a hearing
No you don't do it, you'll think on it
if they give something to a hearing, the hearing sorts it out
For you they give the hearing parce que its too much
Ga; xxx

Ch; You arrive amidst a hearing. For a hearing,
please if someone arrives in a hearing
You leave off sending it so if someone comes with something
You say I'm talking about something else

For you its not a hearing. For you its not a hearing.
We xxx xxx thus
You listen you look at what's happened before
Yes hearings are thus
True, lies, all of them are hard hard hard,

all of them, true or false.
Yiaiggi; That you can't say until their mouths are finished {talking}
Ch; yes, that's a hearing
Nj; xxxx

They then began to turn to the next case, which was not recorded. The Chief made a speech saying that cases should not be brought for their own sake. A case should only come to the palace when it cannot be resolved any other way. Moreover they should only be brought in order to be resolved, not in order to make trouble; so both parties must be prepared to compromise. He signaled the end of his speech by reaching for his radio and switching it on.
Second Hearing 23 Nov. 1986

Speakers
Bb: Baba
Bt: one of the accused.
Ch: The Chief
Ga: Gamia
Gw: Ng's Father
Jb: Jacob
Kp: Kotap Jeremy
Mb: Mbinyu Paul/Taillu
MS: Sondue
Ng: the husband of the woman who allegedly committed adultery.
Ni: Ngomni
Nj: Njaibi
Ny: Nyakati
Ta: Tetiya
Tt: Tamtam
Wb: WiyaBenjamin

1    Ny; I didn't say that
XX; that that that
Ny; OK, I said this, why couldn't he say that?
You say if they wanted it, if they wanted a thing
      [   ]

5    Ga; The chief hasn't taken them
Ny; They already want to. If they really want to, they would bless sua
GW has already said so
XX; xxxxx
Ny; Don't let it become a quarrel
He won't quarrel. () They take him to say: it was just so.()
      [   ]
Mb; won't
Ny; You have divined. Listen you, is it true?
      [   ]
Nj; People talk loosely, but if they don't want to bless sua.
will you do it anyway?
15    Ga; But today you'll do it anyway?
Mb; the things are just their (problems)
It's their problem, theirs
one of them is here, one hasn't come.
      [   ]
XX; yes
Mb; They both want to talk
20    Ny; Is it all all true? All the youth are feckless
Jb; I'll not speak
Mb; xxxx only the fathers know?
Gw; He divined the father, because with children xxx xxx
Ny; they're all the same
yes, ultimately we're all saying the same thing

30Only one of the two accused, Bt, appeared. The other, Kg, failed to present himself.
What is to be done in this circumstance is one of the continuing themes of the discussion.
The Kulu Sua blessing

Gw; All the fathers are the same
Nj; mmmm mmmm
Gw; Listen you, listen carefully
I didn’t say father. How can I know her father? 31

30 I said I only know the father,
My fathers Lucas and the chief
I didn’t say father. Are you still asking?

aa () You say to me: () I say I know only the fathers
of this woman.

35 If they say they will take it, what is it?
They take the money from your hands, they will go and make trouble with it in

Ngaundere 32
Will they treat it?
If they say of him to you they will bless (sua)
Nj; yes all xxxxx

40 Gw; I ask to look (at divination) with the fathers
Nj; But now there are no fathers, none at all.
Gangbe and the Chief aren’t there 33
If that woman will take them,
her fathers would send for her

[ ]

45 Gw; The talk of sex leads to evil. () Leave it.
Ga?; the chief isn’t involved?
XX; xxxxxxx We don’t lick 34

31 AAA’s Father is dead. Gw talks of “the fathers” but in L29 he accepts that Mogo, the only man properly called Father is dead. Since upon his death these two became responsible for her Gw’s anger at her conduct is aimed at them as well as those responsible for the adulterers, a point he stresses. DIAGRAM 8.2: The “Fathers” of AAA:

32 Ngaoundere is the regional capital, and as such in the metonym for the biggest legal trouble which can be made with the authorities. Gw may also be referring to his willingness to pay for further medical treatment for AAA, having already paid for her to be treated at Bankim.

33 That is to say they can’t be held responsible since they’re not there. Since AAA was residing with her H of Gw’s ‘compound’ it is reasonable to say she was now their responsibility. Note, however, that it is Nj, the senior man responsible for the alleged adulterers, who says this. Was he just making trouble?

34“lick” i.e. lick the nduugu sua, that is to say do the kulu sua rite. Note however that it can be an allusion to licking the kago baji (Chief’s stool) which is a form of oath taking,
The Kulu Sua blessing

[...

50 Nj?: if we didn’t lick

Gw; xxxx xxxx () xxxx see

Ngú; The chief up there says be quiet

Gw; Sua isn’t blessed

Ngú; Now the affair is in their hands. () The cloths\(^{35}\) are here.

They who sort out the affair=

Gw; =What is this?

55 The chief over there, what does he say they are?

You, you say to the chief: fix it

But you go to bless Sua

If you bless Sua

Nj; I say to the chief

Gw; It is thus: we stir it up thus

I say to you: I know only the fathers

Nj; I say until you’ve said to the chief

Gw; Father will sort it out

Nj; the chief has said to the children

65 Gw; Father said to leave it. Who () who knows about it?

Nj; Are they men? he must talk to his children.

Gw; He speaks with his lips only?

Nj; Tell him, they’re going to have to marry, one day they will.\(^{36}\)

Gw; If it were different, and I said something they would kill me

70 Nj; men are thus, women are thus, they’re the same.

Gw; I the father say: he controls the things paid

if there is illness, it is çhàq that kills me

I’m off, you’re finishing things here

Nj; If they are thus, boys are thus. We must enter into it.

75 Ga; They know and say=

Gw; =??xxx affairs of men and women

=just men

Ga; How do they know?

Girls and boys are there thus.

80 Boys, if a woman doesn’t talk about you

then don’t talk about her. If a woman

doesn’t open her mouth about it, but keeps quiet about it\(^{37}\)

now quite rare. Mona Perrin has recorded the use of naga directly in the context of sua i.e. to naga né sua (they lick is sua). This is rare in Somié, but occurs in L 380 of the first transcript of this chapter.

35 Referring to the woman’s clothes loosened in the course of adultery.

36 There are two meanings to this word (at this tone): “carry” and “marry” but the latter is also used in a purely sexual sense - as occurs frequently in the text which follows.

37 Lines 83–85 This passage remains obscure.
The Kulu Sua blessing

Gw; if now, if some small person didn’t want to, count the things which are really bad
85 We have seen with our eyes. Pay here pay pay with thieving eyes Am I putting things in? People are people
Ga; xxx xxxxx
Gw; People go where? are you not chief-châq?
90 Nj; (...) Expletive
 Ga?; If it is thus, its a small thing
Gw; Everyone in the village, then.
Jb; If someone eats your wife, and kills with poison
That’s small for you? <=laughter
95 Nj; Today is all upset
Jb; You talk so the chief will call him <1=laughter
He “marries” your wife, and she helps him!
Mb; If he didn’t want it,
if he didn’t want it he would come to...
100 Jb?; So it is
Mb; If he didn’t want the case he would have come
Ni; If someone wants to finish the hearing, xxxx lick

    Mb;  If he doesn’t come
         If he doesn’t turn up, you’ll say he just didn’t show up.

105 Ga; The good course would be for him to lick it
If someone comes and shouts, saying: they are wrong
He is wrong in the matter that you discuss, how is it before you?
We want to become peaceful. Till this thing is ended. xxxx xxxx xxxx of yours, so the fathers

    [        ]

110 Nj; xxxx Sua If it isn’t thus
they will bless Sua anyway
Ni; Its for the ears of your fathers so
Mb; They sort out the case

    [        ]

Nj; xxxxx the chicken is afterwards

    [        ]

115 Gw; Lucas ki!
Jb; Lucas... I want to say Here and now
It’s not sorted out. It’s not small
He isn’t here at all, what’s that then? He asks for Sua

    [        ]

Nj; It’s I, It is I, Njaibi
120 Gw; He asks for Sua
Nj; I avoid Sua?=
Jb; =Voila!
Nj; Old Sua, can I flee from that?
Jb; So, we say just that. If he attacked the household, who are they any more?
and who else is there? () They go to the compound,
arriving there they say: expel him?
That is what GW said here

    [        ]

Gw; How so anyone else? As for me, I know only the fathers.
The fathers that said: the child is in my hands

201
Ve; xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxxx38 >

130 Gw; If you make such a speech they must bless (sua) and end it
I myself will take the child and go to Ngaundere=
Ga; =XXX

Gw; he said to me
But how can you say this? They did look there

135 he asked you but what came of it? He said
Nj;  (DWORD) 

Gw; Them, they said go to this palace
They bless sua for you.I say to you this.

[ ]

140 Gw; My speech is that of divination money39
Ni; It isn’t an affair in which to say they say that=
Gw; =they didn’t say that Nggu40
they said something different

[ ]

145 Gw; they said the father, the father. They called me and Njaibi, I didn’t call Njaibi41
Ga; To say, for me, for me I asked them.
I said I asked them
If they wanted, if they wanted to
So if they’ve stolen, they come, they come here. So that they can be treated.42

150 Jb; But they say, they only give money
Ga; But if they say no
that is they didn’t steal. Like they will go and search
for a place43 where it is
since they don’t give only a small amount44

[ ]

155 Jb; Aaa look at you, you yourself aren’t the person
Gw; < Be quiet >
For me illness45 is on top of me
Nj; For me, they go and bless sua, for me I know only treatments46
Gw; Ki! Ki! Ki! (1)

160 But look his hands are full??

38 Ve is very deaf, and speaks very indistinctly. Few can understand him.
39 Gw refers to the payment made for divination to emphasize that his accusations have
been corroborated by divination. He is not making empty accusations. Laga can be used
to refer to the payments for divination or for taking the sua-oath (.laga ngam, and laga
sua respectively).
40 Nggu an abbreviation of Ni’s name. NB Honorific abbreviation in naming.
41 that is to say he, Gw, did not accuse those under Njai’s authority.
42 the treatment referred to is blessing sua, and the theft, of course, alludes to the adultery.
43 "place" I read this as referring to the place where the real culprits are.
44 They may be forced (possibly by their seniors) into paying the fine (20,000 the standard
fine paid in adultery cases, is not an inconsiderable sum c. £ 40 in 1986) even whilst
protesting their innocence.
45 The illness referred to is that of Gw’s wife.
46 "treatments" often used to contrast with sua but here including it; qv L253.
The Kulu Sua blessing

Ga; It’s more than that.
Gw; Perhaps it’s someone else
[ ]
Ga; Nyugemi\(^{47}\) does it wisely
I hurried to Sonkolong, I returned because
165 
xxx xxxx xxx
[ ]
Jb; It’s a funny thing
Ga; Because I gave to my friend
I said to him, the male children do harm to that compound
I gave to to to to to Lova\(^{48}\) over there

170 Jb; It is the men, they harm your wives houses totally
Ga; I hurried to stand over them
Jb; Walking plonk plonk plonk plonk
Ga; The [threat] of my harm is over them
[ ]
Gw; You, the husband, were cool
175 you will be cool
Ga; Who knows? (5)
Jb; If someone harms a woman,
for them it isn’t straightforward
Gw; we must be blessed
180 Nj; The chief has no interest in this hearing
Ga; But we {haven’t} sorted out the affair.
[ ]
Nj; Gamgbe, Gamgbe has no interest in this hearing
I, me here, I have no interest in this hearing
Mvulu, Mvulu that is here. He has no interest in this hearing
185 Look at the two women\(^{49}\)
Ga; it is thus
Gw; But to end thus we must leave it unfinished.
Ni; But they’ve not looked
Jb; But are they free [agents]?
190 Ga; they said...
Ni; Then you must take them outside
and you must send for both of them, the two.
Mb; Yes, yes. Listen! Listen!
Jb (to NG); That’s for you
Mb; You organize...aaa They’re not free agents.
195 so who sent them?
Just as they talk of doctors
Someone gave something, () only who was giving?
Ga; So
Mb; It is not your turn.
200 Jb; xxxx
Nj; That woman, who they wanted to "marry." Where did they find her in bed?
Whose house was it?
Mb; perhaps there was no one

\(^{47}\)Wife of Ge Gaston at Gumbe, daughter of Ve.
\(^{48}\)Wife of Kanuo, a Marenjo.
\(^{49}\)The two women are AAA, the adulteress, and the wife of No Mark, the witness.
Nj; They trouble us outside
Mb; Now she is someone's wife
Gw; Your wives and their children, when they leave here
your children, children come and speak here
they will go there
Affairs, your affair, ask at home

205
is it because our penises are dead, finished?50
Mb; But GW, we said only the lovers of that woman
Just as they say
If they were in the dispensary, the thing they say to Gamia
it would be the end of it.
210
Jb; Mmmh so it is, but listen you,
[ Gamia listen

Mb; Gamia listen
Nj; xxx xxxx xxx xx
Jb; But this isn't a small small speech
Ga; It is not me saying that yet again

215
Mb; Who knows this?
Jb; That's the house of... But it is that, they were
Ga; That's what we're talking about here, they will take xxx xxx if it is lost
So that they give the money, () so that the thing waits?? [until] they speak openly.
Jb; So it is like our place then
220
Ga; Yes it's thus
You gush with words, and will continue till when?
Jb; That, that speech isn't good like that
Mb; eee eee eee? No, that's the end of it.
Ny; GW says that because tomorrow we will know xxx xxx

225
It is this
that we ask just this.
Ny; GW says it's in your hands Gamia, both you and the Chief
If you say you will sort it out completely, you must say so clearly.
If you say you will not, you must say so clearly
230
For me, if you say yes, treat them, they bless sua, thus.

235
It is this

Jb; Thus
So you can leave
Ny; As for GW, he said to GW thus
Jb; If you don't sort it out, that's the road of taking money and giving it to Gamia52
240
Mb; Even Gamia, even Gamia listens to the mouths of the lovers.

Jb; Yes it's thus
yes thus, Gamia listens to them still then
The Kulu Sua blessing

Mb; Only Gamia listens to the mouths of the lovers.

Ny; he said that, he said just that.

245 Mb; Until he comes down with it all
Ga; For me, I listen to them then
Jb; Gamia is quiet about that, this is still the place
he speaks beside the present point
Nj; Bless sua, bless it. Bless this child, we here will do a treatment

250 Mb; aaa!
Nj; Cool is sua then, they will bless the child, here they will treat the child.
Ga; Cool for this one, it is cool to treat him.
Nj; Sua and treatments are different
Jb; Thus, So it is more than eleven⁵³ it's thus thus thus then
If they themselves want

255 [ ]
Nj; themselves
Jb; If they want to with their mouths
Those of Gamia, yes they've not paid.
They pay for the treatment here.=
Ga; =So=

260 Jb; =They paid my divination well
So they see the things that passed
pass to sua and chop it. They, they, they
the people who know about it, just as they know to do

265 [ ]
Gw; name the names
Ga; of this xxxx xxxxxxxxxx completely
Jb; But nothing
Gw; Till I have changed tune, he goes with his mouth
Mb; Till they change
Gw; because young men xxxxxxxx

270 Ga; this child doesn't hurry=.
Kuij; =We have said it before, we said the truth.
Mb; People now say here what I have said.
If I...I say here, I am one with his talk

275 [ ]
Nj; I, I say here that we have paid for this treatment
Go and pay afterwards to the heads=
Ga; =Come afterwards so they can see

Section (c. 5 minutes) left untranscribed: conversation mainly about cars and where they are going to. Mostly general chat, not addressing the case at issue.

Ch; Your work, you elders, at Somié <1=laughter
mistakes are mistakes <1=laughter
You call a meeting, no one comes, ()

280 you say walk, no one walks ()
Only if it's a thing to do with you all
Only if I go from house to house to house, alright

⁵³Lit. "and one" implying eleven, twenty-one, &c.
Ga; They don’t come
Ch; Aa oui normalement c’est comme ça.

Nj; If the day comes, if I don’t see someone, from that day they will stay somewhere else.54
So from today they live elsewhere
Ga; xxx xxx
Ch; You call a meeting, everyone attends

So, (1) if you have called [a meeting] and if the hour is called, and you are still then at your house
I stay at the meeting but I take the names of all those there at the meeting, all all all.
Then there is this person, this person says I didn’t know
Did I speak to you?
Ga; Well, what can I do?

Nj; You spoke to him? <1=laughter
Ch; It is no one, it is us [all] who are mistaken
Nj; aa?
Ch; In that is my mistake
This won’t be sorted out till the end of the world

Il faut venir au Somié pour voir les choses.(.) Vraiment.
Nj; It, now we wait for something to come from your mouth to speak with Gami so we end our troubles
Ch; aaaa toujours la patience.
Mb; We will wait for just that

Ga; This discussion is one with

Ny; It is thus
Mb; We wait for that

Ny; The discussion has said as much, that I asked of them
If they lie freely it will reappear

It won’t calm quickly.
Mb; It goes into quarrels
Ny; Quarrels come from this
Ga; Here, what are you going to say?
This is a discussion such as that which I asked

I ask that. He harms thing there, we understand clearly (It’s only in the group here
Nj; GW I’ve always said the thing is up to the chief. I say the thing is up to
Mb; GW, I have spoken with the chief, I have spoken with Gamgbe

Nj; Gamgbe did ask you, you you you womanizers

If I will harm their things will you give me money?
So that I will treat & sort out this child once more?
You have damaged the village
Mb; They discuss the thing with him
Ga; It is thus, you go with your mouths

Nj; The chicken talks with its mouth

Ga; If you say to me, you will take it, you will treat it.
For this I will give money so so I hurry the thing along
This is only a small thing

54Nj threatens people with exile for not responding to summons from the chiefs palace.
Ch; () Yes, if the business goes outside it is good to talk. (2)

Because () its hard this one
The hard. (1). they say... talk like small children
We are saying another true thing there
The small children, they ask them then,
what do they ask with their mouths

335 Njai asked nothing there. All xxx unseen
Now () Moses has spoken well (4) In that group
that is to say in that group he is not there (1)
So, if it's my decision there is big Gamia (2)
he hasn't spoken. Then for me, because I don't want to talk
But this will leave me behind. I can speak in this space
This one says it is small. Moses says its a woman () bon
For the woman, she looks: "mystique" is done (1)
"Mystique" is done, (3) she will give the thing somewhere else ()
For you, you stay over there.

345 Them over there, they do not have big mouths=
Gw; =Thus
Ch; We will go to the dispensary
We will do it, we will do it. We shall act
For you is compulsory, because the women are in our hands, ()
if it is clear this evening
They, those who harmed her, they must be sorted out
For you in Moses' case there is nothing, they will have a small talk with him thus
XX; yes
Ch; yes

355 Ny; You [of] GW want it thus. He wants it thus so that they do it
Ch; Its not you you lot, we will take it thus
If you make a bill with the cost, with all the costs
You come and say I have a bill, this small thing.
XXXX;  aaa  aaa <= Laughter

360 Ga; But if there's no bill now?
Ch; Its not a question of simply asking
Will you pay, or will you not pay?
And if he says he will not pay, what will you do?
Will you leave him, will you eat him then?
Jb; How can you eat him?
Ga; I cannot. How can I eat him?
Jb; But this person xxx xxx grinds the talk
Will you weigh him in kilos
How can you do that to him?

370 So you will see suffering then
Allah till two times are xxxx I xxxxxx <=laughter

55 Moses is Gw's Christian (lit.) name.
56 "Dispensary" That is to say they will treat the illness as a "natural" illness (caused by chààj) and hence effectively treatable with western medicine.
57 An itemized bill was successfully used during a divorce case within the last five years to help the husband reclaim the bridewealth which had been paid, including some of the expenses of the gifts of kitchen goods which had been made.
58 "eat" This implies witchcraft, who paradigmatically resort to secret cannibalism to wreak revenge.
59 Reference to going to the maize mill, where the grain is weighed before being ground.
The Kulu Sua blessing

Ch; I do not put the hearing on you group by group <=laughter
Truly it is like that <=laughter
Nj; xxxxxxx

375 

Jb; They measure them with laughter?
Nj; They measure them in kilos <=laughter
Jb; If чаг wants to "marry" someone's wife, then once the "blessing" is done <=laughter

with, with an evil thing
They go and see, they organize, put the affair to rights till the illness goes

[

380 

Nj; For that Chief
we must remove this small [thing]
Gw; For me. () I see that nothing surpasses чаг.
But it's just me.
We think that inside me here I don't want sua

385 

Jb; they bless mistakenly=
Nj; =Everything is so
Ny; But but but that which they've already talked out,
gives no more illness

[

xx; xxxxxxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx
Gw; They don't bless him. Go with your chief,

390 

go with Gamia and say again that this isn't a new thing
Ny; xxx our father is for xxxxxxx
Kp; no more hearings from you
Nj; the chief says of ()
Kp; Now there is no hearing for you there

395 

Gw; Any woman that has reason60 leave the palace quickly
Any woman if that has reason leave the palace because we of the palace61
we are stupid people.
For me I think to say that the village is one ()
You see thus they push

400 

Nj; Oi, it is one village, not two villages.
Gw; It is thus in the home and in the village.
Find this old woman, she will surpass what?
Nothing surpasses her.
You are blessed62. They will go

405 

чаг gave things to those of the past
There is suffering today in the body of the village63
Say where the place is, the suffering today in the compound. Where is it? ()
Now our quarter searches, we search

60 "reason" guilty knowledge is the reason he has in mind.
61 "of the palace" <бз mbam бз> This expression can variously mean those of the palace proper, i.e. the kin of the chief, or as here, to mean those of the village centre by contrast with the outlying hamlets e.g. Gumbe where the alleged adulterers lived.
62 Ideophone spoken at the act of blessing.
63 village. Note that village and compound are different senses of the same word, and moreover that "strictly" there are no compounds in Cameroonian Mambila villages. Kin (especially patrilateral) tend to live close to one another, (in a manner similar to that described by Rehfsisch (after fieldwork in Warwar c. 1952) but a compound cannot easily be unambiguously demarcated on the ground. Note also that there is no word for village quarter in Mambila. In L 408 a Fulfulde loan word is used.
only amongst our quarter

410 XX; Not so Not so, no, no
Gw; Until they really call us what is it?
They split up the discussion, they split up the hearing, they know things
(2) There is no hearing, chän gave them the thing before before()
They've their young women, they've their young men

415 They must look at them all
[ Ga; Their things, they are young women, they are young men
Nj; Girls are girls, boys are just boys.
How can they know better? <=Laughter
Gw; You know so you say to the women don’t speak

420 She looks, she looks, () right till...
You male, if you don’t know,
if you didn't kill
Some women that kill the body64, they don’t don’t don’t leave off
[ Ga; someone like

425 Nj; That’s just it
Gw; Aaa, I am here, I was just here when this sua seized65
[ Nj; But this was so she left off - stopped. Its that woman she stopped, left off the thing
So for you that’s it

430 Mb; For you then, its them
Ga; he did it so that they would leave the thing
If he just up and left the woman, her husband, a man
Nj; Truly!
Ga; its his sua that sorts it out

435 Gw; How can they kill?66 This isn’t a case of sua
If he looks, he’s married already and the woman
doesn’t talk, he doesn’t talk
Allah, they’re killed off, he kills off the people there. The young man67
[ Nj; aaaa If he left

---

64 the body which is being attacked ("killed") is that of Gw’s wife.
65 "Sua seizing" usually refers to illness caused by ill doing on the part of the sufferer or
their close kin. By taking a sua-oath illness (and possibly death) is called upon the
malefactor who will then be seized or taken by sua. As an extension this can be used as an
idiom for conscience - if one feels guilty, with a bad conscience this can be described as
being seized by sua.
In this context, however, it is not clear who is being referred to qv. First Hearing L 476.
66 "kill" taking the sua-oath is irrevocable and dangerous - sua will kill those it seizes (see
notes to L 423 above). Adultery cases are not followed by the usual sua-oath but by sua
kulu the blessing of sua for just this reason as GW alludes.
67 Adultery itself is dangerous however since if not ‘treated’ by blessing sua, illness (and
death) can result. Contact between a man and the adulterers sperm was held by one man to
be fatal, but although this is not a commonly voiced opinion I am confident that this view
would enjoy wide accord. Similar beliefs have been documented among the Bangwa (Brain
1972:156).
The Kulu Sua blessing

440 He puts a treatment into the woman’s hand and tells her.
   Jb; She kills, she kills him,
   Nj; to the women, he will give. He takes a treatment he puts it into
   her hands, the woman goes
   and kills off her husband
   Its because of them, they quarrel heatedly

445 Of that we know it all
   If someone blesses your wife, then if he has poison
   he will go and kill you.
   If they will come to accord to fix things,
   if someone blesses your wife, how can you do that?

450 They will kill you.
   Ga; They they who heat their tongues, be cool.
   Jb; they will thus just kill
   Ga; There’s no mouth there. There’s no refusal there
   Nj; If a woman does for you, then from the beginning, for you it is
   not good. Therefore you stay
   But because its not thus, go and go from before it as if
   he killed off completely
   If you gather them, if you gather them together,
   he kills you off now

455 Then he will not live
   Ga; This person does for your wife, they heat their tongues,
   then they do thus so as to kill you
   Nj; Now of that, they don’t live
   If a woman does that to you, you divine, you do it to her then!

460 If you quarrel with her, she kills you off,
   you won’t stay alive
   She kills you off, your days were those before
   Gw; You’re talking nonsense
   Jb; You’re talking nonsense, what we we talking?

465 Nj; That’s to say they talk clearly
   Gw; Everyone babbles away
don’t babble away. don’t babble away.
   Thus talks Kg, you too don’t talk
   Until all the children are dead and all the adults also
   because who knew how to speak of it?
   But you listen, you, those of Gumbe
   [Nj; Its not us, do we know about it?
   Till the talk is clear
   [Gw; I am ill with the talk

470 Nj; Someone goes to divine of me,
   but doesn’t know my name
   As for me, here, I try to say: I am a senior person
   The affair of his sua is in our hands. We must talk right to the end
   If a chicken goes from my hands, mmm, then I will go and split it.

475 Gw; chärj exists. He has spoken his voice.

---

68 This passage is heated, impassioned rhetoric against adultery. Although, of course, a possible course of events it does not relate to the "normal" course of adultery in the village!
69 "heat tongues" idiom for quarreling.
Nj; Chág said to him, You are avoiding
In the talk of this person that I’ve heard
of that, I myself, I don’t know, and my things (divination) doesn’t know.
My mother doesn’t know (10)

Gamia & a Mbororo have a Fulfulde conversation:
 omitted but simultaneous with the
below until the Mbororo’s departure.

490 Gw; Now NG the thing this thing, you’ve removed it already
The talk already includes the healers, they’ve already removed it (1)70
Him here, he has a wife. No one must harm her
If you desire his territory, speak up (1)
For him71, you speak up, don’t walk and say it elsewhere,
he has open eyes72
The woman has said, for her it is thus
She wants what he wants73. <1=laughter
xxx; listen everyone xxx
Gw; Like when Ve was himself

500 a young man, they entered such a house
those who wounded him, they are where?
Ch; The meeting74 is tomorrow <= to Joseph
Gw; If it wasn’t bad it isn’t you
and today its not your sister,
only if I, I know
will I act so that there is suffering, suffering for him here
Nj; Perhaps it is the place of the Luo, how is it?75
I pass there to find what is mine
The place of the Luo but will I thus find it,

510 find my thing?
Ch; Patience is too much, too much
Everything in the house is patience
chág doesn’t do it, you must be patient, and your mouth too
With that they will know him

515 Gw; My patience is exhausted. Me I’m tired. I say

Departure of FultBe man from Mbor or Mbum

70 safi Fulfulde for tradition <Nûr safi> lit. traditional people, meaning people with treatments, that is, healers.
71 The doctor/nurse.
72 "open eyes" passing inherited witchcraft gives one the ability to detect witches; the bearer of such power has "open eyes".
73 Lit. this line is "of yours is of mine then," which I take to mean that his interests are hers.
74 The Chief is answering a question about a meeting to be held in Bankim
75 The inhabitants of Tor Luo hamlet are Mambila who descended from The Mambila Plateau before last wave of Mambila immigration which established the current political structure (i.e. the chiefs). Although there is no sign of lingering enmity the Luo retain a reputation of being great magicians (this term is used as a neutral one between witchcraft and treatments). Mentioned as autochthonous by comparison to the Chief they represent an independent place where sua oaths can be taken and it is to this that Nj refers.
If we listen here because this isn’t known

Ch; แชน แชน will know, we pay today a little of your patience, Moses

In this world we must have some patience. How can we do thus, how?

520 How can someone do that?

แชน knows we will pay with our patience (4)

xx;

Nj; aaha. Its thus. We, we from there, we there are just like that.

Say to BT: Come and take your chicken then

525 Ga; Patience, of that there is still some left

Ch; The thing is thus, thus, if some thing comes you give it to แ чем

แ-chan knows they will pay

Ga; cool (4)

530 Nj; Kie (3)

Young men you how it is, they summon the adulterers

Nj;; If a woman talks like that, he gives, he “marries” her

Disorderly, he began to walk with her

535 Ga; Kie

Gw; Its not some child that walks fast now <=laughter

Is it centipedes? <=laughter

Has she a stomach, like as not she’s not xxxx got a swelling stomach

Nj; Look for yourself.

540 Ga; Kie () Now he looks to cross you

Nj; When he starts to walk with your wife. He does what?

Jb; They’re just small children

Nj; What can we do?

Ga; Speak. () Always in the meetings they have spoken

545 If a person puts their mouth in there

No one should approach

At that point no one should get close

If someone - if they put grasses, the belt breaks, the world breaks

Its that that they do here.

550 WB; She is always at market <=laughter

Ga; So, the time approaches, people don’t get upset

76**“Having centipedes” in the stomach is an idiomatic excuse for walking slowly or in discomfort.**

77**End of tape T210A Start tape T210B.**

78**“put grasses” that is to say put evil treatments into something, the targets house or their food.**

79**the “belt breaks” idiom for great disaster.**

80**Loitering in the market can be represented as looking for trouble, looking for sexual partners.**

81**approaches’ The day is drawing on.**
Nj; That's to say illness, the child is ill. But if not ill[82]
then I say: it is lies
They "married" her in what bed, where?
555 If I haven't struck there at Njere < laughter[83]
Women are thus and so too are men.
The young man that I won't beat he must be
what sort of a youth from where?
Ga; How were we crossed before? How was it before?
560 You, you too, left in the night time, during the night
Nj; Sarki, Sarki came first but was left by
Ngombi who carried the girls beer while Sarki was just a young man
Sarki was just like that
It was when they go to drink a young girl's beer
565 They said come come come, they put out the fire
But that was just playing
You look beyond that hearing
Ga; Nothing came of it
Here there are only those of Gumbe
570 Night comes, the evening doesn't stay for the small women
Outside they can't see their backs, Kie!
Nj; Kie!
Gw; Men are thus, so are women too (20)
So, young men do something
575 I said:
my forehead is bad from the beginning ()
All my understanding is from divination, so it is.
Now they don't bless sua for small children
A small boy that marries a wife, is no longer a small boy ()
580 čan made it so she didn't conceive as I saw the suffering that would follow
after that, I put that, I put that to the divination
Allah, () that was that we people would die, all dead
(3) speak - speak it out. Talk
Nj; Where did you heat[84] it up?
585 Gw; Allah, I shake it so,
after you will go and do the thing in the square
You cut-through the work, you will continue till you know you wont pay
You will see afterwards
Jb; (1) Other things are thus
[
590 Nj; xxx xx
Jb; Others will not search afterwards
[
Nj; xxx xx
Jb; Others who are evil
[
Nj; xxx xx So
595 Jb; For you its a hearing of children

[82]If a child is not ill there's no evidence for the accusations. Nj discounts the illness of
Gw's wife - legitimate perhaps since she'd been ill for a long time already when this
happened.
[83]Obscure.
[84]Imitates sound of fast high pitched speech?
The Kulu Sua blessing

They are people. People are there in it, people

Gw; How can he say that? People are there in it.
For them, they have mothers
and other kin

600 they have other kin. () So
NG can go for a walk<sup>85</sup>
I walk, and I have a mother also
Nj; So it is
Gw; I have said

605 it's thus for me.
Jb; I said I saw it in divination (2)
Ng; Its sua, chop sua for both of us then (2)
Nj; Is it good for both of them?
Ng; They say for both of them xxxx

610 Nj; We lick we lick. They they take their things,
they will remove the sua thing
They will remove the sua chicken, they'll remove the money and chop sua
And if only one person comes here, we must remove them<sup>86</sup>

Jb; its thus

615 Nj; We remove us here?
Jb; Until afterwards they will come quickly.
We repair them again
Nj; aaa take away the money (3)
Mb; Like... Like Bt here if he quickly came after

620 saying, you didn't say it all, afterwards sua listens to the very end
I say this
Gw; That's well put

Mb; Its divination... Its old divination
it doesn't sit on good things

625 Gw; Its thus
Ga; xxx
Gw; don't eat people to the end
They will make you cool also, them them them cool

XX; aaiii <= Laughter

630 Gw; This is a cool thing =
Nj; = like there is the refuser (1)

---

<sup>85</sup>The affair will be sorted out so NG can go for a walk without fear of his wife committing adultery.

<sup>86</sup>"remove" Nj jumps between talking of the sua-oath to blessing sua; he wants a sua oath to be taken. Since both chicken and money are given to bless sua the preparations for this are the same as for taking an oath. This leads to an ambiguity in the actions thus far performed which Nj exploits in his speech, by referring to the taking of a sua-oath. However no one had gathered the necessary leaves so it was impossible at that point to take a sua-oath. Only one of the accused is present but they will bless him and hence "remove" the trouble from him, leaving the other party yet to be dealt with q.v. L616/7.
For picking okra is money, it’s hard is money
The head of sua is the chicken

Mb; chicken

635

Nj; The head of sua is the chicken, this money is just hard (2)
Jb; Give it to NG so he can give it to the chief

Nj; Money is a tricky thing

The head of sua is the chicken

Nb; NG take the chicken and give it to the chief

640

Ny; Pull the feathers, don’t talk
Ch; This is one chicken not three chickens

Mb; Pull that feather

Nj; He pulls the feathers of the chicken
Ch; He pulls the feathers

645

Nj; Pull the feathers, Bt, pull the feathers
Mb; Give it to him, go along with him

Ny; Hold them with the chicken

Nj; Hold them with the chicken

Mb; aaa thus (2)

650

Ch; La famille qu’il cherche il vont voir tout comme ça ()
Do you sit in the path? Get up.
Ch; Take the money then. L’argent()
Who knows what to do? You take it then.

Nj; aaa you aaa

655

Ga; Give it to Baba

Nj; Moses take that money, take it. You say but not again then

Ch; You there, its for you

Nj; Aaa take the piece of cloth you want

Ch; Who knows what to do Who will scrape? Who will do it?

660

Ni; Njaibi takes it again?

Ni; aaa

Ni; Give it to Ningé here

Nj; Give it then bless them ()

Ny; So he scrapes then

665

Nj; He places it so as to scrape on him

Bi; His sua is in their hands.

But I mustn’t scrape any more

Ni; He really scrapes then. He’s not forgotten ()

---

87 okra used as an example of an unfree good.
88 BT makes the preparatory actions for blessing sua: he pulls out some wing feathers then holding them beside the body of the chicken gives it to the chief. He then takes the money (the fine) which was previously planned on the ground before the chief and gives it (as directed L654) to an intermediary who gives it in turn, to Gw.
89 The first steps have been made before deciding who will actually officiate "the blessing".
90 Another nickname for Jb.
The Kulu Sua blessing

Nj; So who's got a knife?

670 (3) Anyone with a knife, give it to him
Ms; (4) Ho yo
Nj; (3) Give it
Mb; Give it (1)
Ny; don't give it to Ngomni he's got sua hands91

675 Nj; You go [outside] you scrape
Ngomni he knows how to scrape
If I’ve been scraped onto my body, I don’t leave my house ()
Take it, take this thing and go outside
Ni; You have said stay amongst your own?

680 Nj; eee
Ni; Cháq give the thing to the small children, the children roast it92
You give it to him, he will roast it
Nj; They scrape outside. You put it in your hands thus
Bt you go outside

685 You two, both of you, you put your hands thus
They bless outside
Nggu; I know that
Nj; (4) Scrape outside (2)
Ni; Once they've scraped they will roast and eat

690 Ny; You put out hands up, put out your hands <=laughter
Ny; You go and find some fire wood <=to Merup
Nj; Pass outside first. I will scrape into the hands
() into the hands () don’t scrape it all.
Gw; aaa it ends here with me

695 Till someone, someone injures the bodies of my children
Jb; () stay there NG
Nj; (1) You put your hands thus, in one place, together.
You put them together, right together.
Jb; You two together are friends

700 Gw; This one of mine here, if I find him afterwards
If I find him afterwards, Allah, I'll sort him out
Nj; (4) You scrape, you scrape the thing on one side and then on the other
Ny; He scrapes both sides
Mb; (2) That which the chief said, he spoke truly

705 This is evil meat =
Gw; = But if we hadn’t done it
You ostracize this one
This one here runs and finds me at home
Nj; Once you’ve scraped, you take earth and put it on the fingers93

710 You touch earth to the left
Gw; Allah, You're grinding up the hearing, only say
This person here has done what?

91The knife is being offered by a young man who has not entered men’s sua, therefore who has not got sua hands. Such a person cannot hand things directly to someone with sua hands.
92The chicken is given to young men who aren’t full initiates of sua to roast outside the Chief’s palace. Everyone present then eats a small portion as witness - just as occurs during a divorce.
93Nj is directing the actions from inside the Chief’s palace.
The Kulu Sua blessing

So talk to the people of Mvu, those of Mvulu and then to the younger brothers, those of Kg.

They come to my body

715 They say they come so as to talk to me
I say I know nothing
Jb; That's to say we said don't speak. We said don't speak
Nj; When you take the earth you put it in the left, you lick
You bless the things in their hearts, you bless the other one's heart.94

720 You lick with the tongue
You lick again with the left hand thus thus
and you lick again the left
Gw; I don't know about it
You stay quiet, you leave me.

725 Mb; aaa This hearing. You listen there.
They said to him: you remove his (thing) and go and do it outside.

55 seconds talk omitted about cars due from Banyo (mainly between Njaibi and Jacob).

Yesterday they walked from Mbor, when they returned, when they entered the village95

Ms; He said thus
Mb; Because

730 Ms; You didn't work with him
Mb; You see <= laughter
Nj; The hearing is finished
Gw; Go and consider if it should be done again <= laughter
Nj; Go go with yours

735 Ny; They came in the evening, did they leave in the evening? (3)
Nj; I don't know - it must be chopped.96
We can't stay...

Ny; Only if they've finished blessing
Nj; Once they've finished blessing everyone, they can chop properly

740 Ny; For that that remains, they pass to chopping
Nj; They look at her stomach
Ny; aaa We - When they've blessed both of them, they chop
then they'll chop the thing, then they'll chop the thing
Mb; The day the other one comes, if the other one comes

745 they () they () They will chop properly then.
Ny; aaa
Mb; Once they've blessed both of them
Ny; Both. That's proper, they chop properly then.
(5) Nggu you go and look for fire wood (2)

750 Ni; Gamia has left so he can come tomorrow to give the money

[ ]

Nj; Long ago He left long ago

---

94 "hearts" preferentially liver but carrying the metaphorical load of "heart". Also used, as here, to refer to the sternum. In linguistic usage the tema is the seat of desires and inclinations.

95 "they" the alleged adulterers.

96 "chopped" Nj still wants a sua-oath to be taken (i.e. cut or chopped).
The Kulu Sua blessing

Ny; (3) You say you must take a feather, grab it! <= approving
Oh flee from here! <= laughter
Nj; Oh, won’t you roast it? Go and roast it.

755 Mb; They will roast it, they’re looking for fire wood ()
Ny; I take it and say: this year, oi!
You will take it, go and take it, you take it, take it.(1)
Nj; We wait here, till its already roasted
Till we go and take its bones when we go there

760 Ny; I say as much. Afterwards you go and put your hands
Nj; we will scrape
Ch; So, thank you. Its in the hands of the seniors. ()
Nj; Ngenden97 you come and find me this evening, and we will scrape
That’s to say I will put them up a tree.

765 () Oh Nyakati you will hang it upside down somewhere else?
Ny; (2) you say again you’ll give the thing, give the thing
You leave & give it to me. You return the thing to the compound.
Now you will come
back still with something <= laughter
Nj; I myself, have I no deggor sua?98

770 Wb; Have you?
Nj; A deggor sua?
Gw; He laughs there
Ny; xxxx
Nj; If I do sua’s stomach99, if you don’t die in the morning
then when the evening comes you will die
Its my deggor (6)
Ki! world. () The world harms things Oi! (4)
they chop this (1) How can it be done?
Nj; The world harms things. Why is it so?

780 We’ve not blessed him
Where did Kg make his refusal?
Nj; I should know? This morning I talked with Mvulu
Bt; But I don’t have such things, I just hear of them
xx; You do what? (1)

785 Nj; You, what can we do
You flee things, you see the wife of someone flees as well
The thing of someone flees as well Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! ()
What can you say to that? ()
Ny; There is money here, we say.()

790 Nj; How will you talk?
Ny; Whenever there is money we will say it
Nj; When you’ve given him money don’t speak.
Mb; Only if.
Nj; he knows its only one of these days
So he doesn’t think, that’s to say money will someday come there
I’ll pass over it.
When do we meet again?

97Son of Njaibi, husband of Korsbon.
98the baton (also called ndungu) scraped into the palms of the adulterer(s) and cuckold during kulu sua.
99A curse made invoking sua while patting the stomach or even using the deggor sua qv. chapter on sua above.
The Kulu Sua blessing

Nj; Let any one come, they're someone's younger brother
Ni; But it passes thus, on what road?
800 Nj; I say, I say with Bt, when before,
He began to go out with women, began to go out.
() he began to go out with the woman
Ch; So you say, that's work that is
Tt; Your person wants it thus to please heaven

805 that's not enough
Nj; Its too much for us
Ni; How much it is, I find you with your work they've got quarrels, they do xxx xxx

Wb; xxx

810 Ni; No matter what length, I surpass them
Nj; That's what I said
It the woman that did that, they will
Nj; Women will fall, men will fall.
Women fall, men fall down
815 Ms; Money is paid but the women don't see any of it
Nj; You will go so the girl is too much
xx; xxx xxx
Ms; xxx xxx
xx;xxx xxx

820 Nj; I must go and go again to ask away then.
If they "marry", you ask: My house? it was where then?
She met them outside
xx; she met them outside
Ny; They said: woman, woman, at hand, its the thing of the people of the hearing
825 You only do things-
Nj; But that woman she herself was there <= laughter
Ny; You only do it () Women, you don't know now
It's beyond me, if reciprocally you return today now
she finds a child for free!
830 Nj; that woman=
Ny; = you men you just run away, alright
Nj; Its thus they say
They say women now, small children they do do evil, doing...
They allow them

Short break in recording: change of tape (T207a/T207b)

835 You are ill, that's the end of the hearing

Nggu; she did this thing then
Ms; For this, women, they do it but they don't pay

\[100\]He starts walking out (with women).
\[101\]Original in Fulfulde.
\[102\]"reciprocally" the word kuo is ambiguous between bone, to die and to do reciprocally
which is the only sense which in any way makes any sense here, although the translator still
has reservations on the issue.
The Kulu Sua blessing

Nj; This is
Ms; If they do it and pay, tomorrow, some day

840 How did the boys take her?
She won't want to.
Nj; For this we stop in the talk of illness
Bt it is you, he gives a chicken
You Bt, they say to you: they'll kill you off

845 Go with a chicken, go, go and take it (3)
For me, I bless sua, my talk is finished (3) <= Claps hands three times
xx; Qu'est ce qu'il faut encore bien parler
Nj; For me, my sua is the old law (4)
If you had spoken. If you hadn't fled from the things of people (8)

850 Ny; Its one day's work (1) Finished, now there just remains me. <= Laughter
Nj; Will we be here for two days? For you Nyakati
Ni; You say tomorrow tomorrow to talk. Talk one day
that they grind grind grind grind till...
Nj; eeee

855 Ni; how is it a thing of one day? (2)
Wb; Njai, in your sua enclosure have you roasted ginger? 103
Nj; Aaaa?
Wb; In your sua enclosure, ginger pop, popping!
Nj; The sua enclosure at Beya's?

860 Wb; At Beya's 104 <= laughter
Mb; He's got things, he goes with -
Nj; aaa you don't blow the cloth 105
Blow the cloth soon, how can he blow the cloth, how is it. <= Laughter
Wb; aaaa

865 Nj; He doesn't blow the cloth
Wb; If blowing is too much?
Mb; How? If it were my world, how many wives would I have now?
Nj; They blew the cloth, its traditional.
Mb; Ha?

870 Nj; Will they blow cloth?
Ch; Before did they blow like this?
Mb; Before, they blew your cloth 106
afterwards thus, if no news 107 was seen
They would want to take her back, to reclaim her then.

875 Wb; oooo ()

Section untranscribed: c. 2 minutes of talk between Mb, Nj and Ch

Ch; Your talk; you of Kg (3) it is a true hearing

103 WB refers to the final rite of men's sua as danced for a funeral, or after the annual men's masquerade. Thus he is asking if Nj has finished.

104 This sua enclosure has fallen down

105 Cloth. Here the reference is to the chuar chok the chicken of the cloth which is given by the bridegroom to the bride's eldest brother when she goes to lie with her husband. The brother then spit roasts it on a fire made specially for the purpose on a path beside his house.

106 i.e. accompanied the new bride to the bride-groom's house

107 News NB a Fulfulde loan. It is not clear if the speaker means to imply pregnancy on the part of the new wife or receipt of the bridewealth (or some part thereof) by her family.
The Kulu Sua blessing

You're things with intelligence (3)
parce que its not fast traditional hearing as you think it is now ()
Today you see a small hearing like this, or not like this

880
yes we will go outside
Tomorrow like it or not, you will go outside (2)
Dans la generalité we are things of dossiers parce que
We all follow the things that the officials do
The officials look at the dossiers, they watch us

885
We have hearings that come always
They just say: Ki! those there
they just want too many hearings
In that village the people want too many hearings
They do them endlessly.

890
So it is because of that you see me here, I stay
and see even those things that you see
Today the things of the hearing, they accompanied me down there ()
In a year if its rushed even one or two hearings are many,
they are too many

895
We that do them all, I don’t want hearings to kill the village
XX; mmm
Ch; Thank you, the talk of your problem, you those of Kg here
I have said, I have talked to Kg,
I have said to Kg: He must look for money (1)

900
Because I have seen the bill
They wrote a bill, () they gave it to me
Them, they wrote a bill, they gave it to me
So I could see the thing, they gave it, they gave it ()
They wrote a bill they gave it to me ()

905
I spoke to Kg, () Kg said to me: no,
The things they had written together, that they'd written together
those things he knew nothing of them ()
So, there were others he did know of, he knew, () he himself had provided them (1)
He said to the woman’s husband, to find the money

910
He had taken them in what month?
Wait for what month? Wait for what month ()
Of this thing here I tell you truly
You haven’t been clear
They didn’t call him, so he could be clear

915
Because () marriage () is a thing with its own laws. (1)
Today you take a wife, you look at the woman’s character
You're not tired. You say: Non ()
I'm not tired of your character
The small things that you do, don’t tire me out

920
Things come. () The house changes
today you take a wife, (1) you and your wife are at home
Today you see the woman misbehaving
Hey my wife, come back!
You're upset, the woman says its not, its not you
You're upset, the woman says its not, its not you
That sort of thing is still different (2)
Now we cannot mix the pedals
Bon, today there is a divorce of a woman with a baby
there is a divorce of a woman without a baby, there’s everything

930
If you want a hearing today
You think it through right to the end of the road (1)
Is the road to where? Its whose road?
Is it this one here's road? Is it this one here’s road?
Is it this one here’s road? ()

935 If you see the road that you will follow
You say now we will take yours in bulk
The clear work was that... Gangfi and Li there 108
Your hearing will go: you mustn't make a fierce case
Gangfi’s people... you have one place

940 If you two stay as two he will come and tell you each time
I have to call him: Gangfi what is it?
If you see your children in the hands of people ()
Its your wife. () Today, always I say
mmmmm people “bless” her, people “bless” her

945 because you never stroll to that house ()
Today or tomorrow, any year, you will only take one maize (head)
Your wife takes the maize, goes to the child. Now is that too much?
Take a soap bar, and say: my wife take it. You say: I bless the child with it
Is that too much now?

950 So, you can sleep soundly with no worries.
Now the hearing says to you: is it you child? It is mine.
() So, one two its the dismissal.
You divorce the woman if the hearing says so
You divorce the woman () you don’t ask anything

955 [ ]

960 Jb; For her then who did she “marry”
Ch; That’s the thing of marriage
If you divorce you don’t ask a thing
But if a woman transgresses
not even a needle stays in her hand. You, you go and ask.()

So for this I will make a “condition”.
The “condition” what is it?
You look: illness. Illness puis que
she is an ill person. To Kg for the, the,

108Gangfi and Li want the bridewealth back from Kung Jeremy following his daughter’s divorce. This took place amongst recriminations from either side following her previous husband’s mental problems subsequent to falling ill (probably with cerebral malaria). Such illness can occasion witchcraft suspicions if not outright accusation, thus leading to a case at the Chief’s Palace over the return of bridewealth following the remarriage of Kung’s daughter. DIAGRAM 8.3 The return of Gangfi and Li’s Bridewealth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baba</th>
<th>Gi</th>
<th>Kung Jeremy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangfi Wong</td>
<td></td>
<td>Café</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB this also explains why Baba can call Kung’s daughter “masi” (Z in L) since Kung is guna (P in L) to Baba
The Kulu Sua blessing

the money that they give

965 You search, if you find something
You go with the thing as if we're looking you do give it all to Taillu
because his body has a trouble.
Because we fix it up amongst the village
XX; So it is

970 Ch; mhm. Your declaration here.
its not just that we can go with strength
We will go and take it intelligently (1)
On one side hearts are painful, and on the other side your hearts are painful
Ta; That's the palace road, we the husbands don't know.

975 Ch; Yes, of this I talked with whom? You go carefully <= laughter

xx; xxxx xx xxxx
TA; xxxx xxxx xxx
Its not that we did her in the house
Divination didn't want it

980 The others didn't want it, not even one
If he knew her (1) If he knew her

Ch; You have spoken to her, the woman
Did the woman know you?
() Aaa that's a new hearing that will arise from that.

985 Puis que, for me, I understood that the woman was bad. They said: oui

TA; Where did they harm her?
If illness comes into your family, all your family
You all die
Ch; No, because no (4)

990 Mb; xxx xxx
TA; xxx xxx
Nj; You say you want to marry her then <= laughter
TA; How don't I marry?

995 Mb; xxx xxx
TA; How can I not marry?
Am I not a man
Jb; (1) Now Moses

1000 TA; How can I not marry?
Jb; If you fix it up again, look at what you do

1005 What is my hearing?
Were you upset before or weren't you?

TA; You say I don't marry. How can't I marry her
Jb; Look at this person that sorts you out
Come out of there. How old is he?

TA; Start start with me.
Jb; Does he leave again today?

TA; People say you marry xxx xx
that's for people, children are what?
Nj; you run away from the hearing
The Kulu Sua blessing

1010 Jb; Its only you, its your hearing, its not for me to speak on it
        I’ve no eyes for your hearing. That’s for sure

        [TA; Is this hearing finished? Me here, if he married her, the child married her
        you woman, ... you you you who is it?
        Jb; Now its the woman, if she doesn’t want her husband

1015 Kp; You’re tearing your thing apart. The chiefs talk privately, its not for you
        Now I know
        TA; You don’t say: for me, I will marry
        Nj; () So, the chief shows the way (3)
        Ny; How can he show them the road?

1020 Kp; He shows them the road which (2.5)
        He asks things, he asks things of his work

        [XX; xxx xxx
        Kp; He asks his things
        XX; xxx xxx

1025 Ni?; The woman won’t live, the Chief’s wife wont live
        [Nj; Its not a small thing
        Ng?; Its not a woman in his hands
        Ni?; for me I have a stick =
        Mb; = You listen

1030 Tt; Jacob, the law forgives xxxx the law

        [Nj; The chief has already finished speaking. You’ve heard it already
        TA; The law forgives even this person
        he is thus, as Allah says
        Allah forgives and helps him

1035 Forgiven by Allah he must stay thus
        It will go like this, like the story of the woman.
        Ni; My mother said here, I xxx

        [Nj; The chief has already spoken. I have spoken
        I bury Kg. Kg is where?

1040 We have buried Kg?
        He’s not here, with you
        If he’d passed here we’d have seen him
        He passes here, I will go to Kg’s compound
        Kg doesn’t pass and give her the thing

1045 She crossed the hand of Kg, to give him ()
        You will give what thing of yours?

        [Ta; The senior is in charge of all the women in the compound () So Allah ()
        Its the forgiveness of Allah here
        Ni; My mother told me all about it

1050 Nj; But can we see the things before the chief does?
        She puts the thing before the chief, so the chief says once again what?
        She goes to find Kg. She arrives at his compound
        She put her hand on the veranda, and gave it to him
        That comes from you chief ()

1055 Mb; Its the hearing, this person changes his tune
        () This one you are in the pronouncement of the chief
        Listen to your talk, will we return?
The Kulu Sua blessing

TA; aha, for me to laugh, its not good
Nj; she goes to Kg’s veranda

1060 She put her hand there, and gave it to him
TA; aaaa () To start with your hand won’t live
Nj; go in front of Kg’s veranda, where was it like?

[ Ny; Ki! leave it out
Nj; Hearings like this come & summon. Go and talk to Kg

1065 Say to Kg, give you the thing
Kg gives it to you
You’re something like Nde109 over there?
Like, like if a hearing comes like someone comes quickly (5)
Ny; The chief says: patience, its not thus.
So he goes, its already finished.

1070 Nj; Our hands are already finished
don’t you laugh?
We won’t open our mouths again (9)
aaa laughter comes from where?

Break in recording for a few minutes

1075 Mb; The child before was a child of Njai
That’s to say Kg’s children are Njai’s children

[Nj; Twenty years twenty years
Kg’s not paid a thing
Mb; He’s a child of Njai, so a child of the sua man?
Nj; Even for twenty years Kg hasn’t paid him a thing.(1)

1080 Listen to me: you descend, you descend, you climb
You descend you climb (3) <= Laughter
Mb; Listen to me
You don’t send things, and beside that
Listen to me, Vaju is whose child?110

1085 Now you run away from it.
xx; They speak wisely
Nj(2) Aaa? Listen to me, the chief has said his piece: “fiuŋ!”
You stay afterwards, you go somewhere else
Illness does for us, we have our illnesses

1090 So, in the talk of illness we say, yes, what can we do?
If that child stays in the house.
Have they fallen fast asleep?
They’ve fallen fast asleep
Nj; ɜɜ

1095 Ga; He doesn’t brush it off? <= Laughter
Nj; If you want a woman you must be clever
Ga; Tie her up with string?
Mb; He catches her so she sleeps in the house
She flies off where?

1100 (1) If she’s at someone’s house they do say: she’s no longer a wife.
Nj; That she comes here, if she will leave the veranda before the truth is out

109 Nde is eB of chief (1F). The allusion is not understood by the translator.
110 Njaibi stands in an authority relationship comparable to a father over any of Kg’s children since Vaju’s mother is Bake, Njaibi’s sister. Vaju is Kg’s wife.
The Kulu Sua blessing

If, before a person gave her something
They gave the thing and chàq gives it to you then
Ga; So

1105
Nj; You go and take it, you you take the thing cleverly
[Ngwa Paul; xxx xx
Ga; Right until
Ny; They're not over there
Nggwa; That's all, you don’t know everything
1110
Ny; If they, if they don’t flee the evening, the evening comes.
Nj; (8) So now then our hearing is finished

Break in recording for some minutes

Ny; Of that I say I don’t say anything here
He stays here at the side, he shuts his mouth "patap"
Ga; Did you see him with anything?

1115
Ny; You saw the eager search, then you put it thus
Your lying hands are deep
Ch; I'll chase, chase you right to Jabule’s compound
Ny; (2) I understand
Ch; (1) The person is in your hands, vraiment.

1120
If something’s the matter
I go and call a meeting, you don’t come, So
but don’t walk around and say I didn’t know
Ga; So
xx; xxx

End of recording. The Chief continued to launch his recurrent complaint of the poor attendance at meetings.

Fieldnotes Relevant to the second hearing

GW presented the case rather than his elder brother (or NG himself for that matter) as a result of divination about the case.

Before recording started GW was talking about all NG’s expenses on wife/work for house.

Kotap fetched the nduggu sua, and gave it to Njaibi. BT fetched a chicken, then handed it with 20,000 CFA to NG (the money came from another Gumbe man).

Two feathers plucked out whilst NG held the chick. These feathers were then held alongside the chicken. He then gave it to the Chief who blessed it, and passed it back along the line of Notables.

The nduggu sua and knife were given to Tabë Paul who rose, showed them to the Chief then went outside the verandah onto the square. NG and BT joined him and

111A Distance of four kilometres
crouched down before him cupping their hands before their chests. The *ndungu sua* was scraped onto their heads and hands while Njaibi directed.

Jacob took the money which had been laid on the dais at the Chief’s feet.

Merup lit a fire beside the Palace and roasted the chicken - alive as are all “ritual” chickens.

Distribution of the meat:

First leaf-wrapped parcel of meat given to Taba Paul.

Second parcel taken by K3tap into Chief’s Palace - portion for the Chief?

The rest is handed round to all present. It is offered to Papa, then Nyakati, Ve, Mbinyu Paul, Jacob, K3tap...

While the tape was not running someone rose and left saying he was going to fetch KG. This made Papa cross: he shouted angrily at the man before he himself left. KG was not fetched.

*Comments on the text*

The two long transcripts which have just been presented provide examples of many typical features of hearings at the Chief’s Palace. There is little formality in the presentation of cases and a case can be discussed on several occasions without any resolution being realized, despite the much-repeated injunction to resolve disputes speedily. Many more disputes are discussed at the Chief’s Palace than sua-oaths are sworn. The blessing of *kulu sua* was performed at the end of the adultery case at issue without being fully resolved. The arguments had been made in public, and public resolution achieved insofar as BT agreed to pay a fine, and to participate in the blessing. The marriage of AAA and NG continued to be marked with fierce rows in which her mother’s husband acted as an intermediary on the request of NG. Some months later NG finished building their new house and they seemed much happier living together in their own house.

Hutchins 1980, and Goldman 1983 have applied socio-linguistic and script analysis to Melanesian disputes. In the study of African disputes Comaroff and Roberts (1981) provide a synthesis of the conflicting views of Bohannan (1957) and Gluckman (1955) which they resolve in their procesual account of Tswanna disputes. Their evidence is mainly based on the wealth of Tswanna court records which are available rather than on what is actually said during a hearing. The fine details of Tswanna rhetoric and argument in action remain unavailable and unanalysed.

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112 On the course of a Saturday or Sunday afternoon (the days when most disputes are heard) at the Palace two or three disputes will be discussed, but others will be mentioned as being in prospect, or an attempt to hold a hearing will fail because one of the parties fails to attend. It is rare, however, to take more than one sua-oath in an afternoon.
Full analysis of Mambila rhetoric in any detail, paralleling the achievements of Goldman or Hutchins, must await another occasion. The concern here is to use the transcripts as evidence for an analysis of the traditional religion. We have already seen above how the concept of “age” and “being old” were used by a Notable (Njaibi) when his authority was challenged by NG’s refusal to attend the hearing. Sua was also invoked, often in the same passages, thus establishing, or arguing for, a metaphoric link between the Notable (because old) and the power of sua which he described as being old, above: First Hearing lines 242 ff, 296 and 313; Second Hearing line 848.

With respect to sua kulu, however, it is very different from the sua oaths already examined. There is no formalized speech accompanying the ritual actions, indeed the ritual is an almost insignificant part of the dispute as it was pursued at the Palace. Njaibi wanted a sua oath to be taken. The sua referred to in the transcript is not the sua kulu rite which had just occurred, but the sua-oath. Sua kulu is not powerful nor binding.

Sua encapsulates a range of experience, to do with power and control. Sua kulu falls into this range since the rite occurs at the conclusion of a dispute-resolution process which leads to sua kulu only if the adulterer admits to the adultery and is prepared to re-establish amicable relations with the wronged husband. Power and control are central elements of the context within which sua kulu occurs.
Chapter Nine

Conclusions

THE PROBLEM

The problem which I have been tackling is one common to ethnographers, and especially those who have recently returned from the field. The question essentially is what to do with those Mambila concepts which are vague and incomplete. The more I have pondered this problem the less confident I am about how to resolve it, yet at the same time I feel all the more forcefully the injunction to be faithful to what I experienced in the field, and to what the people with whom I work say and do. "Faithful" is a word which seems to sit safely in the minefield of discussions about realism and reflexivity in science generally as well as in anthropology.

COSMOLOGY

There is a tension between the theoretical position here advocated and the ethnography outlined above. The theoretical arguments must not be seen as denying that the Mambila have a cosmology. These arguments do not imply that they have no unifying world view, nor any account which can classify all and any events and actions. This is a possible but incorrect reading of the arguments. To restate the case here maintained: in the absence of a literate and reflective tradition Mambila cosmology is ineluctably vague. This is not, however, to say it that does not exist. The theoretical arguments serve to define the attitude with which the ethnography is to be read. Surprisingly there is common ground with the degree of elaboration to be found in the political (let alone economic) concepts held by people in Britain. Words can be powerful, moving forces without being well developed concepts. Words equally well understood can be referentially void.

If this is correct then there are major problems in giving any account of "the cosmological system". I will now present a short summary of Mambila religion. This is,

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1Early versions of parts of this chapter have been presented at seminars of the Manchester Department of Social Anthropology and the Oxford Institute. I am grateful for both opportunities to discuss these ideas. Marcus Banks read an early draft, and all these discussions have helped clarify the argument.

2This has been further developed by Boyer's (1986) discussion of empty concepts and in the work on the development of scientific terms such as "phlogiston."
Conclusions

however, to be read in the context of the argument about vagueness and incompleteness presented above.

My evidence for Mambila Cosmology can be summarized by the following schemas:

    { who made you? Chàŋ did.
    {Cause of (natural) illness
     Chàŋ
     {Cause of (natural) events (e.g. as used in sua speeches)
      {God in Christian discourse
      {Personal spirit
      {Spirits in the bush

     {masquerades
     sua {oaths

     Men: power of the oaths coming from masquerade? i.e. the masquerade makes visible that which “seizes” (in oath) and detects evil (dama)

     Women: possibly the same.

     Divination: not integrated into a cosmological system?

     The preceding chapters serve to give substance to this very sparse summary. In particular the chapters on sua-oaths and sua masquerades enable us to understand both the essential unity and the multiplicity of sua.

     The power of the oaths is reinforced by images from the masquerades (at least for men who, as children were, all terrified by the sua Mask).

     The varieties of oath relate to the concerns of the oath-takers, public, private, great or little. Public oaths are (those) taken at the Chief’s Palace. The main sua-oath is taken at
the end of a process of dispute resolution, and it serves as a marker of that conclusion. The stated intention is to prevent the malevolent intervention of witches.

Public sua-oaths may also be taken, as described above, in conjunction with the dame rite to "close" the village to evil and to mark a public resolve (in the case cited: not to drink moonshine). The combination of the two rites is intended to protect the village from malevolence both by insiders and by outsiders. Effectively, those present swear not to practise witchcraft; hence the oath-taking is a personal commitment by each participant not to contravene either the specific prohibition against moonshine or the more far-reaching injunctions expressed in dame.

Resolution of adultery, as a "lesser" public dispute, is marked by sua kulu, the sua blessing in which no oaths are taken. Amity is re-established and the intervention of witches is thereby prevented. Lengthy hearings precede the blessing and enable the airing of grievances. As in all disputes an arena is provided for the establishment, maintenance and reassessment of status, authority and power. All sua rites address issues of power and agency.

Private concerns are addressed in the sua kare oath which is taken at home. A householder protects his house and family from witchcraft. This may be an initial response to illness which were it to continue or become serious may lead to a hearing at the Chief's Palace in order to make a public witchcraft accusation and hence lead to a major sua-oath being taken.

Li sua may be performed in private contexts for lesser issues (e.g. petty theft) since it is revocable. The ease of performance (no grasses must be sought, nor chicken procured) renders it likely to be chosen to begin a funeral beer-drink when divination has warned of the threat of poisoning.

It was suggested in the preface that by examining transcripts of events wherein sua is enacted we can reach an understanding of it which is, at least, available to Mambila themselves. Hence we have examined transcripts from several varieties of sua. Yet no informal talk has been considered. It might be suggested that such talk is an important forum in which concepts of sua are created and refined. I maintain that this is not the case for the Mambila concept of sua. Informal conversations, for example during beer drinks, contained no philosophical discussion of "the meaning of sua". Sua is discussed rarely on such occasions, and then it is the method of performance which is commented upon: such questions as, for example, what would happen if the chicken was not cleanly beheaded at a sua-oath rite. Occasionally the talk between Notables at the Chief's Palace turned to sua, but this too concerned aspects of its implementation, for example, in anticipation of a masquerade performance of the history of ownership of different masks was rehearsed.
Conclusions

There is also an idiom in use: sua à sie mi (sua it seizing me), which is well translated by “I am stricken by conscience”. This relates to the sua-oaths, and to the action of sua which is invoked in the sua addresses.

Informal talk such as this is informative only with reference to the formal enactments of sua as detailed in the preceding chapters. The performances of sua are the means by which one comes to understand it. One learns divination through practice not through separate theoretical tuition. Informal talk, as it is infrequent and concerns not the why but the how, is of secondary importance.

The most general summary of sua has already been stated: its various manifestations summarize (or encapsulate) a range of experience relating to power and control. Agency is a corollary of power, hence there are utterances which ascribe agency to sua, such as the idiom just mentioned, or such as occur in the refrain to dame. This is not to say that sua is an agent; rather: it provides a means of talking about the domain of agency.

The summary of “Mambila cosmology” with which this section began is below represented in a manner which highlights some of the contrasts which articulate the “cosmological structure”.

**Diagram 9.1: Cosmological structure**

```
Bush       Village
         
       Chap

(Chap Tandalu) witches divination

         
       People

Bush       Village
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Chap Tandalu is definitely “of the bush” but there is no contrasting element in the village, as first structuralist principles might lead one to expect. As Sperber suggests (1974:59) structuralism is a useful game to play, and within the sua masquerades it is revealing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>men’s sua</th>
<th>women’s sua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>costume</td>
<td>human form (village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>enclosure in village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dance clockwise\(^1\) anti-clockwise

However, finding a few binary oppositions is not sufficient to justify a full-blown structural analysis. Neither the existence of these oppositions nor the diagram above is sufficient to establish a definite "cosmological structure".

Any account of a "religious/cosmological system" is constrained by at least the two factors which follow:

a) it must be consistent with observed practice, i.e. the evidence here presented;

b) the account must be acceptable to most Mambila.

The latter constraint requires qualification. It is clear that any account which was generally and speedily dismissed as incorrect by those we work with would be unsatisfactory. Yet what to do when an account receives a mixed response? Here we have the classic problems which afflict structuralist analyses of unconscious or unstated structures. Whilst sua may not be "essentially contested" (cf. Gallie 1956) it may be essentially vague; at the least it must be so in order to accommodate the range of activities subsumed under its name. A reasonable conclusion is that the range of activities and things called sua would be narrowed and restricted were theology to be developed in Somié. Current usage results from the freedom from "definition" in its more restrictive senses. To do things with words there must be freedom from scholastic quibbling. This fits well with Boyer's (1986) account of the Fang notion of Evur which he argues is, like all "mana-terms", not an empty concept but a "natural kind" or "mass term" whose possible range of meaning is constrained by the learning process. There is an obvious variety of routes to increasing knowledge about concrete objects, whereas with abstract ideas there exist only the learning and variations (repetitions) of use. There is a self-contained Wittgensteinian "language game." Sua, however, is in part a concrete object; it can be seen. Moreover, it is also not tied to a hierarchy of knowledge as is the Fang concept of Evur. Boyer describes a process of learning whereby experts diverge from the stereotype, but this does not characterize the process of learning about sua. Everyone participates in masquerade rites. Everyone can be present and at least hear the addresses made during the sua-oaths.

Boyer states that "differences in the styles of discourse about a certain notion are instrumental in shaping people's representation of it." (Boyer 1986:63). The cases which have been examined of the various manifestations of sua in Somié are distinct from each other, and as a group from other concepts (such as chàn) in many more ways than merely in the different styles of discourse employed. Speech is not an important element of the

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\(^1\)At the very beginning of men's sua dancing the fire is circled three times anti-clockwise by a lone dancer. The direction of the dancing is clockwise thereafter.
Conclusions

masquerades. The representations that people have of sua are certainly influenced by the ways in which it is talked about, and more importantly, by the ways in which "sua" is used in talk. The argument of this work is that it is possible to draw conclusions as to the faithful characterization of such representations. The final section argues that by so doing one steps beyond a Wittgensteinian "account" of linguistic practise, and in so doing one provides a socialization of Sperber's analysis.

A WORKING RELIGION

This ethnography seeks to describe "what is done with" the word sua. Thus it begins by following Wittgenstein's adage not to ask for the meaning but to look to the use of a word (Wittgenstein 1958). However, realism entails going beyond usage to meaning, despite Wittgenstein's arguments against such a step. The dilemma thus occasioned is discussed below.

In this work I have outlined the different ways in which the words sua and châj are used and the different things they name, and I have given some of the idioms in which these words commonly arise. If we persist in asking "What does sua mean?" What type of answer do we want?

Sperber's Solution.

Sperber, in discussing "Apparently Irrational Beliefs" (Sperber 1982:169), introduces the idea of a semi-propositional representation as "a conceptual representation which fails to identify one and only one proposition." This he sees as a negative attribute, albeit a useful one since it enables the "processing" of otherwise unusable information. A semi-propositional representation may be the result of incomplete comprehension of a single proposition intended by the speaker. Alternatively the speaker may only have a semi-propositional representation, and it may be this that the speaker "intended to convey" (op cit. 170). A semi-propositional representation merely determines a range of possible interpretations. As such it can serve as a step towards full comprehension (for example: children learning language). It can also be a response to contradiction: a possible strategy is to semi-propositionalize rather than to reject outright.

Other semi-propositional representations are semi-propositional ab initio.

"The speaker's or author's intention is not to convey a specific proposition. It is to provide a range of possible interpretations and incite the hearer or reader to search that range for the interpretation most relevant to him. The ideas which come

1 Or those of Needham (1972) which have served as warnings of dangers inherent in, rather than guides to, this analysis.

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as by-products of this search may suffice to make it worthwhile, even, or, rather, particularly when no proper interpretation is ever arrived at.” (op cit. 171)

Later he summarizes with the slogan: “If not silly then profound!.” And profound is, of course, another word for semi-propositional. (op cit.173) Sperber also distinguishes factual from representational beliefs (op cit.171 ff). “Apparently irrational beliefs” are then seen to be “representational beliefs of semi-propositional content” (op cit. 177).

In dismissal of intellectualism he says “the world is hard enough to explain without golden-hearted single-horned dragons” (p 152). This, however, begs the question of who it is who wants to explain the world. It is our concern. Sperber’s informant, Filate, was not sitting down (advised use of sitting) and seeking to “explain the world”. He lives in the world and seeks to negotiate a way through it without Occamist scruples. If this necessitates dragon hunts then so be it...

I agree with Sperber on many points. I want to take seriously his rather flippant explanation of why Filate talked about dragons with golden hearts. Sperber gives an account of a marginalized, aged hunter who knows that his stories will not be listened to. A trader at the market had told him about a dragon, and the white man may be the best audience to whom he may recount what he has been told. Moreover, the white man may own or have access to guns, and thus be able to help a hunter.

Leaving aside further questions of whether his taxonomy of beliefs and representations is helpful I will attempt to situate this approach sociologically.

Strecker has recently (1988) taken Sperber to task for focussing on the point of view of the hearer at the expense of that of the speaker. Strecker argues that this leads to an under-valuation of the reasons why multi-vocal utterances are produced. In particular these reasons may be the micro-political factors which are clearly involved in structuring verbal interaction, as has been demonstrated by Brown & Levinson (1978). It is this area which I want to explore further.

Discussing Quine’s radical translation problem it was argued above that translation manifestly is possible since we live in the real world and could not survive if the problem were as insuperable as it is claimed. Pragmatic reality obtrudes and this is sufficient to “establish a bridgehead.” [While one can debate elegantly whether gavagi is rabbit or rabbit-stage, it is a lot harder to construct a convincing argument about basic body functions. It is not necessary to have one’s nose rubbed in it to know what mber means].

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1This is a variant of the same idea expressed in “Rethinking Symbolism” and quoted p45 above.

2Hallen & Sodipo (1987) give a sympathetic presentation of Quine’s argument but nonetheless continue to analyse Yoruba concepts of knowledge. Their success in this analysis sits oddly with Quine’s argument of the impossibility of translation.
There is room to make a not-unrelated argument concerning “precise concepts”, particularly when these are the central tenets of a religion. This is to suggest that the difference between folk religions and religions with a theological (reflexive) component does not lie in the opposition of city-vs.-town, great-vs.-small traditions, but can be explained by just such an appeal to “pragmatic reality.” Here, however, the appeal is to a different feature of “pragmatic reality” than that invoked in my response to Quine. The practical demands of everyday life require flexibility in order that concepts can be applied. These requirements leave little time to worry about the possible indeterminacy (following Quine) of many basic sortal words. Similarly, it is not possible to worry about the existing vagueness of other “religious” concepts. No room is left by the sort of “boot-strapping” strategies called the “natural attitude” by ethnomethodologists, for example Heritage 1984:54 ff, discussing the problem of “other minds:”

“The actor in the natural attitude does not need to prove (or have it proved) that the other’s actions are animated by goals and intentions. Rather the actor starts out with the unquestioned assumption that this is the case. Thus the actor’s task is not the “philosophical” one of justifying a belief in ‘other minds’ [or any other analytical task: D.Z.], but the empirical task of specifying their ‘contents’ - the goals, intentions &c. - which are operative on any given occasion.” (ibid. p 57)

This is a perfect description of Bourdieu’s Doxa, the unquestioned assumptions, precepts, bodily attitudes et cetera, which form the unstated basis of habitus. It should be noted that such an analysis is independent of Sperber’s arguments. Thus it allows a process of social positioning to precede and complement the sort of symbolic analysis which Sperber advocates, although, obviously, I have caveats about the form that this analysis should take. For example: an analysis of symbolism must take into account the degree of fixity of definition of its subject. Thus the manner in which a word in the tradition of Christian literate theology is symbolic is quite different from the manner in which the word sua is symbolic.

Socio-cultural positioning must precede symbolic analysis. This is a position close to that of Strecker and stems from his concern with speech-strategies from the speaker’s point of view. It is quite possible for some concepts to be refined, precise, well-formed whilst others, equally frequent in use, are crude, worked-with but not -on. It should be remembered that there obtains no philosophical injunction to clarify concepts through analysis. A weaker injunction suffices: namely to understand linguistic usage per se. In that sense alone am I Wittgensteinian.

Christine Swanton (Swanton 1985) has recently taken up W.B. Gallie’s arguments (Gallie 1956) that many terms, especially those in politics, are “essentially contested”, and that this is different from being “radically confused”. Gallie argued that there are terms for which there is no best definition, or, at least, no warrant for the choice of such.
Competition among rival interpretations is inevitable, unending and to be welcomed. Whether or not such concepts do exist (both Swanton and Allison (Allison 1984) doubt that they do) anthropologists are as interested in those which are radically confused as in any which are essentially contested. We want to know the use to which they are put, and why or how their use persists.

If all that is needed for the concepts to be usable, and indeed to have explanatory power, is that certain very basic semantic properties be defined\(^1\) then we can see how the Somié system works without a theology, and without a structure as it would usually be understood.

What I am describing is not a totally minimalist religion (there could be even less than there is) but a religion in which the structure which exists is built into the semantics and is never made explicit. It is a religion which could be systematized and given a theology\(^2\). This has not occurred so far and there are reasons why this is so. It is ironic that this work may provoke such activity, especially since most of its potential readership of educated Mambila hold Church positions. But in the absence of a theological tradition the religion must not be seen as having more structure than it in fact has. This is wholly in accord with Keesing's statement: "I believe that the creation of developed theologies among Oceanic speakers reflects the emergence of a class of theologians." (Keesing 1984:152).

A system, in the sense here intended, is a set of inter-connected concepts. The dilemma posed by Mambila religion is that it consists of a set of inter-connectable concepts. The difference is telling. It is helpful to draw a parallel with the status of theorems in mathematics. Once proved a theorem is tautologous by virtue of its proof\(^3\). It is, along with all the other theorems, implicit in the basic axioms of mathematics. However, until the proof has been made, the theorem was deducible, but not deduced. Its status was uncertain. A similar uncertainty obtains of Mambila religion as long as it is not systematized. It is possible to make it into a system by deriving or formalizing the inter-connections. Until that is done it remains latent, a system in potential alone.

The words are vague because they have never been made precise. There is no reason why they should be. Reflection and discussion concerns cases and people (as described by Horton 1967). Jack Goody has argued (1977, 1986) that literacy and a literate tradition have wide-reaching cognitive effects. In their absence critical conceptual scrutiny

\(^1\)Boyer 1989:9 cites Keil on this point; see also Keesing 1985, and Lakoff & Kovecses 1987

\(^2\)Nigel Barley's "Symbolic Structures" (1983) may be a first step in that direction for the Dowayo.

\(^3\)Gödel's theorem notwithstanding, which establishes that the converse does not hold: i.e. there are theorems which are not finitely provable.
and enquiry which intends disengagement do not arise⁴. Moreover, the vagaries of oral transmission militate against a continuing and developing critique. Goody’s arguments establish reasons why a theological tradition should not have developed.

In any society, literate or not, the uses of vagueness are manifold. Evasive speech is a pervasive feature of Western politics. Speech which says little while sounding definitive is accomplished by the use of “hedges” and “weasel words” (Strecker, Levinson) and they are made to sound authoritative by the use of rhetorical devices (as described by Max Atkinson 1984). Where the key concepts are vague then “grammatically” precise speech remains open to the multiplicity of interpretation which is an explicit possibility in clearly hedged or multi-vocal utterances. So, to say of someone “sua has seized them”, or of an event simply “it is sua” is to leave much open for debate. So too in western politics with words which are themselves “essentially contested;” Sperber’s examples of “words with fuzzy meanings” include ‘love’, ‘faith’, ‘leftism’ ‘sport’ (Sperber 1982:160).

If this correctly identifies a fundamental element of West African traditional religion, then it raises new questions. Why are existing accounts as structured as they are? Is this a result of the concerns of the ethnographer or do other societies have reflective traditions which Mambila lack? Probably both. Now we must ask: given that a society which has a reflective tradition, why does it have it? The obvious way to address this question is with reference to political structure. The connection between political structure and religion has been central to anthropology since Durkheim. It may be suggested that theology is absent or at least is not disseminated in mechanical (i.e. more homogeneous) societies. Counter-examples exist of course, that of the Ndembu being particularly apposite here. So the idea must be further refined. Equally we must pause to consider whether there is less to Ndembu religion than has been described. Or rather: whether what there is, is less precise.

The relationship of religion to power is complicated and multi-factoral. I shall consider here one aspect alone, namely the effects and corollaries of having a more or a less formulated theology, and one that is more or less disseminated. If a word is not well understood, or, more importantly for my argument, if a word is only loosely defined then it can be readily affirmed with little cognitive commitment. As Sperber puts it, there can be “a strong commitment to a very weak claim” (Sperber 1982:173). This has a clear political use: everyone can feel as though they are in agreement. A single unifying discourse can be constructed such that everyone will agree with it, agree to be bound by it. Agreement is made far easier if some of the terms are vague and loosely defined, for this enables the facile agreement of people while obscuring their different opinions and interests.

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⁴Finnegan’s criticism (1988) of such strong claims are considered briefly in the Preface to this work.
Conclusions

Such an approach can be taken to imply that there are pragmatic reasons why theology should not develop, at least from within. Those in power benefit from poorly-defined concepts. Yet this last statement is incorrect since it may be that no-one recognizes the effects of under-definition. Moreover, theology may develop but not be disseminated. Such is Bourdieu’s “orthodoxy”. This introduces a further element into the picture: The Division of Intellectual Labour (henceforth “DoIL”). If words are vague but are believed to be well understood by some people then everyone can concur, and the authority of these knowledgeable “others” may be increased. Theologians wield power in a manner consistent with Bourdieu’s approach to symbolic power. I stress that this is far from exhausting the notion of symbolic power. I seek only to explore one aspect of it.

The following diagram of Symbolic power shows the presence/absence of theology and the degree of +/- dissemination (existence of DoIL) as cartesian axes:

**Theology Present**

**ORTHODOXY**
Symbolic Power, belief in knowledgeable others

**DISSENT:**
everyone an expert

**Democracy:**
Low DoIL

**Theocracy:**
High DoIL

**Theology Absent**

**DOXA (1)**
No one an expert

**DOXA (2)** Symbolic Power, false belief in knowledgeable others

Dissemination, the degree of DoIL, is crucial. Yet this does not cover the Mambila case very well. I have labeled the third quadrant “no one is an expert”, but what seems to occur in the Mambila case is that in the absence of theology people behave as if DoIL were present, and a theology existed. This is so at least to the extent that questions are deflected by reference to expert others (often dead). Edwards (1984:80) gives a similar characterization of Tiv belief.
If there is DoIL but no theology then people talk as if specialists know, whereas those people may not really have any detailed beliefs or knowledge. This is a different sort of Doxa (thus I've called it Doxa (2)) to that described by Bourdieu, and it stands between Doxa (1) (as he describes) and Orthodoxy proper by its presumed existence. This is another example of boot-strapping or the ethnomethodological "natural attitude."

This is consistent with what Lewis says of a Gnau ritual healing: "they are absorbed by the practical details of doing it more than by questions about the assumptions entailed by their actions. A man doing magic or a doctor is possibly quite like a cook or a carpenter in this respect: he does not necessarily think out again each time he acts what could be the logic of what he is doing, the assumptions behind it. He has a skill, knows the routine, gets on with it and does it. Habit and routine make it familiar. ... Habit is unthinking." (Lewis 1986:426). This stands as a further development of the argument of "The Day of Shining Red" (1980) in which Lewis considered the problems of interpreting Gnau puberty rites which receive, like the Mambila sua, no indigenous commentary. Interpretations are possible, and may help anthropologists "understand" Gnau ritual. But Gnau are skilled practitioners, as are Mambila, and they act in the (possibly misplaced) confidence that their ritual actions can be explained and justified. The rituals are seen to work, as does Western medicine. Lewis considers someone who goes to a witch to be healed because of their success in healing other people. Would, he asks "action done in that pragmatic spirit be evidence of a belief in magic, or just empiricism? People often learn a technique without bothering at all about the principles or any other theory behind it." (1986:422 following Keith Thomas). Doctors do not, I am told, know how aspirin works.

Kopytoff discusses an African group (the Suku) who make a firm distinction between the fruits of speculation and knowledge (Kopytoff 1981). The first cannot lead to the second. For example, Suku divination is retrospective, revealing previously unknown causes of events, but it does not speculate about the future. Kopytoff continues to say that "speculation is idle because the matter is clearly knowable in principle but too important to speculate about. In the latter case speculation begins to border on the irresponsible: the more serious the matter, the more important the truth about it and the less justified idle conjecturing." (Kopytoff 1981:716). Mambila would concur with this, although they do not explicitly make such a rigid distinction between knowledge and opinion.

The greatest perplexity arising from Sperber is why the difference between propositions and semi-propositional representations should be so arcane. If this distinction is so pervasive then why is it not recognized? Why do we behave (talk) as if every thing were propositional? One answer may be that it is insupportable and therefore impossible to live in the the world while making such a distinction. In ordinary discourse it is impossible
to admit to talking nonsense, using words which are weakly understood, even if no one
understands them better. Such talk gets nowhere if the usual hedges et cetera are employed.
(Hedges such as (in English): “I think”, “possibly”, “it may be”, “I don’t know but...” or (in
jù bà): tame, merre di...). Sperber’s explanation of why Filate did not recount the story
of the dragon to other Dorze assumes comprehension of this.

In order to explain more clearly what occurs in the Mambila case I will outline the
way in which sua and power in Somié are connected.

At one level of analysis sua is among the most fundamental ways in which male
domination is achieved and perpetuated. Women have their own masquerade which is
powerful in its own right but they cannot take sua-oaths. When oaths are taken women are
encouraged to hear the addresses but they can neither watch directly nor make addresses
themselves. Nonetheless, women are bound by the oaths.

As stated above, the institution of the Chief seems to have been adopted from the
Tikar after the arrival of Mambila on the Tikar Plain. The support of Colonial and
Independent administrations has helped turn a loan into an active institution at the centre of
many village affairs. The acephalous system described in Nigeria by Farnham Rehffisch
was a male gerontocracy. The rôle of the Notables, the old men who gather at the Chief’s
Palace to talk and who are involved in hearings and meetings, is an example of the mutual
accommodation of the two systems. The elders cede power to the Chief, who acts as Chair,
and the Chief listens and heeds the counsel given. It is not at all clear to what extent he
would be able to enforce a policy in opposition to the elders without the sanction of his rôle
by the state authorities. I know of no case in which the Chief has had such a clash with the
elders.

Turning to sua, it is clear that the Chief plays an important rôle, both in the oaths
and in the men’s masquerade. (There remains a lacuna in my knowledge with respect to the
relationship of the Chief to the women’s masquerade: he must leave the Palace during some
of its component rites, but I do not know if he has a rôle in any of the others).

A sua-oath is used to mark the end of disputes which have been heard at the Palace.
It is for the Chief to pronounce (if not to decide alone) the satisfactory conclusion of the
case so that the sua-oath can be taken. Both in the masquerade and in such oaths various
items are presented to him and to him alone to be blessed before their use. Thus there is a
measure in which the Chief is identified with the power of sua. In many respects sua sits
behind the Chief and serves not only to legitimate but also as one of the means by which his
authority is realized.
Appendix 1.

Causes of illness
(discussed in Chapter Two, Section 1)

Four senior men, all with reputations as diviners and curers were asked about the different types of illness and how they should be treated. Their accounts of the treatment of the two broad types of illness (caused by *chàŋ* or caused by people (*nùr*)) are summarized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAUSE:</th>
<th>MA 302/78</th>
<th>KUNG 303/15</th>
<th>BI 303/10</th>
<th>TAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>chàŋ</em></td>
<td>lə</td>
<td>lə</td>
<td>lə*</td>
<td>lə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nùr</em></td>
<td>lə to drive</td>
<td>divn then sua</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>sua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

divn-Chief

- off witch or lə.
- by its *Lə- cut chicken* (*ta nduan*)
- smell over ill person
- So sim. to *sua*
- or warning off:
- or *Lə to aid* Lə to aid recovery
- recovery

*NB he classed *dul* (fever) & cough separately as just illness, not work of *chàŋ*!
Appendix 2.

Documented Mambila Masks

The table below is based on documentary sources pertaining to Nigerian Mambilla. Since no intensive enquiry has been done on Mambila religion in Nigeria identifications such as the much cited “kike” raffia-pith sculptures as being “ancestral figures” are questionable. In the absence of any means to corroborate the documentary sources I list the recorded names for different varieties of sua and for other ritual objects without further comment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>object name</th>
<th>commentary</th>
<th>source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>showa/sur/sowi</td>
<td>general name for masks, hidden from women; used at fertility and at important burials.</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah bvur</td>
<td>mask: dog, owl, 'tear'?</td>
<td>Schwartz 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah bur</td>
<td>dancing mask of the first rank</td>
<td>Tong 1967:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bur</td>
<td>'dog' mask from Mbamnga</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah dua</td>
<td>mask: crow</td>
<td>Schwartz 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah dua</td>
<td>Sacred bird, mutual aid soc.</td>
<td>Gebauer 1979:154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah dua</td>
<td>dancing mask of the second rank</td>
<td>Tong 1967:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duwa</td>
<td>Main Suwa masks</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah ndeng</td>
<td>fibre suits; sexual jokes</td>
<td>Schwartz 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah ndeng</td>
<td>the dancing suit</td>
<td>Tong 1967:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah ndang</td>
<td>black suits used to discipline children, in conjunction with the Suwa rites</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafe</td>
<td>'wind' mask from Tep Kwar</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahir</td>
<td>'storm' mask from Mbamnga</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nsua ndua</td>
<td>Bird, annual dance of Kurum mutual aid society</td>
<td>Gebauer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1There are major collections of Mambila sculpture in the United States of America, in particular those of Gebauer and Schneider. I have not had the opportunity to study these collections nor their documentation in situ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>swaba</td>
<td>fibre dancing suit, Atta Hurault (1954)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gomva</td>
<td>black fibre dancing suit, Atta Hurault (1954)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbom</td>
<td>fibre dancing suit, Atta Hurault (1954)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kike</td>
<td>raffia pith figurine Tong 1967:8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tadep</td>
<td>wood figurine Tong 1967:8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawong</td>
<td>wood flute Tong 1967:8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices

Appendix 3

J.H. Pollock’s 1926 MbeMbe Assessment Report
(Appendix to Chapter 3: Divination)

(Copies in Buea archives and in Library of Bambui Regional Major Seminary, Cameroon)

Paragraph 196. “Practically the only superstition or cult of the occult is divination which is known as KA in the MBEMBE area and BAKA in the BUNGWUN area. When it is desired to consult the oracle KA on any matter, a KA servant (NSURAKA) is called; after being told what information is required, he finds a land crab hole. The seeker for information then takes a stick and touching his forehead with it, recites his request and asks the stick to request KA to give an answer, he then taps the entrance to the burrow with the stick and drawing it along the ground for a distance of about 10 inches, sticks the stick into the ground. Another stick is similarly placed in the ground which represents the negative answer, this is repeated for as many times as the supplicant has questions to ask, the burrow is then covered with leaves of trees, these leaves are marked with camwood, holes are burned in them and they are scratched or marked with a knife. NGURAKA and the supplicant then leave the burrow, after an hour or so they return and if the land crab has emerged and scattered the leaves NGURAKA is able to interpret the placing of the leaves as answers to the questions. Should the leaves be scattered around in an indiscriminate manner it is interpreted as showing that KA is not prepared to answer any of the questions asked, if a number of the marked leaves are piled at a particular stick then the answer given by the oracle is the question given to that particular stick.”

Paragraph 197: “KA is consulted on all manner of things affecting the life and well being of these people. This oracle is the most powerful factor in the lives of everyone in the area. When a man dies and it is desired to know if his soul has been received amongst the blessed or cast-out to wander for ever in the bush KA is consulted, on occasions of famine or sickness when it is desired to know how to propitiate the deity KA is consulted, before a chief and his people proceed to their usual fishing KA will be asked if the time is propitious, should a man intend proceeding on a trading expedition he will demand of KA whether his adventure will be successful or not, should KA give an adverse answer then the trading expedition will be postponed altogether.”
LINGUISTIC APPENDICES:

Full transcripts with word-for-word glosses of the texts translated above.

References to the notes in the main text are given by superscript numbers in which the chapter number is followed by the footnote number:

for example: 6#12 is footnote 12 to chapter 6.

Transcription conventions are repeated at the end of this work.
Appendix to Chapter 6
The transcript of a Sua-Oath

Chefferie sua 8/12/85
Ga= Guanam
Ta= Tam Umaru
Nj= Njaibi
Jb= Jacob

0 Ga; mi nde sua cho. Mi cho. Ngue mi
   mi nde sua cho. Mi cho. Ngue mi
I go sua cut I cut Listen me

1 Jb; Ngue ye bo ve le < Heh heh >= Banging on the chefferie
doors for attention
   Ngue ye bo ve le heh heh
   listen you FL. woman in

2 Heh heh, Bi fela sua boó see.
   heh heh bi fela sua boó see
   you listen sua do work

3 Ga; W6 sar ye, w6 fum ye6#7, Tam tue ju lane gi naá
   w6 sar ye w6 fum ye Tam tue ju lane
   you spearers yours you shape-changer yours Tam say talk today
   end PAST

4 W6 nüär sar, w6 nüär fám,
   w6 nüär sar w6 nüär fám
   you person spearer you person shape-changer

5 w6 mgbati loó ni, w6 mgbati yuop.
   w6 mgbati loó ni w6 mgbati yuop
   you witch compound who you witch theft?

6 Te bëe te w6 ve baá kulu6#8. ku kulu
   te bëe te w6 ve baá kulu ku kulu
   NEG harm NEG you woman PRES. bless bless bless

7 Nüär më w6 furu më ne gi chuar6#9,
   nüär më w6 furu më ne gi chuar
   person that you bury with is egg chicken

8 bë kwa nji ke du, sua sie bu sie.
   bë kwa nji ke du sua sie bu sie
   we find thing at ground sua take it take

9 Mave, huan sep (1) w6 nyugë më loó bi yë,
   mave huan sep w6 nyugë më loó bi yë
   woman child male you repair with compound yours yours
10 wò fum yə, () bó tué ju loŋ6#10 gi naá
wò fum yə bó tué ju loŋ gi naá
you witch yours they say talk compound end PAST

11 Wò nńaàr ñene, wò je: wula kə nńaàr ().
wò nńaàr ñene wò je wula kə nńaàr
you person see you say kill at person

12 Ngwagam kə van hën mi yə yə yə6#11 (1)
Ngwagam kə van hën mi yə yə yə
maize at plain this I eat eat eat

13 Ma mi kə ñgwa mi so tema chén
ma mi kə ñgwa mi so tema chén
if I know NEG. I live liver one

14 Bē mbi mō nde togo gi mun.
bē mbi mō nde togo gi mun
we friend mine go quarrel end thus

15 Loó Ndeba6#12, bō Taa ja: wula nńaàr ke du.
loŋ nńeaba bō taa ja wula nńaàr ke du
compound PL. Atta say kill person at ground

16 Mi ñgwaŋam yə yə yə.
mi ñgwaŋam yə yə yə
I maize eat eat eat

17 Mi hën den də,
mi hën den də
I this stay of

18 və mō suaga kə ter njulu chugu,
və mō suaga kə ter njulu chugu
woman mine descend at up eyes blind

19 bō wula bu lu,
bō wula bu lu
they kill her SUB.EMP.

20 bi je: bi gwom wula bu lu. Bi xxx,
bi je bi gwom wula bu lu bi xxx
you say you pay kill her SUB.EMP. you xxx

21 wò nńaàr gwom te gwom.
wò nńaàr gwom te gwom
you person pay NEG pay

22 Wò ñene yə yə yə.
wò ñene yə yə yə
you see eat eat eat

23 Wò jena ñgwaŋam, () wò jena yulu.
wò jena ñgwaŋam wò jena yulu
you refuse maize you refuse millet

24 Fə mgbe mə den də, bó mgbe yə.
fə mgbe mə den də bó mgbe yə
25 (1) Kenahen bò tue mgbe, tue tema chén.

Kenahen bò tue mgbe tue tema chén

now they say chief say liver one

26 Bò jibi bu akili, bò jibi bò vo, bò jibi bò Ṽuna,

bò jibi bu akili bò jibi bò vo bò jibi bò Ṽuna

they shake her intelligence they shake PL. wife they shake PL. child

27 Bò Ndeba dòŋ, bò va, bò sep,

bò Ndeba dòŋ bò va bò sep

PL. Ndeba all PL. woman PL. male

28 wò jè nyì ñene mava wa, nyì siri,

wò jè nyì ñene mava wa nyì siri

you say speaker see woman CONJ. speaker harm

29 nyì siri huan sep, nyì siri mava.

nyì siri huan sep nyì siri mava

speaker harm child male speaker harm woman

30 Njibu le sap, njibu le tū²¹³.

njibu le sap njibu le tu

stop in snake stop in tree

31 Wò kuò, wò mana ñgwagam hàn yè yè yè

wò kuò wò mana ñgwagam hàn yè yè yè

you die you thus maize this eat eat eat

32 Mì bì sòn bì yè chèn²¹⁴, fà²¹⁵ bì yè tare.()

mì bì sòn bì yè chèn fà bì yè tare

if you mouth you yours one head yours yours hard

33 < Nde seé sua hàn >= To Tam

dè seé sua hàn

go do sua this

34 Ta; Mi, mì nùàr tue dènè hàn,

mì mì nùàr tue dènè hàn

I I person say here this

35 Lèlì mè mgbe Mogo kùó²¹⁶ mè mi nè dènè.

lèlì mè mgbe Mogo kùó mè mi nè dènè

yesterday with chief Mogo die that I is here

36 Täm chu nàá nè ban, mi yila

tam chu nàá nè ban mi yila

time return PAST is ill I call

37 bò kuku bò lòò dènè dòŋ pat.

bò kuku bò lòò dènè dòŋ pat

PL. elder PL. village here all all

38 Mì bìli bò bè chene mbò bu mbò.()

mì bìli bò bè chene mbò bu mbò
I together them place one divine it divine

39 Bi ke nji ma mgbe né gachén ga giye.
bi ke nji ma mgbe né gachén ga giye
you look thing with chief is true there over-there

40 Bi ke né njulu bì yè bì. (1)
bì ke né njulu bì yè bì 1
you look is eyes you yours yours

41 Bi ṭene né () dèn né nan wa?
bì ṭene né dèn né nan wa
you see is here is how QN.

42 Ko la mèna Njai6#17 hèn, wò hèn,
ko la mèna njai hèn wò hèn
even PAST thus Njai this you this

43 mi yila baa wò kàn.
mi yila baa wò kàn
I call PRES. you already

44 Nju Buwo nàa ha ma gë ter6#18 ha ma
buwo nàa ha ma gë ter ha ma
we-two PAST until then at up until then

45 Ta;To. Mi boó bò Ngeya, bò Ngon, bò Tabè6#19,
to mi boó bò Ngeya bò Ngon bò Tabè
To I do PL. Ngeya PL.Ngon PL.Tabè

46 bò Nyimadoñ, bò Nia6#20 hèn.
bò Nyimadoñ bò Nia hèn
PL. Nyimadoñ PL. Nia this

47 Mi yila gi bò. Bò hèn bí né dàne,
mi yila gi bò bò hèn bí né dàne
I call end them they this you is here

48 bi ke né mgbe deda na ka ter giya ni
bi ke né mgbe deda na ka ter giya ni
you look is chief suitable is at up overthere who

49 Bi ṭene njulu bì yè, bì dede, né nan wa? ()
bì ṭene njulu bì yè bì dede né nan wa
you see eyes you yours properly is how QN.

50 Bi mbò nè bò mbò wa, bi mbò mbò ṣgwe wa?
bì mbò nè bò mbò wa bi mbò mbò ṣgwe wa
you divine is we divine QN. you divine divine NEG. QN.

51 Mi nyàge nàa ka tema chèn6#21(1)
mi nyàge nàa ka tema chèn
I repair is at liver one

52 Mi ṭene njulu mò wa?
mì ṭene njulu mò wa
I see eyes mine QN.
Sua Oath Transcript

53 Ñgam nde né bë hiun.
Ñgam nde né bë hiun
divination go is place different

54 Mi le naa njai mò kë Taa yon mò.
mi le naa njai mò kë taa yon mò
I PAST PAST thing mine at Atta stroll mine

55 Mi nde yë dua, mi ñene ñgam du.()
mi nde yë dua mi ñene ñgam du
I go at there I see divination ground

56 Ñgam jo bogo yogo me ge Taa
Ñgam jo bogo yogo me ge taa
divination say boiling surpass that at Atta

57 Mi wa ke ló hën,
mi wa ke ló hën
I arrive at village this

58 mi wa né Njai ma Jumvop né ten
mi wa né Njai ma Jumvop né ten
I take is Njai then Jumvop is there-is

59 Bë tuñ ne te tuñ ha bë ke
bë tuñ ne te tuñ ha bë ke
we organise is so organise until we look

60 ñgam yogo né bë me terrup.()
ñgam yogo né bë me terrup
divination surpass is us with force

61 Mi tema né Bì.6
mi tema né Bì
I send is Bì

62 Bì han jë: nde kë ter, tue kë ma 6 de.
Bì han jë nde kë ter tue kë ma de
Bì this say go at up say at woman some

63 A chu chu, mgbe chu chu ka ló hën ñgwë.
a chu chu mgbe chu chu ka ló hën ñgwë
she return return chief return return at compound this NEG.

64 Mgbe né kë ter giya dade den wa?
mgbe né kë ter giya dade den wa
chief is at up over-there small stay QN.

65 Kwë mgbe nde né kuô, le nde kë ter giya
kwë mgbe nde né kuô le nde kë ter giya
tomorrow chief go is die in go at up over-there

66 Bò nde nde, bu wa.
bò nde nde bu wa
they go go he arrive

67 Nj; xxxxxxxxxxx

251
68 Ta; Saa mi jula né faguli mi je:
saa mi jula né faguli mi je
that I flee is shame I say

69 Bi nde nde yor bò nùar semta=
bì nde nde yor bò nùar semta
you go go body PL. person shame

70 Ga;
Mun
thus

71 Ta; Ma chié sen gi naá kén ndeka a waa, a kuwa kó lóó.(1)
ma chié sen gi naá kén ndeka a waa a kuwa kó lóó
if day his end PAST already must he arrive he die at village

72 Bi nè den, nùar chema. (1) Bi hàn nde nè kó ter de
Bi nè den nùar chema. Bi hàn nde nè kó ter de
Bi is here person living Bi this go is at up of

73 bòó nè dé ma dé saa bu hàn nde ve liya kén
bòó nè dé ma dé saa bu hàn nde ve liya kén
do is of if of that he this go bad remains already

74 Mi je bòó: mgbe bòó yè, bi lè ló suú
mi je bòó mgbe bòó yè bi lè ló suú
I say them chief do yours thing treatment treat again-NEG

75 Ndeka dé a chu ka lóó, bë bòó su safi
nìdeka dé a chu ka lóó bë bòó su safi
must of he return at village we do again with-treatments

76 Wa: Hoï! () Ye: nyí nè lè ló gi ngwe yè
wa hoi yè nyí nè lè ló gi ngwe yè
say say speaker is treatment treat end NEG. NEG.

77 Mi nyåge ka tema chën.(2)
mi nyåge ka tema chën.1
I repair at liver one

78 Leli ma a kuó né mani.
leli ma a kuó né mani
yesterday if he die is thus

79 Bò wè, bë fon cho né kaa () bë mberi mberi6#26
bò wè bë fon cho né kaa bë mberi mberi
they take we search chop is at we sort-out sort-out

80 Bë homo né chue tè homo homo homo
bë homo né chue tè homo homo homo
we tired is hunger NEG. tired tired tired

81 Bi huan mgbe dé, bë jë: bë sie wè nè
bì huan mgbe dé bë jë bë sie wè nè
PL. child chief of we say we take take is

82 Dega6#27 man, tè sam ngwe.
Dega man tè sam ngwe
Dega thus NEG. not NEG.

83 Bá gi né lu, te sam ñgwe.
bá gi né lu te sam ngwe
we end is SUB.EMP. NEG. not NEG.

84 Mgbe bó mbó né bá lu.()
mgbe bó mbó né bá lu
chief they divine is we freely

85 Bá ja ye: mgbe sie ya.() Bí bar mi lè wa?
bá ja ye mgbe sie ya bí bar mi lè wa
we say chief take you you jealous me in QN.

86 òe Núär kan ja:() ma..ma mi sela sam ñgwe wa
òe nùär kan ja ma ma mi sela sam ngwe wa
òe person anyone say if if I cross not NEG. QN.

87 Nyi la den baá la kogo.
nyi la den baá la kogo
speaker PAST stay PRES. PAST stool

88 Núär kan ja: ma mi sela sam ñgwe wa
nùär kan ja ma mi sela sam ngwe wa
person anyone say if if I cross not NEG. QN.

89 Nyi la de baá la kogo,
nyi la de baá la kogo
speaker PAST stay PRES. PAST stool

90 Mi tue ñaga né ñyàgo né te bi ñgue ñyàgo baa si.
mi tue ñaga né nyàgo né te bi ñgue nyàgo baa si
I say clear is repair is at you listen repair good -ness

91 (1) Te bi ñgue ñyàgo baa si,
1 te bi ñgue nyàgo baa si
at you Listen repair good -ness

92 Mi tue, te bi ñgue baa si.
mi tue te bi ñgue baa si
I say so you understand good -ness

93 Ma bi vu ñgue. () Chie né loñ,
ma bi vu ñgue chie né loñ
if you leave NEG. death is space

94 Mgbe a wò nde homo kuò go jēmu, boó sam ñgwe.6#28
mgbe a wô nde homo kuô go jêmû, boô sam ngwe.
chief to you go tired die walk after do not NEG.

95 Seé sen bé homo homo, nde nde à kuô.(2)
seé sen bé homo homo nde nde à kuô.(2)
work his we tired tired go go he die (2)

96 Mi gwan ñgwe lanen
mi gwan ngwe lanen
I want NEG. today
bē wā wò, bē kwa kē loó.  
we take you we put at village

Njē vēn wā lane. Wō wō gu kuó gu,  
thing evil arrive today you you walk die walk

dō wō gu kuó gu dē.  
tomorrow you walk die walk of

Loō bē mē nji- Ma mun nē bē.()  
village ours with thing if thus go ours

Ma loō den, loō bī yē dān dānē,  
if village here village yours here here

Saa bāá ju, saa bāá ju  
that PRES. talk that PRES. talk

Loō bī yē né loō baa sam ngwe.  
village you yours is village good not NEG.

Chīē bē bare né den nē njai dē bare dē.  
day we hide is stay is thing of hide of

Bē bare nē ngām chi.  
we hide is because that

Buo huan mgbe dī,  
you-two child chief some

Bu hua nji, bu hua njērēdī sam.6#29  
it borrow thing it borrow something not

Ter mi ko nē ter tele mō, nē ter mī mō 6#30.  
palm I cut is palm father mine is palm mother mine

Ndekā bē bō mī mō kuō  
from place PL. mother mine die

Bō sé kwa nē bō nōr chiē  
they work put is PL. speech outside

Bō bī mō kuō nē bō sé kwa nē bō nōr chiē
bò bi mò kuó ná bò seé kwa ná bò nór chìa
Pl. e.-same-sex-sib. mine die is they do put is PL. speech outside

112 Nji mè Kwa6#31 tue ná, né le mò hən
nji mè Kwa tue ná né le mò hən
thing that Kwa say is is in mine this

113 Nji mè Ti tue ná, né le mò hən.
nji mè Ti tue ná né le mò hən
thing that Ti say is is in mine this

114 Nji mè Kwe tue ná, né le mò hən.
nji mè Kwe tue ná né le mò hən
thing that Kwe say is is in mine this

115 Mi huan mani, tele sam ngwə.
mì huan mani tele sam ngwə
I child small father not NEG.

116 Mi leteni bò, Toö hən le kuó yuo kən.
mì leteni bò Toö hən le kuó yuo kən
I between them Toö this PAST die leave already

117 Ter ya yiə le naa bê be Toö
ter ya yiə le naa bê be Toö
palm there overthere in PAST ours hand Toö

118 Toö kuó naá kən.
Toö kuó naá kən
Toö die FAST already

119 Njitabə yila yi ten.
Njitabə yila yi ten
Njitabə enter at there-is

120 Njitabə kuó, nde Dadia. A kuó kən.
Njitabə kuó nde Dadia a kuó kən
Njitabə die go Dadia he die already

121 Njitabə liya mə hwun sen. Kwa wə,
Njitabə liya mə hwun sen kwa wə
Njitabə remains with alone his Kwa take

122 a nde, a kwa Kwa.
a nde a kwa Kwa
he go he find Kwa

123 Bò Kwa cher né kəô.
bò Kwa cher né kəô.
PL. Kwa sleep is SUB.EMP.

124 A kú né nuna tìe. Kənəhən ma tìe yə...
a kú né nuna tìe kənəhən ma tìe yə
he orphan is child sister now if sister yours

125 ma... ma... huan yə né liya kəô wə,
ma ma huan ye né liya koó we
if if child yours is remains SUB.EMP. take

126 huan wo, wò we ngywe.
huan wo wò we ngywe
child take you take NEG.

127 xx;
xx;

128 Ta; Wò kú ngye né bu ja:
wò kú ngye né bu ja
you orphan repair is it say

129 De Kwa a den né, te a ham de ter lu.
de kwa a den né te a ham de ter lu
of Kwa he stay is so he fat of palm freely

130 Njitaba kë mbam hën ndé né be Kwa.
Njitaba kë mbam hën ndé né be Kwa
Njitaba at Chefferie this go is hand Kwa

131 A le cher nè ngâm kú yogo né bu ko. A kú ngye nè bu
a le cher nè ngâm kú yogo né bu ko. A kú ngye nè bu
she PAST sleep is because orphan surpass is him SUB.EMP. he
orphan repair is him

132 Ta Kwa a dan te Njitaba kë de nè ter hën né
të Kwa a den te Njitaba kë de nè ter hën né
so Kwa he here so Njitaba cut of is palm this is

133 hën nè... () hën nè... né né (1)
hën nè hën nè nè nè 1
this is this is is is

134 nè ter më Toö ko lo nè.
nè ter më Toö ko lo nè
is palm that Toö cut treat is

135 Bò Kwe bò bò ??Ngoro?? doug pat ter bôn. ()
bò kwe bë bë Ngoro doug pat ter bôn
PL. Kwe we we Ngoro all all palm theirs

136 Mgbe Menandi le ha nè bò,
mgbé Menandi le ha nè bò
chief Menandi PAST give is them

137 Ter më Gamgbe ko dënë kë Makobo6#32 ka ki yë.(2)
ter më Gamgbe ko dënë kë Makobo ka kiya.2
palm that Gamgbe cut here at Makobo at there

138 Mgbe Menandi le ha nè bò ter de a ()
mgbé Menandi le ha nè bò ter de a
chief Menandi PAST give is PL. palm stay to

139 Ka ki yë ko bò më nè mi siri njeređi
ka ki ye ko bò ma ne mi siri njërdi
at at there know them with is I harm something

140 mi guli mò ko ten dubu ngwe.
mi guli mò ko ten dubu ngwe
I foot mine at there-is plant NEG.

141 Ko këmboro chue die tè tabè 66
ko këmboro chue die tè tabè 66
even palmnuts fall fall at earth

142 Ma mi wà mi doma ye tè tabè ngàm
ma mi wà mi doma ye tè tabè ngam
if I take I pick-up eat at earth because

143 ma mi chu mi gwom nde ke () ke Makobo ki yia
ma mi chu mi gwom nde ke ke Makobo ki yia
if I return I pay go at at Makobo at overthere

144 mi ko ter Chàn à yen mi.(1)
mi ko ter chàn à yen mi.1
I cut palm chàn it refuse me

145 Bè mi këla né de mi këla le ter një tele mò,
bè mi këla né de mi këla le ter një tele mò
place I pass is of I pass PAST palm thing father mine

146 lè një mi mò.
lè një mi mò
PAST thing mother mine

147 Buo bò huan më dalela njërdí sam ngwe. (3)
buo bò huan më dalela njërdí sam ngwe 3
you-two PL. child that motive something not NEG.

148 Mgbe kuò bé sie nyugë
mgbe kuò bé sie nyugë
chief die we take repair

149 né de hën, den su, bé nyugë né6#33
né de hën den su bé nyugë né
is of this stay again we repair is

150 A tue jë: bé bò kam kam bò,
a tue jë bé bò kam kam bò
he say say we PL. old old PL.

151 bé lòò sie nyugë ngwe wa?
bé lòò sie nyugë ngwe wa
we village take repair NEG. QN.

152 Bé lòò sie ngwe. Lòò bé sie né bë ke?
bé lòò sie ngwe lòò bé sie né bë ke
we village take NEG. village we take is place what

153 Ngwe bé tue nyugë një wa?
Ngwe bé tue nyugë një wa
NEG. we say repair thing QN.
154 Nùår wò bar nùår né mi ten ha
nùår wò bar nùår né mi ten ha
person you jealous person is I there-is until

155 Wò de né je: ma mi den bè né de ki wa?
wò de né je ma mi den bè né de ki wa
you of is say if I stay place is of where QN.

156 Tà nyí chuua sum mi wa, dè më le wa?
tà nyí chuua sum mi wa dè më le wa
so speaker remove remove me QN. of with remains QN.

157 Mi le sön kumu naa mi je: ter ya yie,
mi le sön kumu naa mi je ter ya yie
I PAST mouth open PAST I say palm there overthere

158 bò né ter mò
bò né ter mò
they is palm mine

159 Mi sön kumu dè ki wa?
mi sön kumu dè ki wa
I mouth open of what QN.

160 Tà bò wula sum dè më mi leteni saa (1)
tà bò wula sum dè më mi leteni saa 1
so they kill remove that with me beside that

161 Bi né ñgue ñaga baa si
bi né ñgue ñaga baa si
you is listen clear good -ness

162 bë duom ñgam mò ndele634
bë duom ñgam mò ndele
we start divination mine shake

163 baän kwa bi nè ga ñó gi yie.
baän kwa bi nè ga ñó gi yie
illness find you is there at compound end overthere

164 Nyima chén mi furu baà nùår ñó gi yie baà taar.
nyima chén mi furu baà nùår ñó gi yie baà taar
year one I bury PRES. person at compound there overthere
PRES. three

165 Bò nde furu wò fà di
bè nde furu wò fà di
we go bury you two other

166 Ma mi kuó ken, mava nde nde chu a
ma mi kuó ken mava nde nde chu a
if I die already woman go go return to

167 kë ñó mò, kuó chu ndo (2)
kë ñó mò kuó chu ndo
at compound mine die return then
168 Mi ǹene gi naa mgbe ha ba mi nüär6#35, mi ǹene gi naa mgbe ha baá mi nüär I see end PAST chief give PRES. me person

169 mi vraa baá mgbe wani. () mi vraa baá mgbe wani I thank PRES. chief much

170 Bọ ǹene baá ǹgam njulu. bọ ǹene baá ǹgam njulu they see PRES. divination eyes

171 Mi kuru de nọ de kuru mi je: mi kuru de nọ de kuru mi je I close of is of close I say

172 mgbe ǹan: bẹ sie kwa nna bu mgbe ǹan bẹ sie kwa nna bu chief this we take put PAST him

173 A né hi, mọ mangu sam ǹgwọ à né hi mọ mangu sam ǹgwọ he is where with glory not NEG.

174 Ma lane à guọ yagọ dẹ tẹ ter ter ter mun wa? ma lane à guọ yagọ dẹ tẹ ter ter ter mun wa if today he house fly-aloft of at up up up thus QN.

175 Né ve. Mi jula né ǹgám chi (1) né ve mi jula né ǹgám chi 1 is bad I flee is because that

176 Mọ mgbe kumu ya ??tẹ tena ??6#36 mọ mgbe kumu ya ??tẹ tena that chief open there at cut

177 Ma bi gwom kẹn bẹ bẹ jam. () ma bi gwom kẹn bẹ bẹ jam if you pay already we we good

178 Ma bi mi vuwọ ǹgwọ ndo, tap nde ndeë ma bi mi vuwọ ǹgwọ ndo tap nde ndeë if you me release NEG. also war go come

179 Mi tue jẹ né mi jẹ: tap nde bọ ǹuna mọ. () mi tue jẹ né mi jẹ tap nde bọ ǹuna mọ I say say is I say war go PL. child mine

180 Ma mi kuọ kẹn, () bọ ǹuna mọ ma mi kuọ kẹn bọ ǹuna mọ if I die already PL. child mine

181 bọ mgbe nde jẹmu nare né ǹgwọ (), bọ mgbe nde jẹmu nare né ǹgwọ PL. chief go after agree is NEG

182 Ǹgám mi mọ yọŋki sam ǹgwọ
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Ngám mi mọ yọŋki sam ọgwa
because I with life not NEG.

183 Bọ nde dẹ̀ nje () mgbe, bọ́ bọ́ dim sen,
bọ́ nde dẹ̀ nje mgbe bọ́ bọ́ dim sen
they go here say chief PL. PL. y-same-sex-sib. his

184 bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́
kwa naá sôn kọó. ọjọ̣
bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́ bọ́
kwa naá sôn kọó
PL. do e.-same-sex-sib. his find PRES mouth SUB.EMP.

185 Bọ́ bọ́ nde jẹ́mu nare ọgwa dẹ̀
bọ́ bọ́ nde jẹ́mu nare ọgwa dẹ̀
they do go after agree NEG. of

186 Mí diẹ́ gwa ọgwa. (1)
mí diẹ́ gwa ọgwa
I fall want NEG.

187 Bọ́ né gi yia ṣàndi man, nji bọ́ kwa
bọ́ né gi yia ṣàndi man nji bọ́ kwa
they is end there school thus thing they find

188 Má nji yọgo bu kẹ̀n 71
má nji yọgo bu kẹ̀n
if thing surpass them already

189 À temá nji yaa due, bọ́ bọ́ gam nyí
à temá nji yaa due bọ́ bọ́ gam nyí
they send thing bush open they do help speaker

190 Bọ́ gam nde né bẹ́ dọ̀n ()
bọ́ gam nde né bẹ́ dọ̀n
they help go is them all

191 Saa né gi bọ́ gwa tẹ̀p sen,
saa né gi bọ́ gwa tẹ̀p sen
that is end PL. spear war his

192 né gi bọ́ guli sen, né gi bọ́ chọgo sen.
né gi bọ́ guli sen né gi bọ́ chọgo sen
is end PL. foot his is end PL. stick his

193 Gà;Ma man
man
thus

194 Tà; (2) To, nùàr wù bar nẹ́ mì,
2 to nùàr wù bar nẹ́ mì
So person you jealous is me

195 Mì nẹ́ kà hùan fì, nde kwa mgbe,
Mì nẹ́ kà hùan fì nde kwa mgbe
if is at child some go find chief

196 Nde tue mọ́ mgbe. Jẹ́ mgbe a
nde tue mọ́ mgbe jẹ́ mgbe a
go say with chief say chief to
197 nji han më mi boò na man, mi boò naa man.
thing this that I do PAST thus I do PAST thus

198 Tema nyí le gwan ògwe
liver speaker in want NEG.

199 Ten a mi kalon, mi gwom ha wò nji a. (2)
take me money I pay give you thing to

200 Ma ne muna nùär saa mi chemè ha wò
if is thus person that I health give you

201 Ndeka më mi ha wò chemè.
must with I give you life

202 Wò we di saa wò tuò. (Wò)
you take of that you rise you

203 A boò ha wò. De saa mi wò nde nà ha6#38
he do give you of that I you go is give

204 De lane chèn njok, kwè chèn fà, njoko.
of today one disappears? tomorrow one two disappears?

205 Nùär chèn njok. Mi de à gwan ògwe ()
I dig PRES. divination until I see end to divination all

206 Mi kwe baà ñgam ha, mi ñene gi a ñgam pat ()
I dig PRES. divination until I see end to divination all

207 Ma mi nde li ki
if I go

208 Mi nde nde kà to mgbe Kimi
I go go at before chief Kimi

209 bò Ñgomna kà Kimi. Mi nde mi kà nde kà dua.6#39
bò Ñgomna kà Kimi mi nde mi kà nde kà dua
PL. official at Kimi I go I drink-ordeal go at there

210 Mi ñaga nde a ka loò hen saa,
I climb go to at village this that

211 nùär nde a bò nùär de hiun.
nùår nde a bò nùår de hiun
person go to PL. person of different

[212 Xx;
Chën chën di ka kiya
chën chën di ka kiya
one one some at overthere

213 Ta; Mi hën, ma mi je:
mi hën ma mi je
I this if I say

214 mi boö hën, ger né bi, bò huan mgbe wa?
mi boö hën ger né bi bò huan mgbe wa
I do this suffer is you PL. child chief QN.

215 Te mi we nje ven di.
te mi we nje ven di
so I take thing evil some

216 Te mi boö baî bò nji. Mi yila le bu sua,
te mi boö baî bò nji mi yila le bu sua
so I do harm PL. thing I enter in knife sua

217 mi so chên, am ñgwè mi fà so so so.
mì so chên am ñgwè mi fà so so so
I live one NEG. NEG. I two live live

218 Nji bar né mi ten hën de,
nji bar né mi ten hën de
thing jealous is me there-is this of

219 ko bò tue naga mi gi naá.
kọ bò tue naga mi gi naá
even they say clear I end PAST

220 Ga; Kie kie
kie
Expletive Expletive

221 Ta; Ga lòö mò ñgam jë fë6#40 mò né ve.
gë lòö mò ñgam jë fë mò né ve
at village mine divination say head mine is bad

222 Nyima hën mi naga6#41 né ñgwè
nyima hën mi naga né ñgwè
year this I climb is NEG.

223 Mi njaradi nùår hën bâö ñgwè.
mì njaradi nùår hën bâö ñgwè
I something person this harm NEG.

224 Bò bò huan nde yuo kë dua ga giyë manji
bò bò huan nde yuo kë dua ga giyë manji
they PL. child go leave at there there over-there small

225 né gi bò dim mò, buo nde yuo né le ju mwè6#42
né gi bò dim mò buo nde yuo né le ju mwè
is end PL. y-same-sex-sib. mine you-two go leave is in talk field

226 Bò boó tue ngör bée,
bò boó tue ngör bée
they do say speech ours

227 bó bóó le sua cho gi naá kén gi naá.
bó bóó le sua cho gi naá kén gi naá
we do PAST sua chop end PAST already end PAST

228 Bò yuo nje kan bó kén nji tu
bò yuo nje kén bó kén nji tu
they leave thing already they already thing before

229 Bò yuo nje kan bó kén nji tu,
bò yuo nje kén bó kén nji tu
they leave thing already they odd thing before

230 te bó bili jëmu wa?
te bó bili jëmu wa
so they together after QN.

231 Bò kwe de mi guli ten wa? te bó sum mi wa
bó kwe de mi guli ten wa te bó sum mi wa
they dig of I foot there-is QN. to they remove me QN.

232 Te kwa () ma nùår nde tugu më tue:
te kwa ma nûår nde tugu më tue
so tomorrow if person go quarrel with say

233 Ma né tu hên ni wa? ()
ma né tu hên ni wa
if is before this who QN.

234 Bi bar mi, bi bar ñaga ka më nje kop kop kop
bi bar mi bi bar ñaga ka më nje kop
kop kop
you jealous me you jealous climb at me treatment thing IDEO.
IDEO. IDEO.

235 Bi yila le bu sua,
bì yila le bu sua
you enter in knife sua

236 bi so chén wa ñgwe, bi fà so so so so
bi so chén wa ñgwe bi fà so so so so
you live one arrive NEG. you two live live live live

237 Ma bi ya mì tue nyan bi yuo ter, bi séé sua.
ma bi ya mì tue nyan bi yuo ter bi séé sua
if you say I say lies you leave up you work sua
[
]

238 Ga;xxxxxxx xxxxx xxxxxx xxx xxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx

239 xxx xxxxxxx<=laughter
[
]

240 Ta;Baán baán ndëë
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241 Jb; Bí ƣe dóŋ
bí ƣe dóŋ
you listen all

242 Ta; Kwa ma me me tugu. Tugu ndə ne loó dənə (2)
kwa ma me me tugu tugu ndə ne loó dənə
put with with with quarrel quarrel go is village here

243 ma... ma... nụär kan yuo huan saa né ve
ma ma nụär kan yuo huan saa né ve
if if person odd leave child that is bad

244 be nụär kan, yuo huan saa né ve
be nụär kan yuo huan saa né ve
hand person anyone leave child that is bad

245 Ga; Né seé Chàŋ
né seé chàŋ
is work chàŋ

246 Ta; Kọ na ka fuo gə Baa6#43, nyuŋə né kọó, ça y est.
kọ naá ka fuo gə baa nyuŋə né kọó ça y est
even PAST at blow at East repair is SUB. EMP. ça y est

247 Kọ né ka njai la6#44, bę loó bę bę lo ngue.
kọ né ka njai la bę loó bę bę lo ngue
even is at thing treatment we village ours never treat NEG.

248 Bọ ma né me fa bó nde va nyuŋə bę jẹmu.
bọ ma né me fa bó nde va nyuŋə bę jẹmu
they if is with like they go wash repair we after

249 Kwa loó dole. () Huan mani dę kan "ii",
kwa loó dole huan mani dę kan "ii"
tomorrow compound cool child small of anyone

250 nụär kuọ "ii".
nụär kuọ "ii"
person die

251 Nema li6#45 o, bó njẹ kan o, bó njẹ kan o ()
nema li o bó njẹ kan o bó njẹ kan o
bite stomach o PL. thing odd o PL. thing odd o

252 De saa huom ngue. Nụär wọ tue vən
de saa huom ngue nụär wọ tue vən
of that good NEG. person you say evil

253 wọ yi njị ka loó
wọ yi njị ka loó
you enter thing at compound

254 ta bóó huan ma mani kuọ chili gi,
ta bóó huan ma mani kuọ chili gi
so do child that small die close? end
255 te te bo nuar kuku bo kuol chili gi.
te te bo nuar kuku bo kuol chili gi
so so PL. person elder PL. die close? end

256 Lo6 wa nde nde ka jemu
lo6 wa nde nde ka jemu
village arrive go go at second

257 w0 yila ka le bu sua,
w0 yila ka le bu sua
you enter at in knife sua

258 w0 so chen wa ngwe, w0 fa so so.
w0 so chen wa ngwe w0 fa so so
you live one arrive NEG. you two live live
[
]

259 Ga; xxx xxxxx xxx xxx xxx

260 Ta; Ma be ka ko ngwe, () be ke nji njulu ka baa (.)
ma be ka ko ngwe be ke nji njulu ka baa
if we at know NEG. we look thing eyes at East
[
]

261 Ga; xxx xxxxx xxx

262 20 second fast exchange between Tam and Guanam, with
263 interjections from Jacob and others, discussing
264 whether problems arising from coffee cultivation
265 should be mentioned during sua, or merely discussed.
266 Guanam says that since illness means not working, it
267 is better to cut: laughter.

268 Ta; Ngue ye. (1) Bi kwe ka mun.
Ngue ye.1 bi kwe ka mun
Listen you you dig at thus

269 Bi kwa mun ya. Fuo leli wa so gua han6#46
bi kwa mun ya fuo leli wa so gua han
you put thus yours blow yesterday arrive his home this
[
]

270 Ga; Ah ha. Yowa

271 Ta; nde ma nji. Wa so gua hun nde ma nji
nde ma nji wa so gua hun nde ma nji
go with thing arrive NEG. home this go with thing

272 Ba ke bili ba jemu, ke ke ke do66.
bak bili ba jemu ke ke ke do66
we look together PRES. after look look look all

273 Bi ya be da6, de be, be de n6 mba,
bi ya be da6 de be b6 de n6 mba
you yours place here of us we here is freely

274 be be mba den ngwe. Be n6 saa be ke. (1)
be be mba den ngwe be n6 saa be ke
we we freely stay NEG. we is that we look
275 Wa () fuo mē wa né hēn, Chānj boō né kō, wa ngwe. 
wa fuo mē wa né hēn chānj boō né kō wa ngwe
say blow that arrive is this chānj do is SUB.EMP. QN. NEG.

276 Kē loō Mgbe ma sela die naa, kē ter gua sen().
kē loō mgbe ma sela die naa kē ter gua sen
at compound chief if cross fall PAST at up home his

277 Nūār di sela kuwa kē ten ha. (1)
nūār di sela kuwa kē ten ha
person some cross die at there-is until

278 Ma Mgbe sela noni né ngwe,
ma mgbe sela noni né ngwe
if chief cross injure is NEG.

279 huan di yē, né vē, né huan di yē sela kuwa,
huan di yē né vē né huan di yē sela kuwa
child some yours is woman is child some yours cross die

280 nūār fā sela kuō, yuo kē mbam o.
nūār fā sela kuō yuo kē mbam o
person two cross die leave at Chefferie oh

281 Saa né bē bē ṇene naā le ṇgam
saa né bē bē ṇene naā le ṇgam
that is we we see PAST in divination

282 Mi mē sōn tue ṇgwe, ṇgam tue naā mēna kō.
mī mē sōn tue ṇgwe ṇgam tue naā mēna kō
I with mouth say NEG. divination say PAST thus SUB.EMP.

283 Ga; Yuo mēna,
yuo mēna
leave thus

284 Jb; Mun
mun
thus

285 Ta; Kō né ka se nji mē Chānj fuo gē sua naā jē
kō né ka se nji mē chānj fuo gē sua naā jē
even is at his thing that chānj blow at descend PAST say

286 gē Baa mba nūār sen kō ngwe, ċa y est.
gē baa mba nūār sen kō ngwe ċa y est
at East freely person his know NEG. ċa y est

287 Nūār saa wō yila mēna jēmu nūār Kaka,
nūār saa wō yila mēna jēmu nūār kaka
person that you enter thus after person Kaka

288 wō nde wō tulu yē ga ter.
wō nde wō tulu yē ga ter
you go you pull yours there up

289 Bō né boō mē () gua tap be,
bō né boō mē gua tap be
they is do with spear war hand

290 bò né boô me mbôk tap be,
bò né boô me mbôk tap be
they is do with axe war hand

291 bò nde wa, bò kô rô sum bi, ()
bò nde wa bò kô rô sum bi
they go arrive they cut again remove thing

292 bò yila gua dôni.
bò yila gua dôni
they enter home here

293 Ga;xxxxx

294 Ta;Wô kô rô sum brik wa?
wô kô rô sum brik wa
you cut again remove brick QN.

295 Tê bô Fum sum jolori ke tâbê dôni,
tê bô fum sum jolori ke tâbê dôni
so Pl. witch remove chefferie at earth here

296 ma huom bô dê ki wa?
ma huom bô dê ki wa
if good place of what QN.

297 Nûar wô yila ka le bu sua,
nûar wô yila ka le bu sua
person you enter at in knife sua

298 wô so chên, wanyu wô fâ so so.
wô so chên wanyu wô fâ so so
you live one else you two live live

299 Ga;Wô so chên
wô so chên
you live one

300 Ta;Ma bi sie né kô mgbe tema chên loô doôô,
ma bi sie né kô mgbe tema chên loô doôô
if you take is at chief liver one village all

301 Ga;Denô ñgwagam denô yulu,
denô ñgwagam denô yulu
here maize here millet

302 saa baâ huom wô sie né hen xxxxxxxxxx
saa baâ huom wô sie né hen xxxxxxxxxx
that PRES. good you take is this xxxxxxxxxx

303 Ta;bê njulu bê ke nji baa
bê njulu bê ke nji baa
we eyes we look thing East

304 Bi;Matwa nde ñgale le cher due
matwa nde ñgale le cher due
car go itchy in road open

305 xxxxx doŋ pat cher due né ten
xxxxx doŋ pat cher due né ten
xxxxx all all road open is there-is

306 Ga; Bò kwe nemu yuo ŋgwə
bò kwe nemu yuo ŋgwə
they dig water leave NEG.

307 Ta; Bè ngale njì be, bè wə chuar, bè ha,
bè ngale njì be bè wə chuar bè ha
we stick thing hand we take chicken we give

308 bè wə, bò nje kan bè ha. bè vu né njai dænæ,
bè wə bò nje kan bè ha bè vu né njai dænæ
we take PL. thing odd we give we leave is thing here

309 bò né njì, njai bogo yula.
bò né njì njai bogo yula
do is thing thing thousand ten

310 Ma bè ha gi nə bò nùår bò kwe nə bi,
ma bè ha gi nə bò nùår bò kwe nə bi
that we give end is PL. person they dig is thing

311 logo nemu hën.
logo nemu hën
hole water this

312 Bò kwe loro nemu. Bò njøradi tə njene,
bò kwe loro nemu bò njøradi tə njene
they dig hole water they something NEG. see

313 bò nde kə cher due, bò tulù né matwa, tə tulù
bò nde kə cher due bò tulù né matwa te tulù
they go at road open they pull is car at pull

314 Matwa go su ga kə Mabon ka kiya,
matwa go su ga kə Mabon ka kiya
car walk again-NEG there at Mabon at overthere

315 cher nè ka baá mba.
cher nè ka baá mba
road is at PRES. freely

316 Wa ga giya ve le.() Nemu hën
wa ga giya ve le nemu hën
say there over-there bad in water this

317 kanahan nemu selà naa kə mbartogo hën
kanahan nemu selà naa kə mbartogo hën
now water cross PAST at chefferie-square this

318 Ni dɔŋ, nua sie wò,
ni dɔŋ nua sie wò
who all thirst take you
319 wò jula nde do
you flee go here

320 da wò tue mwe wə. Wò yila nde chu le jolori
so you enter you go return in chefferie

321 Wò den jai. Ma ve né ka da,
you stay say if bad is at here

322 ko né ka kandun, bò kwa né ta ka du,
even is at they find is stone at ground

323 taa yogo né ka bó kóo ça y est.
stone surpass is at them SUB.EMP. ça y est

324 Nuàr wò nde, wò fum yə, fum yə,
person you go you shape-changer yours shape-changer yours

325 wò wò siri yə, wò wò né () tadubu yə,
you harm yours you you is witch yours

326 Ga;
witchcraft yours witchcraft evil

327 Ta; sar yə, chibi yə, wò yə bəe nyuge
spearer yours night yours you eat harm repair

328 kan njai mba den bəe ka mbartogo
odd thing freely stay harm at chefferie-square

329 mə den bə de ki wa?
that stay place of what QN.

330 Wò mave, huan sep, () kwa ləo bi yə
you woman child male tomorrow village you yours

331 mgbe né ten sam əngwe
chief is there-is not NEG.

332 Kwa bə bəo ləo guo mbe chuar kə sie mwe əngwe,
tomorrow we do compound house beer chicken even take drink
NEG.

333 tele yə mwe əngwe, mii yə mwe əngwe ça y est.
bi né bó nùàr bi mbó su bè ñgam
you is PL. person you divine again place divination

349 Wò ke yà. () Hèn Njai fò6#49 sen né ve
wò ke yà hèn Njai fò sen né ve
you look yours this Njai head his is bad

350 Muyna, fò sen né ve.
Muyna fò sen né ve
Muyna head his is bad

351 Ma mi kuó kèn jemu báá nde a Njai,
ma mi kuó kèn jemu báá nde a Njai
if I die already second PRES. go to Njai

352 jemu báá nde a Muyna,
 jemu báá nde a Muyna
second PRES. go to Muyna

353 jemu báá nde a Bi.
 jemu báá nde a Bi
second PRES. go to Bi

354 Bu bó kuku bó bó kuó gi naá
 bu bó kuku bó bó kuó gi naá
it PL. elder PL. they die end PAST

355 Mgbe liya mè hwun.
mgbe liya mè hwun
chief remains with alone

356 Nì le tue nè mè kòò. Tap sie nè bè fi wa
ni le tue nè mè kòò tap sie nè bè fi wa
who in say is with SUB. EMP. war take is us bush QN.

357 Nè bì sar chibi, bì boò sum nde nùàr ka lòò, (1)
 nè bì sar chibi bì boò sum nde nùàr ka lòò 1
is you spearer night you do remove go person at village

358 Haa? (2) Nùàr wò munu ka dè saa,
 haa 2 nùàr wò munu ka dè saa
person you think at of that

359 wò yìla le bu sua,
 wò yìla le bu sua
you enter in knife sua

360 wò so chèn wa ñgwà wò fà so so
wò so chèn wa ñgwà wò fà so so
you live one arrive NEG. you two live live

361 Ga; Mì den6#50 né ñgwàgam. Mì den né yulo,
 mì den né ñgwàgam mì den né yulo
I stay is maize I stay is millet

362 Yuo sapè bóó mi nème sie mbó,
yuo sapè bóó mi nème sie mbó
leave snake do me bite take freely
363 ko bâ, tue sie bê
even us say take us

364 Saa mi cho sua hên mbô
that I chop sua this myself

365 Ta; Ma bî hên je:
mi tue né nyên
if you this say I say is lies

366 bî nde seé sua hên
you go work sua this

367 Ga; Bo seé cho. Bi né seé <= laughter
bô seé cho bi né seé bi né seé
they do chop you is do you is do

368 Ta; Bî nde seé sua hên <= laughter
you go do sua this

369 Ga; Seé bô pat, bi sua hên seé seé <= laughter
do PL. all you sua this do do

370 Nj; Seé sua nde né wô jula
work sua go is you flee

371 Ga; Seé seé sua di
di do sua some

372 A bî nde yila yila yuop yor. nde a yuop seé.
he you go enter enter public-affairs bôdy go to public-

373 Mi Guanam hên kánhên Bi seé seé
I Guanam this now you do do

374 Jb; Bi n'gue a lu de, më bô bô ke mûnë naâ
you understand to day that that they do look thus PAST

375 Tatiya ke lôô sam n'gwa. De Muyna
Tatiya at village not NEG. of patience

376 Ga; Bô tulu njî dâne sua bê n'ëne n'gwa
they pull thing here sua we see NEG.
377 Jb;To, à ka łoó sam ṣgwa
to à ka łoó sam ṣgwa
So he at village not NEG.

378 A ke nà kà łoó sen, wa: né ve.()
à ke nà kà łoó sen wa né ve
he look is at village his say is bad

379 To () me ve sen Meyà#52, () fà sen hwom nde ṣgwa
to me ve sen Meyà fà sen hwom nde ṣgwa
So with woman his Meyà head hers good go NEG.

380 Bò ke dàna ma né ??bi hòn?? kà jumu
bò ke dàna ma né ??bi hòn kà jumu
they look here if is thing this at after

381 Bò ko dua né mava, à die nàà mè hwun sen.6#53
bò ko dua né mava à die nàà mè hwun sen
they know there is woman she fall PAST with alone hers

382 Huan sep di ten am
huan sep di ten am
child male some there-is NEG.

383 Wò ko bò ve né mè njulu òap òap
wò ko bò ve né mè njulu òap òap
you know PL. woman is with eyes unfinished unfinished

384 Dè yè né man, dè yè man, dè yè man,
dè yè né man dè yè man dè yè man
of yours is thus of yours thus of yours thus

385 wa: bá tuk fà sen tena tuk
wa bá tuk fà sen tena tuk
say we organise head hers amongst organise

386 Ter sen a né ten, bò ñgan bò naa né ten
ter sen a né ten bò ñgan bò naa né ten
palm hers to is there-is PL. cola they PAST is there-is

387 Gi sen kere mè bò bò ne tuk mè bò ne ter kòó
gi sen kere mè bò bò ne tuk mè bò ne ter kòó
end hers split with they do is organise with they is palm
SUB.EMP.

388 Ne gi mèna, bò ñgan mèna
Ne gi mèna, bò ñgan mèna
is end thus PL. cola thus

389 Wò nüär mè wò nde, wò ka ṣucp
Wò nüär mè wò nde, wò ka ṣucp
you person with you go you at cut

390 mèna ñgan, wò chu, wò ha bu ten#54
mèna ñgan, wò chu, wò ha bu ten
thus cola you return you give him some
391 Wa: bó mbo baá ke ka
Wa: bó mbo baá ke ka
Say they divine PRES at at

392 wa ten baá ñgam () fêlí ve
wa ten baá ñgam fêlí ve
say there-is PRES divination threaten bad

393 ko sen nyén, ñgam tue se vûru ça y est.
ko sen nyén, ñgam tue se vûru ça y est.
even his lies divination says NEG. hidden ça y est.

394 Ma né ka nûår bôn, wô je: nyí bar bu
Ma né ka nûår bôn, wô je: nyí bar bu
If is at person theirs you say speaker jealous him

395 A liya sen de, leteni. Ni bóô men wa?
A liya sen de, leteni. Ni bóô men wa?
He remains his of, between Who do thus QN

396 Ma ndeka de ten a kuó yôr
Ma ndeka de ten a kuó yôr
If since of there-is he die body

397 Ma né mena nan wa tê bó ñaga
Ma né mena nan wa tê bó ñaga
if is thus how QN so they give-birth

398 Ne mena wô mava, wô huan sep a
Ne mena wô mava, wô huan sep a
is thus you woman you child man to,

399 wô yila le bu hên da wanyu
wô yila le bu hên da wanyu
you enter in knife this of else

400 wô ya chiô ya ya ya
wô ya chiô ya ya ya
you eat day eat eat eat

401 Gâ;
Sap a guaga bu e
Sap a guaga bu e
snake at bite him e

402 tu e sie bu e
tu e sie bu e
tree e take him e

403 ne mena njai van a ke bu e
ne mena njai van a ke bu e
is thus thing evil at look him e

404 Jô; Le ju ter6#55 ma, à ha né ka bó nûår
le ju ter ma à ha né ka bó nûår
in talk palm then she give is at PL. person

405 Ma à ha naá bó ka me tema chén
ma à ha naá bò ka më tema chén
if she give PAST them at with liver one

406 Nüär nüär ter, më wë né ter
nüär nüär ter më wë né ter
person person palm that take is palm

407 wò wë chu ke kőmò wò ha nji bu, à naga
wò wë chu ke kőmò wò ha nji bu à naga
you take return at palm-oil you give thing her she lick ()

408 Ma séé dili ñgwë
ma séé dili ñgwë
if do straight NEG.

409 à sum su wò, à ha su nüär di.
à sum su wò à ha su nüär di
she remove again you she give again person other

410 Jumu mava wò yila kela ten la nje tele sen
jumu mava wò yila kela ten la nje tele sen
after woman you enter pass there-is in thing father hers

411 wa nyí wula su bu tena,
wa nyí wula su bu tena
say speaker kill again her amongst

412 wò kuku kuwa, wò chie yë yë yë.
wò kuku kuwa wò chie yë yë yë
you many die you day eat eat eat

413 Ma wò ko ñgwë wò ke Baa ()
ma wò ko ñgwë wò ke baa
if you know NEG. you look East

414 Ga;x x x x x x x x [ ]
415 Jb;Bò nüär séé tare në hën.
bò nüär séé tare në hën
PL. person work hard is this

416 Wa bò ñgue nji hën, wa; ñuna Chë 6#57 la,
wa bò ñgue nji hën ñuna chi la
say they Listen thing this child Chi PAST

417 nde la gware
nde la gware
go PAST house-that

418 à yila naá ten < wò me6#58 bò mava, <= laughter
à yila naá ten wò me bò mava
he enter PAST there-is you measure PL. woman

419 wë mò, ñuna mò, wò kuò ka kuò.
wë mò ñuna mò wò kuò ka kuò
woman mine child mine you die at die

420 wa ñgwë, wa ñgwë, wa ñgwë.
wa ngwa wa ngwa wa ngwa
arrive NEG. arrive NEG. arrive NEG.

421 Ga; Sap a gua we nji sie bu we
sap a gua we nji sie bu we
snake to home fire thing take him fire

422 Jb; Afta me bó chi gua yila ten
Afta me bó chi gua yila ten
with they death house enter there-is

423 wò me ne mava, mè bó ñuna mò
wò me ne mava, mè bó ñuna mò
you measure is woman, with PL. child mine

424 wò me ne mava, huan sep, bó ñuna mò
wò me ne mava, huan sep, bó ñuna mò
you measure is woman, child male PL. child mine

425 Ga;
Wò kuó ka kuó
Wò kuó ka kuó
you die at die

426 Jb; Wò kuó ka. Mì kare⁶⁵⁹ yë lòro sarega yë
Wò kuó ka. Mì kare yë lòro sarega yë
you die at I split eat only funeral yours

427 Ga; Wò kuó ka wò ngwagam han dë yë ye yë
Wò kuó ka wò ngwagam han dë yë ye yë
you die at you maize this of eat eat eat

428 Jb; Wò kuó ka, mì kare yë sarega yë
Wò kuó ka, mì kare yë sarega yë
you die at I split eat funeral yours

429 mì kare yë lòro ñgan yë wanyu wanyu wanyu
mì kare yë lòro ñgan yë wanyu wanyu wanyu
I split eat funeral cola yours else else else

430 Ga; Wò mì gia⁶⁶⁰ sap baá guaga bu-e
Wò mì gia sap baá guaga bu-e
You I gia snake PRES bite him e

431 Nji a ke⁶⁶¹ bu e
Nji a ke bu e
Thing at look him e

432 O mi tue chi e: Nji a ke bu e
O mi tue chi e: Nji a ke bu e
O I say thing e: thing at look him e

433 Ki, sap guaga bu-e Pal! Yi lè hwa ñgu
Ki, sap guaga bu e Pal! Yi lè hwa ñgu
Ki, snake bite him e Pal! At in hole fish

434 Nj; Buo bó Tarchimi, buo bó Tarchimi⁶⁶²
Buo bó Tarchimi, buo bó Tarchimi
you-two PL Tarchimi, you-two PL Tarchimi
435 bi né bò huan manji mba.
bi né bò huan manji mba.
you is PL child small just

436 Dé ju, ju kum, bóó ba sen mana. ()
Dé ju, ju kum, bóó ba sen mana. ()
Of case case old do we ours thus ()

437 Bá bò nùár hàn de, bá né de bò fa njëgo,
bá bò nùár hàn de bá né bò de bò fa njëgo
we PL. person this of we is we of us like flies

438 bá bò një kan ngue tena bá.
bá bò një nùár ngue tena bá
we never thing person understand cut-through never

439 Huan bò bò Sarki6#63 né bòó de.
huan bò bò Sarki né bòó de
child they PL. Sarki is do of

440 Wò huan sep, wò mave
wò huan sep wò mave
you child male you woman

441 wò nde yila le kela ten
wò nde yila le kela ten
you go enter in pass there-is

442 tema bóó yula té bò yë: né Sarki6#64,
tema bóó yula té bò yë né Sarki
liver do illness so they say is Sarki

443 bóó de né koó no,
boó de né koó no
do of is SUB.EMP. also

444 nùár yila le bu sua,
nùár yila le bu sua
person enter in knife sua

445 wò so chèn, wò fà so so
wò so chèn wò fà so so
you live one you two live live

446 Më yë Sarki bóó naá kë, () leli
më yë Sarki bóó naá kë leli
that say Sarki do PAST at yesterday

447 à nde a yon, ke brik ke tâbë.
à nde a yon ke brik ke tâbë.
he go to stroll look brick at earth

448 Ko à nde go sen, nyì nde nyì wë ka njërëdi,
ko à nde go sen nyì nde nyì wë ka njërëdi
even he go walk his speaker go speaker take at something

449 nyì kwa le brik,
Sua Oath Transcript

nyí kwa le brik
speaker found in brick

450 à bò ware nde war-, tà mé tema korù66 be wa?
à bò ware nde war tà mé tema korù be wa
he do uncover go uncover so with send needle hand QN.

451 Bò yila, bò tema ku-kuó.
bò yila bò tema ku-kuó
they enter they send die die

452 À yila le bu, à chén so, à fà so so.
à yila le bu à chén so à fà so so
he enter he one live he two live live

453 Ma à ka ko ñgwà, .
ma bò ka ko ñgwà à ke njulu ko bà
if he at know NEG. he look eyes at East

454 Bè, bò nùàr sep, vè, () wò nùàr
bè bò nùàr sep vè wò nùàr
we PL. person male woman you person

455 wò yila kela ten tà bò ñò: Sarki bò ñò nji koù.
wò yila kela ten tà bò ñò sarki bò ñò nji koù.
you enter pass there-is so they say do is thing SUB.EMP.

456 Yogoten66 me bò huan ten, mìi nè ten,
Yogoten me bò huan ten mìi nè ten
Yogoten is with PL. child there-is mother is there-is

457 bò dim nè mé bò huan ten,
bò dim nè mé bò huan ten
PL. y-same-sex-sib. is with PL. child there-is

458 bò vè nè ten.
bò vè nè ten
PL. woman is there-is

459 Nde nyí yila kela ten67, nyí nùàr Baa rò,
nde nyí yila kela ten nyí nùàr Baa rò
go speaker enter pass there-is speaker person Mambila again

460 nùàr Teba, nùàr yila kà le bu,
nùàr Teba nùàr yila kà le bu
person fulbe person enter at in knife

461 wò so chén wò fà so so.
wò so chén wò fà so so
you live one you two live live

462 Nùàr ka kò ñgwà ke njulu baa. (4)
nùàr ka kò ñgwà ke njulu baa
person at know NEG. look eyes East

463 Ga; Fuò ke ke yi ñgam68, ve kà Ndebaa,
fuò ke ke yi ñgam ve kà Ndebaa
blow look look to divination bad at Ndebaa

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464 à boó nde loó nùår, lane loó nùår, kwe loó nùår
à boó nde loó nùår lane loó nùår kwe loó nùår
he do go compound person today compound person tomorrow
compound person

465 Wò mave ke loó sire ka ŋgam,
wò mave ke loó sire ka ŋgam
you woman at compound witchcraft at divination

466 wò huan sep wò nde loro ŋgam
wò huan sep wò nde loro ŋgam
you child male you go hole divination

467 wò hwu nde chu vän ten, ha ŋgam tə mbò.
wò hwu nde chu vän ten ha ŋgam tə mbò
you tunnel go return evil there-is until divination so divine

468 Mi Guanam mi cho ke mbartogo,
mì Guanam mì cho ke mbartogo
I Guanam I chop at chefferie-square

469 bì wa bì mom tena, mì ke cher due
bì wa bì mom tena mì ke cher due
you arrive you wait amongst I at road open

470 bì bò mbam bò bì né bè më jëre kela.
bì bò mbam bò bì né bè më jëre kela
you PL. Chefferie PL. you is place with sua-enclosure pass

471 Bì mom baá mì mì cho sua më akilo, mì kwa njì sam.
bì mom baá mì mì cho sua më akilo mì kwa njì sam
you wait PRES. I I chop sua with intelligence I put thing not

472 Kwa njì sap, kwa njì lop,
kwa njì sap kwa njì lop
put thing snake put thing witchcraft

473 wò nùår sar, wò njëre njì fêlì mì Guanam
wò nùår sar wò njëre njì fêlì mì Guanam
you person spearer you surmount thing threaten me Guanam

474 Bì nè më yap, bì wë ka ŋgwagam di,
bì nè më yap bì wë ka ŋgwagam di
you is with theft you take at maize some

475 bì fêlì mgbe, bì bò Ndeba dôn,
bì fêlì mgbe bì bò Ndeba dôn
you threaten chief you PL. Ndeba all

476 bò ve, bì sôn chën, fë bì ya tare.
bò ve bì sôn chën fë bì ya tare
PL. woman you mouth one head you yours hard

477 Wò nùår, wò nde ka fêlì nùår,
wò nùår  wò nde ka fèlì  nùår
you person you go  at threaten person

478  wò ya: lòó ve ve. Wò kuó,
wò ya lòó ve ve wò kuó
you say compound bad bad you die

479  wò ngwagam nyima hàn yè yè yè < Ooo! Ooo!
<= Cut Bundle. Laughter, and talk
wò ngwagam nyima hàn yè yè yè
you maize year this eat eat eat

Guanam continued in the same vein as he chopped the bundle into
fragments for about 15 seconds. remaining fragments transcribed
where possible. counted from zero of cutting bundle.

480  Be ga kela ter. Cho rë gi don (20)
be ga kela ter cho rë gi don
hand right pass up chop again end all

481  Wò nùår fèlì mi,
wò nùår fèlì mi
you person threaten me

482  sua sie à wò (28) yè yè yè
sua sie à wò (28) yè yè yè
sua take to you eat eat eat

483  Nj; Wò né nùår ñene njulu wa? <= Laughter
wò né nùår ñene njulu wa?<
you is person see eyes

484  Gw; Bò vé tè ka to nde
bò vé tè ka to nde
PL. woman NEG. at before go

485  Ta; Bò tè ke
bò tè ke
they NEG look

486  wè nyuri nêma6#70 baá
wè nyuri nêma baá
take grass dry  PRES.

487  Ga; Bò di, bò fon nde né de bò fè nùår
Bò di, bò fon nde né de bò fè nùår
Pl. some they search go is of PL. head person

488  Bò nde kwa ló
Bò nde kwa ló
they go put put.

489  Jè; nùår tè cher due kela,
Jè; nùår tè cher due kela,
say person NEG road wide pass

490  yè njai baga lèm kò fè nùår
yè njai baga lèm kò fè nùår
say thing good avoid precisely head person

491 Ngwagam de mò, gorge hen wò yi ma ye ye ye
Ngwagam de mò, gorge hen wò yi ma ye ye ye
maize of mine farm this you enter EMP eat-NEG eat-NEG eat-NEG

492 Nj; Wò de ye saa, wò naá nùár saa de ñene nji wa? <=
laughter
Wò de ye saa, wò naá nùár saa de ñene nji wa?
you of yours that, you PAST person that of see thing QN

493 Ga; Wò nùár bu saa, wò ko më li ye.
Wò nùár bu saa, wò ko më li ye.
you person them that, you know with stomach yours

494 A kema mena de kan ma ñuangugui <=laughter
A kema mena de kan ma ñuangugui <=laughter
They touch thus of odd ?? ??

495 NJ; Nea, ma wò den fada wò ne nùár bu saa ñene njulu
Nea, ma wò den fada wò ne nùár bu saa ñene njulu
Nea if you stay like you is person them that see eye

496 Ga; Bu mi tue de baa jë mi cho sua mò.
Bu mi tue de baa jë mi cho sua mò.
them I say of good say I chop sua mine

497 Mi cho më sua mò kup kup hen.
Mi cho më sua mò kup kup hen.
I chop with sua mine kup kup this

498 Buyor Vincent; Mi fon kalon <=laughter
Buyor Vincent; Mi fon kalon mò
I search money mine

499 te mi cho sua mò më nji
te mi cho sua mò më nji
so I chip sua mine with thing

500 Nj; Ha nji tatëbë
ha nji tatëbë
give thing pipe

pause 1 minute

501 Ga; Tena bu mena, tena bu ñgoro, jogo sum chia <=laughter
Tena bu mena, tena bu ñgoro,
cut-through them thus cut-through them. back

502 jogo sum chia, tue süm sua chie
jogo sum chia, tue süm sua chie
carry remove outside say remove sua outside

503 Wò mena ñgwagam hën ye ye ye
wò mena ñgwagam hën ye ye ye
you thus is maize this eat eat eat

504 Nj; Wò më asana nde ni wa? <= to xx
Wò ma asana nde ni wa? <= to xx
you with matches go who QN

505 Ni kuó kuó, wò tue sum chie
Ni kuó kuó, wò tue sum chie
Who die die you say remove outside

506 Ga; Yi lóó be naá mè wò tue sum chie
Yi lóó be naá mè wò tue sum chie
at compound hand PAST with you say remove outside

507 wò kuó kuó.
wò kuó kuó.
you die die

508 Sua vula bu ngoro, sua vula bu
Sua vula bu ngoro, sua vula bu
sua leave them back sua leave them

509 tena bu ngoro, a tue sum chie
tena bu ngoro, a tue sum chie
cut-through them back they say remove outside

510 Nj; Ne mana bu, bó vula si nji a yi dù,
Ne mana bu, bó vula si nji a yi dù,
is thus they leave injure thing they enter ground

511 Sùn sen kuó ngwa ya, sùn né sen kuó ngwa ya
Sùn sen kuó ngwa ya, sùn né sen kuó ngwa ya
mouth theirs die NEG NEG is mouth theirs die NEG NEG

512 Jè: ndée yìe yìe, a se we baá kən
Jè: ndée yìe yìe, a se we baá kən
say come there there they NEG take PAST already

513 Ga; Sua ya yà yà
Sua ya yà yà
sua eat-NEG eat-NEG eat-NEG

514 Bò né nyima ya ngwa ya, saa bó furu baá bu kən
Bò né nyima ya ngwa ya, saa bó furu baá bu kən
They are year eat NEG NEG that they bury PAST them already

515 Jb; De bó, bó bóó nyima hən de yà ne ngwe.
De bó, bó bóó nyima hən de yà ne ngwe.
of them they do year this of eat is NEG

516 Bó bóó njərödɨ nue nde ngwa
Bó bóó njərödɨ nue nde ngwa.
they do something hear go NEG

517 Bó nde tue nde yà: bó ló yi we naá dənə.
Bó nde tue nde yà: bó ló yi we naá dənə.
they go say yours they treat extinguish take PAST here

518 Bó yà: naá bí hən mə nyî yimi we naá tən, ehe.
Bó yà: naá bí hən mə nyî yimi we naá tən,
they say PAST you this with speaker extinguish take PAST there-
Appendix to Chapter 7
The transcript of Sua Kare 3 Dec 1986

Speakers:
SS, the instigator and host
Muy Andre= MA

1 SS; Huom né kwa baá chuar de
huom né kwa baá chuar de
good is put PRES. chicken that

2 Nde kwa fêlî bó, fêlî bó, fêlî bó, dopô.
nde kwa fêlî bó fêlî bó fêlî bó dopô
go put threaten them threaten them threaten them all

3 MA; mhm Nüär jë gi aa sen (1)
mhm nüär jë gi aa sen
person say end PAST his

4 SS; Nuaga7#6, à de- à den te fêlî bó ni.
nuaga à de à den te fêlî bó ni
he stay he stay at threaten PL. who

5 Ha bu më den ka më den hën.
ha bu më den ka më den hën
give him with stay at with stay this

6 MA; Kusum7#7. Nüär më sar, më lop, më le.
kusum nüär më sar më lop më le
spittle person with witch-spears with witchcraft with treatment

7 Mi nüär nje, më mi lô në. Mi yuo sar7#8,
mì nüär nje më mi lô në mi yuo sar
I person that-one with I treat is I leave witch-spears

8 mi yuo chibi. ngwagam nüär, chuar nüär.
mi yuo chibi ngwagam nüär chuar nüär
I leave night maize person chicken person

9 Bô nüär, ma mi bëe. (1) Wô nde wula nüär,
bô nüär ma mi bëe wô nde wula nüär
PL. person if I harm you go kill person

10 chu chu fêlî mó.
chu chu fêlî mó
return return threaten me

11 Mi ko ñgwê, mi nji ke ka baa.
mî ko ñgwê mi nji ke ka baa
I know NEG. I thing look at East

12 Wô nüär sar, wô nüär chibi, wô jë:
wô nüär sar wô nüär chibi wô jë
you person witchcraft you person night you say
The sua kare oath

13 oo nyí we nyuri kwa?

14 Nyí we nyuri vën, nyí bëe lôô mò,
speaker take grass evil speaker harm compound mine

15 bò vë, bò ñuna mò.
PL. woman PL. child mine

16 mi ñue né bu7#9 <= Chicken squawks, gripped firmly in the hand
I understand is them-S.

17 (18) De vë de mi nyën baâ nyuri,
<= During the pause MA spat a blessing on SS, on his children, and
of woman that I bless/spray PRES. grass
on the chicken to be sacrificed

18 à den sen ke si mò hën
she stay hers look husband mine this

19 SS;Eee Ngu7#10, të njulu ke suú
NEG. eyes look again-NEG

20 MA;Nuaga te njulu ke suú (7)
NEG eyes look again-NEG

21 À se ten ke.(17)
he NEG. there-is look

22 SS;Njulu të të ke wa (3)
eyes NEG. NEG. look SUB.EMP.

23 MA;Njì njulu të tabë (16)
thing eyes at earth

24 < Nde né de ya see ndo? (1) <= To DZ
go is of yours do also

25 SS;A ke baâ ke a
he look PRES. look at

26 MA; < aha të ke.<= To Nuaga
mnhmmm NEG. look
The sua kare oath

27 SS; Te ke wa! Am ngwe
    te ke wa am ngwe
    NEG look SUB.EMP. NEG. NEG.

28 MA;
    Sam ngwe
    sam ngwe
    not NEG.

29 SS; Ta ki. (4)
    ta ki 4
    NEG. annoy

30 Nde de baá dena.
    nde de baá dena
    go stay PRES. here

31 (3) Né mena mé Mbiti ndó ng (2)
    (3) né mena mé Mbiti do ng (2)
    is thus with Mbiti all

32 MA; Hé, mi, mi yuo sar, mi yuo chibi.
    hón mi mi yuo sar mi yuo chibi
    this me I leave witch-spears I leave night

33 Ma nüár jé: mi gam nyí.
    ma nüár jé mi gam nyí
    if person say I help speaker

34 Mi gam ka bu, temé chén.
    mi gam ka bu temé chén
    I help at him liver one

35 Mi we nyuri vën, mi kwa ten.
    mi we nyuri vën mi kwa ten
    I take grass evil I put there-is

36 Mi ge le vën, mi kwa ten
    mi ge le vën mi kwa ten
    I divide treatment evil I put there-is

37 Dë te mi wula bu. (.)
    dë te mi wula bu
    so so I kill him

38 Ta mi baé loó sen, chu chu félí mó
    ta mi baé loó sen chu chu félí mó
    so I harm compound his return return threaten mine

39 Mi ko ngwe njulu ke ké baa.
    mi ko ngwe njulu ke ké baa
    I know NEG. eyes look at East

40 Wó nüár huan sep, wó mava, wó jé:
    wó nüár huan sep wó mava wó jé
    you person child male you woman you say

41 Oho. Wó nüár gam, wó nüár de ké wa?
The sua kare oath

oho wô nùär gam wô nùär de kë wa
you person help you person of at QN.

42 Nyí ñgëri félí mò.
yí ñgëri félí mò
speaker slander threaten me

43 Nyí ñgëri félí bò ve mò,
yí ñgëri félí bò ve mò
speaker slander threaten PL. woman mine

44 nyí ñgëri félí bò ñuna mò. (1)
nyí ñgëri félí bò ñuna mò 1
speaker slander threaten PL. child mine

45 Gatenyare ke wô, mañare ke wô
gatenyare ke wô mañare ke wô
buried-poison look you ordeal look you

46 mi tena ñuna ye kup
mi tena ñuna ye kup
I cut-through child yours all

47 Wô sua bê lu wanyu,
wô sua bê lu wanyu
you descend harm SUB.EMP. else

48 wô njulu ke ke ke ke
wô njulu ke ke ke ke
you eyes look look look look

49 Nùår di fêla ka më temë
nùår di fêla ka më temë
person some listen at with liver

50 chén chén chén doññ.
chén chén chén doññ
one true true all

51 Bu doññ njulu ke ke baa.(2)
bu doññ njulu ke ke baa.2
them-S. all eyes look at East

52 < To, see baá fê lô ñ yë kadi ><= To S
to see baá fê lô ñ yë kadi
To work PRES. head compound yours really

53 SS; (1) Mi, mi jë më mi de hën de.()
(1) mi mi jë më mi de hën de
(1) I I say that I of this of

54 Mi yuo sar, Mi yuo... (1) Mi yuo sar7#12,
mi yuo sar (1) mi yuo sar
I leave witch-spears (1) I leave witchcraft

55 mi yuo () tambani7#13.
mi yuo () tambani
I leave () ant
The sua kare oath

56 Mi jim loó nùràr, de mi bèé njai nùràr di,
mi jím loó nùràr de mi bèé njai nùràr di
I tunnel-into compound person that I harm thing person some

57 mi yila le bu sua,
mi yila le bu sua
I enter in knife sua

58 mi ka ko ŋgwà fë̀ mò tare.
mì ka ko ŋgwà fë̀ mò tare
I at know NEG. head mine hard

59 Le bò fëlí huna mò dòn pat,
le bò fëlí huna mò dòn pat
in PL. threaten child mine all all

60 fëlí ve mò, fëlí ɲuna mò,
fëlí ve mò fëlí ɲuna mò
threaten woman mine all all

61 sogo bó ne ka me dalela7#14 njérèdi
sogo bó ne ka me dalela njérèdi
only they is at with motive something

62 bó tue mi, mi gwom bó lu
bó tue mi mi gwom bó lu
they say me I pay them freely

63 Né ka mba mba
né ka mba mba
is at freely freely

64 bó ŋgeri ka fëlí mò
bó ŋgeri ka fëlí mò
they slander at threaten me

65 bó ja: mi de bèé de ka wa?
bó ja: mi de bèé de ka wa?
they say I of harm of where QN.

66 bèé see mò ma chu bili né jemu ndo,
bèé see mò ma chu bili né jemu ndo
harm work mine which return together is second also

67 hëñ dòn pat
hëñ dòn pat
this all all

68 Sogo né ka fuo chàŋ çà y est.
sogo né ka fuo chàŋ çà y est
only is at blow chàŋ çà y est

69 Né ka () be nùràr. Nùràr ja: mi boó man
né ka be nùràr nùràr ja: mi boó man
is at hand person person say I do thus

70 mi gam nde né de kë wa?
The sua kare oath

mi gam nde na də ke wa
I help go is of what QN.

71 Sogo cher me mi to ka,
sogo cher me mi to ka
only road that I cut at

72 nùår ka te kela ŋwe.
nùår ka te kela ŋwe
person at NEG. pass NEG.

73 Nùår à kela te kela.
nùår à kela te kela
person he pass so pass

74 Mi ŋgue ka mə bó,
mi ŋgue ka mə bó
I understand at with them

75 yila ka le bu hən wanyu
yila ka le bu hən wanyu
enter at in knife this else

76 bó chiə yə yə
bó chiə yə yə
they day eat eat

77 bó ko ŋgue, fə bó tare.(1)
bó ko ŋgue fə bó tare.
they know NEG. head theirs hard

78 Hən, den né hən.
hən den né hən
this stay is this

79 Ləgə fona, ko né də te chiə kəə,
Ləgə fona ko né də te chiə kəə
fight search even is of at day tomorrow

80 te mi () yila sum bó huan mə nji.
te mi yila sum bó huan mə nji
so I call remove PL. child with thing

81 Bó baän mə kwo ka kwo,
bó baän mə kwo ka kwo
PL. illness that chase at chase

82 ka guo hən də.
ka guo hən də
at house this of

83 Ve mö li 7#15 mə yuo ve ka hən də.
ve mö li mə yuo ve ka hən də
woman mine stomach that leave bad at this of

84 Sogo né ka fuo ənən
sogo né ka fuo ənən
only is at blow ənən

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The sua kare oath

85 Yuo ka njai nùràr,
yuo ka njai nùràr
leave at thing person

86 né ka bò nùràr, bó yi né be ten.
né ka bò nùràr bó yi né be ten
is at PL. person they enter is hand there-is

87 bó jê: aa mi wa?
bó jê aa mi wa
they say aaa me QN.

88 Mi de mò, mi... ()
mi de mò mi
I of mine I

89 huan hàn maga kela kuku, né de kà wa?
huan hàn maga kela kuku né de kà wa
child this nmany pass many is of why QN.

90 Sogo bu né mè njeredi,
sogo bu né mè njeredi
only them-S. is with something

91 bó tue mi, mi gwom bó.
bó tue mi mi gwom bó
they say me I pay them

92 Ma mi ka kò ñgwè, fè mò nde ter.
ma mi ka kò ñgwè fè mò nde ter
if I at know NEG. head mine go up

93 Ma mò mè den hàn dè,
ma mò mè den hàn dè
if mine that stay this of

94 ma à sep gwan ñgwè hàn dè,
ma à sep gwan ñgwè hàn dè
if she male want NEG. this of

95 sogo né ka fuo chàŋ ça y est.
sogo né ka fuo chàŋ ça y est
only is at blow ça y est

96 Ma ka fuo chàŋ sam ñgwè ()
ma ka fuo chàŋ sam ñgwè
if at blow chàŋ not NEG.

97 bó yila le bu,
bó yila le bu
they enter in knife

98 ma bó kò ñgwè mbò,
ma bó kò ñgwè mbò
if they know NEG. itself

99 fè bó tare.(2)
The sua kare oath

fa bó tare.
head theirs hard

100 MA; Wò yè lane
wò yè lane
you say today

101 SS; Feli, felí baá mìi mó,
  felí felí baá mìi mó
threaten threaten PRES. mother mine

102 Yuo den ne bili yaa7#17 due hën do.
yuo den ne bili yaa due hën do
leave here is together bush open this of

103 Sogo né ka, bò baán nde bili né ka bó.
sogo né ka bò baán nde bili né ka bó
only is at PL. illness go group is at them

104 Né ka be chann, ça y est.
né ka be chann ça y est
is at hand chann ça y est

105 Né ke ka nùär, wò nùär di,
né ke ka nùär, wò nùär di
is look at person, you person some

106 wò ngar re di.
wò ngar re di
you slander again some

107 Wò je: øø nyí boó wò mëna no kum.
wò je øø nyí boó wò mëna no kum
you say yes speaker do you thus also just

108 Ngàm à nde yila dë bá, dë bá ka jemu
Ngàm à nde yila dë bá dë bá ka jemu
because they go call of we of we at second

109 bá nde Oui nde de, () ke wa?
bá nde oui nde de () ke wa
we go yes go stay () what QN

110 Ko wò le dalela ça y est,
  ko wò le dalela ça y est
even you PAST motive ça y est

111 ma wò le dalela sam ñgwe
  ma wò le dalela sam ñgwe
if you in motive not NEG.

112 bó yila le bu wanyu,
bó yila le bu wanyu
they enter in knife else

113 ma bó ko ñgwe, fa bó tare.
  ma bó ko ñgwe fe bó tare
if they know NEG. head theirs hard
114 bó dim mö, më den né bili hèn,
bó dim mö më den né bili hèn
PL. y-same-sex-sib. mine with stay is together this

115 më bó tie mö ve mö, më den né yè da,
më bó tie mö ve mö më den né yè da
with PL. opp-sex-sib mine woman mine with stay is yours of

116 bó mare de ñgwë hèn da. ()
bó mare de ñgwë hèn da
they own of NEG. this here

117 Sogo né ka bèé– Sogo né ka see chàñ.
sogo né ka bèé sogo né ka see chàñ
only is at harm only is at work chàñ

118 Ma né ka be núär, (1) né mëna huan di yà,
ma né ka be núär né mëna huan di yaa
if is at hand person is thus child some girl

119 à tue, bó gwom lu.
à tue bó gwom lu
she say we pay freely

120 Ma ka huan di sam ñgwë,
ma ka huan di sam ñgwë
if at child some not NEG.

121 wò JJ7#18 doön pat,
wò JJ doön pat
you JJ all all

122 ma né ka le nji né ki bó.
ma né ka le nji né ki bó
if is at in thing is annoy them

123 Sogo né ka fuo chàñ ça y est
sogo né ka fuo chàñ ça y est
only is at blow chàñ ça y est

124 Ma né ka fuo chàñ sam ñgwë
ma né ka fuo chàñ sam ñgwë
if is at blow chàñ not NEG.

125 bó yila le bu hèn wanyu,
bó yila le bu hèn wanyu
they enter in knife this else

126 ma bó ko ñgwë, fe bó tare.
ma bó ko ñgwë fe bó tare
if they know NEG. head theirs hard

127 MA; Kwa nyí núär nja, SS, nyí núär jë
kwa nyí núár nja SS nyí núár jë
find speaker person that-one SS speaker person say

128 nyí yuo sar, nyí yuo chibi
The sua kare oath

nyi yuo sar nyi yuo chibi
speaker leave witch-spears speaker leave night

129 Nyi ge le ven wula nüår
nyi ge le ven wula nüår
speaker divide treatment evil kill person

130 nyi yila le bu sua,
yi yila le bu sua
speaker enter in knife sua

131 Ma nyi ko ngwe njulu ke kə baa
ma nyi ko ngwe njulu ke kə baa
if speaker know NEG. eyes look at East

132 Nüår saa ndo, nüår mava. huan sep,
nüår saa ndo nüår mava huan sep
person that also person woman child male

133 wö ngəri fəlì nyì.
wö ngəri fəlì nyì
you slander threaten speaker

134 Wö ngəri fəlì bò və nyì,
wö ngəri fəlì bò və nyì
you slander threaten PL. woman speaker

135 wö ngəri fəlì bò ŋuna nyì
wö ngəri fəlì bò ŋuna nyì
you slander threaten PL. child speaker

136 wö ngəri fəlì bò dim nyì
wö ngəri fəlì bò dim nyì
you slander threaten PL. y-same-sex-sib. speaker

137 wö ngəri fəlì bò tie nyì
wö ngəri fəlì bò tie nyì
you slander threaten PL. opp-sex-sib speaker

138 wö ngəri fəlì mi nyì
wö ngəri fəlì mi nyì
you slander threaten mother speaker

139 Ko wö né le darela le ve, ça y est.
kö wö né le darela le ve ça y est
even you is in motive in bad ça y est

140 Wö ko ngwe, le be am ngwe,
wö ko ngwe le be am ngwe
you know NEG. in hand NEG. NEG.

141 ngəri ngəri ka fəlì bò
gəri · ngəri ka fəlì bò
slander slander at threaten them

142 Nüår yila le bu sua
nüår yila le bu sua
person enter in knife sua

292
143 Ma né ka () baán ma kwa né ka bó,
   ma né ka baán ma kwa né ka bó
if is at illness that find is at them

144 ma né fuo lu cháŋ,
   ma né fuo lu cháŋ
if is blow freely cháŋ

145 Gi né ga gø Baa koó.
gi né ga gø Baa koó
end is there at East SUB. EMP.

146 Saa bu hø nde ke kø baa
   saa bu hø nde ke kø baa
that they this go look at East

147 Kø la jëmu mii jëmu tele,7#19
   kø la jëmu mii jëmu tele
   Even treatment after mother after father

148 kø sie né bó koó,
kø sie né bó koó
even take is them SUB. EMP.

149 bó né kware nyí kware
   bó né kware nyí kware
they is beside speaker beside

150 Kø la jëmu mii jëmu tele sie bó saa le.
kø la jëmu mii jëmu tele sie bó saa le
even treatment after mother after father take them that in

151 Kaa né kaa nùår,
   kaa né kaa nùår
tie is tie person

152 wò mava wò huan sep.
wò mava wò huan sep
you woman you child male

153 Wò je: nyí ERVICE fòli loó ni wa?
wò je nyí ERVICE fòli loó ni wa?
you say speaker slander threaten compound who QN.

154 Tø nyí bëa loó
tø nyí bëa loó
so speaker harm compound

155 Nùår yila le bu
   nùår yila le bu
person enter in knife

156 Ngwagam ??ERVICE Ngwe?? wanyu yø yø yø.
   Ngwagam SERVICE Ngwe wanyu yø yø yø
   maize moment NEG. else eat eat eat

157 Ma wò kø Ngwe njulu ke kø baa. ()
The sua kare oath

ma wò ko ñgwe njulu ke ke baa
if you know NEG. eyes look at East

158 Nùär à sie nè fè lòó nyí ()
nùär à sie nè fè lòó nyí
person he take is head compound speaker

159 Mi nùär nje. () Ma nùär me togo te lè ám ñgwe
mi nùär nje ma nùär me togo te lè ám ñgwe
I person that-one if person with quarrel so treatment NEG. NEG.

160 Hèn nùär nde nde te yila ñgwe
hèn nùär nde nde te yila ñgwe
this person go go NEG enter NEG.

161 Hèn nùär nde tabé baé re, te yila ñgwe
hèn nùär nde tabé baé re te yila ñgwe
this person go earth harm again NEG enter NEG.

162 Ni sie nè koɔ né ka, (())7#20
ni sie nè koɔ né ka
who take is SUB.EMP. is at

163 sap, chibi, lop, yuui le
sap chibi lop yuui le
snake night witchcraft leaf treatment

164 MA; Ma nyí ko baá kən,
ma nyí ko baá kən
if speaker know PRES. already

165 nyí me lòó nùär yila le bu
nyí me lòó nùär yila le bu
speaker measure compound person enter in knife

166 Ma nyí ko ñgwe njulu ke ke baa
ma nyí ko ñgwe njulu ke ke baa
if speaker know NEG. eyes look at East

167 Nùär sar nùär chibi, ñgéri fəli nyí,
nùør sar nùør chibi ñgéri fəli nyí
person witch-spears person night slander threaten speaker

168 ñgéri fəli ñuna nyí.
ñgéri fəli ñuna nyí
slander threaten child speaker

169 Njeba nè ??njeba?? den baá də kə wa?
njeba nè ??njeba den baá də kə wa
stop is stop stay PRES. of why QN.

170 Nùär saa wò nùär nji ter ke ke ke
nùør saa wò nùør nji ter ke ke ke
person that you person thing up look look look

171 Ma wò ko ñgwe,
The sua kare oath

ma wò ko ŋgwa
if you know NEG.

172 SS; Jang-
   jang-
scho-

173 Ma; ko né me teme chén, bó njulu ke ke baa, dòn. ()
   ko né me teme chén bó njulu ke ke baa dòn
   even is with liver one they eyes look at East all

174 SS; Jangdi né félí bó ŋuna mò,
   jangdi né félí bó ŋuna mò
   school is threaten PL. child mine

175 yila bu hën de.
   yila bu hën de
   enter knife this of

176 Sogo né gi né ka () né see chàŋ ça y est.
   sogo né gi né ka né see chàŋ çaye
   only is end is at is work chàŋ ça ye

177 Né ka nùar lu mba, wò je
   né ka nùar lu mba wò je
   is at person SUB.EMP. freely you say

178 nyí nde nde mè,
   nyí nde nde mè
   speaker go go that

179 ma nyí boó mani, nyí njèrè mani.
   ma nyí boó mani nyí njèrè mani
   if speaker do thus speaker slander thus

180 Chia kwè mi ndè nde a të yili.
   chia kwè mi nde nde a të yili
   day tomorrow I go go to so call

181 Ma bu boó né mè dalela, bó tue mì,
   ma bu boó né mè dalela bó tue mì
   if them-S. do is with motive they say I

182 mi gwom lu.
   mi gwom lu
   I pay freely

183 Ma bu boó le njèrèdi sam ŋgwa.
   ma bu boó le njèrèdi sam ŋgwa
   if them-S. do in something not NEG.

184 bó ŋgərì ka félí bé de lu kòó kòó kòó mba man.
   bó ŋgərì ka félí bé de lu kòó kòó kòó mba man
   they slander at threaten we of freely SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP.
   SUB.EMP. freely thus

185 bó yila ka le bu hën wanyu,
The sua kare oath

bó yila ka le bu hän wanyu
they enter at in knife this else

186 ma bó ko ñgwe fë bó tare.
ma bó ko ñgwe fë bó tare
if they know NEG. head theirs hard

187 MA; Lane bó pat ma nyí sie fë ñuna nyí
lane bó pat ma nyí sie fë ñuna nyí
today they all if speaker take head child speaker

188 me bó jaንdi jaን, bó go ñgwe
me bó jaንdi ja ken, bó go ñgwe
that they school school they walk NEG.

189 Ma né ka njẽre ??dalela
ma né ka njẽre ??dalela
if is at thing motive

190 yogo né ka bó ko, ça y est
yogo né ka bó ko, ça y est
surpass is at them SUB.EMP. ça y est

191 Wò nǔär wò yuo sar, wò yuo chibi.
wò nǔär wò yuo sar wò yuo chibi
you person you leave witch-spears you leave night

192 Wò yila le gua mallam??21
wò yila le gua mallam
you enter in home mallam

193 wò te sie bó, té nyí bęé bó.
wò te sie bó té nyí bęé bó
you so take them so speaker harm them

194 Ma mallam ko né koó
ma mallam ko né koó
if mallam know is SUB.EMP.

195 Nǔär yila le bu sua
nǔär yila le bu sua
person enter in knife sua

196 wò so chèn wanyu, wò fà ye ye so
wò so chèn wanyu wò fà ye ye so
you live one else you two eat eat live

197 Ma dede yogo ñgwe wò koó
ma dede yogo ñgwe wò koó
if properly surpass NEG. you SUB.EMP.

198 doŋŋ pat bu njulu ke kə baa.
doŋŋ pat bu njulu ke kə baa
all all it eyes look at East

199 SS; (5) Bare re njulu Ñgu
(5) bare re njulu Ñgu
(5) close again eyes Ñgu
The sua kare oath

200 MA; Baá yogo né ṅuna7#22 han, à ha nan, baá yogo né ṅuna han à ha nan
FRES. surpass is child this she fat how

201 à si jogó ñgwe, lane doóñ pat, à si jogó ñgwe lane doóñ pat
she husband marry NEG. today all all

202 bò núär bò nda kulu bu
bò núär bò nda kulu bu
PL. person PL. young men bless her

203 SS;
Né julú7#23
né julú
is forbidden

204 MA; Bò nda bu gwan, bò nda kulu bu.
bò nda bu gwan bò nda kulu bu
PL. young men her want they young men bless her

205 Bò nda kulu bu. Bò nda kulu bu,
bò nda kulu bu bò nda kulu bu
PL. young men bless her PL. young men bless her

206 à si jogó ñgwe.
à si jogó ñgwe
she husband marry NEG.

207 Ma né ka geda si né wa ñgwe yè, ça y est
ma né ka geda si né wa ñgwe yè ça y est
if is at fate husband is arrive NEG. NEG. ça y est

208 Núär di, wò nde, wò baé bu,
núär di wò nde wò baé bu
person some you go you harm her

209 wò yila le gua mallam,
wò yila le gua mallam
you enter in home mallam

210 wò nde mé siri,
wò nde mé siri
you go with harm

211 wò nde mé mgbati ven,
wò nde mé mgbati ven
you go with witchcraft evil

212 wò tue nyí baé wa tare: à te si jogó.
wò tue nyí baé wa tare à te si jogó
you say speaker harm arrive hard she NEG. husband marry

213 Ko () ko, SS, bò vè, bò baé naa.
ko ko SS bò vè bò baé naa
even even SS PL. woman they harm PAST

214 Gua di nuar7#24, ça y est.
gua di nùràr  ça y est
home some person  ça y est

215 Nùràr bëö  ngwë,
  nùràr bëö  ngwë
person harm NEG.

216 wò  ngëri fëli  ɳuna,
  wò  ngëri fëli  ɳuna
you slander threaten child

217 wò  ngëri me fëli  je:
  wò  ngëri me fëli  je
you slander with threaten say

218 à jë: Jëk7#25! Ma jë: jëk! A ndë si jëgo kwa
  à jë jëk ma jë jëk à ndë si jëgo kwa
it say if say she go husband marry find

219 Nùràr, à yila le bu sua,
  nùràr à yila le bu sua
person it enter in knife sua

220 à so chën wanyu, à fà  yë  yë  yë
  à so chën wanyu à fà  yë  yë  yë
it live one else it two eat eat eat

221 Ma nùràr gedä si né wa  ngwë  yë,
  ma nùràr gedä si né wa  ngwë  yë
if person husband is arrive NEG. NEG.

222 saa bu hën njulu kee kë baa.
  saa bu hën njulu kee kë baa
that she this eyes look at East

223 Ss;Huan  më gulë7#26 kuö ka bu hën de.
  huan  më gulë kuö ka bu hën de
child with foot die at him this of

224 Sëgo né ka fuo chëñ,  ça y est.
  sëgo né ka fuo chëñ  ça y est
only is at blow chëñ  ça y est

225 Në ka bë nùràr wò yuo wò  jë:
  né ka bë nùràr wò yuo wò  jë
is at PL. person you leave you say

226 aha huan hën nde nde bë de kë wa?
  aha huan hën nde nde bë de kë wa
mmhmmm child this go go place of why QN.

227 Sëgo bu hën le dalela bë tue mi, mi gwom.
  sëgo bu hën le dalela bë tue mi mi gwom
only him this in motive they say me I pay

228 Ma ka le njërdë di sam  ngwë,
  ma ka le njërdë di sam  ngwë
if at in something not NEG.
The sua kare oath

229 bọ yila ka le bu hẹn wanyu,
   bọ yila ka le bu hẹn wanyu
they enter at in knife this else

230 ma bọ ko ọgwọ fa bọ tare.
   ma bọ ko ọgwọ fa bọ tare
if they know NEG. head theirs hard

231 MA; Mi tene7#27 nde né fẹlì sen hẹn dẹ.  
    mi tene nde né fẹlì sen hẹn dẹ  
    I break go is threaten his this of

232 Mi tene nde né fẹlì sen hẹn
   mi tene nde né fẹlì sen hẹn
I break go is threaten his this

233 < Den tọ tabe tọ sie chuar <= To SS 
    den tọ tabe tọ sie chuar 
stay at earth so take chicken

234 SS; Yuaga7#28 den tọ tabé man!
    Yuaga den tọ tabé man
Yuaga stay at earth thus

235 Simon7#29; Yuaga den tọ tabé, kie! (7)
    Yuaga den tọ tabé kie  
    Yuaga stay at earth Expletive

236 SS; Sie tọk! (5) Nuaga bare njulu man wa
    sie tọk (5) Nuaga bare njulu man wa
    take IDEO. Nuaga close eye thus EMP

237 MA; Huan lu fẹlì ụnụ nyí nan.
    huan lu fẹlì ụnụ nyí nan
child freely threaten child speaker how

238 Mi núär nje, mi núär mọ mi lọ nẹ
    mi núär nje mi núär mọ mi lọ nẹ
I person that-one I person that I treat is

239 Mi yuo sar mi yuo chibi,
    mi yuo sar mi yuo chibi
I leave witch-spears I leave night

240 gwa núär, chuar núär, bẹọ núär.
    gwa núär chuar núär bẹọ núär
house person chicken person harm person

241 Ma mi bẹọ (1) mọ sar mọ chibi mọ lọp.
    ma mi bẹọ lọ sar mọ chibi mọ lọp
if I harm with witch-spears with night with witchcraft

242 Chu chu fẹlì bó, mi yila le bu sua
    chu chu fẹlì bó mi yila le bu sua
return return threaten them I enter in knife sua

243 mi so chén wanyu,
The sua kare oath

mi só chén wanyu
I live one else

244 mi njulu kə baa ke ke, ke.
mi njulu kə baa ke ke ke ke
I eyes at East look look look look

245 Ma mi né ka ka temə chén,
ma mi né ka ka temə chén
if I is at at liver one

246 te chuom huom, bə huom, nùår huom.
te chuom huom bə huom nùår huom
so sort-out good we good person good

247 Mi njulu ke kə baa.
mi njulu ke kə baa
I eyes look at East

248 Wò nùår sar, wò nùår chibi,
wò nùår sar wò nùår chibi
you person witch-spears you person night

249 wò nde mə né jəge
wò nde mə né jəge
you go with is swear??

250 ma né lə né ki wa?
ma né lə né ki wa
if is treatment is what QN.

251 Mi7#30 yila le bu sua
mi yila le bu sua
I enter in knife sua

252 wò so chén wanyu, fà yə yə yə so
wò so chén wanyu fà yə yə yə so
you live one else two eat eat eat live

253 SS; Café7#31 né wa ngwe yə
café né wa ngwe yə
coffee is arrive NEG. NEG.

254 MA; Loó yə me gəra hən da.
loó yə me gəra hən da
compound yours with field this of

255 Wò baån lane ka né ??ləm kwa le??
wò baån lane ka né ??ləm kwa le
you illness today at is only cough in

256 kwa né baån, kula né baán
kwa né baån kula né baán
tomorrow is illness day-after-tomorrow is illness

257 Ko né ka baån mgbe chàn7#32 ha naa bu baá kəə, ça y est
ko né ka baån mgbe chàn ha naa bu baá kəə ça y est
The sua kare oath

even is at illness chief chàŋ give PAST it PRES. SUB.EMP. ça y est

258 Wò sar, wò chibi, nùår mave huan sep.
wò sar wò chibi nùår mave huan sep
you witch-spears you night person woman child male

259 De loó ye te nyì bëé baâ
de loó ye te nyì bëé baâ
of compound yours so speaker harm PRES.

260 Wò né jëgë wò nde bëé kôô
wò né jëgë wò nde bëé kôô
you is swear?? you go harm SUB.EMP.

261 Fela doón pat, loó ye huom ñgwa
fela doón pat loó ye huom ñgwa
listen all all compound yours good NEG.

262 Ko né ka (1) chie ra lu cher chum cher sua
ko né ka 1 chie ra lu cher chum cher sua
even is at day again day road old road sua

263 bu le kò hën de, tamë ma wò wa Paul Biya7#33
bu le kò hën de tamë ma wò wa Paul Biya
it PAST know this of consider even you arrive Paul Biya

264 Ka nùår, nyì bëé baâ loó ye
ka nùår nyì bëé baâ loó ye
at person speaker harm PRES. compound yours

265 wò yila le bu
wò yila le bu
you enter in knife

266 wò so wanyu wò fà ye ye so
wò so wanyu wò fà ye ye so
you live else you two eat eat eat live

267 < Café ye wa ñgwa <= To SS
café ye wa ñgwa
coffee yours arrive NEG.

268 SS; Sogo bó wa gua7#34 mgbe
sogo bó wa gua mgbe
only they arrive home chief

269 MA; Dites donc7#35. Gua huom ñgwa
dites donc gua huom ñgwa
dites donc home good NEG.

270 Ko né ka () kalon
ko né ka kalon
even is at money

271 Tabé ve7#36 né kòô ça y est
tabé ve né kòô ça y est
earth bad is SUB.EMP. ça y est
272 Ko né ka be nùăr, tə nyí bëë
ko né ka be nùăr tə nyí bëë
even is at hand person so speaker harm

273 Nyí bëë ŋuna ŋuna yə wa
nyí bëë ŋuna ŋuna yə wa
speaker harm child child yours SUB.EMP.

274 Ma né chia kwe wò wò nde koó
ma né chia kwe wò wò nde koó
if is day tomorrow you you go SUB.EMP.

275 huan de ki wa?
huan de ki wa
child of what QN.

276 Ñgeri felí ŋuna yə, li huan yuo ve
Ñgeri felí ŋuna yə li huan yuo ve
slander threaten child yours stomach child leave bad

277 Ko né ka () kalon li, chan hə né koó
ko né ka kalon li chan hə né koó
even is at money stomach chan give is SUB.EMP.

278 Usur ça y est. Ko né ka be nùăr
usur ça y est ko né ka be nùăr
truly ça y est even is at hand person [

279 SS; bò wa wa gua mbe bò fela né ka nùăr
bò wa wa gua mbe bò fela né ka nùăr
they arrive arrive home beer they listen is at person

280 bò fela de baa ça y est.
bò fela de baa ça y est
they listen of good ça y est

281 MA; Më bëë li koó
më bëë li koó
that harm stomach SUB.EMP.

282 Ma né jëge ni,
ma né jëge ni
if is swear?? who

283 ma né kwa bëë ve de ki wa?
ma né kwa bëë ve de ki wa
if is put harm woman of what QN.

284 Wò kwa ŋgwë de ki wa?
wò kwa ŋgwë de ki wa
you put NEG. of what QN.

285 Wò yila le bu sua
wò yila le bu sua
you enter in knife sua

286 wò so chën wanyu wò faç yë so
The sua kare oath

wò sò chèn wanyu wò fà yè sò
you live one else you two eat live

287 Ko ɳuna hua nùùr tema ɳgwè
kò ɳuna hua nùùr tema ɳgwè
even child breath person send NEG.

288 Chië hua nùùr teba te kela ɳgwè.
chië hua nùùr teba te kela ɳgwè
outside breath person fulbe NEG pass NEG.

289 Bí hua nùùr yè ɳgwè yè yè
bí hua nùùr yè ɳgwè yè yè
you breath person eat NEG eat eat

290 Yila le bu sua
yila le bu sua
enter in knife sua

291 wò sò chèn wanyu wò fà yè yè sò (1)
wò sò chèn wanyu wò fà yè yè sò (1)
you live one else you two eat eat live

The chicken was beheaded (10)

292 < Mi njiba chuar ka kiyè lu mani <= to SS
mi njiba chuar ka kiyè lu mani 50
I stop chicken at overthere SUB.EMP. thus

293 (50)7#37 To, wa we (3)
(50) to wa we (3)
(50) To arrive fire

294 SS; To Ƞgù te njulu ke wa
to Ƞgù te njulu ke wa
So Ƞgù NEG. eyes look SUB.EMP.

295 MA; À ke baá ke
à ke baá ke
he look PRES. look

296 SS; Wò ke baá ke
wò ke baá ke
you look PRES. look

297 MA; Kware te taa. kware te taa. kware te taa7#38
kware te taa kware te taa kware te taa,
kidneys NEG. stone kidneys NEG. stone kidneys NEG. stone

298 (1) Dè bí gi aa
(1) dè bí gi aa
(1) for you end PAST
Appendix to Chapter 8
The transcript of the first adultery hearing
23 Nov. 1986

speakers:
b: Baba
bt: one of the accused.
ch: chief
ga: Gamia
gw: Ng's Father
kg: the other accused youth.
ko: Kotap Jeremy
ng: the husband of the woman who allegedly committed adultery.
nj: njaibi

1 ch, edeko, ma mi duom me nji me, ()
edeko ma mi duom me nji me
so if I start with thing that

2 mi yila bili ne me bi lane
mi yila bili ne me bi lane
I call together is with you today

3 han mi tue kwa bi nji me manji &5 me kela naa lili. (4)
han mi tue kwa bi nji me manji me kela naa lili
this I say put you thing with small with pass PAST yesterday

4 Mi tue kwa ne chiw n'gam (1) naa nje man be mo kum.()
mi tue kwa ne chiw n'gam naa nje man be mo kum
I say put is outside because PAST thing small hand mine just

5 wò kwa naa fada njai man no.()
wò kwa naa fada njai man no
you find PAST like thing small also

6 Mais jemu saa mi ke: a dengwe fada njai man. (7)
mais jemu saa mi ke a den ne ngwe fada njai man
Mais after that I look he stay is NEG. like thing small

7 Ngam mi ne n'ee bô sembe bô
ngam mi ne n'ee bô sembe bô
because I see Pl. strength Pl.

8 yila kwa ba'a tena mbon. (4)
yila kwa ba'a tena mbon
enter enter PRES. amongst many

9 Bô ko ngwe nji mè kela naa,
bô ko ngwe nji mè kela naa
they know NEG. thing with pass PAST

10 nga ba'a see bô nuår nuår. (4)
nga ba'a see bô nuår nuår
clear PRES. work Pl. person person
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

11 mi njiba han, njiba ter mi ke kə4?
mi njiba han njiba ter mi ke kə4
I stop this stop up I look what

12 fabé bò və né dubu tap lum də tap mba.(6)
fabé bò və né dubu tap lum də tap mba
like Pl. woman is plant war only of war freely

13 Ko né huna yə, ko né mii yə
eo né huna yə, ko né mii yə
even is child yours even is mother yours

14 ko né dim yə, ko né bí yə, ()
k né dim yə ko né bí yə
even is y-same-sex-sib yours even is e-same-sex-sib. yours

15 ma né lè gachén kam,
ma né lè gachén kam
if is in true just

16 ma wö wa bë-re-di wö kwa bò baá bu lebu
ma wö wa bë-re-di wö kwa bò baá bu lebu
if you arrive some-place you find they PRES. him hit

17 aha né lè lagu. Nji ma wö
aha né lè lagu nji ma wö
mmhmmm is in fight thing with you

18 boó nde nə chén.
boó nde nə chén
do go is one

19 wö sie nde né ləgə də tal. Saá gia.
wö sie nde né ləgə də tal saá gia
you take go is fight of SUB.EMP. that end

20 Ma wö né nùår gachén kum, wö sie nde ləgə ma,
ma wö né nùår gachén kum wö sie nde ləgə ma
if you is person true just you take go fight then

21 ma né nùår yə ma, wö wə nùår yə, wö yuo mə nji.(1)
ma né nùår yə ma wö wə nùår yə wö yuo mə nji
if is person yours then you take person yours you leave with thing

22 Jemu ra wö bie nji saá lu.(2)
je му ra wö bie nji saá lu
after again you ask thing that freely

23 Mais ma wö nji saá kọ ngẹ,
mais ma wö nji saá kọ ngẹ
mais if you thing that know NEG.

24 wö wa, wö yila kə mba. (1)
wö wa wö yila kə mba
you arrive you enter at freely
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

25 saá tue né ya: saá nji ndeka
saá tue né ya saá nji ndeka
that say is say that thing from

26 to wô naá ko wô mba yila ñgô. (6)
to wô naá ko wô mba yila ñgô
before you PAST know you freely enter NEG.

27 Alors, bí bô ve mè mi ñene naá bí pat, ()
alors bí bô ve mè mi ñene naá bí pat
you Pl. woman which I see PAST you all

28 bí né lè carnet mò
bí né lè carnet mò
you is in carnet mine

29 De mè, ndeka lili.
de mè ndeka lili
of me from yesterday

30 Denè mè bâ tue nè denè, mi mi tue né mè sôn je:
denè mè bâ tue nè denè mi mi tue né mè sôn je
here with we say is here II say is with mouth say

31 Saá tal bô tue ju han gia, non () ñgâm né yaware. ()
Saá tal bô tue ju han gia non ñgâm né yaware
That IDEO. they say talk this end non because is scorn

32 et mi foti ñgwê mi bô mè mi kwa yaware
et mi foti ñgwê mi bô mè mi kwa yaware
et I can NEG. I do with I find scorn

33 yohr mò lan(e) ko kwa kò kula. (6)
yohr mò lane ko kwa kò kula
body mine today or tomorrow or day-after-tomorrow

34 Ko bô kuku bô de baa mènà vii bâa.
ko bô kuku bô de baa mènà vii bâa
even Pl. elder Pl. of PRES. thus grey PRES.

35 Bô foti ñgwê de bô wa bâa,
bô foti ñgwê de bô wa bâa
they can NEG. of them arrive PRES.

36 bó yila kwa mi ha ka jolori.
bó yila kwa mi ha ka jolori
they enter find me until at Palace

37 Bô sii lêm ma tema bon gwan-e.
bô sii lêm ma tema bon gwan-e
they injure? only if liver theirs want

38 Ko bô baa mènà vii naá bó foti ñgwê.(1)
kô bó baa mènà vii naá bó foti ñgwê
even they PRES. thus grey PAST they can NEG.

39 To, () nde jemu naá nyogo sôn, (2)
to nde jemu naá nyogo sôn
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

To go second PAST organise mouth

40  nde naá ngogó sòn, () ni dòŋ wò tasque gu, kadi (4)  
nde naá ngogó sòn ni dòŋ wò tasque gu kadi  
go PAST organise mouth who all you task walk? really

41  Ndeka leba, ndeka bó nūár leba naá bu pat.  
ndeka leba ndeka bó nūár leba naá bu pat  
from tongue from Pl. person tongue PAST them-S. all

42  Ni dōŋ wò tasque gu,  
i dōŋ wò tasque gu  
who all you task walk

43  ngam pat bì né gi lè carnet mò,  
ngam pat bì né gi lè carnet mò  
because all you is end in notebook mine

44  Ma dë mi là chio hên sam naá ngwe,  
ma dë mi là chio hên sam naá ngwe  
if of I PAST outside this not PAST NEG.

45  mere bì la munu ye aá  
mere bì la munu ye aá  
perhaps you PAST thought yours PAST

46  mere à mi ñene ñgë  
mere à mi ñene ñgë  
perhaps he me see NEG.

47  aá nji sa kò ngwe.  
aá nji sa kò ngwe.  
they-S. thing that know NEG.

48  Mi, mi naá chio hên, mi njiba lè?  
mi naá chio hên mi njiba lè  
I I PAST outside this I stop in

49  chio hên nji me kela hên, ha më bó nde à më pat,  
chio hên nji me kela hên ha më bó nde à më pat  
outside this thing which pass this until with they go to with all

50  mi sua kela hên ngam tɛ mi ke nyagà bàá si  
mi sua kela hên ngam tɛ mi ke nyagà bàá si  
I descend pass this because so I look repair good-ness

51  ke më mi ke dë, bó nūár jë a a dë mò a  
ke më mi ke dë bó nūár jë a a dë mò a  
look with I look of Pl. person say to to of mine to

52  mi ngà nde diya kë jolori.  
mi ngà nde diya kë jolori  
I climb go of-yours at Palace

53  bó munu né mi bóó nè ngàm  
bó munu né mi bóó nè ngàm
they think is me do is because

54 mi gwan to lægø nde no, ()
mi gwan to lægø nde no
I want to fight go also

55 duöm ne dænø, see ma ɲenø nji ma duöm naá
duöm nē dænø see ma ɲenø nji ma duöm naá
start is here work which see thing with start PAST

56 ha bë nji aá chǟrø di
ha bë nji aá chǟrø di
until we thing PAST stop some

57 Ngàm ma mi nde né mena
ngàm ma mi nde né mena
because if I go is thus

58 to tue nde mi kwa mena bë ma bø nji me
before say go I put thus place with Pl. thing which

59 mi tue kanæhæn dænø (2)
mi tue kanæhæn dænø
I say now here

60 nuàr yuo ha wa là kwa mi jolori, yila mi mber.
nuàr yuo ha wa là kwa mi jolori yila mi mber
person leave until arrive in find me Palace call me shit

61 Bí bë ve bí yuo, jemu bí dubu tar8#6,
bí bë ve bí yuo jemu bí dubu tar
you Pl. woman you leave after you plant stone

62 bí yë: Police Party8#7 tø bu sie. ()
bí yë Police Party tø bu sie
you say Police Party NEG him take

63 Se te njai bí saά na lane né hiun
so so thing you ignite PAST today is different

64 ama bí nde gochën tue le gö?? bu hën (3)
but you go true say PAST walk him this

65 Ngàm pat bí né gi le carnet mó.
because all you is end in notebook mine

66 Kela nuàr me wó ko nyí kema baά bò Police Party be yør
pass person with you know speaker touch PRES. Pl. hand body

67 ma wó kema naά bu dø me wó sie naά bu dø sie mba
ma wó kema naά bu dø me wó sie naά bu dø sie mba
if you touch PAST him of with you take PAST him of take freely

68 əha, diya kam mi njọrdi tue ŋgẹ (1)
   əha diya kam mi njọrdi tue ŋgẹ əha of-yours just I something say NEG.

69 mais ma wọ kema naá bu ðə saá, () wọ né lle carnet mọ ()
   mais ma wọ kema naá bu ðə saá wọ né lle carnet mọ mais if you touch PAST him of ignite you is in mine

70 diya kam, ha kwə, ha kula () ma bí je ŋgor nde né gi,
   diya kam ha kwə ha kula ma bí je ŋgor nde né gi
   of-yours just until tomorrow until day-after-tomorrow if you say declaration go is end

71 bì tue né nyən. Ha kwə, ha kula
   bì tue né nyən. Ha kwə, ha kula
   you say is lie until tomorrow until day-after-tomorrow

(32) Gap, general throat clearing &c

72 ŋgor hən bu, ma mi tue né bì hən,
   ŋgor hən bu ma mi tue né bì hən
   declaration this his if me say is you this

73 den né ŋgor mọ () mọ mi se den né bì hən.
   den né ŋgwe ŋgor mọ mọ mi se den né bì hən
   stay is NEG. declaration mine which I explain here is you this

74 De mọ bó si denə mi mba.(3)
   de mọ bó si denə mi mba
   of mine they insult here I freely

75 Mi, mi kwə nde né chie feli bì ye.
   mi mi kwə nde né chie feli bì ye
   I tomorrow go is outside like you yours freely

76 Bì goh, bí yuo su tə bì nyəgə su mə mi.(2)
   bì goh bí yuo su tə bì nyəgə su mə mi
   you walk you leave again so you repair again that I

77 Leli dənə bó tue naá ju tabá. (1)
   leli dənə bó tue naá ju tabá
   yesterday here they say PAST talk earth

78 Ju lë, lë ma naá ten əŋgə.
   ju lë lë ma naá ten əŋgə
   talk fish-dam fish-dam if PAST there-is NEG.

79 Bó tue naá ju ngu kula. Ñgu kula fela né ðə bó əə.(1)
   bó tue naá ju ngu kula ngu kula fela né ðə bó əə
   they say PAST talk fish bail fish bail like is of Pl. woman

80 Ju see. () tə bó nüər nde né bə chéń nde,
   ju see tə bó nüər nde né bə chéń nde
   talk work so Pl. person go is place one go
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

81  bó nùàr bó mè bà chén nde ñgwè.
   bó nùàr bó mè bà chén nde ñgwè
P1. person they with place one go NEG.

82  Lane mi munu né jè ma bó nùàr nde bòô cher,
   lane mi munu né jè ma bó nùàr nde bòô cher
   today I think is say if they person go do road

83  bó nùàr bóô nde ñgwè, bó né den.
   bó nùàr bóô nde ñgwè bó né den
   P1. person do go NEG. they is stay

84  Cher nde bó par, mè bó kela né ten, mi munu yè:
   cher nde bó par mè bó kela né ten mi munu yè
   road go they all with they pass is there-is I think say

85  Bí bó nùàr, bó tema bó, bí nde né ha bí yogo suû.
   bí bó nùàr bó tema bó bí nde né ha bí yogo suû
   you P1. person they send them you go is until you surpass again-NEG.

86  ñgam né som sòn mba see mbo mè tema nè bí (11)
   ñgam né som sòn mba see mbo mè tema nè bí
   because is only mouth freely work himself with send is you

87  Lane mi né ka lòô, () chibi bu lane kum, mi né ka lòô.
   lane mi né ka lòô chibi bu lane kum mi né ka lòô
   today I is at village night it today just I is at village

88  Nè wò huan sep a, () né wò mave a, ()
   né wò huan sep a né wò mave a
   is you child male to is you woman to

89  ma wò ko dé nyì naá Police Party be yor kema.
   ma wò ko dé nyì naá Police Party be yor kema
   if you know of who PAST hand body touch

90  Nè be nyì yuo baá ter mani, ma nyì kema baá yor sen (4)
   né be nyì yuo baá ter mani nyì kema baá yor
   sen
   is hand speaker leave PRES. up thus speaker touch PRES. body
   his

91  Bí la ma wò kwa mi, ou wò nde kwa nùàr kuú di,
   bí la ma wò kwa mi ou wò nde kwa nùàr kuú di
   you PAST if you find me ou you go find person big some

92  wò wa, wò tue ndika mè mi Bankim suaga ngue yè.(3)
   wò wa wò tue ndika mè mi Bankim suaga ngue yè
   you arrive you say from with I Bankim descend NEG. yours

93  ma muna am ñgè, ma mi suaga, dé to bò ten amngè
   ma muna am ñgè ma mi suaga dé to bò ten amngè
   if thus NEG. NEG. if I descend of before us there-is NEGATIVE

94  Ma bí né kò, bó bòô njiba bó kita,
   ma bí né kò bó bòô njiba bó kita
   if you is know they do stop P1. cases
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

95 bä bó njiba le kita. () De mò kum, gi né man. 
  bä bó njiba le kita de mò kum gi né man 
  we do stop PAST case of me just end is thus

96 Mi ha lâm né journée lane, (1) 
  mi ha lâm né journée lane 
  I give only is today

97 ko mi né mena ka lóó kwé... koó mi né mena ka lóó 
  ko mi né mena ka lóó kwé koó mi né mena ka lóó 
  even I is thus at village tomorrow even I is thus at village

98 ma ngaá kwé nüár te nde su () 
  ma ngaá kwé nüár te nde su 
  if clear tomorrow person so go again-NEG

99 ma ngaá kwé mè nüár te nde 
  ma ngaá kwé mè nüár te nde 
  if clear tomorrow with person NEG. go

  Gap, general throat clearing followed by a Fulfulde translation 
  of the discussion of road work. (Approx 4 minutes)

100 To, fam bóó ju see. () See mè bóó tema nè han, (2) 
  to fam bóó ju see see see mè bóó tema nè han 
  So like do talk work work which do send is this

101 see dénwè de nüár yè, mi tema kwa de nüár di. () 
  see dénwè de nüár yè mi tema kwa de nüár di 
  work stay-NEG. of person yours I send put of person some

102 Non, see bà tema nè han da, 
  non see bà tema nè han da 
  we send is this of work ours send is this of

103 bà tema nè see de nüár nje, dénwè de nüár. () 
  bà tema nè see de nüár nje den néngwè de nüár 
  we send is work of person that-one stay is NEG. of person

104 Fela lu bá nde ya yè, yi cher dua ya, ni (2) 
  fela lu bá nde ya yè yi cher dua ya ni 
  like day we go there at at road there at who

105 Kè keléhen suaga bà, mè mi la tue duom nan?, () 
  kè keléhen suaga bè mè mi la tue duom nan 
  at now descend? ours with I PAST say start how

106 bi bógó#11 hên ma,..bógó hên 
  bi bógó hên ma bógó hên 
  thing wall this then wall this

107 Ndeka bó munu ngwè: bó nde né ngaá. 
  ndeka bó munu ngwè bó nde né ngaá 
  from they think NEG. they go is climb

108 Bógó hên né ten. () 
  bógó hên né ten
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

wall this is there-is

109 Ndeka bó munu ǹgwọ: bó nde né ǹgaa
  ndeka bó munu ǹgwọ bó nde né ǹgaa
  must they think NEG. they go is clear

110 Bogo han né ten. ha né bó nde nyen njì,
  bogo han né ten ha né bó nde nyen njì
  wall this is there-is until is they go forget thing

111 yili mô lè naa man, ha bó nde nyen njì ma.
  yili mô lè naa man ha bó nde nyen njì ma
  name mine in PAST thus until they go forget thing then

112 Bogo han de à né le ten.(2)
  bogo han de à né le ten
  wall this of it is in there-is

113 Dede né fada bí no, kela naa man:
  dede né fada bí no kela naa man
  properly is like you also pass PAST thus

114 ma nùär wa to ya, te bóó ǹgër wa:
  ma nùär wa to ya te bóó ǹgër wa
  if person arrive before you so do insult EMP.

115 ǹhọ, lane bó ǹhọ kwë wa né su mi wa.
  ǹhọ lane bó ǹhọ kwë wa né su mi wa
  no today Pl. no tomorrow arrive is again I say

116 ǹhọ wó nyàgà kwà. (5)
  ǹhọ wó nyàgà kwà
  no you repair put

117 to de ǹgwọ ke le bogo ki ya, me teme ǹgër.(1)
  to de ǹgwọ ke le bogo ki ya me teme ǹgër
  before stay NEG. look in wall at there with liver insult

118 Dê mô mi je: njì par huom.
  dê mô mi je njì par huom
  of mine I say thing all good

119 Lane mi naa hapdi, dede mô Kum, dede mô Kum né hapdi.(1)
  lane mi naa hapdi dede mô Kum dede mô Kum né hapdi
  today I PAST fight properly me just properly mine just is fight

120 Mais bí né mi tema bóó yula, (1)
  mais bí né mi tema bóó yula
  Mais you is me liver do ill

121 bí bóó loó bó bí né mi tema bóó yula,
  bí bóó loó bó bí né mi tema bóó yula
  you Pl. village Pl. you is me liver do ill

122 ǹgam ma tam di mba mi su munu, mi je:
  ǹgam ma tam di mba mi su munu mi je
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

because if time some freely I again think I say

123 kie (bôê, mbô) rô né tam mò mba. () tam kie (bôê, mbô) rô né tam mò mba tam Expletive (insult, shit) again is time mine freely time

124 tam di, mi tema bôô yula (4) tam di, mi tema bôô yula time some I liver do ill

125 Tue né nji né mi bôô nde nê hên par, Tue né nji né mi bôô nde nê hên par say is thing is I do go is this all

126 pat bi ŋene ŋue. (2) Dede bô gwan à bôô, pat bi ŋene ŋue dede bô gwan à bôô all you see NEG. properly they want to do

127 pat bi ŋene be bi yô né gi ve. (3) pat bi ŋene be bi yô né gi ve. all you see hand you yours is end bad

128 Ma mi kema ??yor le ju de argi han manji man, Ma mi kema ??yor le ju de argi hên manji man if I touch body in talk of moonshine this small thus

129 le naâ chie di hi? wa ka leteni hên, le naâ chie di ni wa ka leteni hên PAST PAST outside some where arrive at between this

130 Mì nde yila bili bô ka centre hên, bô naâ tue mba (2) Mì nde yila bili bô ka centre hên bô naâ tue mba I go call together PL. at centre this they PAST say freely

131 kuare kuare bô naâ tue jê: mi tue ju argi kuare kuare bô naâ tue jê mi tue ju argi beside beside they PAST say I say talk moonshine

132 kaka guli mò se ne ten kaka guli mò se ne ten below foot mine theirs is there-is

133 ama ma sie ŋwê, mi nde sie nde né kuare wa? ama ma sie ŋwê mi nde sie nde kuare wa but if take NEG. I go take go is beside QN.

134 bô ve de ka centre hên, bô ve de ka centre hên Pl. woman of at this

135 lu saâ mê mi nde yila bili naâ bô, lu saâ mê mi nde yila bili naâ bô day that with I go call together PAST them

136 bô bô kuare kuare bô ŋue naâ ŋue. bô bô kuare kuare bô ŋue naâ ŋue they PL. beside beside PL. understand PAST NEG.
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

137 Han, lane mi tue sôn né chi. Leli Jauro
   hən lane mi tue sôn né chi leli jauro
this today I say mouth is that yesterday headman

138 Yokosalla, Jigi à le tue naá dene ye nan wa?
   Yokosalla Jigi à le tue naá dene ye nan wa
Yokosalla Jigi he PAST say PAST here say how QN.

Break in recording: change of batteries

139 Nj;Ga8#13 à, wò. Mgbe ja né ve, ama dè be ye,
   ga à wò mgbe je né ve ama dè be ye
Ga to you chief say is bad but of hand yours

140 mi tue né wò ma bó ñgue tue bë.
   mi tue né wò ma bó ñgue tue bë
I say is you if do NEG. say us

141 le tu Argi kum mgbe je: usuku.
   le tu argi kum mgbe je usuku
PAST before moonshine just chief say thankyou

142 O, wò né mè argi ma
   o wò né mè argi ma
o you is with moonshine then

143 Bé bë vraá né chi ma, ma bì ha sam ñgue
   bë bë vraá né chi ma ma bì ha sam ñgue
we thank is that then if you give not NEG.

144 bë vraá sam ñgwë, ama bó sie baá.
   bë vraá sam ñgwë ama bó sie baá
we thank not NEG. but they take PRES.

145 Ga;Chàŋ à sie bó sie.
   chàŋ à sie bó sie
it take them take

146 Nj;Ni bie naá bë ye ma, ni ye yen wa?
   ni bie naá bë ye ma ni ye yen wa
who ask PAST us yours then who say forbid QN.

147 ko ni ta yen wa?
   ko ni ta yen wa
or who NEG. forbid QN.

148 ma bó la ha nji baá kup,
   ma bó la ha nji baá kup
if they PAST give thing PAST all

149 wò sela sie baá bë ma.
   wò sela sie baá bë ma
you cross take PRES. us then

150 Ma bë la tue né jë kup, argi ama,
   ma bë la tue né jë kup argi ama
if we PAST say is say all moonshine but
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

151 nje bëé lọ́ bọ́ naá
   nje bëé lọ́ bọ́ naá
   thing harm village theirs PAST

152 à nji bu henh se yuo su naá ni wa?
   à nji bu henh se yuo su naá ni wa
   he thing it this NEG. leave again PAST who QN.

153 Wò le bie ka naá bá, wò le né fó yè yen n gulé.
   wò le bie ka naá bá wò le né fó yè yen n gulé
   you PAST ask at PAST us you PAST is head yours NEG.

154 Bé jé wá: yè yen. De n gulé jé: né wò. (3)
   bé jé wá yè yen de n gulé jé né wò
   we say say yours stay NEG. say is you

155 Ma nùáàr më bò kwa baá guo nùáàr bu sáá,
   ma nùáàr më bò kwa baá guo nùáàr bu sáá
   if person with they find PRES. house person him that

156 nùáàr bu sáá bë ha bu ha ama dé ju tabá,
   nùáàr bu sáá bë ha bu ha ama dé ju tabá
   person that we give him give but of talk earth

157 de sáá chi sam n gùá, nùáàr bu sáá â ha haá8#14
   de sáá chi sam n gùá nùáàr bu sáá â ha haá
     of that this not NEG. person him that he give give-NEG.

158 Le mun mgbe jemu chu n gulé.
   le mun mgbe jemu chu n gulé
   PAST thus chief second return NEG.

159 gã;xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

160 xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

161 Nj;Ngàam, mbo n gãm yè,
    n gãm mbo n gãm yè
    because divine divination yours

162 le né kë Kimi ama nji më bò ha bé më mgbe,6#15
   le né kë Kimi ama nji më bò ha bé më mgbe
   PAST is at Kimi but thing with they give us with chief

163 wò né kë jë yè Fakat
   wò né kë jë yè fakat
   you is know say say truly

164 Nji më mgbe né ten yè
    nji më mgbe né ten yè
    thing which chief is there-is say

165 nùáàr më wò wa më nji wò ha më mgbe.
    nùáàr më wò wa më nji wò ha më mgbe
    person if you arrive with thing you give with chief

166 Nùáàr më wò boó n gulé më, ju gi
    nùáàr më wò boó n gulé më ju gi
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

person if you do NEG. then talk end

167 ñuár ma wô kwa manji, wô ha mgbe.
nùár ma wô kwa manji wô ha mgbe
person if you find small you give chief

168 Bé kwa né bu kô. Yar, saá ni,
bé kwa né bu kô yar saá ni
we put is it SUB.EMP. buffalo fate who

169 Ton saá ni, ni né ha nde né bu kô wa: cher nde.
ton saá ni ni né ha nde né bu kô wa cher nde
elephant fate who who is give go is him SUB.EMP. say road go

170 A cher nde saá ni. To à bô nyam, saá né hi wa?
à cher nde saá ni to à bô nyam saá né hi wa
he road go that who To he Pl. animal that is where QN.

171 Yar hên, né hi? Ton saá né hi?
yar hên né hi ton saá né hi
buffalo this is where elephant that is where

172 Ñgui saá né hi? mbe8#16 saá, de sen kela le tu,
ñgui saá né hi mbe saá de sen kela le tu
leopard that is where chiefly-animals that of his pass in
before

173 kô kelâhen bô bô yar di wula,
kô kelâhen bô bô yar di wula
at now they Pl. buffalo some kill

174 bô bô njô kan wulaâ
bô bô njô kan wulaâ
they Pl. thing any kill-NEG

Break in recording: change of tape

175 ch;ma ju di ya gi àâ, bê wê su fê di.
ma ju di ya gi àâ bê wê su fê di
if talk of yours end PAST. we take again head some

176 Nj;Duém le ngamë, le ngam më nde ke to saá.
duém le ngamë le ngam më nde ke to saá
start in divination in divination which go at before that

177 To, bi bô, bi bô, bi ngaâ,
to bi bô bi bô bi ngaâ
So you Pl. you Pl. you clear

178 To, bi bô nyu8#17, bi bô nyu mbam hên, chak.
to bi bô nyu bi bô nyu mbam hên
chak
So you Pl. sister's-sons you Pl. sister's-sons Palace this all

179 Mi tue kwa bi de saá kô
mi tue kwa bi de saá kô
I say put you of that SUB.EMP.
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

180 Mi ye bi ye ma: nùär ma den baá de sen guo, nyima.
   mi ye bi ye ma nùär ma den baá de sen guo nyima
   I say you yours then person which stay PRES. of his house year

181 Më á bë dua ku bë, nè ni wa?
   me à bë dua ku bë nè ni wa
   with he we ask big we is who QN.

182 Kë kalahan, bë akili ju fë de de.
   ke kalahan bë akili ju fë de de
   at now you intelligence talk head of sing

183 Në bi fë waà ñgue d|ë.
   nè bi fë waà ñgue d|ë
   is you head wash NEG. then

184 Kalahan, bë bò nyu ka mbam hën dön,
   kelehan bë bò nyu ka mbam hën dön
   now you Pl. sister's-sons at Palace this all

185 le naà bë Bam fà Bam taáir bò ñgue,
   le naà bë Bam fà Bam taáir bò ñgue
   PAST PAST we Bam two Bam three they understand

186 bò jë: baá su Bam fà Bam taáir
   bò jë baá su Bam fà Bam taáir
   they say PRES. again Bam two Bam three

187 bò ñgue bò wa baá fë. baá su...
   bò ñgue bò wa baá fë baá su
   they understand they wash PRES. head PRES. again

188 Kë kalahan jor ñgue bie ye gia de bi nde a.
   ke kalahan jor ñgue bie ye gia de bi nde a
   at now expletive NEG. ask yours end of you go to you

189 Bë bòb nè nen,
   bë bòb nè nen
   you do is how

190 bì fë wa ñgue ye. Në baá mën oh?
   nè bi fë wa ñgue ye nè baá mën oh
   how you head wash NEG. NEG. is good thus QN.

191 Ga;Ndema, bò ko bò ndema bò fam fë më nji.
   ndema bò ko bò ndema bò fam fë më nji
   palm-wine they cut Pl. palm-wine they spurt head with thing

192 Nj;Bò fë wa ñgwe ye.
   bò fë wa ñgwe ye
   they head wash NEG. NEG.

193 Në bë Bam fà, Bam taáir Bam tin wa bë.
   nè bë bam fà Bam taáir Bam tin wa bë
   we two Bam three Bam five arrive us

194 Në bë Bam chën Bam fà bò ñgue jë: bò wa baá fë.
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

195 Nùár mè de ka dua, à bë yor ku bë yà
nuar me de ka dua a bë yor ku bë yà
person with stay at there he place body wash place yours

Lobon Zebedee gives a fulfulde summary of some of this discussion,
then, after prompting (by Nj) continues to give Fulfulde resumé of
the proposed road building programmes: the road linking Somie to
Sambalambo and Banyo as well as the new road to Bankim via
Nyamboya.

196 ch;To jemu saà ju... wò ko né le...
to jemu saà ju wò ko né le...
To after that talk you know is in...

197 le chië yula chop chën,
le chië yula chop chën
in day ten and-numeral one

198 le wë me kelahan dë, bò Mbor bò, bò le naà dëne.8#18
le wë me kelahan dë bò Mbor bò bò le naà dëne
in moon which now of Pl. Mbor Pl. they PAST PAST here

199 (2) Bò le wa baà dëne, (1) tap kum né bo bò leteni nùár.
bò le wa baà dëne tap kum né bo bò leteni nùár
they PAST arrive PAST here war old is do between person

200 Jemu saà ma bi () bi chulu baà sòn, bi nyen nji tap dë.
(3) jemu saà ma bi bi chulu baà sòn bi nyen nji tap dë
after that if you you close PRES. mouth you forget thing war of

201 Bò le wa baà dëne, edeku më bi wa chili né ju,
bò le wa baà dëne edeku më bi wa chili né ju
they PAST arrive PRES. here begin with you arrive close? is
talk

202 bi né ko ndeka ka tu:
bi né ko ndeka ka tu
you is know from at before

203 ma bò le wa baà dëne baà mbi mboŋ mba.()
ma bò le wa baà dëne baà mbi mboŋ mba
if they PAST arrive PRES. here PRES. occasion many freely

204 Derua naà, bò më fe bon ma.
derua naà bò më fe bon ma
paper PAST they with head theirs then

205 Bam mbiliŋ mboŋ bó naà dëne nde.(1)
bam mbiliŋ mboŋ bó naà dëne nde
Bam times many they PAST here go

206 To lu hen bë le cho baà sua dëne, (3)
to lu hen bë le cho baà sua dëne
before day this we PAST chop PRES. sua here
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

207 bijene ngor me kela mana jemu hen
bijene ngor me kela mana jemu hen
you see declaration with pass thus after this

208 me nde maá han pat, (2)
me nde maá han pat
which go very this all

209 née ngor bó ya.
née ngor bó ya
is speech they yours

210 Wa ka to ya, yuo ya ngor gechéń ()
waka to ya yuo ya ngor gechéń
say at before you leave yours declaration true

211 Nüar kan yuo dæne nde nde Mbor.
Nüar kan yuo dæne nde nde Mbor
person anyone leave here go go Mbor

212 Aaa bó ya man: aá bó ya Bó Ndeba,
aaa bó ya man aá bó ya bó Ndeba
aaa they say thus PAST they eat Pl. Ndeba

213 bó né man. Aaa bó ya man.
bó né man aaa bó ya man
they is thus aaa they eat thus

214 Yuo go Mbor, nde dæne, bó tue mëna:
yuo go Mbor nde dæne bó tue mëna
leave at Mbor go here they say thus

215 Yuo dæne nde nde gë
yuo dæne nde nde gë
leave here go go at

216 Mbor bó tue mëna.(2)
Mbor bó tue mëna
Mbor they say thus

217 To, () dæne bó le cho baá sua le long bu saá
to dæne bó le cho baá sua le long bu saá
To here we PAST chop PRES. sua in gap her that

218 Nüar nji me wò nde né tue, wò wa Mbor,
Nüar nji me wò nde né tue wò wa mbor
person thing which you go is say you arrive

219 me wò loó hén nji me wò nde né tue.
me wò loó hén nji me wò nde né tue
with you village this thing with you go is say

220 Nji saá faket wò naa ngue me tie ya,
Nji saá faket wò naa ngue me tie ya
thing that true you PAST listen with ears yours

221 me chià ko me ma bó bie wò,
me chià ko me ma bó bie wò
with day even that if they ask you

222 ma wò nùår wò ndè né bu fela.
  ma wò nùår wò ndè né bu fela
with you person you go is him listen

223 () Ça y est. Ma ja de wò munu wò né mba,
  ça y est ma ja de wò munu wò né mba
ça y est if say of you think you is freely

224 allah wò wa dàne wò tue, () ma wò yuo dàne,
  allah wò wa dàne wò tue ma wò yuo dàne
allah you arrive here you say if you leave here

225 wò wa Mbor wò tue, wò yila le bù saa naà de ma,
  wò wa Mbor wò tue wò yila le bù saa naà de ma
you arrive Mbor you say you enter in knife sua PAST of then

226 Ma ma wò ja... ma ma bó sie kwa naà wò baà kë???
  ma ma wò ja... ma ma bó sie kwa naà wò baà kë
if if you say... if if they take put PAST you PRES. at

227 bó bie kwa né fada nyän,
  bó bie kwa né fada nyän
they ask find is like lies

228 baà ké bó sie kwa naà wò fada nyän, ma wò né bó Mbor,
  baà ké bó sie kwa naà wò fada nyän ma wò né bó mbor
PRES. at they take find PAST you like lies if you is Pl.

229 wò né kop Mbor ma, le main ye né boro yula.
  wò né kop Mbor ma le main ye né boro yula
you is side Mbor then PAST main yours is thousand ten

230 Ma wò né kop dàne ma le main ye né boro yula ndó.
  ma wò né kop dàne ma le main ye né boro yula ndó
if you is side here then in hand yours is thousand ten also

231 Nj; Mgbe Mbor yila ma bó vé kën ma,
  mgbe Mbor yila ma bó vé kën ma
chief Mbor call with Pl. woman already then

232 à le dàne, à yila bó vé.
  à le dàne à yila bó vé
he PAST here he call Pl. woman

233 bó ye sam
  bó ye sam
they say not

Section not transcribed: Lobon Zebedee gives Fulfulde summary.
Sarki then added a bit more (also in Fulfulde). This was followed
by an exchange between Ga and Nj about the importance of informing
the women of the implications of the reconciliation with Sonkolong.
The chief then talked about the arrangements for the return visit
to Sonkolong. He read from a piece of paper a list of senior men
who should go. There was then discussion of how money for the taxi
fare could be raised. Sarki added to this in Fulfulde. Finally
the chief told everyone to wash their clothes in anticipation of
the forthcoming official visit.

234 Ch; de hen sogo bó su ñgàá su ñgàm ñné bi...
de hen sogo bó su ñgàá su ñgàm ñné bi
of this only they again clear again because here thing

235 nji mè wò tue mi baá ñgue naá ñgàø.
nji mè wò tue mi baá ñgue naá ñgue
thing with you say me good understand PAST NEG.

236 Bó su bó kwa bó nùár ustiar???
bó su bó kwa bó nùár ustiar
they again they find Pl. person few

237 Bb; Ndeka bó duóm hèn, ndeka bó duóm hèn de, 8#19
ndeka bó duóm hèn ndeka bó duóm hèn de
must we start this must we start this of

238 gochèn pat mè ndeka bó duóm hèn,
gochèn pat mè ndeka bó duóm hèn
true all with must we start this

239 ma nde bó gasi baá dè, Usur usur Allah dè,
ma nde bó gasi baá dè usur usur allah dè
if go they succinct PRES. of truly truly allah of

240 jemu saá, saá ñga saá baá see ku
jemu saá saá ñga saá baá see ku
after that that climb that PRES. work big

241 saá baá dua mè wò ndè yè yue yue yè.
saá baá dua mè wò ndè yè yue yue yè
that PRES. there with you go say cry cry yours

242 Nj; Sua kum né njai chum,
sua kum né njai chum
sua just is thing old

243 de ñgue yè njai de fe di, né su dua ten.
de ñgue yè njai de fe di né su dua ten
stay NEG. say thing of new some is again there there-is

244 Njì chum chum.
njì chum chum
thing old old

245 bb; Dua baá see kuú kum.
dua baá see kuú kum
there PRES. work big just

246 Ma wò wa baá see kuú ma wò kwa nji yor yè
ma wò wa baá see kuú ma wò kwa nji yor yè
if you arrive PRES. work big if you find thing body yours

247 Njì bó bó ten: bó bó mani tè huane ee ee,
bó bó ten bó bó mani tè huane ee ee
they do there-is they do thus so child
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

248 bó boó mani te huan ja: ee ee. ??
   bó boó mani te huan ja ee ee
   they do thus so child say

249 Bé yuo bé kwa né sua
   bé yuo bé kwa né sua
   we leave we put is sua

250 ha mœ bu kuó nde sua ndo lu.
   ha mœ bu kuó nde sua ndo lu
   until with he die go sua also freely

251 sua né su ten bi wa cho
   sua né su ten bi wa cho
   sua is again there-is you take chop

252 KG; Dœ mó mi tue mœ Njai hën, tue né bi:
   dœ mó mi tue mœ Njai hën tue né bi
   of me I say with Njai this say is you

253 kogo, ko mena sua,
   kogo ko mena sua
   stool or thus sua

254 Mave den te tabâ, bu naga: Ma mœ naâ bu cher. <= Laughter
   mave den te tabâ bu naga ma mœ naâ bu cher.
   woman stays at earth she lick if I lick it road

255 Nj; BT de yœ
   BT de yœ
   BT of yours

256 Bt; Dœ mó mi tue sœn ja né kœ wa?
   dœ mó mi tue sœn ja né kœ wa
   of me I say mouth say is what QN.

257 Gi né ka fada bé mi tue naâ hën
   gi né ka fada bé mi tue naâ hën
   end is at like place I say PAST this

258 Kp; ham ngue yœ bi bu cher na baâ bé chên-e wa?
   ham ngue yœ bi bu cher na baâ bé chên-e wa
   fat NEG. NEG. you her sleep PAST PRES. place one QN.

259 Bu bu cher né hi? <= Laughter
   bu bu cher né hi
   him her sleep is where

260 Bt; Bu cher nan
   bu cher nan
   her sleep how

261 Kp; Den ngwe ja à kwa nyí guo mœ bó cher na koô
   den ngwe ja à kwa nyí guo mœ bó cher na koô
   stay NEG. say she find speaker house with they sleep PAST
   SUB. EMP.
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

262 nyí kulu naá bu lu ma
nyí kulu naá bu lu ma
speaker bless PAST her anyway then

263 Bt; mi tue .ngwø dë jemu bu bu cher de,
i tue .ngwø dë jemu bu bu cher de
I say NEG. of after her her sleep stay

264 mi tue  nguø mè bu cher nè naá kòó
mi tue  nguø mè bu cher nè naá kòó
I say NEG. that her sleep is PAST SUB.EMP.

265 Kp; à kwa naá wò hi
à kwa naá wò hi
she find PAST you where

266 Bt; A kwa mi ke guo No kiyø, ke guo No Mark, (1)
à kwa mi ke guo No kiyø ke guo No Mark
she find me at house No overthere at house No Mark

267 mi le chu naá Ta, ma chibi yili baá,
mi le chu naá Ta ma chibi yili baá
I PAST return PAST Atta then night darken PAST

268 mè mi wa, mi cher ka ke dua. (1)
 mè mi wa mi cher ka ke dua
with I arrive I sleep at at there

269 Kj; ha wò kulu bu ke dua kadi?
ha wò kulu bu ke dua kadi
until you bless her at there really

270 Ch; Ha à kò naá mè ke de ye wò nè ke dua ma. xxxxxx <= Laughter
ha à kò naá mè ke de ye wò nè ke dua ma xxxxxx
until she know PAST with at of yours you is at there then

271 Ga; à kò naá mè ke
à kò naá mè ke
she know PAST with what

272 Bt; ama døø à tue nè jø nyí cher naá bu lu.
 ama døø à tue nè jø nyí cher naá bu lu
but here she say is say who sleep PAST her anyway

273 Den  ngwø ma. Den  ngwø ko nè mi.
den  ngwø ma den  ngwø ko nè mi
stay NEG. then stay NEG. know is me

274 Mi, mi nè mè mwa cafe mè#20, mi ge sum,
 mi nè mè mwa cafe mò mi ge sum
I is with field coffee mine I divide remove

275 Mi ha nji bu kallon <= Laughter
mi ha nji bu kallon
I give thing him money

276 Nj; Dengwø mwa cafe. Dengwø
den né ngwø mwa cafe deŋwø
Transcript of the *sua* blessing: First Hearing

stay is NEG. field coffee stay-NEG.

277 Bt;mi tue mena nje dè kan, mi jè mi naá ten,
mi tue mena nje dè kan mi jè mi naá ten
I say thus thing of anyone I say I PAST there-is

278 ndeka luli leluli
ndeka luli leluli
from day-before-yesterday day-before-yesterday

279 bì na mi bade Angwa mi tue né nan
bì na mi bade Angwa mi tue né nan
you PAST I approach NEG. I say is how

280 Ga;ama, à baá mè cafe cafe tue,
ama à baá mè cafe cafe tue
but he PRES. with coffee coffee say

281 saá à né ko dè ye né gachén
saá à né ko dè ye né gachén
that he is know of say is true

282 xx;xxxxxxxx

283 Nj;ama wò baá ju cafe tue, saá ko jè né gachén,
ama wò baá ju cafe tue saá ko jè né gachén
but you PRES. talk coffee say that know say is true

284 ha jemu cafe tue saá né gachén
ha jemu cafe tue saá né gachén
until after coffee say that is true

285 xx;xxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxx

286 Nj;wò baá ju cafe tue, saá ko jè né gachén,
wò baá ju cafe tue saá ko jè né gachén
you PRES. talk coffee say that know say is true

287 ha jemu cafe tue saá né gachén
ha jemu cafe tue saá né gachén
until after coffee say that is true

288 Bt;Mi ko nan. Mi ha nje re dì ko ñwu
mi ko nan mi ha nje re dì ko ñwu
I know how I give thing again some know NEG.

289 Nj;de nyí ko ñgwà, tue kum manji ma nji naga,
dè nyí ko ñgwà tue kum manji ma nji naga
of speaker know NEG. say just small if thing lick

290 bò boò naga wanyu, à tue su a nyí go mba mwa cafe
bò boò naga wanyu à tue su a nyí go mba mwa cafe
they do lick else he say again to speaker walk freely field coffee

291 Ch;xxxxxxxx kadi
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

xxxxxxx kadi
xxxxxxx really

292 Bt; Ma njai naga bó... bó né koó
ma njai naga bó... bó né koó
if thing lick they they is SUB.EMP.

293 Nj; Bó bie naga nji më man, më man ye.
bó bie naga nji më man më man ye
they ask lick thing with small with small yours

294 De mò kum, mi tue naá bi, fâ döná bi ye,
de mò kum mi tue naá bi fâ döná bi ye
of me I say PAST you two all you yours

295 mi bì ko la bu,
mi bì ko la bu
I you know PAST her

296 bì tè chum. Sua bon njai tale bó
bì tè chum sua bon njai tale bó
you NEG. refuse sua theirs thing tradition? theirs

297 Ga; Chum de né njai mba
chum de né njai mba
refuse of is thing freely

298 KG; De mò kum, mi njulu nje ko ngwe821
de mò kum mi njulu nje ko ngwe
of me just I eyes thing know NEG.

299 de mò mi njérədə ko ngwe
de mò mi njérədə ko ngwe
of me I something know NEG.

300 Ta; huom ngwe.
huom ngwe
good NEG.

301 Dëne bó kwogó baá kwogó kwogó ha bó sie baá wò nde né.
dëne bó kwogó baá kwogó kwogó ha bó sie baá wò nde né
here they chase PRES. chase chase until they take PRES. you go is

302 Mëm, huom ngwe.
mëm huom ngwe
thus good NEG.

303 Ga; wò seé de më (dade,dada?) baá de saá baá seé
wò seé de më (dade,dada) baá de saá baá seé
you work of with exceed PRES. of that PRES. work

304 Nj; To bì ngwe ye, bì ma yila baá bu, ma à wa baá dëne
to bì ngwe ye bì ma yila baá bu ma à wa
baá dëne
To you listen yours you "really" call PRES. her if she arrive
PRES. here
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

305 KG; bó kwa nji to tabe, bé bu naga.
  bó kwa nji to tabe bé bu naga
  they put thing at earth we it lick

306 Oui, bó kwa nji to tabe, bé bu naga.
  oui bó kwa nji to tabe bé bu naga
  oui they put thing at earth we it lick

307 Bit?; Ndeka më à wa baá tu, ndeka bé ñene
  ndeka më à wa baá tu ndeka bé ñene
  must with she arrive PRES. before must we see

308 Ga; bó le naga naá le jemu wa ko de bó naga nde këlühën wa? ()
  bó le naga naá le jemu wa ko de bó naga nde këlühën wa
  they PAST lick PAST in after QN. or of they lick go now
  QN.

309 Nj; bí ñue nji mi gwan à tue ke këlühën.
  bí ñue nji mi gwan à tue ke këlühën
  you listen thing I want to say at now

310 Këa ju baá be mò.
  këa ju baá be mò
  now talk PRES. hand mine

311 mi ñgue né BT kënhën na ke sum ??ge yë hen nan
  mi ñgue né BT kënhën na ke sum ge yë hen nan
  I understand is BT now PAST look remove divide yours this how

312 ()Ngâm tue né nji wa:
  ngâm tue né nji wa
  because say is thing say

313 Sua hën né njai chum,
  sua hën né njai chum
  sua this is thing old

314 den ñgwa nji fe di.
  den ñgwa nji fe di
  stay NEG. thing new some

315 Né njai tal bó, de tal bó re,
  né njai tal bó de tal bó re
  is thing old they of old they again

316 bó wa kwa naá Sua chië.
  bó wa kwa naá Sua chië
  we arrive put PAST sua outside

317 Sua re né njai tal bó,
  sua re né njai tal bó
  sua again is thing old them

318 Bá hën de, bé nde kuo gi lëm sua.
  bé hën de bé nde kuo gi lëm sua
we this of we go die end only sua

319 Wô ñgue na mba le kuó naá nùàr
   wô ñgue na mba le kuó naá nùàr
you understand PAST freely PAST die PAST person

320 wô naá ju mbar togo tue,
   wô naá ju mbar togo tue
you PAST talk square square say

321 à saá ju sie né nùàr dëngwè tu dööŋ
   à saá ju sie né nùàr den né ñgwè tu8#23 dööŋ
he that talk take is person stay is NEG. tree all

322 Ama bi ko baà këñ,
   ama bi ko baà këñ
but you know PRES. already

323 bi tue je bë ko baà.
   bi tue je bë ko baà
you say say we know PRES

324 Aa mi tue naá dëno je,
   aa mi tue naá dëno je
aa I say PAST here say

325 ama bó yila wuli baà rë bu këñ,
   ama bó yila wuli baà rë bu këñ
but they call bring PRES. again him already

326 ama à je:
   ama à je
but he say

327 øhø nyì te tema bi.
   øhø nyì te tema bi
no speaker NEG. send you

328 Bi tue bi nan wa?
   bi tue bi nan wa
you say you how QN.

329 ndeka tu, më bó né ye bu yila ñgwè ye de,
   ndeka tu më bó né ye bu yila ñgwè ye de
from before with they is say him call NEG. NEG. of

330 bi gwan, bi gwan ka den je: nyì à.
   bi gwan bi gwan ka den je nyì à
you want you want at here say speaker to

331 Huru Kum baà de, né nji nyen.
   huru kum baà de né nji nyen
shrink-away just PRES. of is thing lies

332 Më wô boô ø-he de, gwan né bô sadum.
   më wô boô ø-he de gwan né bô sadum
with you do yes of want is Pl. hard
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

333 (3) To bi né ko de mi nde à lane děn̄e,
   to bi né ko de mi nde à lane děn̄e
   So you is know of me go to today here

334 ma chié fada ???gwan-e mi nde suü () ke baá bu().
   ma chié fada ???gwan-e mi nde suü ke baá bu
   if day like want I go again-NEG look PRES. him

335 Kogo bají jaá wa? (2)
   kogo bají jaá wa
   stool laugh QN.

336 KG;aa nji né de mi se ko ŋ̄gwe,
   aa nji né de mi se ko ŋ̄gwe
   aa thing is of me NEG. know NEG.

337 mi gwan we ka, ee mi je mi ko baá wa?
   mi gwan we ka ee mi je mi ko baá wa
   I want take at I say I know PRES. QN.

338 Nj;Mi bie né ka de bie ni.(4)
   mi bie né ka de bie ni
   I ask is at of ask very??

339 KG;Ndeka mi tue je fade m̄e mi ko naá ndo
   ndeka mi tue je fade m̄e mi ko naá ndo
   must I say say like with I know PAST also

340 Nj;Ama() ha m̄e mgbe tema naá d̄e,
   ama ha m̄e mgbe tema naá d̄e
   but until with chief sends PAST of

341 t̄e tue mi ko de saa t̄e bé ŋ̄ue.
   t̄e tue mi ko de saa t̄e bé ŋ̄ue
   so say I know of that so we understand

342 Bí na k̄e Mbm̄am h̄̄en̄, bí yila hapdi wa dua.
   bí na k̄e Mbm̄am h̄̄en bí yila hapdi wa dua
   you PAST at Palace this you call fight arrive there

343 bó wa, bó tue mi oho nyi ko ŋ̄gwe.
   bó wa bó tue mi oho nyi ko ŋ̄gwe
   they arrive they say me oho speaker know NEG.

344 Ko mena BT tue na mena, kō BT tue na m̄en.
   ko mena BT tue na mena kō BT tue na m̄en
   or thus BT say PAST thus even BT say PAST thus

345 BT de sen, à tue ŋ̄a ni mi nyi ko né kō,
   BT de sen à tue ŋ̄gwe mi nyi ko né kō
   BT of his he say NEG. me speaker know is SUB.EMP.

346 à tue ŋ̄a nyi ko né kō,
   à tue ŋ̄a nyi ko né kō
   he say NEG. speaker know is SUB.EMP.

347 de h̄̄en né ngâm nyi ??nj̄ar̄ài ko ŋ̄gwe.
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

de hēn né ɲgaym nyí ??ɲjerẹdị ko ɲguə
of this is because speaker something know NEG.

348 Ma bó gwan né baá njí ke, bó boó.
ma bó gwan né baá njí ke bó boó
if they want is PRES. thing look they do

349 XX; Sebatu ye
sebatu ye
goodbye yours

350 ch; To (1)
to
So

351 Nj; Bí gwan de bó ye, bó nde jë wa: bē kulu né sua nyən.
bí gwan de bó ye, bó nde jë wa bē kulu né sua nyən
you want of they say they go say say we bless is sua lies

352 Mi gwan né ɲguə. (2) Bë, bë tue né mi jë bi chu cham ndo,
mì gwan né ɲguə bë bë tue né mi jë bi chu cham ndo
I want is NEG. we we say is I say you return refuse then

353 ama de bí gwan né ɲguə ndo.(3)
amá de bi gwan né ɲguə ndo
but of you want is NEG. also

354 Yanị8#24; () nde a mi ndo, (barka mò, barkama)8#25.
nde a mi ndo (barka mò, barkama)
go to me then (fate mine fate)

355 Tue de mó né ka kiye bë dape.
tue de mó né ka kiye bë dape
say of me is at overthere place far

356 Në chì sàá hën mi nde naá.
né chi saá hën mi nde naá
is that that this I go PAST

357 Mi mbo, mi ??mberi mba de një: lu ??geri baá manjì
mi mbo, mi ??mberi mba de një lu geri baá manjì
I myself I consider freely of say day lean PRES. small

358 ??mi së mun su nda së chu??
??mi së mun su nda së chu
I NEG. thus again young men NEG. return

359 lu mbo geri su à manjì manì së mberi na një:
lu mbo geri su à manjì manì së mberi naá një
day itself lean again he small thus consider PAST thing

360 mi nde mi ñene baá wò, saá të
mi nde mi ñene baá wò saá të
I go I see PRES. you that so

361 mi bóó su a gu. A ke mi
mi bóó su a gu à ke mi
I do again to walk he look me
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

362 lè nde naá sarega guna mò ge Ngwe
lè nde naá sarega guna mò ge Ngwe
in go PAST funeral-feast parent-in-law mine at Ngwe

363 mì le naá kwa fa tap no kò ten ha.
mì le naá kwa fa tap no kò ten ha
I PAST find like war also at there-is until

364 Ch; muy né ka manji mane,
muy né ka manji mane
patience is at small thus

365 mì bó boó tena sum de bu manji hèn
mì bó boó tena sum de bu manji hèn
I them do cut-through remove of it small this

366 Yàni; Barka ma. De mò, cher mò né dapsi,
barka ma de mò cher mò né dapsi
 fate then of me road mine is long

367 de sen ñwè à né ka lòó ma.
de sen ñwè à né ka lòó ma
of his NEG. he is at village then

368 Ch; Sam, lane de lane à tene nde à ki chèn.
sam lane de lane à tene nde à ki chèn
not today of today he break go he at true

369 Ñàá ngwè bó chu
ñàga ngwè bó chu
clear NEG. they return

370 Xx; xxxxxxxxxxx

371 Ga; né njai kogo
né njai kogo
is thing stool

372 Bèbè; A tue ñene ngwè né nan nji à
à tue ñene ngwè né nan nji à
he say see NEG. is how thing to

373 Ga; De mò mi tue nji kogo
de mò mi tue nji kogo
of me I say thing stool

374 Bèbè; xxxxxxx

375 Nj; < De mò mi boó su re kàlähèn wa? De mò mi nde æ <=
Laughter
de mò mi boó su re kàlähèn wa de mò mi nde æ
of me I do again again now QN. of me I go to

376 Ch; De kàlähèn ju baá be bon.
de kàlähèn ju baá be bóon
of now talk PRES. hand theirs
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

377 Ma né "ææ" né "ææ" ma, to.
   ma né "ææ" né "ææ" ma to
   if is yes is yes then So

378 Ma né "ææ" ma bé kela nde tə to nde.
   ma né "ææ" ma bé kela nde tə to nde
   if is no if we pass go so before go

379 NJ; Keləhən mgbe a, hən () ju bó...
   keləhən mgbe a hən ju bó
   now chief to this talk theirs

380 ju bó... Bó, bó, ko bó yila mave,
   ju bó... bó bó ko bó yila mave
   talk theirs They they even they enter woman

381 bó bo nó nga suá.
   bó bo nó nga suá
   they do lick sua

382 To ma mi chu chum mi ja:
   to ma mi chu chum mi ja
   So if I return return I say

383 buwada xxxxx bó yila be bó naga suá,
   buwada xxxxx bó yila be bó naga suá
   bush-knife they call hand theirs lick sua

384 ngám mi munu ka le mò.
   ngám mi munu ka le mò
   because I think at in mine

385 Ju mave... ma die a tabá
   ju mave ma die a tabá
   talk woman if fall to earth

386 à xxxxx mba yuo nde suú
   à xxxxx mba yuo nde suú
   she freely leave go again-NEG

387 Naá ñuna ni wa
   naá ñuna ni wa
   PAST child who QN.

388 To, () guna () see bè see ti,
   to guna see bè see ti
   So parent-in-law work we work stupid

389 bó kubu kubu ñagá8#27,
   bó kubu kubu ñagá
   we open open clear

390 ñagá bó doŋ pat kubu ti né ngwə ()
   ñagá bó doŋ pat kubu ti né ngwə
   clear we all all open stupid is NEG.

391 To, njai mə bó tue naá,
   to njai mə bó tue naá
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

To thing with they say PAST

392 wò ñue né ñue
you listen is listen

393 Bí né ???be soço ka be ya
you is hand only at hand yours

394 Ndeka bí be nyaga su ndo.
must you hand repair again also

395 gw; bon, Mi kum, ha kwe nde bò huan
bon I just until tomorrow come Pl. child

396 han kum bí sum ñwe mi njerẹdi
this just you remove NEG. me something

397 ndeka mi yuo ta tabé.
must I leave at earth

398 Mi ne ko de je ju sua
I is know of say talk sua

399 ke lọ̀ọ̀ mọ̀ , nji mọ̀ mi kulu sam ñwe.
at village mine thing which I bless not NEG.

400 Mi kwọgo kwa de lu,
I chase find of SUB.EMP.

401 bò di bò kwọgo kwa de lọ̀ó,
they other they chase find of village

402 bò di kwọgo men: kela baá bè man.
they other chase thus pass PRES. place thus

403 Bu bò mi tue né je ()
he they me say is say

404 de ñwe ja bò boó né mọ̀ nọ̀ man sam ñwe
stay NEG. say they do is with thing small not NEG.

405 To mi () mava yila guo,
To I woman enter house
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

406 nde ma a yila guo,
   nde ma a yila guo
   go if she enter house

407 mi mbo mi luge me nje. Ne su lane wa.
   mi mbo mi luge me nje ne su lane wa
   I myself I fight with thing is again today QN.

408 Nj;Né mena bon ma naá ḋgam ha naá wó kọ
   né mena bon ma naá ḋgam ha naá wó kọ
   is thus theirs if PAST divination until PAST you know

409 gw;Mi luge baá le luge,
   mi luge baá le luge
   I fight PRES. PAST fight

410 mi kela mi bie bu.
   mi kela mi bie bu
   I pass I ask her

411 Kọ kelahen baán wa baá. Mi kwa tu mi ha nji báređi
   kọ kelahen baán wa baá mi kwa tu mi ha nji
   at now illness arrive PRES. I find before me until thing
   some-place

412 bó tue yọ né gèchén baán bó wa baá
   bó tue yọ né gèchén baán bó wa baá
   they say say is true illness them arrive PRES.

413 Baán wa baá baán ndo
   baán wa baá baán ndo
   illness arrive PRES. illness also

414 Vẹ mọ#28 mi ìñene né ma wó tue ḃọọ mbo
   vẹ mọ mi ìñene né ma wó tue ḃọọ mbo
   woman mine I see is if you say NEG. freely

415 saá baán yila (1)
   saá baán yila
   that illness enter

416 Kọ si ma kwa mi ja de sen A kọ ḃọọ, ???lu mi.
   kọ si ma kwa mi ja de sen a kọ ḃọọ ???lu mi
   even husband if find I say of his she know NEG freely me

417 No () ama wa: oui mi nde, nūär hēn tue,
   no ama wa oui mi nde nūär hēn tue
   also but say oui I go person this say

418 tue, nūär hēn tue bu kọọ pht <= blows raspberry
   tue nūär hēn tue bu kọọ pht
   say person this say him SUB.EMP.

419 Nde bó mgbe bó yila bu kọọ pht <= blows raspberry
   nde bó mgbe bó yila bu kọọ pht
   go Pl. chief they call her SUB.EMP.
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

420 njì me ka () ndem ndem ()
   njì me ka ndem ndem
   thing with at just-that

421 dua mi nùär njo, mi kwa kwa jë mi a : "ahë"
   dua mi nùär njo mi kwa kwa ja mi a "ahë"
   there I person that-one I put put say me to no

422 Ma né nyen, Ma né gëchën,
   ma né nyen ma né gëchën
   if is lies if is true

423 Njìnja né ñgam ñgam
   ha né ñgam ñgam
   until is divination divination

424 gwìma à wòŋ lu
   ma à wòŋ lu
   if he avoid SUB.EMP.

425 à tue né gëchën
   à tue né gëchën
   he say is true

426 Đë mò, watene, bé me mi yila jolori dë,
   de mò watene bé me mi yila jolori dë
   if of me say we which I call Palace of

427 mi tue né jë bó yila bò huan
   mi tue né jë bó yila bò huan
   I say is say they call Pl. child

428 ñgâm tø mi bie fada sedako mò
   ñgâm tø mi bie fada sedako mò
   because so I ask like witness mine

429 Njìaha, né ka mun
   aha né ka mun
   mmhmmm is at thus

430 gwìma bó ko ñgwë bó yuo njì bon.
   ma bó ko ñgwë bó yuo njì bon
   if they know NEG. they leave thing theirs

431 To, dë mò mi tue né jë ka kelëhëñ lanen ()
   to dë mò mi tue né jë ka kelëhëñ lanen
   To of mine I say is say at now today

432 yuli ñë hën bó,
   yuli ñë hën bó
   shame head this them

433 kenehëñ we bu ma bó ko ñgwë
   kenehëñ we bu ma bó ko ñgwë
   now take her then they know NEG.

434 bó ñgwë cho sua me bóó me ka
   bó ñgwë cho sua me bóó me ka
they house chop sua with do with what

Lines 435-480 consist of rapid and overlapping speech which has therefore not been transcribed as reliably as the rest of the text. Some speakers have been omitted when their utterances are too low on the tape to be transcribed.

435 Yuli bō wō.
yuli bō wō
shame do you

436 Nj; bō ngwa, bō ngwa, bō ngwa
bō ngwa bō ngwa bō ngwa
do NEG. do NEG. do NEG.

437 gw; To bí nde a. () Saá de mò ha gi a, hēn gi a kēn.
to bí nde a saá de mò ha gi a hēn gi a kēn To you go to that of mine until end to this end to already

438 Nj; Sam ngwa nde bie ka bie ni. () Bie ka bie ni!
sam ngwa nde bie ka bie ni bie ka bie ni not NEG. go ask at ask very ask at ask very

439 Bí tē cham de.
bī tē cham de
you NEG. refuse stay

440 gw; Bō vulu. De mò mi tue né je bō vulu
bō vulu de mò mi tue né je bō vulu
they leave of me I say is say they leave

441 fabē mi tue né hēn de. Gi né fabē mani
fabē mi tue né hēn de gi né fabē mani
like I say is this of end is like thus

442 ng; De be kum bè bie nde su
de be kum bè bie nde su
of hand old we ask go again-NEG

443 Nj; Mi le cham sam ngwa.
mi le cham sam ngwa
I PAST refuse not NEG.

444 Mi naā ha njai cham de sam ngwa
mi naā ha njai cham de sam ngwa
I PAST until thing refuse of not NEG.

445 gw; De mò kum, mi gwan a gāde fabē hēn
de mò kum mi gwan a gāde fabē hēn
of me just I want to precisely like this

446 ng; De mò, mi gwan fade gāde hēn
de mò mi gwan fade gāde hēn
of me I want like precisely this

447 Nj; Ju né sōn sam ngwa
ju né sōn sam ngwa
talk is mouth not NEG.
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

448 XX; NG a, do sen: a né mə sôn sam ŋgwa
NG a do sen a né mə sôn sam ŋgwa
NG to of his he is with mouth not NEG.

449 a dua tue né ki wa?
he there say is what QN.

450 Yanji; Nenefe wô tue nde di ye né ki wa?
NG wô tue nde di ye né ki wa
NG you say go of yours is what QN.

451 Nê tele ya né tue mə wô ye tue,
is father yours say with you is of yours say
né tele ya né tue mə wô né də ye tue
that there say you know is of yours at then

452 saá dua tue wô kô né də yə ke ma
that there say you know is of yours at then
saá dua tue wô kô né də yə ke ma

453 Bb; Hen nji mə bë gwan né tue də, bì né də ḅi kō wə?
this thing with we want is say of you is of you know QN.
hen nji mə bë gwan né tue də bì né də ḅi kō wə

454 Nj; GW a, nji mə bôo né wô né kō wə.
GW to thing which do is you is know QN.
GW a nji mə bôo né wô né kō wə

455 Ju sua, sua né njai chum saá né talebo.
talk sua sua is thing old that is tradition
ju sua sua né njai chum saá né talebo

456 To ama bô nūər mə dâna jemu dua, bô tue yə:
So but Pl. person with here after there they say say
so but Pl. person with here after there they say say

də Nenefe a tə sôn tue, am ŋwə lem né tele sen.
of NG he at mouth say NEG. NEG. only is father his
də NG a tə sôn tue am ŋwə lem né tele sen

457 Aâa bô chum ke né bô.
aâa bô chum ke né bô
aâa they refuse look is them

458 bô né gwan, ke né məna bô. Sua né njai chum.
bô né gwan ke né məna bô sua né njai chum
they is want look is thus them sua is thing old

459 bô né gwan, ke né məna bô. Sua né njai chum.
bô né gwan ke né məna bô sua né njai chum
they is want look is thus them sua is thing old

460 Bb; Bî fâ, bì yuo baâ, gu bì yuo kela ṣe chie də.
walk you leave pass at outside of
bî fâ bì yuo baâ gu bì yuo kela ṣe chie də
do you two you leave PRES. walk you leave pass at outside of

461 Ha mgbe a tue tue naά bì yə, bì ndée baâ bì ndée baâ.
until chief he say say PAST you yours you come PRES. you come
ha mgbe a tue tue naά bì yə bì ndée baâ bì ndée baâ

336
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

462 Νenedọọη; Aaa bí nde de bí hi wa?
     aaa bí nde de bí hi wa
     aaa you go of of you where QN.

463 XX; Bí yuo kela kọ chie, mgbe sum naá bó kọ waá
     bí yuo kela kọ chie mgbe sum naá bó kọ waá
     you leave pass at outside chief remove PAST them SUB.EMP. QN.

464 Bb; Mgbe sum naá bí kọ wa.
     mgbe sum naá bí kọ wa
     chief remove PAST you SUB.EMP. QN.

465 Ama de a tue naá bí ye bí ndée baá de bí ndée.
     ama de a tue naá bí ye bí ndée baá de bí ndée
     but of he say PAST you yours you come PRES. of you come

466 Ha bí ndée baá wanyu.
     ha bí ndée baá wanyu
     until you come PRES. else

467 XX; bó nde né hi wa?
     bó nde né hi wa
     they come is where QN.

468 Yiapi; Bí muyni
     bí muyni
     you patience

469 Nj; Mgbe de sen wa ngwa ye, ha de bí bí yuo baá jemu.
     mgbe de sen wa ngwa ye ha de bí bí yuo baá jemu
     chief of his QN. NEG. NEG. until of you you leave PRES. after

470 Bí yuo nde né ham nan aaa.
     bí yuo nde né ham nan aaa
     you leave go is until how aaa

471 gw; Né njai kweka be mò.
     né njai kweka be mò
     is thing small hand mine

472 TT; Kadi de kelahan de, ma kọ baá wọ jə:
     kadi de kelahan de, ma kọ baá wọ jə
     really of now of if know PRES. you say

473 ohe mi kọ baá, ma kọ ngwa,
     ohe mi kọ baá ma kọ ngwa
     yes I know PRES. if know NEG.

474 wọ jə: ohe mi kọ ngwa. De saá gi né mena
     wọ jə ohe mi kọ ngwa de saá gi né mena
     you say yes I know NEG. of that end is thus

475 gw; Se bóó, mi bie ngwa, ma mi bie baá kən,
     se bóó mi bie ngwa ma mi bie baá kən
     NEG. do I ask NEG. if I ask PRES. already

476 sua mi sie ngwa.
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

sua mi sie ngwe#29
sua me take NEG.

477 De mò mi wa leteni han de, ma mì bie baá,
de mò mi wa leteni han de ma mì bie baá
of me I arrive between this of if I ask PRES.

478 de mò gi né lem fada man de.
de mò gi né lem fada man de
of me end is only like thus of

479 Yiaňi; ee baá baá BT
ee baá baá BT
PRES. PRES. BT

480 gw;Naä la gwan a, te dole nji me gi né sam ngwe,
naä la gwan a te dole nji me gi né sam ngwe
PAST PAST want to so cool thing which end is not NEG.

481 nji me bó ńene ngwe sam ngwe ndo.
nji me bó ńene ngwe sam ngwe ndo
thing with they see NEG. not NEG. also

482 ga;De saå de, se den ngwe nje fe. De saå,
de saå de se den ngwe nje fe de saå
of that of NEG. stay NEG. thing new of that

483 saå den né njai talebo.
saå den né njai talebo
that stay is thing old

484 Yiaňi; To ke kaleban, bó bie nji me bi.
to ke kaleban bó bie nji me bi
To at now they ask thing with you

485 BT te tabá leli mba me bó kuku bó charrep,
BT te tabá leli mba me bó kuku bó charrep
BT at earth yesterday freely with Pl. elder Pl. quiet

486 me bó tue nji me bó han de
me bó tue nji me bó han de
which they say thing with they this of

487 te tabá han de, le lem ko baá, bi bó kuku bó churêp.
te tabá han de le lem ko baá bi bó kuku bó churêp
at earth this of PAST only know PRES. you Pl. elder Pl. quiet

488 Han ma mi yila BT de, tue né ye: né negun bé
han ma mi yila BT de tue né ye né negun bé
this if I call BT of say is yours is ancestors ours

489 Bb;de né a gwan de a tue de.
de né a gwan de a tue de
of is he want of he say of

490 Yiaňi tue né jø: negun me yila né de ()
Yiaňi tue né jø negun me yila né de
Yiaňi say is say ancestors with call is of

338
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

491 Yiaji; To () ke kəlehen mə nji saã ko huom né ye:
    to ke kələhən me nji saã ko huom né ye
    To at now with thing that even good is say

492 ndeka wò yila wuli nüär ku di,
    ndeka wò yila wuli nüär ku di
    must you call bring person big some

493 bi nde gə jəmu wò tue bu ye: nyí ko baã saã.
    bi nde gə jəmu wò tue bu ye nyí ko baá saã
    you go at after you say him yours speaker know PRES. that

494 ñgəm kə wa? Nüär me b6 kwa ne bu le kəgə hən.
    ñgəm kə wa nüär me bó kwa né bu le kəgo hən
    because what QN. person with they put is him in stool this

495 Bó je: a né huan mani, ama kə kəlehen a baã nüär ku.
    bó je a né huan mani ama kə kəlehen a baá nüär ku
    they say he is child small but at now he PRES. person big

496 Je: ma wò kə ñgə ˌxx ˌxx ˌxx jiba né ma wò je nyí
    je ma wò kə ñgə ˌxx ˌxx ˌxx jiba né ma wò je nyí
    say if you know NEG. stop is if you say speaker

497 ko ñgə ndo saã wò ko ñgə.
    ko ñgə ndo saã wò ko ñgə
    know NEG. also that you know NEG.

498 Mi den dua ma ko ñgə wò je nyí ko ñgə.
    mi den dua ma ko ñgə wò je nyí ko ñgə
    I here ask if know NEG. you say speaker know NEG.

499 Ama wò ko baã wò yila wò nde né nüär ku di,
    ama wò ko baá wò yila wò nde né nüär ku di
    but you know PRES. you call you go is person big some

500 wò tue bu, wò je bu a: nyí ko baã.
    wò tue bu wò je bu a nyí ko baá
    you say him you say him to speaker know PRES.

501 ñgəm le məgo GW fə nè bę, bę lie.
    ñgəm le məgo GW fə nè bę bę lie
    because in group GW head is us we remain

502 Ma wò ko baã, ko wò ??tem na mena bu be tu lu,
    ma wò ko baá ko wò ??tem na mena bu be tu lu
    if you know PRES. even you touch PAST thus her hand before day

503 saã wò gwan.
    saã wò gwan
    that you want

504 Wa: wò foti baá de mə wò yila nüär di,
    wa wò foti baá de mə wò yila nüär di
    say you can PRES. of with you call person some

505 wò je bu a ndée, de nyí ko baã,
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

wò jè bu a ndée de nyì ko baá
you say him to come of speaker know PRES.

nyì tema baá bu be tu lu.
speaker send PRES. him hand before freely

Wò yila nùår di, wò tue bu a: fe-guli né nyì sie.
you call person some you say him to shame is speaker take

De hën né njì me nyì boò naá. Nde tue boò ye.
of this is thing with speaker do PAST go say do yours

Ama de nyì boò baá man. Hën né ngor de bë.
but of speaker do PRES. thus this is declaration of we

Bò ko né ye: de à né bë fabë man.
they know is yours of it is place like thus

Yor bì yè duom nga: né njai chum.
body you yours start NEG. is thing old

Ch;Bëbë jogo nde ke ke di yë
Bëbë jogo nde ke ke di yë
Bëbë carry go look look of yours

Nj;Né njai chum, fè yor bì yè duom ngwa
is thing old shame body you yours start NEG.

ch;to bien sur ñgue bò ñue () de bë, bë,
So bien sur ñgue bò ñue de bë bë
they listen of we we

bò kita bò,
Pl. cases Pl.

wateni dole, bò gwan baá se yuo nde né mena.
say cool they want PRES. NEG. leave go is thus

Bò boò gwan mena lane
they do want thus today

wò tue mena "aha" mi la jè wò la jè eèèè
you say thus no I PAST say you PAST say yes

e e yuo né ngwa.
leave is NEG.
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

520 De kita kam, ma nùår wa, ha njì a wò kita
de kita kam ma nùår wa ha njì a wò kita
of case just if person arrive until thing to you case

521 ahe wò boó ngwe saá wò munu né,
ahe wò boó ngwe saá wò munu né
no you do NEG that you think is

522 ma bó ha njì a kita re, kita boó nde ne koó.
ma bó ha njì a kita re kita boó nde ne koó
if they give thing to case again case do go is SUB.EMP.

523 Di ye bó ha njì kita parce que yogo ne lu.
di ye bó ha njì kita parce que yogo né lu
of yours they give thing case parce que surpass is day

524 Ga;xxxx

525 Ch; Wò wa le njì kita, de kita kam,
wò wa le njì kita de kita kam
you arrive in thing case of case just

526 useni ma nùår wa kita,
useni ma nùår wa kita
please if person arrive case

526 bi vulu tema te ma nùår wa me njì,
bi vulu tema te ma nùår wa me njì
you leave and so if person arrive with thing

527 wò je: Mi ye bó di mèn
wò je: mi ye bó di mèn
you say I say PL. some thus

528 Di ye kita sam ngwe. ø? Di ye kita sam ngwe.
di ye kita sam ngwe ø di ye kita sam ngwe
of yours case not NEG. of yours case not NEG.

529 Ma wò yuo wa de kita wò fela,
ma wò yuo wa de kita wò fela
if you leave arrive of case you like

530 bé xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx man
bé xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx man
we thus

531 wò fela, wò ke ka bé yuo ke tu
wò fela wò ke ka bé yuo ko tu
you listen you look at we leave at before

532 ahe, kita né baá man.
ahe kita né baá man
yes cases is PRES. thus

533 Gachen, nyan, bó tare tare tare tare pat
gachen nyan bó tare tare tare tare pat
true lies they hard hard hard hard all
Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

534 gåchén bɔ nyɛn
gåchén bɔ nyɛn
true Pl. lies

535 Yiaŋi?; saá wɔ tue ngwe ha bɔ gi nde sɔn bon
saá wɔ tue ngwe ha bɔ gi nde sɔn bon
that you say NEG. until they end go mouth theirs

536 Ch; aha, saá né kita
aha saá né kita
yes that is case

537 Nj; xxxxxxxxxxx

538 KG; xxxxxxxxxxx

539 Ch; Bon
bon
bon
Appendix to Chapter 8
The transcript of the Second adultery hearing
23 Nov. 1986

Speakers:
Bb: Babe
Bt: one of the accused.
Ch: The Chief
Ga: Gamia
Gw: Ng’s Father
Jb: Jacob
Kp: Kotap Jeremy
Mb: Mbinyu Paul/Taillu
MS: Sondue
Ng: the husband of the woman who allegedly committed adultery.
Ni: Ngomni
Nj: Njaibi
Ny: Nyakati
Ta: Tetiya
Tt: Tachtam
Wb: Wiya Benjamin

1  Ny; Mi tue ñgwë chi,
   mi tue ñgwë chi
   I say NEG. that

2  XX; Hen hen hen
   hen hen hen
   This This This

3  Ny; ça y est, mi tue naá chi ndo, à tue ñgwë nan?
   ça y est mi tue naá chi ndo à tue ñgwë nan
   ça y est I say PAST that "then" he say NEG. how

4  Bi je wa: ma bó gwan baá këñ,  ma bó gwan nji,
   bi je wa ma bó gwan baá këñ ma bó gwan nji
   you say say if they want PRES already if they want thing
   [ ]

5  Ga;  ??mgbe bó koó tena ñgwë ma
       ??mgbe bó koó tena ñgwë ma
       chief them SUB.EMP. take NEG. "really"

6  Ny; bó gwan baá këñ ma. Ma bó gwan baá këñ, bó kulu sua
   bó gwan baá këñ ma  ma bó gwan baá këñ
   they want PRES already "really" If they want PRES already
   bó kulu sua
   they bless sua

7  do Gw à tue naa mën ma
   do Gw à tue naa mën ma
   of Gw he say PAST thus "really"

8  XX; xxxxx

9  Ny; Den ñgwë à nde né më togo wanyu.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

den ọgwọ à nde né mọ togo wanyu
Here NEG. he go is with quarrel surely

10 À togo nde ọgwọ. (..) Bọ wọ, à tue làm né dẹ mane.()
À togo nde ọgwọ bọ wọ à tue làm né dẹ mane
he quarrel go NEG. they take he say only is of thus

11 Mb;
nde ọgwọ
nde ọgwọ
go NEG.

12 Ny; Bị mbo ma la né le... Nue yẹ.né gẹchẹn wa.?
bị mbo ma là né ọgwọ yẹ...né gẹchẹn wa
you divine then PAST is PAST listen yours at true QN.

13 Nj; Aaa mi, nú är nje mba, ama bọ, ma bọ gwan né ọgwọ suà kulu,
aaa mi nụär nje mba ama bó ma bó gwan né ọgwọ suà
kulu
me person say freely but they if they want is NEG. bless

14 wọ nde nọ mẹn mba wa?
wọ nde nọ mẹn mba wa
you go is thus freely QN.

15 Ga; Ama lane, bó kulu ndugu mba wa?
ama lane bó kulu ndugu mba wa
but today they bless mendaciously? freely QN.

16 Mb; Bọ nji làm né yor bóó...
bọ nji làm né yor bóó
Pl. thing only is body theirs

17 bó chẹn di né donẹ, chẹn di né wa ọgwọ yẹ\#30
bọ chẹn di né donẹ, chẹn di né wa ọgwọ yẹ
they one some is here one some is arrive NEG. NEG.

18 XX;
ehẹ
yes

19 Mb; bó gwan né sọn, bó dọọ
bọ gwan né sọn bó dọọ
they want is mouth them all

20 Ny; dọọ dọọ né gẹchẹn wa. Guna dọọ né ???chẹn
dọọ dọọ né gẹchẹn wa guna dọọ né ???chẹn
all all is at true QN. son-in-law all is ???change

21 Jb; Mí tue ọgwọ
mí tue ọgwọ
I say NEG.

22 Mb; xxxxxxx nyị kọ làm né bó tele,
xxxxxxx nyị kọ làm né bó tele
speaker know only is Pl. father

23 Gw; À mbo tele ọgwọ... mọ huan xxxxx
À mbo tele ọgwọ mọ huan xxxxx
he divines father because with child
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

24 Ny; dɔ̃n né gi ki chén.
   dɔ̃n né gi ki chén
   all is end at one

25 AA són baá  dɔ̃n pat né gi ki chén mana.
   aa són baá  dɔ̃n pat né gi ki chén mana
   aa mouth PRES. all all is end at one thus

26 Gw; Bò tele dɔ̃n né ki chén
   bó tele dɔ̃n né ki chén
   Pl. father all is at one

27 Nj; ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ ɛɛɛ

28 Gw; Nguè ya, Nguè ya. Wò Nguè da Nguè.
   ngue ya ngue ya wò nge da nge
   listen yours listen yours you listen of listen

29 Mi tue Nguè ya: tele²#³¹. Mi ko tele da hi?
   mi tue Nguè ya tele mi ko tele da hi
   I say NEG. say father I know father of where

30 Mi ja: mi ko lam né tele.
   mi ja mi ko lam né tele
   I say I know only is father

31 Tele mó Lucas bó Mgbe.
   tele mó Lucas bó mgbe
   father mine Lucas Pl. chief

32 Mi tue Nguè tele: wò bie nji wa?
   mi tue Nguè tele wò bie nji wa
   me say NEG. father you ask thing QN.

33 aa (. ) Wò tue mi: (. ) mi ja mi ko lam né bó tele,
   aa wò tue mi mi ja mi ko lam né bó tele
   aa you say me I say I know only is Pl. father

34 da ma ve né han da.
   da ma ve né han da
   of with woman is This of

35 Ma bó ja bó we nde né ki wa?
   ma bó ja bó we nde né ki wa
   If they say they take go is at QN.

36 bó nde kalon be ya, bó nde nji bóó ko Ngaoundere²#³² nde.
   bó nde kalon be ya bó nde nji bóó ko
   Ngaoundere nde
   they go money hand yours they go thing do SUB.EMP.
   Ngaoundere go

37 bó nde lo wa?
   bó nde lo wa
   they go treat QN.

38 ???Keri bu bó tue wò, te bó kulu sum.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

??keri bu bó tue wò tè bó kulu sum
   If him they say you so they bless remove

39  Nj; øøø döø øøø
   øøø all øøø
   [ ]
40  Gw; Mí bie ke né mé bó tele.
   Mí bie ke né mé bó tele
   I ask look is with Pl. father

41  Nj; aa dua dua kë kälëhen tele ten am né ngwë,
   aa dua dua kë kälëhen tele ten am né ngwë
   aa there there at now father there-is NEG. is NEG.

42  Gamgbe bó mgbe ten am né ngwë.
    Gamgbe bó mgbe ten am né ngwë
    Gamgbe Pl. chief there-is NEG. is NEG.

43  Mä væ saa mé bó nde bu jogo,
    Mä væ saa mé bó nde bu jogo
    If woman that with they go her marry

44          bó tele tema naá bu kó wa.
        bó tele tema naá bu kó wa
        Pl. father sends PAST her SUB.EMP. QN.
        [ ]
45  Gw; Ju jogo naa kpoŋ ju ve naá (. ) Mí jë bë vulu.
    ju jogo naa kpoŋ ju ve naá mi jë bë vulu
    talk marry PAST main-road talk bad PAST I say you leave

46  Ga¿; Mgbe kó bó ten am ngwë
    mgbe kó ten am ngwë
    chief SUB.EMP. there-is NEG. NEG.

47  XX; xxxxxxxx bë naga ngwë
    xxxxxxxx bë naga ngwë
    xxxxxxxx we lick NEG.
    [ ]
48  xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx ma bë naga ngwë
    xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx ma bë naga ngwë
    xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx if we lick NEG.
    [ ]
49  Gw; xxx xxxx () xxxx ñene
    xxx xxxx () xxxx ñene

50  NG; mgbe kë ter tue nde ki yë den ka nóŋ
    mgbe kë ter tue nde ki yë den ka nóŋ
    chief at up say go at yours stay at peace
    [ ]
51  Gw;
    Sua kulu né ngwë
    sua kulu né ngwë
    sua bless is NEG.

52  Ng; Ju kæñëhan né be bó (. ) bó chok hëñ de.
    ju kæñëhan né be bó (. ) bó chok hëñ de
    talk now is hand theirs (. ) PL. clothing this so
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

53 Bó ma tuŋ baá ju=
bó ma tuŋ baá ju
they that organise PRES. case

54 Gw;
=aa hën né kə wa
aa hën né kə wa
This is what QN.

55 Ng; Mgbe kiyə ò tue nde né bó kə.
mgbe kiyə ò tue nde né bó kə
chief overthere he say go is them what

56 De bí, bí tue nde né mgbe a, nya- nyəə ma.
de bí, bí tue nde né mgbe a, nya- nyəə ma.
of you you say go is chief at rep- repair then

57 Ama bí nde né kulu sum nde né sua ma
ama bí nde né kulu sum nde né sua ma
but you go is bless remove go is sua then

58 Ma bí kulu sum baá sua də,
ma bí kulu sum baá sua də
If you bless remove PRES. sua of

59 Nj; Mi jə mgbe a
mi jə mgbe a
I say chief to

60 Gw; Ju né man bə ɲela nji mani,
ju né man bə ɲela nji mani
talk is thus we roast thing thus

61 Mi tue bí a, mi ko ɬəm né bó tele tele tele
mi tue bí a, mi ko ɬəm né bó tele tele tele
I say you to I know only is Pl. father father father

62 Nj; Mi jə wa: ha bí jə aa mgbe a,
mi jə wa ha bí jə aa mgbe a
I say say Until you say PAST chief to

63 Gw; Tele tue nde né koš.
tele tue nde né koš
father say go is SUB.EMP.

64 Nj; Mgbe le naa tue jə bó huan a
mgbe le naa tue jə bó huan a
chief PAST PAST say say Pl. child to

65 Gw; Mə tele tue jə: əə bó vulu(.) nyí(.) nyí ko né ko
mə tele tue jə: əə bó vulu nyí nyí ko né ko
with father say we leave speaker speaker know is know

66 Nj; bó nde bó sip wa? Ha nyí, nyí tue nde né bó ɲuna nyí,
bó nde bó sip wa ha nyí nyí tue nde né bó ɲuna
nyí
they go we male QN. Until speaker speaker say go is Pl.
child his
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

67 Gw; À tue mə wa par sòn sen
À tue mə wa par sòn sen
he say with say lip mouth his

68 Nj; Je nyi a: bó nde né joro, bó joro8#36 ma
je nyi a bó nde né joro bó joro ma
say speaker to they go is marry they marry then

69 Gw; Mə na hiun mi tue a njørødɪ, bó wula mi.
Mə na hiun mi tue a njørødɪ bó wula mi
with PAST different I say at something they kill me

70 Nj; Huan sip né man, ma və né man, bó né ki chën
Huan sip né man, məvə né man, bó né ki chën
child male is thus woman is thus they is at one

71 Gw; Ma tele jə: nyi wap nde né nji ya gwom,
ma tele jə nyi wap nde né nji ya gwom
If father say speaker control go is thing yours pay

72 mi mi ma nji bèn tue, chàŋ å wula mì nda.
mì mi ma nji bèn tue chàŋ å wula mì nda
I I if thing illness say chàŋ it kill me also

73 Allah mi yuo, bí bóó sum nji dana.=
allah mi yuo bí bóó sum nji dana
Allah I leave you do remove thing

74 Nj; =Ma bó naa mən, bó huan sip naa mənə, bè kwa-re ya.
ma bó naa mən bó huan sip naa mənə bè kwa-re ya
if they PAST thus Pl. child male PAST thus we put yours

75 Ga; bó kə né ya:=
bó kə né ya
they know is say

76 Gw;
=?xxx bó ju məvə mə huan sep,
??xxx bó ju məvə mə huan sep
Pl. talk woman with child male

77 huan sep kum
huan sep kum
child male just

78 Ga; ?? bó kə né ñgam kə wa?
bó kə né ñgam kə wa
they know is because what QN.

79 Məvə bó huan sip bó né ka to mənə
məvə bó huan sip bó né ka to mənə
woman Pl. child male they is at before thus

80 ?? Nùår huan sip, ma məvə sum yor tue nji né ñgwə.
Nùår huan sip, ma məvə sum yor tue nji né ñgwə
person child male, if woman remove body say thing is NEG.

81 ?? bó sela wa tue nde né nna ñgwə. Məvə ma wa
bó sela wa tue nde né nna ñgwə məvə ma wa
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

they only?? say say go is PAST NEG. woman if take

82 sòn yor kumu nji ọgwọ, à se den re ka nọọ́n
sòn yor kumu nji ọgwọ à se den re ka nọọ́n
mouth body open thing ọgwọ she that stay again at peace

83 Gw; ma kalẹẹn, ma didi nū̀r kọ̀ọ̀ gwan ọgwọ#37, ma kalẹẹn ma didi nū̀r kọ̀ọ̀ gwan ọgwọ
if now if small person SUB.EMP. want ọgwọ

84 kula bọ̀ nji nê kọ̀ọ̀ ve.
kula bọ̀ nji nê kọ̀ọ̀ ve
count Pl. thing is SUB.EMP. bad

85 Mẹ́ bá ẹnẹ́ njuulu da gwor nê dẹ... gwor- gwor- gwor mọ́ bá ẹnẹ́ njuulu da gwor nê dẹ́ gwor- gwor- gwor
with we see eyes of gwor is here pay pay- pay

86 wẹ́p njuulu. Mì nji kwa ten wa?
wẹ́p njuulu mi nji kwa ten wa
steal eyes I thing put there-is QN.

87 Nū̀r nē nū̀r mọ́
nū̀r nē nū̀r mọ́
person is person "really"

88 Ga; xxx xxxxx

89 Gw; Nū̀r nde nē kẹ... ??ọ́wọ́ Bí nē mgbe chàŋ wà?
Nū̀r nde nē kẹ ??ọ́wọ́ bí nē mgbe chàŋ wà
person go is what NEG. you is chief chàŋ QN.

90 Nj; (...) Ki!!
ki!

91 Ga?; Ma nē muna nē njai kweka mba
Ma nē muna nē njai kweka mba
If is thus is thing small freely

92 Gw; Bọ̀ nū̀r yi loọ̀ pat xxxxx kadi
bọ̀ nū̀r yi loọ̀ pat xxxxx kadi
Pl. person at compound all really

93 Jb; Ma nū̀r yẹ ve yẹ̀, ọgwọ, mẹ́ le ndo wula mọ́.
ma nū̀r yẹ ve yẹ̀ ọgwọ mẹ́ le ndo wula mọ́
If person eat woman yours penis? with treatment also kill then

94 kweka nē wọ̀-le wà? <=laughter
kweka nē wọ̀-le wà
small is you QN.

95 Nj; ?? Sagli baá lane
sagli baá lane
disturbed PRES. today

96 Jb; aaaa xxxxxx ?? tue nan, tẹ́ mgbe bu yila. <=laughter
aaaa xxxxxx tue nan tẹ́ mgbe bu yila.
say how so chief him names

97 À jọgo vọ yọ, bu jọgo bu manji.
À jọgo vọ yọ bu jọgo bu manji
he marry woman yours she marry him small

98 Mb; Ma à la ju gwan né ọgwọ,
ma à la ju gwan né ọgwọ
if he PAST talk want is NEG.

99 ma à la ju gwan ọgwọ, à ndée a.
ma à la ju gwan ọgwọ à ndée a
if she PAST talk want NEG. she come to

100 Jb?; Né mana ma.
né mana ma
is thus "really"

101 Mb; Ma à la ju gwan ọgwọ à ndeè aa
ma à la ju gwan ọgwọ à ndeè aa
If he PAST case want NEG. he come PAST

102 Ni; xxxx gi aa ma, ??Ma nùär la ju gwan su, xxxx le naga.
xxxx gi aa ma ??ma nùär la ju gwan su xxxx le
naga
xxxx end PAST if if person PAST case want again-NEG xxxx
PAST lick

103 Mb;
Ma à nde ọgwọ
ma à nde ọgwọ
If he go NEG.

104 Bi tue nde né jẹ: à nde ọgwọ mba.
bí tue nde né jẹ à nde ọgwọ mba
you say go is say he go NEG. freely

105 Ga; huom né ka, òọ ma nji saa à naga
huom né ka òọ ma nji saa à naga
good is at of with thing that he lick

106 Ni; ?? Ma nùär wa baá, nyí yue né jẹ: nyí sap baá
ma nùär wa baá nyí yue né jẹ nyí sap baá
If person arrive PRES. speaker cry is say speaker mistake
PRES.

107 Nyí sap baá òọ né nji mọ bí tue kẹ né ka tu yẹ nan wa.
nyí sap baá òọ né nji mọ bí tue kẹ né ka tu
yẹ nan wa
speaker mistake PRES. of is thing with you say at is at
before yours how QN.

108 Bẹ gwan baá die noọnj. Ha nji
bẹ gwan baá die noọnj ha nji
we want PRES. fall quiet Until thing

109 hẹn gi aa, xxx xxx xxxxx di yẹ te bó tele,
hẹn gi aa xxx xxx xxxxx di yẹ te bó tele
this end PAST of yours at Pl. father
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

110 Nj; xxx sua baâ. ma né mëna sam né ñgwe 
xxxx sua baâ ma né mëna sam né ñgwe 
xxxx sua PRES. If is thus not is NEG.

111 bó kulu kulu sua bu koó. 
 bó kulu kulu sua bu koó 
they bless bless sua his SUB.EMP.

112 Ni; Tie tele yê te 
tie tele yê te 
ears father yours so

113 Mb; bó tuŋ baâ ju 
bó tuŋ baâ ju 
they organise PRES. case

114 Nj; xxxxx chuar bé jemu. 
xxxxx chuar bé jemu 
xxxxx chicken place after

115 Gw; Lucas ki!!

116 Jb; Lucas më- æe mi jë wa; dëne kënë æ ë danë den ñ 
lucas më æ mi jë wa dëne kënë æ ë danë den ñ 
with I say QN. here now here stay of

117 më tuŋ am ñgwe. Am ñgwe dëde 
më tuŋ am ñgwe am ñgwe dëde 
which organise NEG. NEG. NEG. NEG. small

118 À dë dëne ten am ñgwe ma saa né ki wa? à dua né sua 
À dë dëne ten am ñgwe ma saa né ki wa à dua 
he of here there-is NEG. NEG. "really" that is what QN. he 
asks is sua

119 Nj; Në mi, né mi, Njaibi, 
në mi né mi Njaibi 
is me is me Njaibi

120 Gw; À dua né sua. 
À dua né sua 
he ask is sua

121 Nj; Mi jula né sua wa?= 
mi jula né sua wa 
I flee is sua QN.

122 Jb; =Voila!

123 Nj; ?? Sua chum de, mi jula né de nyî chi wa? 
sua chum de mi jula né de nyî chi wa 
sua old of I flee is of speaker that QN.

124 Jb; To, bé tuë né chi saa, ma à beé loó, bó le re né ni? 
to bé tuë né chi saa ma à beé loó bó le re né ni
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

So we say is that that if he harm compound they PAST again is who

125 më jemu ni?, (. ) bò nde né lôô wa koô dé bô jë: sum bu wa?
   më jemu ni bò nde né lôô wa koô dé bô jë
   sum bu wa
   with second who they go is compound arrive SUB.EMP. of they say remove him QN.

126 ?? Né chi saa më Gw à tue denë.
   né chi saa më Gw à tue dene
   is that that with Gw he say here [ 
127 Gw; Jemu né nan wa? Dé mó mi ko lâm né bô tele.
   jemu né nan wa dé mó mi ko lâm né bô tele
   second is how QN. of mine I know only is Pl. father

128 Bô tele tue né jë: huan né be mó
   Bô tele tue né jë: huan né be mó
   PL. father say is say child is hand mine

129 Ve; xxxxxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx8#38

130 Gw; Ma bi kwa tue né jë: ama bô kulu sum,
   ma bi kwa tue né jë ama bô kulu sum
   If you put say is say but they bless remove

131 nyi nûâr jë, nyi wê né huan, nyi nde Ngaundere=
   nyi nûâr jë nyi wê né huan nyi nde
   Ngaundere
   speaker person that-person speaker take is child speaker go

132 Ga;

133 Gw; =À tue mi.
   À tue mi
   he say me

134 Ama ndo, nyi tue né nan ma, bô boô ke dua,
   ama ndo nyi tue né nan ma bô boô ke dua
   but also speaker say is how if they do look there

135 À dua bi ha nde né mën wa? À tue
   À dua bi ha nde né mën wa À tue
   he ask you Until go is thus QN. he say

136 Nj; ææ ææ
   [    ]
137 Gw; bô, bô tue nde né jolori hën.
   bô bô tue nde né jolori hën
   they they say go is palace this

138 bô boô kulu ya sua hên. Mi tue né bô hên.
   bô boô kulu ya sua hên mi tue né bô hên
   they do bless yours This I say is you this
   [    ]
139 Jb; xxxxxxxxxx xxxx

352
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

140 Gw; Ñgor mò né lagàŋ ngam.
ngôr mò né lagàŋ ngam
speech mine is payment divination

141 Ni; Am ñgwe ju mē tue naa mēna mē bō ja wa
am ñgwe ju mē tue naa mēna mē bō ja wa
NEG. NEG. case with say PAST thus with they say say

142 Gw; bō mēna tue ñgwe, iii, Ñgu
bō mēna tue ñgwe iii Ñgu
they thus say NEG. iii Ñgu

143 bō tue né bē hiun-i
bō tue né bē hiun-i
they say is place different

144 Ga; bō gwan ñgwe
bō gwan ñgwe
they want NEG.

145 Gw; bō ja tele tele, bō yila mī naā Njai. Mi Njai yila
ñgwe.
bō ja tele tele bō yila Mī naā Njai mī Njai yila
ñgwe
they say father father they name I PAST Njai I Njai name NEG.

146 Ga; Dē tue, dē mī kum, dē mī kum, mī bie bō kën.
dē tue dē mī kum dē mī kum mī bie bō kën
of say of me just of me just I ask them already

147 Mē mī wa, mī bie bō.
mē mī wa mī bie bō
with me say I ask them

148 Mī jē mā bō gwan bō gwan ŋee,
mī jē mā bō gwan bō gwan ŋee
I say if they want they want ŋee

149 ama mā bō wep baā, bō wa, bō wa dēna, ndē nē tē bō lō.
amā bō wep baā bō wa bō wa dēna ndē nē tē bō lō
but if they steal PRES. they arrive they arrive here go is so they treat

150 Jb; Ama bō jē baā: ha ndē nē lēm kalon
ama bō jē baā ha ndē nē lēm kalon
but they say PRES. give go is only money

151 Ga; Ama bō tue "aHA"
amā bō tue "aHA"
but they say no

152 a saa bō wop né ñgwe, bakata, mē bō fon ndē né,
a saa bō wop né ñgwe bakata mē bō fon ndē né
to that they steal is NEG. like with they search go is
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

153 bë#43 le saa.
base le saa
place in that

154 Ha am ñgwé né lêm kweka mbah ma#44
ha am ñgwé né lêm kweka mbah ma
give NEG. NEG. is only small freely then

155 Jb; Aaa ke né wò ma, ñgwé nüär një né më wò
aaa ke né wò ma ñgwé nüär një né më wò
look is you then NEG. person that-one is with you

156 Gw; Nde nöö ngw
nde nöö
go quiet

157 De mò yula#45 ke mi tê keri wa
de mò yula ke mi tê keri wa
of mine illness at me so on-top-of SUB.EMP.

158 Nj; De mò: bó jogo kulu sua, de mò mi ko lêm la#46
de mò bó jogo kulu sua de mò mi ko lêm la
of mine they carry bless sua of mine I know only treatment

159 Gw; Ki!, ki! ki! (1)

160 Ama ke, à né më ??dëde yë be,
ama ke à né më ??dëde yë be
but look he is with small at hand

161 Ga; Né yögo ke.
né yögo ke
is surpass at

162 Gw; Mere né nüär di
mere né nüär di
perhaps is person some

163 Ga; Nyugemi#47 ka kiya boô më akilo
Nyugemi ka kiya boô më akilo
Nyugemi at overthere do with intelligence

164 më mi hapdi gë Mbor chu aa ñgam
më mi hapdi gë Mbor chu aa ñgam
with I hurry at Mbor return PAST because

165 xxx xxxxx xxx
[ ]

166 Jb; Aaa né njai jaa na
aaa né njai jaa na
aaa is thing laugh PAST

167 Ga; ñgam mì ha mbi mò.
ñgam mì ha mbi mò
because I give friend mine

168 Mi tue naa bu a: nda huan bë bëa loô baâ bu kën.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

I say PAST him to young-men child do harm compound PRES. it already

I give PAST with with with with with Love there over-there of

SUB.EMP. then

I hurry is threaten them until

walk PRES. of

thing which I harm is threaten them stay

is you husband PAST is cool

you go to is cool

person with know is who

If is woman with person harm anyway

of-that is straight NEG.

must we bless PAST

chief with talk there there-is not

but we talk PRES. organise
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

182 Nj; Gamgbe, Gamgbe mə ju dua ten am ŋgwə.
Gamgbe Gamgbe mə ju dua ten am ŋgwə
Gamgbe Gamgbe with talk there there-is NEG. NEG.

183 Mi mə mi den han mi mə ju dua ten am ŋgwə.
mi mə mi den han mə mi ju dua ten am ŋgwə
I with I Here this I with talk there there-is NEG. NEG.

184 Mvulu, Mvulu mə du naa den, à mə ju dua ten ma ŋgwə.
Mvulu Mvulu mə du naa den à mə ju dua ten
ma ŋgwə
Mvulu Mvulu that ground PAST here he with talk there there-is then NEG.

185 Ke né bə ve baá fə
ke né bə ve baá fə
look is Pl. woman PRES. two

186 Ga; Né ka mena.
né ka mena
is at thus

187 Gw; Ama gi né ka mena, ???saa ndeka bə vulu baá ma
ama gi né ka mena ???saa ndeka bə vulu baá ma
but end is at thus that must we leave PRES. then

188 Ng; Ama bə ke ŋgwə.
amá bə ke ŋgwə
but they look NEG.

189 Jb; Aaa bə né mə fə bóon wa?
aaa bə né mə fə bóon wa
aaa they is with head theirs QN.

190 Ga; bó tue naa..
bó tue naa
they say PAST

191 Ng; ????Saa bi sum kə bó ka chie tə bó tema bó fə, bó fə.
????saa bi sum kə bó ka chie tə bó tema bó fə bó fə
that you remove at them at outside so they send them two
them two

192 Mb; aha aha Bi ŋue ya. Bi ŋgue ya wa.
aha aha bi ŋgue ya bi ŋgue ya wa
yes yes you listen yours you listen yours QN.

193 Jb (to NG); Di yə kum, né ten
di yə kum né ten
of yours just is there-is

194 Mb; Bi tuŋ... əəə bó né mə fə bóɔsam ŋgwə,
bi tuŋ... əəə bó né mə fə bóɔsam ŋgwə
you organise they is with head theirs not NEG.

195 Tema naa bó né ni wa?
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

tema naa bó né ni wa
sends PAST them is who QN.

196 Fabö ma, mè bó tue naa de domsa de,
    fabö ma mè bó tue naa de domsa de
like with with they say PAST of doctor of

197 núär ha nji lem () Ma ha naa ni?
    núär ha nji lem ma ha naa ni
person give thing only If give PAST who

198 Ga; To
to
So

199 Mb; Mbi ye ten am ngwe de().
    mbi ye ten am ngwe de
occasion yours there-is NEG. NEG. of

200 Jb; xxxxx

201 Nj; Va saa de, mè bó nde bu jogo. Bò le kwa naa bu le nda hi wa?
    va saa de mè bó nde bu jogo bó le kwa naa bu le nda hi wa
woman that of with they go her marry they PAST find PAST her
PAST bed where QN.

202 Dè guo ni wa?
    de guo ni wa
of house who QN.

203 Mb; Merre, bó ten am ngwe de.
    merre bó ten am ngwe de
perhaps they there-is NEG. NEG. of

204 Nj; bó, bó mare bé chié bé.
    bó bó mare bé chié bé
they they surpass we outside we

205 Mb; Ka kalahan né ve nuaa ma,
    ka kalahan né ve núär ma
at now is woman person then

206 Gw; bó ve bi ye mè bó ñuna bóc, mè bó yuo dàne,
    bó ve bi ye mè bó ñuna bóc mè bó yuo dàne
Pl. woman you yours with Pl. child theirs with they leave here

207 bó ñuna bí, bó huan nde ñgor dàne,
    bó ñuna bí bó huan nde ñgor dàne
Pl. child you Pl. child go speech here

208 mè bó nde nde yaa,
    mè bó nde nde yaa
with they go go there

209 Ju ju ye kum, bie ka loó ye kum
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

ju ju ye kum bie ka loó ye kum
talk talk yours just ask at compound yours just

210 ngám ngwa bé kuó8#50 gi aa wa?
ngám ngwa bé kuó gi aa wa
because penis ours die end PAST QN.

211 Mb; Aaaa Gw a, de bé je lem bò si ve saa
aaaa Gw a de bé je lem bò si ve saa
Gw to of we say only Pl. husband woman that

212 Fabé me bó tue jë:
fabé ma bó tue jë
like with they say say

213 Ma bó né le dopta8#51 nji bó tue më Gamia.
ma bó né le dopta nji bó tue më Gamia
If they is in doctor thing they say with Gamia

214 Gi né lem mëna.
gi né lem mëna
end is only thus

215 Jb; aha né mane. Ama ngue ye
aha né mane ama ngue ye
mhmhm is thus but listen yours

216 Mb;
Gamia ngue ye
Gamia ngue ye
Gamia listen you

217 Nj; 
xxx xxxx xxx xx

218 Jb; Ama bó ngôr tibi tibi si bó den né ngwe
ama bó ngôr tibi tibi si bó den né ngwe
but they speech short short -ness they here is NEG.

219 Ga; Am ngwe de mò, mi tue su mëna ma.
am ngwe de mò mi tue su mëna ma
NEG. NEG. of mine I say again thus then

220 Mb; Saa ko né ni
saa ko né ni
that know is who

221 Jb; Saa gua de () Né chi saa ama bó né de nji
saa gua de né chi saa ama bó né de nji
that home of is that that but they is stay thing

222 Ga; Nji më tue baá hën de, bó we nde xxx xxx ma ler né ten
nji më tue baá hën de bó we nde xxx xxx ma ler né ten
thing with say PRES. this so they take go xxx xxx if loose
is there-is

223 a saa bó ha nyí kalon, () te nji mò, bó tue naga.
a saa bó ha nyí kalon, te nji mò bó tue naga
to that they give speaker money so thing wait they say clear
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

224 Jb; aa né fada né loko né de bè ma.
aa né fada né loko né de bè ma
aaa is like is compound is of we then

225 Ga; øhe mani
she mani
yes thus

226 Tue ndape ko, ha bi tue ndape né ki?
tue ndape ko ha bi tue ndape né ki
say prolix SUB.EMP. Until you say prolix is what

227 Jb; de saa, ngör saa se huom né ka mana.
dé saa ngör saa se huom né ka mana
of that speech that NEG. good is at thus

228 Mb; eeee eeee eee wa? Am ngwa, gi né ka fabé mana ndo ma
eeee eeee eee wa am ngwa gi né ka fabé mana ndo ma
eeee eeee eee QN. NEG. NEG. end is at like thus also "really"

229 Ny; Gw tue né mana ñgam kwé bè ko ma Gw xxx xxxxx
Gw tue né mana ñgam kwé bè ko ma Gw xxx xxxxx
Gw say is thus because tomorrow we know if Gw xxx xxxxx

230 Jb;
Hen né hen
hen né hen
This is this

231 bè bie né chi ma
bè bie né chi ma
we ask is that "really"

232 Ny; Gw tue né mena, à jé: Gamia né be yo, bi mgbe fà.
Gw tue né mena à jé Gamia né be yo bi mgbe fà
Gw say is thus he say Gamia is hand yours you chief two

233 Ma bi jé wa: bi nde wèp né lu wa, bi tue ñaga dè.
ma bi jé wa bi nde wèp né lu wa bi
tue ñaga dè
If you say say you go control is SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP. you say clear so

234 Ma bi jé sam né ngwa bi tue ñaga
ma bi jé sam né ngwa bi tue ñaga
If you say not is NEG. you say clear

235 Dé nyi kum ma bi jé: øøø bó nde né lo,
dé nyi kum ma bi jé øøø bó nde né lo
of speaker just if you say øøø they go is treat

236 bó kulu sua.Maní
bó kulu sua.maní
they bless sua thus

237 Jb;
Maní dé bi yuo
mani dé bi yuo
thus so you leave
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

238 Ny; De Gw, à tue Gw mana ndo.
de Gw à tue Gw mana ndo
of Gw he say Gw thus also

239 Jb; Ma wop né ngwe cher wa kalon wò ha Gamia
ma wop né ngwe cher wa kalon wò ha Gamia
If control is NEG. road take money you give Gamia

240 Mb; Ko Gamia hên Ko Gamia de ngue sôn bò si hên de
ko Gamia hên ko Gamia de ngue sôn bò si hên de
Even Gamia this Even Gamia of listen mouth Pl. husband this

241 Jb;
\[ aehææ mani \\
aehææ mani \\
yes thus
\]

242 Gamia ngue a kə baá re mə bö man də ma
Gamia ngue a kə baá re mə bö man də ma
Gamia listen to at PRES. again with they thus of then

243 Mb; SoGo Gamia sen ngue sôn bò si saa,
soGo gamia sen ngue sôn bò si saa
only Gamia his listen mouth Pl. husband that

244 Ny; À tue né chi ma, À tue né chi saa ma.
À tue né chi ma À tue né chi saa ma
he say is that then he say is that that then

245 Mb; Ha à sua nde né mə hên no
ha à sua nde né mə hên no
Until he descend go is with this also

246 Ga; Dé mə, naa mi ngue né mə bö ma.
dé mə naa mi ngue né mə bö ma
of mine PAST I listen is with them then

247 Jb; Gamia à hwune baá kə dé saa nọṣ, hên baá rø chi saa bə mə
Gamia à hwune baá kə dé saa nọṣ hên baá rø
chi saa bə mə
Gamia he tight-lipped PRES. at of that peace this PRES. again
that that place with

248 à ngôr kware kware denə.
à ngôr kware kware denə
he speech beside beside here

249 Ny; Sua kulu baá kulu, kulu ha huan de, bó nde denə lọ denə.
sua kulu baá kulu kulu ha huan de bó nde denə lọ denə
sua bless PRES. bless bless give child here they go here

250 Mb; aaaa!

251 Ny; Dole sua de bó kulu né bó nde né huan den lọ den, ndo.
dole sua de bó kulu né bó nde né huan den lọ den ndo

360
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

cool sua so they bless is they go is child here treat Here also

252 Ga; Dole hën de no, dole bó bó nde ka bu lō den
dole hën de no dole bó bó nde ka bu lō den
cool This of also cool they do go at him treat here

253 Nj; Loŋ de sua né hięn, loŋ de lə né hięn.
loŋ de sua né hięn loŋ de lə né hięn
space of sua is different space of treatment is different

254 Jb; Męna ni. To Ma la yuo chop chén bá męn męn męn męn ma,
męna ni to ma la yuo chop chén bá męn męn męn męn ma
thus very?? so if PAST leave and-numeral one PRES. thus thus
thus really

255 ma ???njok gwan
ma ???njok gwan
If that-person? want
[ ]

256 Nj; Njok

257 Jb; Ma bó gwan a mę sön bon,
ma bó gwan a mę sön bon
If they want to with mouth theirs

258 bó Gamia: Oui, gwom ṣgwe. bó gwom bá á lę dęne.=
bó Gamia oui gwom ṣgwe bó gwom bá á lę dęne
Pl. Gamia pay NEG. They pay PRES. treatment here

259 Ga; = To =
= to =
So

260 Jb; bó gwom mi mbo bá á jam.
bó gwom mi mbo bá á jam
They pay me divine PRES. good

261 To bó nęne bó nji kela,
té bó nęne bó nji kela
so they see Pl. thing pass

262 kela sua, bó cho. Njí mę bó, bó... bó...
kela sua bó cho nji mę bó bó bó
pass sua they chop thing which they they they

263 bó núa r nje ko nde a, fabé mę bó bó ko nde à kọ
tọ sá r nje ko nde a fabé mę bó bó ko nde à kọ
Pl. person thing know go to like with they do know go he
SUB.EMP.
[ ]

264 Gw; Yili té yila
yili té yila
name so names

265 Ga; Dę hën xxx xxxx xxxx xxx ko
Section (c. 5 minutes) left untranscribed: conversation mainly about cars and where they are going to. Mostly general chat, not addressing the case at issue.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

279 Wò yila moptere nùràr nde ṣgwọ, ()
wò yila moptere nùràr nde ṣgwọ you call meeting person go NEG.

280 wò tue go nùràr nde ṣgwọ.() wò tue go nùràr nde ṣgwọ you say walk person go NEG.

281 Ḥẹn sogo bi nji bó pat, hẹn sogo bi nji bó pat
This only you thing Pl. all

282 sogo mi yọn ka gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa ça y est.
sogo mi yọn ka gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa ça y est
only I stroll at house house house house house house

283 Ga; Saa bó nde ọue.
saa bó nde ọue
that they go NEG.

284 Ch; Oui, mais normalement c’est comme ça

285 Nj; Ma lu saa mi ma, mi bu ọnene ọgwọ, ma lu saa mi ma mi bu ọnene ọgwọ
If day that I if I him see NEG.

286 lu saa à de rẹ bè hiẹn-i8#54
lu saa à de rẹ bè hiẹn-i
day that he stay again place different

287 To lane ma à de su a bè hiẹn-i.
to lane ma à de su a bè hiẹn-i
To today if they(Sing) stay again to place different

288 Ga; xxx xxx

289 Ch; Wò yila moptere nùràr pat ndée.
wò yila moptere nùràr pat ndée
you call meeting person all come

290 To, () ma wò la tue, ma tue l’heure ka kẹ lọ̀ bí yẹ né mẹna.
to ma wò la tue ma tue l’heure ka kẹ lọ̀ bí yẹ né mẹna
so if you PAST say if say l’heure at at village you yours is thus

291 Mi den le moptere, mi yila yili pal pal pal, le moptere.
Mi den le moptere mi yila yili pal pal pal le moptere
I stay in meeting I name name all all in meeting

292 ()Njai de nùràr hẹn, nùràr hẹn tue mi ọnue ọnue kam,
()njai de nùràr hẹn nùràr hẹn tue mi ọnue ọnue kam
()thing of person this person this say I listen NEG. at-all

293 Tue mi di yẹ wa?
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

tue mi di yə wa
say I of you QN.

294 Ga; xxx mi bɔɔ né nan wa?
xxx mi bɔɔ né nan wa
xxx I do is how QN.

295 Nj; Wò la nyì tue wa? <=laughter
wò la nyì tue wa
you PAST speaker say QN.

296 Ch; Tam dɔŋ né ni, né bè ka mə aibe ni.
tam dɔŋ né ni né bè ka mə aibe ni
none all is who is we at with mistake very??

297 Nj; aa?
aa

298 Ch; Dua né den ka aibe mə.
dua né den ka aibe mə
there is stay at mistake mine

299 Dua né le nde né sə tʊŋ ma ha bè wɔŋ nde gi kum
dua né le nde né sə tʊŋ ma ha bè wɔŋ nde
gi kum
there is in go is NEG. organise "really" until place world
go end very

300 Il faut venir à Somié pour voir les choses .() Vraiment.

301 Ni; Bt a, ke keləhən bè mom den nji mə yuo nde kə sən yə,
Bt a ke keləhən bè mom den nji mə yuo nde kə sən yə
Bt to look now we wait here thing with leave go at mouth yours

302 mə wɔ tue nde nji mə Gamia. Tə bè ṑełe yuo.
mə wɔ tue nde nji mə Gamia tə bè ṑełe yuo
which you say go thing with Gamia so we disturbed leave

303 Ch; Tourjours la patience

304 Mb; Bɛ mom nde né chi tal
bɛ mom nde né chi tal
we wait go is that SUB.EMP.

305 Ga; Nɛ də ka ɲɔŋbɛr chɛn bii hɛn dɛ, mə
nɛ də ka ɲɔŋbɛr chɛn bii hɛn dɛ mə
is of at speech one thing this of with

306 Ny;
Nɛ mani
né mani
is thus

307 Mb; ëë Bɛ mom né ka chi
ëë bɛ mom né ka chi
We wait is at that
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

308 Ny; Ngôr tue né mani më më bie né ka më bô
nôgôr tue né mani më më bie né ka më bô
speech say is thus with I ask is at with them

309 Ma bô tue nyen mba mba nde ka tu,
ma bô tue nyen mba mba nde ka tu
If they say lies freely freely go at before

310 à ça y est waga sam ñgwô
à ça y est waga sam ñgwô
it ça y est fast not NEG.

311 Mb; À yuo nde togo togo
À yuo nde togo togo
it leave go quarrel quarrel

312 Ny; À saa yuo nde né togo.
À saa yuo nde né togo
he that leave go is quarrel

313 Ga; aa dens bô tue nde nde né ki wa?
aa dens bô tue nde nde né ki wa
aaa here we say go go is what QN.

314 Né lôm ko ngôr chên hên fela den më më bie né hên dô
né lôm ko ngôr chên hên fela den më më bie né hên dô
is only SUB.EMP. speech true this like here with I ask is this so

315 Më bie né chi. à bêë nji baâ dua, bê nge ñaga.
më bie né chi à bêë nji baâ dua bê nge ñaga
I ask is that he harm thing PRES. there we understand clear

316 () né ka le mgo dënë.
né ka le mgo dënë
is at in group here

317 Nj; Gw ndeka, mi tue nji né më mgbe, mi tue nji né më
Gamgbe().
Gw ndeka mi tue nji né më mgbe mi tue nji né më
Gamgbe
Gw must I say thing is with chief I say thing is with
Gamgbe

318 Mb; Dë bê, bê bie nji su né më bu
dë bê, bê bie nji su né më bu
of we we ask thing again is with him

319 Nj; Dë Gamgbe bô bie bi bi, bî, bî bô jago vo.
dë Gamgbe bô bie bi bi bî bî bô jago vo
of do ask you you you Pl. marry woman

320 Ma mi nde à bêë nji nyî, bi nde né kalcon ha né nyî wa,
ma mi nde à bêë nji nyî bî nde né kalcon ha né nyî wa
If I go to harm thing speaker you go is money give is speaker QN.

Nj?? dæ te mi nde lo nyëgë su huan bu saa,??

thing of so I go treat repair again child him that

Bí beë loë baá kæn.()

you harm compound PRES. already

Mb; Aa bó tue nji dæ me bu

aaa they say thing of with him

Ga; Në ka mën, wò nde né me sòn ye.

is at thus you go is with mouth yours

Nj; Chuar, à tue nde né ka me sòn sen.

chicken he say go is at with mouth its

[ ]

Ga; Mwó tue mi a, wò we nde né ko, wò lo nde né ko,

If you say me to you take go is SUB.EMP. you treat go is SUB.EMP.

Hen mi ha nde né kalon te te mi hapdi me nji to.

This I give go is money so so I hurry with thing before

Në lêm tibi si mani.

is only short -ness thus

Ch; () Oui ma ngôr yuo kela chië, huom né tue.(2)

if speech leave pass outside good is say

Ngâm () né tare dæ né hën de,

because is hard of is this of

bó tare né (1) bó tue né...ju bó huan mani mba.

place hard is they say is talk Pl. child small freely

Bó tue ngwa () ngôr gechën di dua.

we say NEG. speech true some there

Bó huan mani, bó bie nde bó no,

Pl. child small they ask go them also

bó sôn bóc bie nde né kë?
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

bó sòn bóo bie nde né ke
they mouth theirs ask go is what

335 Njai bie ten am ñgwë. dònn xxx ñene ñgwë
Njai bie ten am ñgwë dònn xxx ñene ñgwë
Njai ask there-is NEG. NEG. all see NEG.

336 Kanahan () Mose8#55 à tue né baga.(4) Le bòŋ bu saa,
kankanen Mose à tue né baga.(4) le bòŋ bu saa
now Mose he say is good (4) in group it that

337 saa baá tue le bòŋ bu saa à ten am ñgwë. (1)
saa baá tue le bòŋ bu saa à ten am ñgwë (1)
that PRES. in group it that he there-is NEG. NEG.

338 To ma "le decision" de mö, (2) nde Gamia de kuú,
to ma "le decision" de mö nde Gamia de kuú
To if "le decision" of mine go Gamia of big

339 À se tue ñgwë. Mi hën, ñgàm chi më mi gwan ñgwë tue.
À se tue ñgwë mi hën, ñgàm chi më mi gwan ñgwë tue
he NEG. say NEG. I this because this with I want NEG. say

340 Mais nde yuo kela mi kum, mi foti tue le lòŋ bu hën.
Mais nde yuo kela mi kum mi foti tue le lòŋ bu hën
Mais go leave pass I just I can say in space it this

341 Bu hën je wa: à né tibisi. Mose wa ve,() bon.
bu hën je wa à né tibisi mose wa ve bon
him this say QN. he is short say woman bon

342 Nde wa ve, à ke: mystique bóó baá ten (1)
nde wa ve ã ke mystique bóó baá ten
go arrive woman she look do PRES. there-is

343 Nde mystique bóó baá, (3) À ha nji su nde bë jumu, ()
nde mystique bóó baá, (3) À ha nji su nde bë jumu
go mystique do PRES. (3) he give thing again go place

344 di ya den ñgwë giye,
di ya den ñgwë giye
of yours stay NEG. overthere

345 bó kiye dë bë mağa baá sön ten amñgwë=
bó kiye dë bë mağa baá sön ten amñgwë
Pl. overthere of Pl. big PRES. mouth there-is NEG.

346 Gw;   =Mën
man
thus

347 Ch; Bë nji nde né dopta kôó.8#56
bë nji nde né dopta kôó
We thing go is dispensary SUB.EMP.

348 Bë bóó nde né kë bu, bë bóó baá kë bu. Bë bóó naa kôó.
bë bóó nde né kë bu bë bóó baá kë bu bë bóó naa kôó
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

we do go is at it we do PRES. at it we do PAST SUB.EMP.

349 Diya né oblige, parceque ve naa le be bò, ()
diya né oblige parceque ve naa le be bò ma né nga e
of that is oblige parceque woman PAST in hand ours

350 ma né nga e ça soir
ma né nga e ça soir
if is clear e ça soir

351 bó bó nùür bòe naa de bu, bó tuŋ nde a koó.
bó bó nùür bòe naa de bu bó tuŋ nde a koó
they Pl. person harm PAST of her they organise go to
SUB.EMP.

352 Di ya ju Mose ten am su, bó parler nde bu tibisi mën.
di ya ju Mose ten am su bó parler nde bu tibisi mën
of yours talk Mose there-is NEG. again-NEG they parler go
him short thus

353 XX; ëhë
ëhë
yes

354 Ch; ëhë
ëhë
yes

355 Ny; Bi Gw su gwan a mani. À gwan a mën de, tæ bó bó boó.
bí Gw su gwan a mani À gwan a mën de tæ bó bó boó
you Gw again want to thus he want to thus so so they they do

356 Ch; di ya kum ñgwë, bæ wæ nde a mën.
di ya kum ñgwë bæ wæ nde a mën
of yours just NEG. we take go to thus

357 Ma ma bi boó né facture#57 né më kæ, né më kæ lu,
ma ma bi boó né facture né më kæ né më kæ lu
If if you do is is with price is with price SUB.EMP.

358 Ma wò wæ, wò je: mi né më facture de né hën. Tibi si hën.
ma wò wæ wò je mi né më facture de né hën tibi -
adj hën
If you arrive you say I is with of is this short -
ness this

359 XX; ëëë ëëë <= Laughter

360 Ga; Kadi ma facture ñgwë kæhëñ wæ?
kadi ma facture den né ñgwë kæhëñ wæ
really if NEG. now QN.

361 Ch; Den ñgwë dæ wò bie nde né bu lu.
Den ñgwë dæ wò bie nde né bu lu
stay NEG. of you ask go is him anyway

362 Dæ wæ wø nde né gwom wæ, wò gwom né ñgwë wæ?
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

de ya wò nde né gwom wa wò gwom né ñgwé wa
of yours you go is pay QN. you pay is NEG. QN.

363 Aaa ma à je nyí gwom né ñgwé no, wò boó né nan.

364 Wò vulu, wò ya8#58 bu kadi?

365 Jb; Bì ya bu nan

366 Ga; Foti ñgwé (3) Mì ya bu nan

367 Jb; Ama núår bu hén xxx xxxx saa baá panpan ju.

368 Né de wò me nde né bu le kiló8#59 wa?

369 Kò né de wò boó nde né bu nan wa?

370 Né saa gér ñene badi ma.

371 Allah, ha mbi fà mi xxxxx xxxx xxxx <=laughter

372 Ch; Mì sè kwa baá ju, bòn me bòn ooo <=laughter

373 Vraiment c'est comme ca.<=laughter

374 Nj; xxxxxxx

375 Jb; Bò me baá bò le jaa wa

376 Nj; Bò me baá le kilo <=laughter

377 Jb; Ma Chàŋ guan né jëgo vë núår, de më kulu gi aa, <=

Laughter

ma chàŋ guan né jëgo vë núår de më kulu gi baá, <
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

If chän want is marry woman person so with bless end PAST

378 më, më njai vën.
më më njai vën
with with thing evil

379 Bö nde, bö dili kwa ke tuŋ, ha chi yula nde...
bö nde bö dili kwa ke tuŋ ha chi yula nde
They go they straight put look organise until that illness go

380 Nj;

[ 
Aaa de saa mgbe,
aaa de saa mgbe
aaa of that chief

381 Ndeka bë bôô sum dëdë.
ndeka bë bôô sum dëdë
must we do remove small

382 Gw; Né mî() Mi ñene nji më yogo Chän sam.
né mimi ñene nji më yogo chän sam
is me. I see thing with surpass chän not

383 Ama né mi kum.
a ma mi kum
but is I just

384 Aï Bë munu kə le mò kum, gwan ñgwë sua,
ai bë munu ke le mö kum gwan ñgwë sua
ai we think at in mine just want NEG. sua

385 bò kulu më sapdi=
bö kulu më sapdi
they bless with mistake

386 Jb;

= Njai döön né ka mëna
njai döön né ka mëna
thing all is at thus

387 Ny; Dë më Dë më Dë më bó tue sum baà kën, de ye yula suú.
dë më dë më dë më bó tue sum baà kën de ye
yula suú
of with of with of with they say remove PRES. already of yours illness again-NEG

[ 

388 xx; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
[ 

389 Gw; Bò kulu bu sam. Nde më Mgbe yë,
bö kulu bu sam nde më mgbe yë
They bless him not go with chief yours

390 nde Gamia tue baà su kòó yë: de ñgwë njai fe di.
nde Gamia tue baà su kòó yë de ñgwë njai fe di
go Gamia say PRES. again SUB.EMP. yours stay NEG. thing new some
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

391 Ny; xxx tele bé, né de xxxxxxxxxx
xxx tele bé né de xxxxxxxxxx
xxx father ours is of xxxxxx

392 Kp; Di ye kum ju tam su
di ye kum ju tam su
some yours just case none again-NEG

393 Nj; Mgbe tue de ka()
mgbe tue de ka
chief say of at

394 Kp; Di ye kənəwən, ju ye dua ten am su
di ye kənəwən ju ye dua ten am su
of yours now case yours there there-is again-NEG

395 Gw; Və de kan, bí ko\(60\) kə mbam yuo jọγo.
ve de kan bi ko ke mbam yuo jọγo
woman of anyone you know to palace leave first

396 Və de kan, wọ ko ke mban ṣe kə mbam bọ,\(61\)
ve de kan wọ ko ke mbam ṣe bọ mbam bọ
woman of anyone you know to palace because we Pl. palace Pl.

397 bẹ né bọ nụaľ ti.
bẹ né bọ nụaľ ti
we is Pl. person stupid

398 Dẹ mi mi munu ja lọọ né chén.()
dẹ mi mi munu ja lọọ né chén
of me I think say village is one

399 Wọ ọnene mani bọ ??vọla báá
wọ ọnene mani bọ ??vọla báá
you see thus they push PRES.

400 Nj; o i lọọ né ka chén mənə, lọọ fə sam
oi lọọ né ka chén mənə lọọ fə sam
oi village is at one thus village two not

401 Gw; Nẹ mənə yi guo yi lọọ.
né mənə yi guo yi lọọ
is thus at house at village

402 Kwa né ma kam hən de, à yọγo nde kə?
kwa né ma kam hən de à yọγo nde kə
find is woman old this so she surpass go what

403 Njəra yọγo ɲgwə ndo.
njəra yọγo ɲgwə ndo
thing surpass NEG. also

404 Bị ?né kusum\(62\). Bọ nde nde.
bị ?né kusum bó nde nde
you is spittle they go go

405 Chăn ha njî bọ saa de kə to
chăn ha njî bọ saa de kə to
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

chǎn give thing them luck of at before

406 kə yor 10c8º? ge r lane ndo?, kadi.
chə yor loc ??gær lane ndo kadi
at body village pain today also really

407 Tue bá hi, né ka 10c ?ge la ndo?, né bá hi? ()
true bá hi né ka loc gær lane ndo né bá hi
say place where is at village pain today also is place where

408 Kə keləhən fatere bée () fona fon,
kə keləhən fatere bée fona fon
at now section ours search search

409 nji me bó fona par né gi kə fatere bée,
nji me bó fona par né gi kə fatere bée
thing which they search skin is end at section ours

410 XX; mun sam. mun sam sam sam
mum sam mun sam sam
thus not thus not not not

411 Gw; Ha bó tema bée lu, á né ki.
ha bó tema bée lu á né ki
Until they send us SUB.EMP. it is what

412 Bó ju kare lu bó ju kare lu, bó ko bó nji
bó ju kare lu bó ju kare lu bó
ko bó nji
They talk interleav SUB.EMP. they talk interleav SUB.EMP.
they know Pl. thing

413 (2) Ju sam ngwu, chǎn á ha nji bó kə tu kə tu (.)
(2) ju sam ngwu chǎn á ha nji bó kə tu kə tu
(2) talk not NEG. chǎn it give thing them at before at before

414 Bó nè me yaa bóc, bó nè me nda bóc
bó nè me yaa bóc bó bó nè me nda bóc
They is with young women theirs they is with young men theirs

415 bó nè me ke bó dòng, chǎn a ha nji bó kə tu. Fabé...
bó nè me ke bó dòng chǎn a ha nji bó kə tu
fabó
they is with look them all chǎn it give thing them at before
like

416 Ga; bó njai de bó: bó nè yaa, bó nè nda
bó njai de bó bó nè yaa bó nè nda
Pl. thing of them they is young women they is young men

417 Nj; yaa yə nè yaa, nda yə nè nda ndo.
yaa yə nè yaa nda yə nè nda
young women yours is young women young men yours is young men
also

418 bó ko nde bó nji hi wa.
bó ko nde bó nji hi wa
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

They know go Pl. thing where QN.

419 Gw; Wò ko ma wò tue jë, Ma vë a, të tue.
    wò ko ma wò tue jë ma vë a të tue
You know which you say say woman woman to NEG. say

420 À ke ke, À ke a () nde nde
    À ke ke À ke a nde nde
she at look she look at go go

421 Wò huan sep nde a ??mwo a?? ko ñgwe,
    wò huan sep nde a ??ma wò a ko ñgwe
you child male go to if you to know NEG.

422 ma wò wula ñgwe.
    ma wò wula ñgwe
if you kill NEG.

423 bò mave di kumu wula su bu tǝ tǝ tǝ tǝ nji de vule
    bò mave di kumu wula su bu tǝ tǝ tǝ tǝ nji
de vule
Pl. woman some corpse kill again them-S. NEG. NEG. NEG. NEG.
thing of leave

424 Ga;
    [ ]
    nûår fabé
    nûår fabé
    person like

425 Nj; Diyê né fakit
diyê né fakit
Of yours is certainly

426 Gw; Aaa mi hên né den, mi né den naa sua hên nde né sie
    aaa mi hên né den mi né den naa sua hên nde né sie naa
naa
aaa I This is here I is here PAST sua this go is take PAST

427 Nj;
    Ama baâ mëna à vulu =
    ama baâ mëna à vulu
    but PRES. thus she leave

428 =vula. baâ vë saa, ama vula tǝ nji de vule
    vula baâ vë saa ama vula tǝ nji de vule
leave PRES. woman that but leave so thing that leave

429 Di yë kum né fakit.
di yë kum né fakit
of yours just is true

430 Mb; Di yë kum, né bô.
di yë kum né bô
of yours just is them

431 Ga; À bôbô né mëna de tǝ nji de vule
    À bôbô né mëna de tǝ nji de vule
he do is thus so so thing of leave

432 Ma vu a nde né vule ma vë, si sen huan sep
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

If leave to go is leave woman husband hers child male

[433] Nj; Né fakit
né fakit
is truly

[434] Ga; Né sua sen tuŋ dé sa
né sua sen tuŋ dé sa
is sua his organise of that

[435] Gw;
Bó wula 8#66 dé më nan, de ngwë ju sua.
bor wula de më nan de ngwë ju sua
They kill of with how stay NEG. talk sua

[436] Ma à ke, à jëgo baá ken, më ma ve`
ma à ke à jëgo baá ken më mave
If he look he marry PRES. already with woman

[437] À tue ngwë, à tue ngwë.
À tue ngwë, à tue ngwë.
he say NEG. he say NEG.

[438] Allah wula sum, à wula sum nùår ten.() Huan nda dé8#67
allah wula sum à wula sum nùår ten huan nda
de
kill remove he kill remove person there-is child young

[439] Nj;

[440] =ma, à ha lë be ma ve . À jë ma ve a; 8#68
ma à ha lë be mave À jë mave a
really he give treatment hand woman he say woman to

[441] Jb; À wula bu, wula bu
À wula bu wula bu
she kill him kill him

[442] Nj; Ma ve à nde ha... À wë lë, à ha be ma ve de , ma ve nde =
À nde ha à wë le à ha be mave de mave
nde
she go give he take treatment he give hand woman that woman
go

[443] =wula sum bó si dé.
wula sum bó si dé
kill remove Pl. husband that

[444] Né ngam ke bó boó saa naa sôn koó.
né ngam ke bó boó saa naa sôn koó
is because what they do ignite PAST mouth SUB.EMP.

dë saa bë né gi koó gi
of that we is end SUB.EMP. end

374
446  Jb: Ma nùär kulu bâà  vê  yê,  kò  a  nê  mëna  më  lë,
      ma nùär kulu bâà  vê  yê  kò  a  nê  mëna  më  lë
      if person bless PRES. woman yours Even he is thus with
treatment

447  À nde né wò  wula.
     À nde né wò  wula
     he go is you kill

448  Ma bò  bò ŋyëgë nde né sôn,
      ma bò  bò ŋyëgë nde né sôn
     If they do repair go is mouth

449  ma nùär kula né vê  yê  kòó  bò  né  më  nê  më  nê
     ma nùär kula né vê  yê  kòó  bò  né  më  nê  më  nê
     If person bless is woman yours SUB. EMP. do is with how

450  Bò  nde né wò  wula.
     bò  nde né wò  wula
     They go is you kill

451  Ga; Bò, bò bò ŋyägë saa sôn, nde dole
     bò  bò  bò  saa  sôn  nde  dole
     They they do ignite mouth go cool

452  Jb; Bò  wula mëna dede mëna.
     bò  wula mëna dede mëna
     They kill thus small thus

453  Ga; De saa de sôn ñgwë. () De saa de san ten am.
     de saa de sôn ñgwë de saa de san ten am
     of that of mouth NEG. of that of deny there-is NEG.

454  Nj; Ma ma vê bò né wò ndeka to jogo di yê kum,
     ma mave bò né wò ndeka to jogo di yê kum
     if woman do is you from before first of you just .

455  huom ñgwë da bì, bì den
     huom ñgwë da bì bì den
     good NEG. of you you stay

456  Ama ñgâm ma mun sam ñgwë nde nde ka to a fada
     ama ñgâm ma mun sam ñgwë nde nde ka to a fada
     but because if thus not NEG. go go at before to like

457  À wula sum mba.
     À wula sum mba
     he kill remove freely

458  Ma wò ????toku ra bu, ma bili ra né bu,
     ma wò toku ra bu ma bili ra né bu
     If you together again her if together again is her

459  À wula sum wò kë këléhë.
     À wula sum wò kë këléhë
     he kill remove you at now
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

460 Da se kum so ŋgwə
də se kum so ŋgwə
of NEG. just live NEG.

461 Ga; Hən nùər bóó va yə bó saa báá són⁸⁹,
hen nùər bóó va yə bó saa báá són
This person do woman yours they ignite PRES. mouth

462 kə bóó ma nan à nde né wò wula
kə bóó ma nan à nde né wò wula
Even do with how he go is you kill

463 Nj; Kə kələhən da saa da, so ŋgwə.
kə kələhən da saa da so ŋgwə
at now of that of live NEG.

464 Ma ma va bóó né wò, wò mbo, wò bóó né bu ndo.
ma mave bóó né wò wò mbo wò bóó né bu ndo
if woman do is you you divine you do is her also

465 ma wò tugu nde bu, à wula sum wò
ma wò tugu nde bu à wula sum wò
If you quarrel go her she kill remove you

466 de saa kə kələhən de so ŋgwə.
de saa kə kələhən de so ŋgwə
of that at now stay live NEG.

467 À wula sum wò, lu yə mbo le su ka to.
À wula sum wò lu yə mbo le su ka to
she kill remove you day yours freely in again-NEG at before

468 Gw; Kan, kan, kuli ŋəŋ/ŋgwə.
kan kan kuli ŋgwə
odd odd NEG.

469 Jb; Kan, kan kuli ŋgwə, bê tue né nan.
kan kan kuli ŋgwə bê tue né nan
odd odd NEG. we say is how

470 Nj; Wa tu bu tue ŋaga baá
watu bu tue ŋaga baá
say he say clear PRES.

471 Gw; Nûər kan cho cho chok tə tue.
nûər kan cho-cho-chok tə tue
person anyone IDIO.: babble NEG. say

472 Cho cho chog tə tue. Cho cho chog tə tue.
cho cho chog tə tue cho-cho-chog tə tue
IDIO.: babble so say IDIO.: babble so say

473 Saa báá tue Kg! bí məna? tə tue
saa báá tue Kg bí məna tə tue
that PRES. say Kg you thus NEG.say

474 Ha nde nde bó huan kuó gi, nûər kuó ma bili bó
ha nde nde bó huan kuó gi nûər kuó ma bili bó

376
Until go go Pl. child die end person die with together them

475 Ñgam dua ka ko tue nan wa
Ñgam dua ka ko tue nan wa because there at know say how QN.

476 Ama, bí ñgue a wa, bí bò Gumbe bò.
ama bí ñgue a wa bí bò Gumbe bò but you listen to SUB.EMP. you Pl. Gumbe Pl.

477 Nj; Tam saa bé, bé ko né re nji wa.
tam saa bé bë ko né re nji wa none that we we know is again thing SUB.EMP.

478 Ha ju më ñaga de
ha ju më ñaga de

479 Gw; Mi ju yula di
mi ju yula di
I case illness very

480 Nj; Nùår di nde mi mbo bu mba,
nùår di nde mi mbo bu mba person some go me divine him freely

481 ama yili mò ko ñgwe.
ama yili mò ko ñgwe but name mine know NEG.

482 De mi kum, mi yire den né, dé jë: mi baá nùår ku
de mi kum mi yire den né de jë mi baá nùår ku of me just I attempt here is of say I PRES. person big

483 ju sua sen né be bë. Bé bë tue gi re nde né koô.
ju sua sen né be bë bë bë tue gi re nde né koô talk sua his is hand ours We we say end again go is SUB.EMP.

484 Ma chuar nde a be mò, mhm saa mi nde a boô wade boô
ma chuar nde a be mò mhm saa mi nde a boô wade boô If chicken go to hand mine mhm that I go to do division do

485 Gw; Chàn né ten. À tue né de tue.
chàn né ten À tue né de tue chàn is there-is it say is of say

486 Nj; Chàn jë bu yë a; bí né kuün bi yë kun.
chan jë bu yë a bí né kuün bi yë kun chàn say him yours to you is avoid you yours avoid

487 Le bò ju nùår hên më mi ñue a,
le bò ju nùår hên më mi ñgue a
in Pl. talk person this with me understand to

488 saa mi kum mi ko ñgwe, njai mò ko ñgwe()
saa mI kum mi ko n̄gwe njai mI ko n̄gwe that I just I know NEG. thing mine know NEG.

489 MII mI ko n̄gwe.(10)
miI mI ko n̄gwe
mother mine know NEG.

Gambia & a Mboro have a Fulfulde conversation: omitted but simultaneous with the below until the Mboro’s departure.

490 Gw; Kenehen, Ng a, nji de nji hen bi bọ̀ sum baà kẹn, kenehen Ng a nji de nji hen bi bọ̀ sum baà kẹn
now Ng at thing of thing This you do remove PRES. already

491 Nde n̄gọ̀ ?nùàr safi8#70 kẹn, bọ̀ bọ̀ sum. (1)
de n̄gọ̀ ?nùàr safi kẹn bọ̀ bọ̀ sum
go speech person with-treatments already they do remove

492 Hẹn de, à la sen vẹ sen, nùàr njẹ, bẹ̀ n̄gwe. 
hẹn de à la sen vẹ sen nùàr njẹ baà n̄gwe
This here he PAST his woman his person that-one harm NEG.

493 Wọ̀ gwan ?nduan sen, wọ̀ tue nè kọ̀. (1)
wọ̀ gwan ?nduan sen wọ̀ tue nè kọ̀. (1)
You want division his you say is SUB.EMP.

494 To à8#71 sen, bì tue tue, tue go di am n̄gwe, 
To à sen bì tue tue go di am n̄gwe
To his he you say say say walk other NEG. NEG.

495 à n e m e l u n̄ julu8#72
à n e m e l u n̄ julu
she is with open eyes

496 Vẹ̀ jẹ̀ à dẹ̀ sen, à nẹ̀ mẹ̀ nà
vê jẹ̀ à dẹ̀ sen à nẹ̀ mẹ̀ nà
woman say she of hers she is thus

497 Dẹ̀ yẹ̀ nè dẹ̀ mọ̀ ma8#73. <=laughter
Dẹ̀ yẹ̀ nè dẹ̀ mọ̀ ma.<
of yours is of mine "really"

498 XXX; Nụ́e dọ̀n̄ x x x x x x x x 
ngue dọ̀n̄ x x x x x x x x
listen all

499 Gw; Fabẹ̀ mẹ̀ Ve na dẹ̀ sen nùàr njẹ̀ dẹ̀. 
fabẹ̀ mẹ̀ ve na dẹ̀ sen nùàr njẹ̀ dẹ̀
like with (Ve,bad?) PAST of his person that-one that

500 Nda, bọ̀ bọ̀ yọ̀r den baà yí guo saa ma. 
nda bọ̀ bọ̀ yọ̀r den baà yí guo saa ma
young men they do body stay PRES. at house that then

501 Ni se yula sen kẹ̀ nè nùàr te hì wà? 
ni se yula sen kẹ̀ nè nùàr te hì wà
who NEG. illness theirs look? is person at? where QN.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

502 Ch; Moptere né kwə de <= to Joseph
moptere né kwə de<
meeting is tomorrow then

503 Gw; Ma naa la ve né ńgwə ye,
ma naa la ve né ńgwə ye
if PAST PAST bad is NEG. NEG.

504 kə lane né məna tie ma,
ko lane né məna tie ma
even today is thus sister then

505 sogo mi kəko kəko kəko
sogo mi kəko kəko kəko
only I SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP.

506 mi boko su a bu gə ge bu hən
mi boko su a bu gə ge bu hən
I do again to him suffering suffering suffering him this

507 Nj; Ma la né bə bə Luo bō, ma né məna né ki wa?
ma la né bə bō. Luo bō ma né məna né ki wa
if PAST is place Pl. Luo Pl. if is thus is what QN.

508 Mi sela kwa wə su mə.
mi sela kwa wə su mə
I cross find take again mine

509 Bə bō gə Luo bō, ama né məna de kwa,
bə bō gə Luo bō ama né məna de kwa
Place Pl. at Luo Pl. but is thus of find

510 mi kwa wə njai mə
mi kwa wə njai mə
I find take thing mine

511 Ch; Muya yogo kə, kə kə.
muya yogo kə kə kə
patience surpass what even what

512 Njai pat ma gua muya,
njai pat ma gua muya
thing all if home patience

513 Chən boə ko ńgwə dede baə sən kə le muyna ye kə ()
chən boə ko ńgwə dede baə sən kə le muyna ye kə
chən do know NEG. small PRES. mouth at PAST patience yours
SUB.EMP.

514 Saa bō ko bu
saa bō ko bu
that they know him

515 Gw; Muya də mə yogo na kə, də mə mi homo ye:
muya də mə yogo na kə kə də mə mi homo ye
patience of mine surpass PAST SUB.EMP. of me I tired say
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

Departure of a Fulbe man from Mbor or Mbum

516 Ma ngue dene ngaam de hene ko ngwe
   ma ngue dene ngaam de hene ko ngwe
   if understand here because of this know NEG.

517 Ch; Chän ko nde, bë gwom kënehän dëde
   =
   chän chän ko nde bë gwom kënehän dëde
   chän chän kay go we pay now small

518 =muya ya ko, Mose.
   muya ya ko mose
   patience yours even

519 Le wön han dede bò boò muya ni. Boò, Boò boò mëna nan.
   le wön han dede bò boò muya ni boò boò boò mëna nan
   in world this small one do patience very?? do do do thus how

520 =Nüär boò mëna nan,
   nüär boò mëna nan
   person do thus how

521 Chän ko nde bë gwom nde né muya ye koö (4)
   chän ko nde bë gwom nde né muya ye koö
   chän know go we pay go is patience yours SUB.EMP.

xx; xxxxx xxx

522 Nj; aaaha né ka mën. Nde bë bë dua naa,
   aaaha né ka mën nde bë bë dua naa
   is at thus go we we there PAST

523 bë dua naa fada mëna.
   bë dua naa fada mëna.
   we there PAST like thus

524 Je Bt a, nde wë ka bâ chuar ye wë.
   Je Bt a nde wë ka bâ chuar ye wë
   say Bt to go take at PRES. chicken yours take

525 Ga; De muya kum, né ten.
   de muya kum né ten
   of patience just is there-is

526 Ch; Nji à de mëna na, den mëna naa, ma wa nji,
   nji à de mëna na den mëna naa ma wa nji
   thing he stay thus PAST stay thus PAST if arrive thing

527 wò ha nji a më chän ni.
   wò ha nji a më chän ni
   you give thing to with very

528 Chän ko né bò gwom nde koö.
   chän ko né bò gwom nde koö
   chän know is they pay go SUB.EMP.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

529 Ga; Dole (4)
doole
cool

530 Nj; Ki!, (3)

531 Jb; Ndi bï ñene né hän dë,
nda bï ñene né hän dë
young men you see is this of

532 nji bó yïla né vœ jïgö hän dë yë-
nji bó yïla né vœ jïgö hän dë yë
thing they call is woman marry this that yours

533 NJ; Ma vœ tue jœ fade â ha, â jïgö vœ wa.
mave tue je fade à ha à jïgö vœ wa
woman say say like she give he marry woman SUB.EMP.

534 Nari à la vœ go duom ndë.
ñari à la vœ go duom ndë
disorder he PAST woman walk start go

535 Ga; Ki!

536 Gw; Am ñgïwë huan di go wuwa kënañen ma. <=laughter
am ñgïwë huan di go wuwa kënañen ma.<
NEG. NEG. child other walk fast now "really"

537 Në ??ñïkare??8#76 <=laughter
në ??ñïkare
is centipede

538 Në li wa? fela né li xxxxx tubu ñgïwë
në li wa fela né li xxxxx tubu ñgïwë
is stomach QN. like is stomach become pregant NEG.

539 Nj; { }
À ke ke dë ye.()
À ke ke dë ye
he look look of you

540 Ga; Ki! () À ke kalañen À sela baâ ye dëde,
ki! À ke kalañen À sela baâ ye dëde
Ki! he look? now he cross PRES. yours small

541 Nj; de me à go duom baâ ye vë. Â beë boô nan wa?
de me à go duom baâ ye vë Â beë boô nan wa
that which he walk start PRES. yours woman he harm do how

QN.

542 Jb; Huan mani mba
huan mani mba
child small freely

543 Nj; Bë boô né nan
Bë boô né nan
we do is how
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

544 Ga; Tue: () tam chu đọnŋ le moptere bó naa tue.
    tue tam chu đọnŋ le moptere bó naa tue
    say time time all in meeting they PAST say

545 Ma dede nùąr yi baá sön mani
    ma dede nùąr yi baá sön mani
    if small person there PAST say

546 Nùąr tə ten badiŋ
    nùąr tə ten badi
    person NEG. there-is approach

547 Chu mə lu də, nùąr ten badiŋ, mə lu də nùąr ten badiŋ
    chu mə lu də nùąr ten badiŋ
    time when day that person there-is approach NEG.

548 Ma nùąr- ma nyuri yilaŋ, gomə teneŋ, wọŋ tene baá,
    ma nùąr ma nyuri yila gomə tene wọŋ tene baá
    if person if grass enter belt break world break PRES.

549 Saa, bó boó yə hən.
    saa bó boó yə hən
    that they do yours this

550 WB; Chum chu à tan tenŋ
tchum chu à tan ten
    time time he market there-is

551 Ga; To, Chu mə lu bade, nùąr də sen faleŋ
    to chu mə lu bade nùąr də sen faleŋ
    So time with day approach person that theirs upset NEG.

552 Nj; Wa: yu-yula, huan né yula. Ama yulaŋ
    wa yu-yula huan né yula ama yulaŋ
    say illness child is ill but ill NEG.

553 saa mi tue wa: né nyən.
    saa mi tue wa né nyən
    that I say say is lies

554 Bó, boó jəgo hən, gə nda di,
    bó boó jəgo hən gə ndagá di
    they do marry this at bed some

555 ma mi naa lebu naaŋ gə Njere giyaŋ
    ma mi naa lebu naaŋ gə Njere giyaŋ
    if I PAST hit PAST NEG. there at Njere over-there

556 Bó və né mən, bó sep mənndo.
    bó və né mən bó sep mənndo
    Pl. woman is thus Pl. male thus also

557 Nda də mə mi lebuŋ gə
    Nda də mə mi lebuŋ gə
    young men of which I hit NEG. is at

558 takere nda də hi?
    takere nda də hi
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

what sort young men of where

559 Ga; Ma sela naa nan bè le tu no wa. Né nan bè le to no wa?
ma sela naa nan bè le tu no wa né nan bè le to no wa
if cross PAST how we in before also QN is how we in before
also QN.

560 Bí bí fà, né yuo chibi teni, né mè na leteni chibi
bí bí fà né yuo chibi teni né mè na leteni chibi
you you two is leave night period is with is between night

561 Nj; Sarki, Sarki ndée le joco naa kə wa yuo da le naa
Sarki Sarki ndée le joco naa kə wa yuo da le naa
Sarki Sarki come in first PAST what QN. leave of PAST PAST

562 Ngonbi le joco mbe yaa, saa Sarki le naa le sep nda.
Ngonbi le joco mbe yaa saa Sarki le naa le sep
nda
Ngonbi PAST carry beer young women that Sarki PAST PAST in
male young men

563 Sarki ???kum wanyu da.
Sarki ??kum wanyu da
Sarki just else of

564 Né lu mè bò ndé à mbe yaa saa mwe.
né lu mè bò ndé à mbe yaa saa mwe
is day with they go to beer young women that drink

565 Se bó jə ndée ndée bó nyəm we
se bó jə ndée ndée bó nyəm we
so they say come come they extinguish fire

566 se baá ləm ko vogo mba.
se baá ləm ko vogo mba
so PRES. only even game freely

567 Bí ke kware ju saa
bí ke kware ju saa
you look beside case that

568 Ga; Njaradi ten yuo ŋgwə.
njəradı ten yuo ŋgwə
something there-is leave NEG.

569 Né dëna sogo mə bò Gumbe
né dëna sogo mə bò Gumbe
is here only if Pl. Gumbe

570 chibi joco yelili den ŋgwə mə bò va maŋi
chibi joco yelili den ŋgwə mə bò va maŋi
night carry evening stay NEG. with Pl. woman small

571 Chie bó ḥoro baa ḋene Ki!
chie bó ḥoro baa ḋene ki!
outside they back PRES see Ki!
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

572 Nj; Ki!

573 Gw; Bò sep mëna, bò vë mëna eeheee (20)
   bò sep mëna bò vë mëna eeheee
   Pl. male thus Pl. woman thus

574 To, Bò nda boò nji.
   to bò nda boò nji
   To Pl. young men do thing

575 Naa mi tue nè jë:
   naa mi tue nè jë
   PAST I say is say

576 kwun mò nè ve ndeka më duom ()
   kwun mò nè ve ndeka më duom
   forehead mine is bad from with start

577 nji mò pat nè bë ñgam. Në mëna naa.
   nji mò pat nè bë ñgam nè mëna naa
   thing mine all is place divination is thus PAST

578 Kanahen, sua më bò kulu de huan mani tam,
   kanahen sua më bò kulu de huan mani tam
   now sua which they bless of child small none

579 huan mani ma à jõgo vë, à huan mani sam su.()
   huan mani ma à jõgo vë à huan mani sam su
   child small if he marry woman he child small not again-NEG

580 Chàng aa boò tø tubu bu fela gë më mi ñene ke bili
   chàng aa boò tø tubu bu fela gë më mi ñene
e façon past do NEG. conceive her like suffering which I see
   ke bili
   at together

581 jumu hën de, më mi kwa, kwa ñgam tø.
   jumu hën de më mi kwa kwa ñgam tø
   after this that which I put put because so

582 Allah saa de bë nùar à kuó ñoŋ kum kuó
   allah saa de bë nùar à kuó ñoŋ kum kuó
   that of we person they-S. die all just die

583 (3) Tue ñ- tue ka de tue.
   (3) tue ñ- tue ka de tue
   (3) say NEG. say at of say

584 Nj; Wò nè twa hi?8\n   wò nè twa hi
   you is roast where

585 Gw; Allah () Ma jibi ka man,
   Allah ma jibi ka man
   Allah if shake at thus

586 më nde nde jumu, nji bì boò mbar de,
   më nde nde jumu nji bì boò mbar de
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

with go go after thing you do square that

587 bi see tena, wô nde nde ha wô ko wô gwom ngwa
bi see tena, wô nde nde ha wô ko wô gwom ngwa
you work cut-through, you go go until you know you pay
NEG.

588 Wô ñene gâ jumu.
wô ñene gâ jumu
you see suffering after

589 Jb; (1) aa bó di né man,
(1) aa bó di né man
(1) aaa they other is thus
[

590 Nj; xxxxxxxxx

591 Jb; Bó di jumu saa fona se,
bó di jumu saa fona se
they other after that search NEG.
[

592 Nj; xxxxxxxxx

593 Jb; Bó di van ten
bó di van ten
they other evil there-is
[

594 Nj; xxxxxxxxx. To
xxxxxxx to
so

595 Jb; Di yë né ju de bó huan-
di yë né ju de bó huan
of yours is talk of PL. child

596 de bó nüär ten. Bó nüär nüär né ten.
de bó nüär ten bó nüär nüär né ten
of Pl. person there-is Pl. person person is there-is
[

597 Gw; À tue ka né nan wa? De bó nüär né ten.
À tue ka né nan wa de bó nüär né ten
he say at is how QN. of Pl. person is there-is

598 Da bó, bó bó mií né ten,
da bó bó bó mií né ten
of them PL. PL. mother is there-is

599 bó nüär kan né ten.
bó nüär kan né ten
Pl. person anyone is there-is

600 bó nüär kan ten, () To.
bó nüär kan ten to
Pl. person anyone there-is To

601 Ng à né ka go né go,885
Ng à né ka go né go
Ng he is at walk is walk
602 mi go mii mò ten ndo.
mi go mii mò ten ndo
I walk mother mine there-is also

603 Nj; Né ka mana
né ka mana
is at thus

604 Gw; Mi tue ka de mò mana.
mi tue ka de mò mana
I say at of mine thus

605 ama mi ñene ka,
ama mi ñene ka
but I see at

606 Jb; mi ja mi ñene ka ñam de ñene naa.(2)
mi ja mi ñene ka ñam de ñene naa
I say I see at divination of see PAST

607 NG; Né ka sua, sua cho ka bè koó (2)
né ka sua sua cho ka bè koó (2)
is at sua sua chop at us SUB.EMP.

608 Nj; Né baga fà dön wah,
né baga fà dön wah
is good two all QN.

609 NG; Bò ja fà dön xxxxxx
bò ja fà dön xxxxxx
they say two all

610 Nj;
Bà naga Bà naga Bò Bò we njai bon.
bà naga bà naga bó bó we njai bon
we lick we lick they they take thing theirs

611 Bò sum nde né njai sua,
Bò sum nde né njai sua
they remove go is thing sua

612 Bò sum nde chuar sua koó, bò sum kalon koó, bò cho sua.
bò sum nde chuar sua koó bò sum kalon koó
bò cho sua
they remove go chicken sua SUB.EMP. they remove money
SUB.EMP. they chop sua

613 Aaa nde né nùär chén de, ndeka bó boó sum bò8#86
aaa nde né nùär chén de ndeka bó boó sum bó
aaa go is person one of must we do remove them

614 Jb;
Né mana
né mana
is thus

615 Nj; Bè boó sum bè dene wa.
bè boó sum bè dene wa
we do remove us here QN.
616 Jb; Ha nde nde de jemu nde né waga chén né bो, ha nde nde de jemu nde né waga chén né bो until go go of second go is fast one is they

617 bę nyuga su né bο bę nyuga su né bο we repair again is them

618 Nj; aaa sum bu kalon de.(3) aaa sum bu kalon de aaa remove it money that

619 Mb; Fabė...fabė Bt hėn de, ma de jemu waga chu a, fabė...fabė Bt hėn de ma de jemu waga chu a like like Bt this of if of after fast return to

620 ma tue wò tue ngwε né koō, jumu sua fela mė né gi chén. ma tue wò tue ngwε né koō jumu sua fela mė né gi chén if say you say NEG. is SUB.EMP. after sua listen with is end one

621 Mi tue né hėn. mi tue né hėn I say is this

622 Gw; Né ka ngōr bu aa. né ka ngōr bu aa is at speech his to

623 Mb; Nė ngam ka...ngam kam né ngam ka...ngam kam is divination old divination old

624 À den ngwε njai mba de. À den ngwε njai mba de it stay NEG. thing free very

625 Gw; Nė ka mėna né ka mėna is at thus

626 Ga; xxxx

627 Gw; Wō ye nūr am ngwε gia. wō ye nūr am ngwε gia you eat person NEG. NEG. end

628 Bō bō su wō dole ndo bō bō bō dole ndo. bō bō su wō dole ndo bō bō bō dole ndo they do again you cool also they they they cool

629 XX; aaaaaiii

630 Gw; Hėn né njai dole= hėn né njai dole this is thing cool
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

631 Nj; =Fa dua né kwunere saa (1)
fa dua né kwunere saa 
like there is refuser that

632 De gun8#87 kaga né kalon né de kalon de tare.
de gun kaga né kalon né de kalon de tare
of okra pick is money is of money of hard

633 Fe sua né chuar.
fe sua né chuar
head sua is chicken

634 Mb; Chuar
chuar
chicken

635 Nj; Fe sua né chuar, kalon hên né tare mba(4)
fe sua né chuar kalon hên né tare mba
head sua is chicken money this is hard freely

636 Jb; Ha nji be Ng tè à ha mgbe8#88 (2)
ha nji be Ng tè à ha mgbe
give thing hand Ng so he give chief

637 Nj; Kalon né njai tare mba
kalon né njai tare mba
money is thing hard freely

638 Fe sua né chuar de.
fe sua né chuar de
head sua is chicken that

639 Jb; Ng wè chuar, ha nji mgbe
Ng wè chuar ha nji mgbe
Ng take chicken give thing chief

640 Ny; () Wò sie ηgwà, ju tue nè ηgwà.
wò sie ηgwà ju tue nè ηgwà
you take feather talk say is NEG.

641 Ch; Hèn à né chuar chèn, chuar taar sam ηgwà
hèn à né chuar chèn chuar taar sam ηgwà
this it is chicken one chicken three not NEG.

642 MB; Sie ηgwà saa
sie ηgwà saa
take feather that

643 Nj; à sie ηgwà chuar.
à sie ηgwà chuar
he take feather chicken

644 Ch; À sie ηgwà no
À sie ηgwà no
he take feather also

645 Nj; Sie ηgwà Bt sie ηgwà.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

sie ngwè Bt sie ngwè
take feather Bt take feather

646 Mb; Ha nji bu, bili nji mè bu.
ha nji bu bili nji mè bu
give thing him together thing with him

647 Ny;
Sie mè chuar de.
sie mè chuar de
take with chicken of

648 NJ;
Sie mè chuar de.
sie mè chuar de
take with chicken of

649 Mb; ææ mèna (2)
ææ mèna (2)
thus

650 Ch; La famille qu'il cherche il vont voir tout comme ça ()

651 Ny; Bi den cher ma, bi ???yuo ter
bi den cher ma bi yuo ter
you stay road then you leave up

652 Ch; Wè kalon saa wè ma. L'argent().
wè kalon saa wè ma l'argent
take money that take then

653 Ni bòo né ko wa? Bi wè né wè
Ni bòo né ko wa? Bi wè né wè
who do is know QN. You take is take

654 Nj; aa bi aa
aa bi aa
aaa you aaa

655 Ga; Ha nji Baba
ha nji Baba
give thing Baba

656 Nj; (1) Mose à wè te kalon saa wè ma. Bi ja: baà sam su ndo.
(1) Mose à wè te kalon saa wè ma bi jè baà sam su
ndo
(1) Mose he take at money that take then you say PRES not
again-NEG also

657 Ch;
Wo kum, baà di ye
wo kum baà di ye
you just PRES. of yours

658 NJ; Aaa wè nji chogo bi gwan
aaa wè nji chogo bi gwan
aaa take thing stick you want

659 Ch; fada boò né ko ??kuorp mba ni8#89 Bó boò ni wa?
fada boò né ko kuorp?? mba ni bó boò ni wa
like do is know scrape freely who. they do who QN.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

660 Ni; Njaibi wə su kō̄ wa?
njaibi wə su kō̄ wa
take again SUB.EMP. QN.

661 NJ; ëë!

662 NI; Ha be Niŋə hən
ha be Niŋə hən
give hand Niŋə this

663 Nj; Ha ma kulu (2)
ha ma kulu
give then bless

664 Ny; Ta kuɔp kadi
tə kuɔp kadi
so scrape really

665 Nj; À kwa tə kuɔp kuɔp a bu.
À kwa tə kuɔp kuɔp a bu
he put so scrape scrape to him

666 Bi; Sua sen né lam be bóó
sua sen né lam be bóó
sua his is only hand theirs

667 A sogo mɪ se kuɔp sụụ kọ́
a sogo mɪ se kuɔp sụụ kọ́
to only I NEG. scrape again-NEG SUB.EMP.

668 Ni; À kuɔp né lu kọ́, À nyən ŋwə.()
À kuɔp né lu kọ́ À nyən ŋwə
de scrape is VB.EMP. SUB.EMP. he forget NEG.

669 Nj; To bù né be ni wa?
to bù né be ni wa
To knife is hand who QN.

670 (3) Nuər ma mə bù man be, à ha nji
(3) nuər ma mə bù man be à ha nji
(3) person if with knife small hand he give thing

671 MS; (4) Ho yo.

672 Nj; (3) Ha nji
(3) ha nji
(3) give thing

673 Mə; Ha nji (1)
ha nji (1)
give thing (1)

674 Ny; Ha ŋwə Ngomni à né mə sua be mə ma.
ha ŋwə Ngomni à né mə sua be ma
give NEG. Ngomni he is with sua hand then

675 Nj; Wə sela wə kuɔp
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

wò sela wò kuop
you cross you scrape

676 Ngomni à né kuop koò.
Ngomni à né kuop koò
Ngomni he is scrape know

677 Ma ma mi kuop vaa de ko, mi se mò guo ye suú.() ma ma mi kuop vaa de koò mi se mò guo ye suú
if if I scrape torso of SUB.EMP. I NEG. mine house yours
again-NEG

678 We da, we nji han, wò kela chie.
we da we nji han wò kela chie
take of take thing this you pass outside

679 Ni; Bì la ye den bāá da bì wanyu
bí la ye den bāá da bì wanyu
you PAST yours stay PRES. of you else

680 NJ; eee

681 Ny; Wò ha nji bò huan mani, bò huan ɲela.892 wò ha nji bò huan mani bò huan ɲela
you give thing Pl. child small Pl. child roast

682 Wò ha nyí, nyí ɲela né ko ma.
wò ha nyí nyí ɲela né ko ma
you give speaker speaker roast is SUB.EMP. then

683 NJ; Bò kuop ka chie. Bì kwa nde né be mani.
bò kuop ka chie bì kwa nde né be mani
they scrape to outside you put go is hand thus

684 Bt a, bì yuo kela de chie.
Bt a bì yuo kela de chie
Bt to you leave pass of outside

685 Bì fà dooŋ bì ye, bì kwa nde né be mani.
bì fà dooŋ bì ye bì kwa nde né be mani
you two all you yours you put go is hand thus

686 Bò kulu ka chie.
bò kulu ka chie
they bless at outside

687 Ni; Mi kò ko ma.
mì kò ko ma
I know know then

688 NJ; (4) kuop kop chie (2)
(4) kuop kop chie
(4) scrape side outside

689 Ni; Bò kuop gi, bò ɲela ye ma.
bò kuop gi bò ɲela ye ma
they scrape end they roast yours then
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

690 Ny; Bi sie kwa də be ma. Sie kwa ma be <=laughter
bi sie kwa də be ma sie kwa ma be
you take put of hand then take put with hand

691 Ny (to Merup); Da bi boό fona wuli boό jar.
y to də bi boό fona wuli boό jar
of you do search bring Pl. firewood

692 Nj; Yuo kela chię tu. Mi na ha nde kuɔp kuɔp né ka be.
yuo kela chię tu mi né ha nde kuɔp kuɔp né ka be
leave pass outside before I PRES until go scrape scrape is at hand

693 () Né ka le be, () te kuɔp né koό.
() né ka le be () te kuɔp né koό
() is at in hand () so scrape is SUB.EMP.

694 Gw; aaa gi ka yor mó.
aaa gi ka yor mó
aaa end at body mine

695 Ha nüär nüär yula yor ṣuna mò
ha nüär nüär yula yor ṣuna mò
until person person ill body child mine

696 Jb; () Den dua Ng
() den dua Ng
() stay there Ng

697 Nj; (1) Bi kwa be mani, bà bə bə chën-e,
(1) bi kwa be mani, bə bə bə chën-e
(1) you put hand thus place place place one

698 bi kwa bə chën-e mba ee bə chën-e mba
bi kwa bə chën-e mba ee bə chën-e mba
you put place one freely place one freely

Between lines 699-707 the ndungu sua is being scraped.

699 Jb; Bī fā bili bō mbi
bī ē bili bō mbi
you two together Pl. friend

700 Gw; Dē hān mó ma kwa bu jemu,
dē hān mó ma kwa bu jemu
of this mine if put him second

701 ma mi kwa, allah, mi wope né bu.
ma mi kwa allah mi wope né bu
if I find I organise is him

702 Nj; (4) Wō kuɔp, wō kuɔp nji kɔp di, bō nji kɔp di.
4 wō kuɔp wō kuɔp nji kɔp di bō nji kɔp di
you scrape you scrape thing side other Pl. thing side other

703 Ny; A kuɔp kɔp fā đọŋ
A kuɔp kɔp fā đọŋ
he scrape side two both

704 Mb; (2) Dọ mọ mgbe tue naa dẹ, à tue naa gọchén.  
(2) dọ mọ mgbe tue naa dẹ à tue naa gọchén  
(2) of which chief say PAST here he say PAST at true

705 hẹn né ??nogo van=  
hen né ??nogo van
this is meat evil

706 Gw;  
=ndeka bi naa bó ngwe,  
ndeka bi naa bó ngwe  
from you PAST do NEG.

707 wọ jula kwa hẹn dẹ,  
wọ jula kwa hẹn dẹ  
you flee put this here

708 Hẹn dẹ chi jula kwa mi ka loó,  
hen dẹ chi jula kwa mi ka loó  
this here this flee find me at compound

709 NJ; 8#93Ma baa kuɔp, wọ wɛ tabɛ wọ kwa le nycọ dẹ.  
ma baa kuɔp wọ wɛ tabɛ wọ kwa le nycọ dẹ  
if PAST scrape you take earth you put in finger of

710 Wọ kema kwa tabɛ te ŋgọ??  
wọ kema kwa tabɛ te ŋgọ  
you touch put earth at left

711 Gw; Allah. Tue jula panpaŋ lẹm jẹ:  
allah tue jula panpaŋ lẹm jẹ  
allah say flee mill only say

712 nùár bu hẹn À bóó nan ma.  
nùár bu hẹn À bóó nan ma  
person him this he do how "really"

713 To, tue naa bó Mvu, bó Mvulu bó bó dim, bó Kg su,  
to tue naa bó Mvu bó Mvulu bó bó dim bó Kg su  
To say PAST Pl. Mvu Pl. Mvulu Pl. Pl. y. -same-sex-sib. Pl. Kg again

714 bó ndee hẹn ᱠr mọ,  
bó ndee hẹn ᱠr mọ  
they come this at body mine

715 Bọ jẹ: bó nde naa tọ bó nde mi tue.  
bọ jẹ bó nde naa tọ bó nde mi tue  
they say they go PAST so they go me say

716 Mi jẹ: mi kọ ngwe.  
mi jẹ mi kọ ngwe  
I say I know NEG.

717 Jb; Watu bó tue: tọ tue. Wa: tọ tue  
watu bó tue tọ tue wa tọ tue
say we say NEG. say say NEG. say

718 Nj; Ma wò we baá tabá wò kwa le (ŋgor,ŋgo) de, wò naga.
ma wò wè baá tabá wò kwa le (ŋgor ŋgo) do wò naga
if you take PRES. earth you put in (speech,left) of you lick

719 Wò kulu nji bó te tema8#94, wò kulu nùär di le tema,
wò kulu nji bó te tema wò kulu nùär di le tema
you bless thing them at liver you bless person other in liver

720 Wò naga mè leba ma.
wò naga mè leba ma
you lick with tongue then

721 Wò naga su mè be ŋo mèna. Mèna.
wò naga su mè be ŋo mèna mèna
you lick again with hand left thus thus

722 Wò naga su mè ŋo fii
wò naga su mè ŋo fii
you lick again with left again

723 Gw; Njè baá mi kò ŋgwè.
njè baá mi kò ŋgwè
thing PRES. I know NEG.

724 Bi den nòŋŋ, bi vulu ka mi.
bì den nòŋŋ bi vulu ka mi
you stay quiet you leave at me

725 Mb; aaa ju han də, Bi ŋue də ŋue ya.
aaa ju hàn də bi ŋue də ŋue ya
aaa talk this here you listen of listen you

726 Bó je bu a: wò sum sen nde boó chia wa
bó je bu a wò sum sen nde boó chia wa
they say him to you remove his go do outside QN.

55 secs talk about cars due from Banyo (mainly Njaibi and Jacob)
omitted

727 Go luli bó yuo gə Mbor, ma bó chu chu, ma bó né yi loó8#95
go luli bó yuo gə Mbor ma bó chu
chu ma bó né yi loó
walk day-before-yesterday they leave at Mbor if they return
return if they is at compound

728 MS; À tue né ka mən
À tue né ka mən
he say is at thus

729 Mb; Nguám
Nguám
because

730 MS; Bi tə see tə sen
Bi tə see tə sen
you NEG. work at his

394
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

731 Mb; wò ṣene ma?
    wò ṣene ma
    you see then

732 Nj; Ju gi aa
    ju gi aa
    talk end PAST

733 Gw; Nde a tame nde bò suu
    nde a tame nde bò suu
    go to consider go do again-NEG.

734 Nj; Nde nde nde di ya.
    nde nde nde di ya
    go go go of yours

735 Ny; bò nde leyili, bò vulu leyili wa.(3)
    bò nde leyili bò vulu leyili wa
    they come evening they leave evening QN.

736 Nj; Mi ko-le cho baá lu896
    mi ko-le cho baá lu
    I know chop PRES. freely

737    den ṣgwa bé...
    den ṣgwa bé
    stay NEG. we

[738 Ny; Sogo bò kulu gi aa
    sogo bò kulu gi aa
    only they bless end PAST

739 Nj; wò kulu gi aa de dọn bò cho ki chén.
    wò kulu gi aa de dọn bò cho ki chén
    you bless end PAST of all they chop at true
    [    ]

740 Ny; de rë de më liya nè bò cho kela ki chén
    de rë de më liya nè bò cho kela ki chén
    of again of with remains is they chop pass at true

741 Nj; Bó li nde ke
    bó li nde ke
    they stomach go look

742 Ny; aa bë- Lu bó kulu gi aa dọn bò cho,
    aa bë lu bó kulu gi aa dọn bò cho
    aaa we day they bless end PAST both they chop

743 bó cho lêm nji, bó cho lêm nji.
    bó cho lêm nji bó cho lêm nji
    they chop only thing they chop only thing

744 Mb; Lu ma chén di wa, ma chén di wa
    lu ma chén di wa ma chén di wa
    day if one other arrive if one other arrive

745 bó() bó() bó cho baá ki chén ma.
bó bó bó cho baá ki chén ma
they they they chop PRES. at true "really"

746 Ny; aa

747 Mb; Bó sie aa baá kulu fà doôñ
bó sie aa baá kulu fà doôñ
they take PAST PRES. bless two both

748 Ny; doôñ. Ki chén saa bó cho cho ki chén
doôñ ki chén saa bó cho cho ki chén
both at true that they chop chop at true

749 (5) Nu wò nde jar foni wa. (2)
(5) ñu wò nde jar foni wa
(5) you go firewood search QN.

750 Ni; Gamia yuo baá wa, te à nde kwè ha bé kalòn ten.
gamia yuo baá wa te à nde kwè ha bé kalòn ten
Gamia leave PRES. QN. so he go tomorrow give we money there-
is

751 Nj; Dap (1) À yuo dap.
dap (1) À yuo dap
far (1) he leave long

752 Ny; (3) Wò jö: nyí ndeka sie sie ñgwè, sie!
(3) wò jö nyí ndeka sie sie ñgwè sie!<
(3) you say speaker must take take feather take

753 o jula dené! <=laughter
o jula dené!
flee here

754 Nj; O Bí ñela su wa? Bí nde ñela ñela ma.
o bí ñela su wa bí nde ñela ñela ma
o you roast again-NEG QN. you go roast roast "really"

755 Mb; Bó nde né ñela, bó nde jar foni.()
bó nde né ñela bó nde jar foni
they go is roast they go firewood search

756 Ny; Mi sie, mi tue: ??nyima oi
mi sie mi tue ??nyima oi
I take I say year

757 Wò nde sie ma, sie ka sie bu, wò wà wà. (1)
wò nde sie ma sie ka sie bu wò wà wà
you go take then take at take it you take take

758 Ni; Bé mom den né hên. Mè ñela baà kèn.
bé mom den né hên mè ñela baà kèn
we wait here is this when roast PRES already

759 Ha bé nde wà kwo sen mè bé nde dua.
ha bé nde wà kwo sen mè bé nde dua
until we go take bone his that we go there
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

760 Ny; Mi tue naa mọna. Wọ jumu nde we kwa be.
Mi tue naa mọna wọ jumu nde we kwa be
I say PAST thus you after go take put hand

761 Nj; Bé nde mọ kuọ
bé nde mọ kuọ
we go with scrape

762 ch; To usuko. Né be bọ nụar kuú ()
To usuko. Né be bọ nụar kuú
So thank-you is hand PL person big

763 Nj; Nenedon8#97 wọ kwa mi leyili hẹn, ??fe bé kuọp????
Nenedon wọ kwa mi leyili hẹn $$$fe bé kuọp$$$ 
Nenedon you find me evening this like we scrape

764 wa, mi fe yi ter tu.
wa mi fe yi ter tu
say I attach? at up tree

765 ()O Nyakati ma wọ fe ser bé hiun-i <=laughter
()O Nyakati ma wọ fe ser bé hiun-i
()O Nyakati if you attach? upside-down place different

766 Ny; (2) Wọ ko su a de jẹ: wọ ha nji, ha nji.
wọ ko su a de jẹ wọ ha nji ha nji
you know again at of say you give thing give thing

767 Wọ yuo a ha mi, Wọ nji chu de bu loọ,
wọ yuo a ha mi wọ nji chu de bu loọ 
you leave to give me you thing return of him compound

768 keñехẹn wọ nde baá re mọ nji wanyu <=laughter
keñехẹn wọ nde baá re mọ nji wanyu
now you go PRES. again with thing else

769 Nj; Mi mọ mọ đẹŋgor8#98 ten am ọgwọ wa?
mí mọ mọ đẹŋgor ten am ọgwọ wa
I mine with đẹŋgor there-is NEG. NEG. QN.

770 WB; Nẹ ten wa?
né ten wa 
is there-is QN.

771 Nj; Đẹŋgor sua wa?
dẹŋgor sua wa 
dẹŋgor sua QN.

772 Gw; À jaa ten-
À jaa ten
he laugh there-is

773 Ny; xxxxxxxxxxxx

774 Nj; Ma mi li8#99 mọnjọко ma wọ kuọ ọgwọ,
ma mi li mọnjọко ma wọ kuọ ọgwọ 
if I stomach morning if you die NEG.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

775 leyili saa wò kuó baá.
    leyili saa wò kuó baá
evening that you die PRES.

776 Né daŋgor mò da.(6)
    né daŋgor mò da
is daŋgor mine that

777 Ki! wôŋ! () Wôŋ beé baá njai. Oi(4)
    ki! wôŋ wôŋ beé baá njai oi
Ki! world world harm PRES. thing

778 Bu bɔɔ cho baá hɛn, (1) ɛɛ mɛna né ki wa?
    bu bɔɔ cho baá hɛn (1) ɛɛ mɛna né ki wa
he do chop PRES. this thus is what QN.

779 Ni; Wôŋ beé baá njɛ. Mɛn né kɛ:
    wôŋ beé baá njɛ mɛn né kɛ
world harm PRES. thing thus is what

780 Bɛ kulu bu ten am ɛŋwə.
    bɛ kulu bu ten am ɛŋwə
we bless him there-is NEG. NEG.

781 Ch; Kg à né de sen san dɛ hi wa?
    Kg à né de sen san dɛ hi wa
Kg he is of his refuse here where QN.

782 Nj; Mî kɔ nji wa? Naa munjogɔ hɛn mî naa mɛ Mvulu tue
    mî kɔ nji wa naa munjogɔ hɛn mî naa mɛ Mvulu tue
I know thing QN. PAST morning this I PAST with Mvulu say

783 Bt?; ama mî mɛ nji fɛla ɛŋwə, mî ɛŋgɛu né lu.
    ama mî mɛ nji fɛla ɛŋwə mî ɛŋgɛu né lu
but I with thing like NEG. I understand is VB.EMP.

784 xx; Bî bɔɔ né nan wa? (1)
    bî bɔɔ né nan wa
you do is how QN.

785 Nj; Bî, bɛ bɔɔ dɛ nan wa?
    bî bɛ bɔɔ dɛ nan wa
you we do of how QN.

786 Bî njai jula, bî ɲene vɛ ɲuɔr jula chu,
    bî njai jula bî ɲene vɛ ɲuɔr jula chu
you thing flee you see woman person flee return

787 njai ɲuɔr jula chu ki! ki! ki!, ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ki!
    njai ɲuɔr jula chu ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ki!
thing person flee return Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! ()

788 Wɔ tuɛ ndɛ né nan.()
    wɔ tuɛ ndɛ né nan
you say go is how

789 Ny; Kalon né dua, bɛ wa.()
    kalon né dua bɛ wa
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

money is there we say

790 Nj; Wò tue nde né nan
wò tue nde né nan
you say go is how

791 Ny; Chu heli kalon né dua, bë wa.
chë heli kalon né dua bë wa
time-period when money is there we say

792 Ni; Chu ha nji à më kalon tê wa
chë ha nji à më kalon tê wa
time-period give thing he with money NEG. speak

793 Mb; Ko lâm...
kô lâm
even only

794 Ni; À ko lâm bô lu mba wanyu
À ko lâm bô lu mba wanyu
he know only Pl. day freely else

795 te më à munu ñgwa yë de ja: kalon nde nde né ten saa,
të më à munu ñgwa yë de ja kalon nde nde né ten
saaso with he think NEG. NEG. of say money go go is there-is that

796 Mi yuo kela.
mí yuo kela
I leave pass

797 Chu më bë boô mogo su ama
chë më bë boô mogo su ama
time-period with we do group again but

798 Nj; ndée nûår kan, dim nûår di
ndée nûår kan, dim nûår di
come person any y.-same-sex-sib person some

799 Ni; Ama sela naa mëna, bô ler cher wa?
amà sela naa mëna bô ler cher wa?
but pass PAST thus they loose road QN.

800 Nj; Mi ja: mi tue Bt ma, le ñëjogo kup,
mì ja mi tue Bt ma le ñëjogo kup
I say I say Bt then PAST first all

801 À bâà ñë vë ñë guom, go duom yë8.100.
À bâà ñë vë ñë guom go duom yë
he PRES. of woman of pay walk start yours

802 () À bâà vë go duom
À bâà vë go duom
he PRES. woman walk start

803 Ch; tue kadi, see baà më sama
tue kadi see baà më saa ma
say really work PRES. with that then

804 TT; odoma dun sie wa note go ma sewo asama <=Laughter
odoma dun seya note go ma sewo asama
person there-is happy want he if happy up-in-sky

805 badi à né wulu né ñgwë ya
badi à né wulu né ñgwë ya
approach he is enough is NEG. NEG.

806 Nj; Yogo bë
yogo bë
surpass us

807 Ni; Hën baá man dë, mi kwa bi më see bi,
hën baá man dë mi kwa bi më see bi
this PRES. how-many of I find you with work yours

808 Bô në më togo, bó boó xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
bô në më togo bó boó xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
they is with quarrel they do

809 Wb;
xxxxx xxxx

810 Nj;
Ko më kë, mi yogo bô.
kô më kë mi yogo bô
even length what I surpass them

811 Ni; Më tue né man kum,
më tue né man kum
I say is thus just

812 Në ve boó baá man dua, bó ndë=
ë ve boó baá man dua bó ndë
is woman do PRES. thus there they go

813 Nj; bó ve die ndë, bó sep die ndë.
bó ve die ndë bó sep die ndë
Pl. woman fall go Pl. male fall go

814 Bô ve baá ndë, bó sep sua ndë
bô ve baá ndë bó sep sua ndë
Pl. woman PRES go Pl. male descend go

815 MS; Kalon dalaman dë bó ve ñene ñgwë bôôô
kalon dalaman dë bó ve ñene ñgwë bôôô
money pay of Pl. woman see NEG all

816 Nj; Bi ndë ndë ya te ndë yogo sen.
bì ndë ndë ya te ndë yogo sen
you go go girl so go surpass hers

817 Xx; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

818 MS; xxxxxxxxxxx

819 Xx; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

820 Nj; Aa ml su nde nde ma? bie de bie ma.
aa ml su nde nde ma? bie de bie ma
aaa I again go go then ask of ask then

821 Ma bó jogo ju ye: guo mi wa? nna su wa2,
ma bó jogo ju ye guo mi wa nna su wa2
if they carry talk yours house me QN. PAST again QN.

822 À kwa kwa bó kë chie?
À kwa kwa bó kë chie
she find find them at outside

823 xx; À kwa bó kë chie.
À kwa bó kë chie
she find them at outside

824 Ny; Bó tue nna: mave mave, né be, né ka njai nùàr ka ju.
bó tue nna mave mave né be né ka njai nùàr ka ju
they say PAST woman woman is hand is at thing person at case

825 Wò bó nji sogo bò-
Wò bó nji sogo bò
you Pl. thing only do

826 Nj; Ama mave saa à né ka de sen <=laughter
ama mave saa à né ka de sen
but woman that he is at of hers

827 Ny; Wò nji sogo bò. () Mave kum, wò ka ngwe këlëhen.
wò nji sogo bò mave kum wò ka ngwe këlëhen
you thing only do woman just you know NEG. now

828 Kela mi, ma kuo8#102, wò chu: lane këlëhen
kela mi ma kuo wò chu lane këlëhen
pass I if reciprocally you return today now

829 À kwa huan né mba.()
À kwa huan né mba
she find child is freely

830 Nj; Ma vé de=
ma vé de
if woman of

831 Ny; =Wò huan sep wò jula koó, saye
wò huan sep wò jula koó saye
you child male you flee SUB.EMP.

832 Nj;
Né mana bó je;
né mana bó je
is thus they say

833 bó ye bó vé këlëhen bó huan mani bó bòó van né té, bòó...
bó ye bó vé këlëhen bó huan mani bó bòó van né té bòó
they say Pl. woman now Pl. child small they do evil is there-is do
834 À kə bò
dhe permit them

Short break in recording: change of tapes (T207a/T207b)

835 Nj; Né wò yula, ju gi aa
is you ill talk end PAST

836 NG; À nji bóó né hën ndo
he thing do is this also

837 MS; Hän da bó va bó bóo né chi, de bó gwom ñgwë.
this of Pl. woman they do is that of they pay NEG.

838 Nj; Hän de
this of

839 MS; Ma bó le naa bóo gwom-e, kwë lu heli
ma bó le naa bóo gwom-e kwë lu heli
if they PAST PAST do pay tomorrow day when

840 huan sep la sie mëna bu nan wa
child male PAST take thus her how QN.

841 À sola gwan ñgwë.
he only?? want NEG.

842 Nj; Dé hän, bà njiba la ju de baän.
do this we stop PAST talk of illness

843 Né Bt nde né wò, à ha nde né chuar.
is Bt go is you he give go is chicken

844 Wò Bt bó tue bu: bó wula sum wò.
you Bt they say him they kill remove you

845 Nde më chuar, nde na, nde na wë (3)
go with chicken go PAST go PAST take

846 Dé mò kum, mi kulu baá sua, ju mò gi aa.(3)
<= Claps hands three times
of me just I bless PRES. sua talk mine end PAST

847 XXX; Qu'est ce qu'il faut encore bien parler?

848 Nj; Dé mò kum, mi sua mò né Luwa chum.(4)
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

dé mò kum mi sua mò né luwa chum. (4)
of mine just I sua mine is law old (4)

849 Ma bi naa dé tue. Ma bi njai núa r jula ngwe (8).
ma bi naa dé tue ma bi njai núa r jula ngwe (8)
if you PAST of say if you thing person flee NEG. (8)

850 Ny; Njai chié chén (1) gi aa, kelóhèn liya ??dé mò kum?? <=
Laughter
njai chié (1) chén gi aa kelóhèn liya ??dé mò kum
thing outside(1) one end PAST now remains of me just

851 Ny; Bè chié fà wa? Di yë Nyakati
bé chié fà wa di yë Nyakati
we day two QN. of yours Nyakati

852 Ni; Wò je: kwè kwè tè tue dé. Wa chié chén
wò je kwè kwè tè tue dé wa chié chén
you say tomorrow tomorrow to say of say day one

853 mè bó mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ ha
mè bó mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ ha
with one mill? mill? mill? mill? mill? until

854 Ny; eee

855 Ni; Njø chié chén nan ma.(2)
njø chié chén nan ma.(2)
thing day one how "really" (2)

856 WB; Njai, Jere yë, né bi yë suú tuar9#103 kuú-si di
Njai jere yë né bi yë suú tuar kuú-si
di
Njai sua-enclosure yours is yours yours ginger roast big
some

857 Ny; aaa?

858 WB; Jere bi yë né suú terep mbë mbole wa?
jere bi yë né suú terep mbë mbole wa
sua-enclosure you yours is ginger strength pop pop QN.

859 Ny; Jere yë Beya wa?
jere yë Beya wa
sua-enclosure to Beya QN.

860 WB; Yi Beya9#104 <=laughter
yi Beya
at Beya

861 Mb; À né më bó njia, à nde më-
À né më bó njia à nde më
he is with Pl. thing he go with

862 Ny; Aa bi bu fuo chok9#105 ngwe,
aa bi bu fuo chok ngwe
aaa you him blow cloth NEG.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

863 fuo chok bade baá, à fuo chok né nan, njai né nan.<<= Laughter
fuo chok bade baá à fuo chok né nan njai né nan
blow cloth approach PRES. he blow cloth is how thing is how

864 WB; ase

865 Nj; À né chok fuo né ñgwë yë
À né chok fuo né ñgwë yë
he is cloth blow is NEG. NEG.

866 WB; Ma fuo yöo?
ma fuo yöo
if blow surpass

867 Mb; Ka wa? Ma baá wòŋ mò, kəlohaŋ mi né më vu mën
ka wa ma baá wòŋ mò kəlohaŋ mi né më vu mën
what QN. if PRES. world mine now I is with wife thus

868 Nj; Bó naa fuo chok naa tu le
bó naa fuo chok naa tu le
they PAST blow cloth PAST before PAST

869 Mb; Hë?

870 Nj; Bó naa fuo chok nde ()
bó naa fuo chok nde
they PAST blow cloth go

871 Ch; Le tu bó né fuo mën wa? ()
le tu bó né fuo mën wa
in before they is blow thus QN.

872 Mb; Le tu bó fuo chok ya8#106,
le tu bó fuo chok ya
in before they blow cloth yours

873 gö jemu mani, ma baá habaru8#107 nene ñgwë.
gö jemu mani ma baá habaru nene ñgwë
at after thus if PRES. news see NEG.

874 Bó gwan né puŋ wë ma, puŋ kan puŋ kan puŋ kan.
bó gwan né puŋ wë ma puŋ kan puŋ kan puŋ kan
they want is reclaim take then reclaim any reclaim any reclaim any

875 Wiya B; oooo ()

Section untranscribed: c. 2 minutes of talk between Mb, Nj and Ch

876 ch; Ju bi yö, bi bó Kg hën,(3) né ju de le gæchën kum
ju bi yö bi bó Kg hën,3 né ju de le gæchën kum
talk you yours you Pl. Kg this is talk of in at true just

877 bi njì më akilo (3)
bí njì më akilo (3)
you thing with intelligence (3)
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

878 parce que den ŋgwe ju wuwaga safi bi munu kənehən.()
parce que den ŋgwe ju wuwaga safi bi munu kənehən
parce que stay NEG. talk very-fast tradition you think now

879 Bí ənene ne lane, ju manji fe-fela, fela ŋgwe.
bí ənene ne lane ju manji fe-fela fela ŋgwe
you see is today talk small like like NEG.

880 aha bə ndə kə chie,
əhə bə ndə kə chie
yes we go at outside

881 kə stayed fe-fela fela ŋgwe, bí nde kə chie.(3)
kə stayed fe-fela fela ŋgwe bí nde kə chie. (3)
tomorrow like like NEG. you go at outside (3)

882 aə Dans la generalité bə né bi dossiers parceque,
aə dans la generalité bə né bi dossiers parceque
aə dans la generalité we is thing dossiers parceque

883 bə dəmŋ kela nji ma ənoməti bəd né dəmŋ.
bə dəmŋ kela nji ma ənoməti bəd né dəmŋ
we all pass thing with officials do is all

884 ənoməti ke dossiers, ə ke bə ma.
ənoməti ke dossiers à ke bə ma
officials look he look us then

885 Bé kita né bə wa tam dəmŋ,
bé kita né bə wa tam dəmŋ
we case is us arrive time all

886 Bô né kwa wa: ki! bə hən bô,
bô né kwa wa ki! bə hən bô
they is put say Ki! Pl. this Pl.

887 bô gwan né kə né bô bəd jə kela.
bô gwan né kə né bô bəd jə kela
they want is at is they do talk pass

888 Le bɔ man bə nǔar bô gwan né ju wani,
le bɔ man bə nǔar bô gwan né ju wani
in village thus Pl. person they want is case much

889 Bô hə né gi ten.
bô hə né gi ten
they until is end there-is

890 To né ŋgəm chi wə ənene mi hən mi den bəd,
to né ŋgəm chi wə ənene mi hən mi den bəd
To is because that you see me this I stay do

891 ənene ko njai də wə ənene wa:
ənene ko njai də wə ənene wa
see know thing of you see QN.

892 lane bii kita bəd né mi njulo kə turum ()
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

lane bii kita bó né mi njulo kə turum
today thing case do is I accompany at down

893 Le nyima, ma hapdi, ma maga kə ma kita chén kə fà,
le nyima ma hapdi ma maga kə ma kita chén kə fà
in year if hurry if many even with case one or two

894 saa maga yogo.
saa maga yogo
that very surpass

895 Bë mə bó pat né mi gwan né kita wula lòó.
bë mə bó pat né mi gwan né kita wula lòó
we that do all is I want is cases kill village

896 XX; ëëëë

897 Ch; Usuko. To, ju problem bì yə, bì bó Kg hën dë.
usuko to ju problem bì yə bì bó Kg hën dë
thank-you To talk you yours you Pl. Kg this of

898 Mi le tue wa, mi le tue a Kg.
mi le tue wa mi le tue a Kg
I PAST say say I PAST say to Kg

899 Mi jə Kg a: à fona kalon.(1)
mi jə Kg a à fona kalon
I say Kg to he search money

900 Ngam mi le ñene bi facture,
ŋam mi le ñene bi facture
because I PAST see thing

901 bó le nyara facture kə, () bó naa ha mi.
bó le nyara facture kə bó naa ha mi
they PAST write at they PAST give me

902 Në bó, bó nyaa facture, bó le ha mi,
në bó bó nyaa facture bó le ha mi
is them they write they PAST give me

903 tə mi ñene nji bó, bó ha naa bó ha naa().
tə mi ñene nji bó bó ha naa bó ha naa
so I see theirs they give PAST them give PAST

904 Bó le nyaa facture, bó ha mi().
bó le nyaa facture bó ha mi
they PAST write they give me

905 Mi tue baá Kg mbo. () Kg jə mi a: øøë.
mì tue baá Kg mbo Kg jə mi a øøë
I say PRES. Kg himself Kg say me to no

906 Bò njai de bó nyaa bili, bó nyaa bili
bò njai de bó nyaa bili bó nyaa bili
Pl. thing of they write together they write together

907 bó nji de nyí kə ñgəë.()
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

bò nji dë nyi ko ñgwe
Pl. thing of speaker know NEG.

908 To bò di nyi né ko, nyi né ko, () bu mbo à kwa di ya.(1)
to bò di nyi né ko nyi né ko bu mbo à kwa di ya
So they other speaker is know speaker is know him himself he put of yours

909 À tue a si vë mbo, më kalon a fona.
À tue a si vë mbo, më kalon a fona
he say to husband woman himself with money to search

910 À le naa wë le wë dé hë wa?
À le naa wë le wë dé hë wa
he PAST PAST take PAST month of where QN.

911 Mom wë dé hë wa? Mom wë dé hë wa? ()
Mom wë dé hë wa mom wë dé hë wa
wait month of where QN. wait month of where QN.

912 Bi bu hën dé, mi tue wò gëchëni,
bi bu hën dé mi tue wò gëchëni
thing it this of I say you true

913 Di ya dé ñgaa sam ñgwe.
Di ya dé ñgaa sam ñgwe
of yours then clear not NEG.

914 Bò bu yila ñgwe, bu ndë dé ñgaa.
bò bu yila ñgwe bu ndë dé ñgaa
they him call NEG. her go of clear

915 Parceque () marriage () né më bi luwa ten.(1)
parceque marriage né më bi luwa ten
is with thing law there-is

916 Lane wò jëgo vë, wò ke character mava.
lane wò jëgo vë wò ke character mava
today you marry woman you look woman

917 Wò homo ñgwe, wò jë Non,
wò homo ñgwe wò jë non
you tired NEG. you say Non

918 () character ye hën mi homo ñgwe.
character ye hën mi homo ñgwe
character yours this I tired NEG.

919 Dede nji më wò bòc su, mi homo ha ñgwe.
dede nji më wò bòc su mi homo ha ñgwe
small thing which you do again I tired until NEG.

920 Ndée nji a. () Gua de né hiun.
ndée nji a gua de né hiun
come thing to home stay is different

921 Lane wò jëgo vë. () Bi yë vë né guo.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

lane wò joge ve bì ye ve né guo
today you marry woman you yours woman is house

922 Lane wò ŋene mave torter mbi a
lane wò ŋene mave torter mbi a
today you see woman transgress occasion at

923 Ehe, ve mò a: chůu.
ehe ve mò a chůu
e woman mine to return-here

924 Wò hapdi, mave ja: sam, nyí wò sam ŋgwa.
wò hapdi mave ja sam nyí wò sam ŋgwa
you hurry woman say not speaker you not NEG.

925 Wò hapdi, mave ja: sam nyí wò sam ŋgwa.
wò hapdi mave ja sam nyí wò sam ŋgwa
you hurry woman say not speaker you not NEG.

926 Bôn bu saa né su de hiun. (2)
bôn bu saa né su de hiun.
group her that is again of different

927 Bé foti ŋgwa ke kəleheŋ, bê melanger pedales.
bé foti ŋgwa ke kəleheŋ bê melanger pedales
we can NEG. at now we

928 Bon, lane su mave à né mə huan be né ten,
bon lane su mave à né mə huan be né ten
bon today again woman she is with child hand is there-is

929 sum mave à né mə huan be sam ŋgwa, pat né ten.
sum mave à né mə huan be sam ŋgwa pat né ten
remove woman she is with child hand not NEG. all is there-is

930 Ma lane wò gwan a kita,
ma lane wò gwan a kita
if today you want to case

931 Wò munu kwa gi cher deja pat. (1)
wò munu kwa gi cher deja pat
you think put end road deja all

932 Né le cher de hi wa? né le cher bu hən wa?
né le cher de hi wa né le cher bu hən wa
is in road of where QN. is in road him this QN.

933 Né le cher bu hən wa? Né le cher bu hən wa?
né le cher bu hən wa né le cher bu hən wa
is in road him this QN. is in road him this QN.

934 Né le cher bu hən wa? ()
né le cher bu hən wa
is in road him this QN.

935 Ma wò ŋene cher de wò bili nde né ten,
ma wò ŋene cher de wò bili nde né ten
if you see road of you together go is there-is
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

936 Wô tue kalahan bî wô de biyè en gros.
you say now you take of you-yours

937 Le see ngaa naa mè... Gañfi bô Li dua.
in work clear PAST which Gañfi and Li there

938 Ju bî yô nde nde: Bi tâ wô ju mè sembe.
case yours go go you NEG. take talk with strength

939 Gañfi nüär, bu bu né bê chên.
Gañfi nüär bu bu né bê chên
Gañfi person he he is place one

940 Ma bî buo den a fâ, à nde wô tue kë chaque fois
if you you-two stay to two he go you say to

941 mi né bu yila: Gañfi e, kë wa?,
i is him call Gañfi e what QN.

942 ma bî ñene, ñuna bî yô né be bô nüär.()
if you see child you yours is hand Pl. person

943 Né vê bî yê, () lane tam chu mè mi né tue jë:
is woman you yours today time time-period with I is say say

944 aha bô nüär né bu kulu, bô nüär né bu kulu
mmhmmm Pl. person is her bless Pl. person is her bless

945 parce que bî bâ guo dua yôg nde bê.()
you never house there stroll go never

946 Lane ma, kô kwa, le nyima, wô wë mëna sogô ñgwagam chên,
 today if or tomorrow in year you take thus even maize one

947 vê mò wë ñgwagam, nde huan. Yogo kënhên nô kô kë?
woman mine take maize go child surpass now  is SUB.EMP. what

948 Savalon chên jê vê mò wë, bî yô nyí kulu huan më nji,
child with thing one say woman mine take you yours speaker bless

409
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

949 yogo kânehêne ne kô kê?
yogo kânehêne ne kô kê
surpass now is SUB.EMP. what

950 To bi kwa lam cher mba njérèdi ten am ñgwe.
to bi kwa lam cher mba njérèdi ten am ñgwe
To you find sleep sleep freely something there-is NEG. NEG.

951 Kâlehen kita tue nde wô: huan né bi yê wa? Né de mi.
kâlehen kita tue nde wô huan né bi yê wa né de mi
now case say go you child is you yours QN. is of me

952 ()To, chên, fâ, né renvoir.
()to chên fâ né renvoir
()So one two is renvoir

953 Wô, sum naa mava kô, ma né kita tue né jê
wô sum naa mava kô ma né kita tue né jê
you remove PAST woman SUB.EMP. if is case say is say

954 ma wô sum baâ mava, () wô njérèdi bie ñgwe
ma wÔ sum baâ mava wÔ njérèdi bie ñgwe
if you remove PRES. woman you something ask NEG.

955 ()Jb?:
De nyì ma, nyì jogo ni ma
de nyì ma nyì jogo ni ma
of speaker then speaker marry who then

956 Ch; Saa né dua bi marriage.
saa né dua bi marriage
that is there thing

957 Ma wô sum né kô, wô njérèdi bie ñgwe.
ma wÔ sum né kô wÔ njérèdi bie ñgwe
if you remove is SUB.EMP. you something ask NEG.

958 Mais, ma mava torter né kô,
mais ma mava torter né kô
mais if woman transgress is SUB.EMP.

959 kô korota be sen liye né ñgwe, Dê ya wô nde né bie.()
kô korota be sen liye né ñgwe dê ya wô nde né bie
even needle hand hers remain is NEG. of yours you go is ask

960 To, mi boô a bu hên de, né condition.
to mi boô a bu hên de né condition
To I do to her this of is

961 Condition sen, né ki wa?
condition sen né ki wa
condition hers is what QN.

962 Bê ke né yê: né baân. Baân de puis que
bê ke né yê né baân baân de puis que
we look is yours is illness illness that

963 më à né nûar baân, Kg a, le bi,
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

mə à né nùår baán Kg a le bi
with he is person ill Kg to in thing

le kalon də mə bó ha né də ()
le kalon də mə bó ha né də
in money of with they give is of

wò fona ma wò kwa njërëdì, ()
wò fona ma wò kwa njërëdì
you search if you find something

wò nde nji le fada bë ke dede wò boó ha Taillu doóŋ,
wò nde nji le fada bë ke dede wò boó ha taillu doóŋ
you go thing in like we look properly you do give
call

ŋam yor sen mə nji.()
ŋam yor sen mə nji
because body hers with thing

Də yə ŋam bë nyaga né leteni loó.
də yə ŋam bë nyaga né leteni loó
of yours because we repair is between compound

XX; Né mən
né mən
is thus

Ch; Mhm, ŋòr bì yə hən də,
mhm ŋòr bì yə hən də
mhm speech you yours this of

den ŋwa mbo tə bë nde mə sembe.
den ŋwa mbo tə bë nde mə sembe
stay NEG. only so we go with strength

Bë nde mə wə mə akilo.(1)
bë nde mə wə mə akilo
we go with take with intelligence

kop di tema tə yula, kop di mbo tema tə yula.
kop di tema tə yula kop di mbo tema tə yula
side other liver at ill side other divine liver so ill

Tj; Naa bəa cher mban, bə ko ŋwa bë si.
naa bəa cher mban bə ko ŋwa bë si
PAST PRES. road palace we know NEG. we husband

Ch; ñhe saa bu hən mi tue né ni mə ni? Wò nde mə akilo.
<=laughter
ñhe saa bu hən mi tue né ni mə ni wò nde mə akilo
yes that he this me say is who with who you go with
intelligence

]}

XX; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Tj; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

978 Den ñgwè dé bé bòs naa bu kə guo oui.
den ñgwè dé bé bòs naa bu kə guo oui
stay NEG. of we do PAST her at house

979 Ñgam gwan né ñgwè.
ñgam gwan né ñgwè
divination want is NEG.

980 Bò di gwan né ñgwè ko chén.
bò di gwan né ñgwè ko chén
Pl. other want is NEG. even one

981 Ma béé naa bu ko (1) Ma béé naa bu koó
ma béé naa bu ko ma béé naa bu koó
if harm PAST her know if harm PAST her SUB.EMP.

982 Ch;
Bí béé naa mavæ, tue né ko, =
bí béé naa mavæ tue né ko
you harm PAST woman say is SUB.EMP.

983 =mavæ béé naa bi koó?
mavæ béé naa bi koó
woman harm PAST you SUB.EMP.

984 () Aa saa né kita fe nde nde yuo yə.
aa saa né kita fe nde nde yuo yə
aaa that is case new go go leave yours

985 Puisque de mò, mi ñgue naa, De ve naa mavæ koó, bó jé: oui.
puisque de mò mi ñgue naa de ve naa mavæ koó
bó jé oui
of me I understand PAST of bad PAST woman SUB.EMP.

986 Tj;
Bó béé naa bu hi wa?
bó béé naa bu hi wa
they harm PAST her where QN.

987 Ma baán wa baá le famille, bi yə famille dön pat
ma baán wa baá le famille bi yə famille dön pat
if illness arrive PRES. in you yours all all

988 bi kuó gia wa? (2)
bi kuó gia wa? (2)
you die end QN. (2)

989 Ch; Non < parce que non se (4) <=laughter
non parce que non se (4)
non parce que non NEG. (4)

990 Mb; xxxxxxxxxxxx

991 Tj; xxxxxxxxxxxx

992 Nj; Wò tə jə: nyí gwan a jogo bu kadi <=laughter
wò tə jə nyí gwan a jogo bu kadi
you at say speaker want to marry her really
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

993 Tj; Mi jogo ŋgwə nan
    mi jogo ŋgwə nan
    I marry NEG. how
    [ ]

994 Jb; À jogo baá ve ma, tue bu mane
    À jogo baá ve ma tue bu mane
    he marry PRES. woman then say her thus

995 Tj; Mi jogo ŋgwə yə nan wa?
    mi jogo ŋgwə yə nan wa
    I marry NEG. NEG. how QN.

996 Mi huan sep sam ŋgwə?
    mi huan sep sam ŋgwə
    I child male not NEG.

997 Jb; (1) Kəlahən Mose
    (1) kəlahən mose
    (1) now
    [ ]

998 Tj; (1) Mi jogo ŋgwə nan?
    (1) mi jogo ŋgwə nan
    (1) I marry NEG. how

999 Jb; Ma bí nyəgə chu fone wò bọ ndo
    ma bí nyəgə chu fone wò bọ ndo
    if you repair return search you do also

1000 Ju mò né kə?
    ju mò né kə
talk mine is what

1001 Naa bí fale tu, bí fale ŋgwə.
    naa bí fale tu bí fale ŋgwə
    PAST you upset before you upset NEG.
    [ ]

1002 Tj; Bi jə mi jogo ŋgwə. Mi jogo ŋgwə bu nan
    bi jə mi jogo ŋgwə mi jogo ŋgwə bu nan
    you say I marry NEG. I marry NEG. her how

1003 Jb; Ke nùàr hən, ma tʊŋ bì
    ke nùàr hən ma tʊŋ bì
    look person this that organise you

1004 Yuo dua. Baa nyima mun wa?
    yuo dua baa nyima mun wa
    leave there PRES. year how-many QN.
    [ ]

1005 Tj; Duom, duom naa ye yor mọ.
    duom duom naa ye yor mọ
    start start PAST at body mine

1006 Jb; À yuo su lane wa?
    À yuo su lane wa
    he leave again today QN.
    [ ]

1007 Tj; Bò nùàr jə wò jogo xxx xxx
    bò nùàr jə wò jogo xxx xxx
Pl. person say you marry

1008 né da bò nùár, bò huan né bò kə? (1)
   né da bò nùár bò huan né bò kə
   is of Pl. person Pl. child is PL. what

1009 Nj; Bí ju jula=
   bí ju jula
   you talk flee
   you talk flee

1010 Jb; =Né ləm ka yə < ju ka ləm yə, né sòn mò sam.
   né ləm ka yə ju ka ləm yə né sòn mò
   sam
   is only at yours talk at only yours is mouth mine
   not

1011 Ngor yə njulu chi am Hən né jor.
   ngɔr yə njulu chi am hən né jor
   speech yours eyes that NEG. this is good?

1012 Tj; Ju hən gi aa? Mi bu hən, ma jəgo bu, huan jəgo bu,
   ju hən gi aa mi bu hən ma jəgo bu huan jəgo bu
   talk this end PAST I her this if marry her child marry her

1013 wò və... wò wò wò ni?
   wò və wò wò wò ni
   you woman you you you who

1014 Jb; Kəlehən nə məvə,
   kəlehən nə məvə ma à si gwan ngwe kə
   now is woman if she husband want NEG. SUB.EMP.

1015 Kp; Bí sere njai bí yə.
   bò mgbe tue nè kul, de nyi tam ngwe.
   now is woman if she husband want NEG.
   you separate thing yours yours PL. chief say is whisper of
   speaker none NEG.

1016 Kəlehən nə də mî kə, nə...
   kəlehən nə də mî kə nə
   now is of I know is

1017 Tj; Wò wà am: də mî, mi nde jəgo.
   wò wà am də mî mi nde jəgo
   you say NEG. of me I go marry

1018 Nj; ()To, Mgbe ha báá cher.(3)
   to mgbe ha báá cher
   To chief give PRES. road

1019 Ny; Á ha bò cher nan?
   Á ha bò cher nan
   he give them road how

1020 Kp; Á ha bò cher kə? (2.5)
   Á ha bò cher kə?
   he give them road what
1021 À bie nji. À bie nji see sen de.
À bie nji À bie nji see sen de
he ask thing he ask thing work his of

1022 XX;
xxxx xxxx xxx

1023 Kp; À bie né njai sen.
À bie né njai sen
he ask is thing his

1024 XX; xxxxxx

1025 Ni; òe va sco ògwe, nde òe mgbe sco ògwe,
òe va sco ògwe nde òe mgbe sco ògwe
of woman live NEG. go woman chief live NEG.

1026 Nj; Am ògwe nji manji ma
am ògwe nji manji ma
NEG. NEG. thing small then

1027 Ng?; Né òe de be sen am ògwe
né òe de be sen am ògwe
is woman of hand his NEG. NEG.

1028 Ng?; Ðe mò mi chogo hën=
Ðe mò mi chogo hën
of mine I stick this

1029 Mb;
=Bi ògwe yè
bi ògwe yè
you listen yours

1030 TT; Jacob, yaafi oda xxxxxxxx oda
Jacob, yaafi oda xxxxxxxx oda
Jacob, forgive law xxxxxxxx law

1031 Nj;
mgbe tue gi aa kën Bë ògwe baà kën.
mgbe tue gi aa kën bë ògwe baà kën
chief say end PAST already we listen PRES. already

1032 TT; Oda, ta- odo yaafi namu on,
Oda, ta- odo yaafi namu on
law this person forgive even his

1033 À né lam nê mena vi allah, ona.
À né lam nê mena vi allah, ona
he is only is thus say allah his

1034 TA; Allah yaafi, wô li yiri bu,
Allah yaafi, wô li yiri bu,
Allah forgive you PAST help him

1035 odon nonon allah yaafi kum dên bana nina
odon nonon allah yaafi kum dên bana nina
he is thus allah forgive then stay like that

1036 Ðe më hotimi bana ni, da hallah debbo on na
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

*Do me hotimi bana ni, da hallah debbo on na*
will-go like this story woman his like

1037 Ni; Mii mö tue dene mi xxx
mother mine say here I

1038 Nj;
Mgbe tue gi aa kən. Mi tue gi aa.
mgbe tue gi aa kən mi tue gi aa
chief say end PAST already I say end PAST

1039 Mi furu Kg. Kg à né hi?
mi furu Kg Kg à né hi
I bury Kg Kg he is where

1040 Bé Kg dubu ??????
bé Kg dubu
we Kg plant

1041 () Ñgwə à né kə do ki yə ma.
NEG. he is at here at yours then

1042 À ka denə kela bə ke wa?
 À ka denə kela bə ke wa
he at here pass we what QN.

1043 À sela denə, nyí kela nde kə loó Kg,
À sela denə nyí kela nde kə loó Kg
he cross here speaker pass go at compound Kg

1044 am Ñgwə Kg sela ha nji bu ma.
am Ñgwə Kg sela ha nji bu ma
NEG. Kg cross give thing her then

1045 À sela li be Kg, ha bu. ()
 À sela li be Kg ha bu
she cross PAST hand Kg give him

1046 Wò ha nji də yə né kə
you give thing of yours is what

1047 TA; Mawodebu hawti debbo dopti sarena. () To Allah ()
Mawodebu hawti debbo dopti sare na. () To Allah ()
Notable gather woman accompany house this () So Allah

1048 Né yaafi allah le ndugu bu hon
né yaafi allah le ndugu hen
is forgive allah in area this

1049 Ni; Mii mö tue naa mi kə né nji wa
mother mine say PAST me SUB.EMP. is thing QN.

1050 Nj; ama nji ka tu mgbe nde bə ke wa
ama nji ka tu mgbe nde bə ke wa
but thing at before chief go we look QN.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

1051 À nde nji ka tu mgbe, tɛ mgbe tue su bu kə wa?
À nde nji ka tu mgbe tɛ mgbe tue su bu kə wa
she go thing at before chief so chief say again her at QN.

1052 À nde kə yor Kg, À wa kə lọọ Kg,
À nde kə yor Kg À wa kə lọọ Kg
she go at body Kg he arrive at compound Kg

1053 À li be tutulu Kg, ha nji bu.
À li be tutulu Kg ha nji bu
she PAST hand verandah Kg give thing him

1054 À yuo mgbe də ki yə. ()
À yuo mgbe də ki yə
she leave chief of at yours

1055 Mb; Né ju mə, nùáár mə hɛn, tue bɛ kwa kɔ.
Né ju mə nùáár mə hɛn tue bɛ kwa kɔ
is talk with person with this say we change SUB.EMP.

1056 () Da hɛn də, wɔ le ju dɛ sɔn mgbe yuo aa,
Da hɛn də wɔ le ju dɛ sɔn mgbe yuo aa
of this here you in talk of mouth chief leave PAST

1057 Ñuet nɛ ju də yə mə bɛ chu ndɛ?
Nuet nɛ ju də yə mə bɛ chu ndɛ
listen is talk of yours with we return go

1058 Tj; aha, də mɔ ndɛ jaa, jam tam.
aha də mɔ ndɛ jaa jam tam
m mhmmm of me go laugh good none

1059 Nj; À nde a tutulu Kg,
À nde a tutulu Kg
he go to verandah Kg

1060 À li yi be baa Kg, ha bu.
À li yi be baa Kg ha bu
he PAST there hand PRES. Kg until him

1061 Tj; aaaaa. () Duɔm nɛ be yə sɔɔ ðgwa
aaaaa duɔm nɛ be yə sɔɔ ðgwa
start is hand yours live NEG.

1062 Nj; Nde kə ɗe tutulu Kg, li fada ndɛ bɛ kə wa?
Nde kə ɗe tutulu Kg li fada ndɛ bɛ kə wa
go at at verandah Kg PAST like go place what QN.

1063 Ny;
Ki! vulu ki!
ki! vulu ki!
Ki! leave Ki!

1064 Nj; Ju fada man ndɛ ɗe yila. Nde tue Kg,
Ju fada man ndɛ yila ndɛ tue Kg
talk like thus go to call go say Kg

1065 Tue Kg a, ha nji nyi.
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

Tue Kg a, ha nji nyí
say Kg to give thing speaker

1066 Kg ha wò. Wò ma nji fada Nde8#109 ki yə?
Kg ha wò wò ma nji fada nde ki yə
Kg give you you with thing like Nde at there

1067 Fada fada ma ju wa fada nùår nde né ten kpel.(5)
fada fada ma ju wa fada nùår nde né ten kpel.5
like like if talk arrive like person go is there-is quickly

1068 Nj; Mgbe ja: muyni, mën am ñgwə,
mgbe ja muyni mën am ñgwə
chief say patience thus NEG. NEG.

1069 më à nde a gi aa kən no.
më à nde a gi aa kən no
with he go to end PAST already also

1070 Nj; À bë ño gi a kən.
À bë ño gi a kən
aaa we head end to already

1071 Bë tə jaa wa?
bë tə jaa wa
we at laugh QN.

1072 Bë tə sòn kumu su ndo.(9)
bë tə sòn kumu su ndo
we at mouth open again-NEG also

1073 aaa, jaa nde né ka wa.
aaa jaa nde né ka wa
aaa laugh go is at QN.

Break in recording for a few minutes

1074 Mb; Huna la kə tu né ñuna Njai.
huna la kə tu né ñuna Njai
child PAST at before is child

1075 Më tue də ñuna Kg də, né ñuna Njai
më tue də ñuna Kg də né ñuna Njai
with say of child Kg of is child thing

1076 Nj; Nyima netun Nyima netun=
yima netun nyima netun=
year twenty year twenty

1077 =Kg nji də g worm de ñgwə.
Kg nji də g worm de ñgwə
Kg thing of pay of NEG.

1078 Mb; À né ñuna Njai fada ñuna nùår sua.
À né ñuna njai fada ñuna nùår sua
he is child thing like child person sua

1079 Nj; Kɔ nyima netun Kg bu nji də gwon de ñgwə.(1)
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

ko nyima netun Kg bu nji de gwon de ngwe
even year twenty Kg he thing of pay of NEG.

1080 Ngue mi, wò sua. Wò sua wò naga,
  ngue mi wò sua wò sua wò naga
listen me you descend you descend you climb

1081 wò sua, wò naga (3) <= Laughter
  wò sua wò naga
you descend you climb

1082 Mb; Ngue mi
  ngue mi
listen me

1083 Wò teme te nji ngwe, to kware baá.
  wò teme te nji ngwe to kware baá
you send sc thing NEG. To beside PRES.

1084 Ngue mi, Væju né nuna ni wa?
  ngue mi Væju né nuna ni wa
listen me Væju is child who QN.

1085 Kelsenan me wò jula ten. <
  kelsenan me wò jula ten
now with you flee there-is

1086 Xx; Bó tue me akilo akilo
  bó tue me akilo akilo
they say with intelligence intelligence

1087 Nj; (2) Aa? Ngue mi, mgbe tue gi de sen yia: fiuŋ!
  (2) aa ngue mi mgbe tue gi de sen yia fiuŋ
(2) aaa listen me chief say end of his overthere all

1088 Wò den jemu, wò nde de ye bé hiuni.
  wò den jemu wò nde de ye bé hiuni
you stay after you go of yours place different

1089 Baán boó náa kóó, bá náa baán bón baán.
  baán boó náa kóó bá náa baán bón baán
illness do PAST SUB.EMP. we PAST ill theirs ill

1090 To ju baán de, bé jé: éhe bé boó nan wa?
  to ju baán de bé jé éhe bé boó nan wa
So talk illness of we say yes we do how QN.

1091 (1) Ma huan saa de den ka guo,
  ma huan saa de den ka guo
if child that of stay at house

1092 À né die lom tare wa?
  À né die lom tare wa
he is fall sleep hard QN.

1093 Ga; À né die lom tare han
  À né die lom tare han
he is fall sleep hard this
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

1094 Nj; æ? 
1095 Ga; À ka fo ñgwë wa? <= Laughter
À ka fo ñgwë wa
he at brush NEG. QN.
1096 Nj; Ma wò né gwan va de, wò nde né le akilo akilo né.
ma wò né gwan va de wò nde né le akilo akilo
né
if you is want woman of you go is in intelligence
intelligence is
1097 Ga; Kaa bu le yuui wa?=
kaa bu le yuui wa
tie her in string QN.
1098 Mb;
=À sie mè à le cher lom né kə guo de,
À sie mè à le cher lom né kə guo
de
he take with she in sleep sleep is at
house of
1099 À lo na hi wa?
À lo na hi wa
she flies PAST where QN.
1100 (1) Ma à ye baá guo nùàr. Bó baá see bu jè: à ma su va.
(1) ma à ye baá guo nùàr bó baá see bu jè à ma su
va
(1) if she at PRES. house person they PRES. do her say she
then again-NEG woman
1101 Nj; De saa ñ de dene ma à nde vulu tu tu tulu tu baá kichén.
de saa ñ de dene ma à nde vulu tu tutulu tu baá kichén
of that he go here if he go leave before verandah before
PRES. true
1102 Ma nùàr tu naa nùàr, njai nde naa bu,
ma nùàr tu naa nùàr njai nde naa bu
if person before PAST person thing go PAST her
1103 bó wè nji né ha wò no.
bó wè nji né ha wò no
they take thing is give you also
1104 Ga; To
to
So
1105 Nj; Wò nde né wè kadi, wò wò wò wè nji mè akilo akilo de.
wò nde né wè kadi wò wò wò wè nji mè akilo
akilo de
you go is take really you you you take thing with
intelligence intelligence of
Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

1106 Nywa; xxxxxxxxxx

1107 Ga; Ha né kə
də nə kə
give is what

1108 Ny; Bó kiyə ngwə sam.
bó kiyə ngwə sam
they overthere NEG. not

1109 Ngwə; doon né ngwə né kə bī-
doon né ngwə né kə bī
all is NEG. is know you

1110 Ny; Ma bó, bó jula ngwə yelili wa, yelili wa baá
ma bó bó jula ngwə yelili wa yelili wa baá
if they they flee NEG. evening QN. evening arrive PRES.

Break in recording for some minutes

1111 Ny; (8) To də kelehan kum, ju də bə gi aa.
8 to də kelehan kum ju də bə gi aa
So of now just talk of us end PAST

1112 Ny; Də saa mi tue- mi tue né ngwə dənə.
də saa mi tue mi tue né ngwə dənə
of that I say I say is NEG. here

1113 À den kware mani, à sie nji sōn sen "papap."
À den kware mani à sie nji sōn sen "papap."
hé stay beside thus he take thing mouth his

1114 Ga; Bí ñene bu mə nji wa?
bì ñene bu mə nji wa
you see him with thing QN.

1115 Ny; Bí ñene ñale foni mani, mə bi kwa naa mən aal.
bì ñene ñale foni mani mə bi kwa naa mən aal
you see scrape search thus with you find PAST thus PAST.

1116 Ma dap né be be nyən yə.
ma dap né be be nyən yə
if long is hand hand lies yours

1117 Ch; < Mi kwogo () kwogo su ha ye 106 Jabule8#111 <= Laughter
mi kwogo kwogo su ha ye 106 Jabule
I chase chase again until at compound Jabule

1118 Ny; (2) Mi naa ñue naa
mi naa ñgue naa
I PAST understand PAST

1119 Ch; (1) Nūår né be yə, vraiment.
nūår né be yə vraiment
person is hand yours

1120 Ma njai sap baá də
ma njai sap baá də
if thing mistake PAST of

1121 Nde mi yila moptere wò nde ñgwë, to
    nde mi yila moptere wò nde ñgwë to
go I call meeting you go NEG. so

1122 Ama go ñgwë nde jë: mi ñue naa ñgwë
    ama go ñgwë nde jë mi ñgue naa ñgwë
but walk NEG. go say I listen PAST NEG.

1123 Ga; To
    To
so

1124 TT; xxxxx
Mambila Bibliography

This Bibliography has been published as Zeitlyn 1989. It is the result of library research in Cameroon, Britain and France. The major omissions are therefore archival materials in Nigeria. However, with that caveat I am confident that it is reasonably complete. Annotation has been omitted when the work contains merely a passing reference to Mambila, or when it is included in the comment on another work by the same author.

n.d. *Chang eh vu a (Abridged Christmas Story).*
[Mambila Bible text, Gembu dialect.]

[Mambila Bible text, Gembu dialect.]

n.d. *Derua a June.*
[Mambila Bible text. Translation of part of Luke.]

[Mainly concentrating on areas closer to Banyo, but some interesting pages about the Mambila. Population general: 1949 Mambila p4.]

[Summary based on reports of Glasson, Izard, and Percival. Also citing Meyer so post 2WW? No new material, but some hand written comments.]

[Includes some Mambila Chief names, and dates of succession. A very important source for chronologies of the Tikar Plain.]

[Mainly concentrating on areas closer to Banyo, but some interesting pages about the Mambila.]

[Mainly concentrating on areas further North, but some interesting pages about the Mambila.]

[Mainly concentrating on areas closer to Banyo, but some interesting pages about the Mambila. Includes population figures.]

[Mainly concentrating on areas closer to Banyo, but some interesting pages about the Mambila. Includes population figures.]

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1985. "*Socio-Economic Questionaire; Atta 1985*". Unpublished Report. Community Development Section, Department of Banyo, Province of Adamaoua, Cameroons. [Highly unreliable.]

Adda, K. M. *The Formation of the Mambilla c.1800-1926*. Zaria: Amadu Bello University: Research Essay. [Brief notes for a paper given by a Mambila historian. Intriguing information but, for example, the etymology given for Mambila seems suspect.]


Mambila Bibliography

[Little of relevance to anthropologists.]

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

Blench, R. M. n.d. *Notes: Peoples & Languages of South Western Adamawa.*  
[Mainly linguistic in orientation.]

[See below.]

[Seeks to explain the different pattern of farmer-grazier relations between the Samba on the Shebshi Mountains and the Mambila on the Mambila plateau in the differing histories of FulBe incursion and immigration. This should be read in conjunction with Blench 1983.]

[Though focusing on the Fulbe it includes much useful information.]

[Of purely ornithological interest.]

[Mambila refs p6, 76-77, 132, 152 but from secondary sources only.]

[Not Yet Traced.]


[Mentions petitions made to the U.N. by Mambila.]


[p131 Mbem includes a small Mambila population.]

[Nothing of interest. The fish farming project she started, lapsed as soon as she left. The report explains that part of the reason for this was the irregular supply of fish to her.]

____. 1955. A Village Smithy in the Cameroons. *Nigerian Field* 20(1): 25-34. [Strictly not about Mambila, but Kwadja is very close.]


Detzner, H. 1923. *Im Lande der Dju-Dju*. Berlin: August Scherl. [p 167 has a paragraph description of fields with multicoloured flags used as bird-scarers, otherwise uninformative.]

du Boulay, R. W. H. 1950-1951. Some Preliminary Notes on Land tenure in the Southern Touring Area, Adamawa Division. *The Mambilawa: Anthropological Notes* [Notes on land tenure made by touring officer about the same time that Rehfisch was there, but not wholly consistent with his account of land tenure.]


Fardon, R. O. 1985. Sisters, Wivers, wards and Daughters: a Transformational Analysis of the Political Organisation of the Tiv & their Neighbours. Part II: The Transformations. *Africa* 55(1): 77-91. [Compares Tiv and Mambila exchange mariage, arguing that the Tiv ingól= the Mambila menim, but ignores the fact that there are no Mambila mariage wards!]


Mambila Bibliography

[None of Frantz’s works (cited here and below) contain much of relevance to the Mambila themselves, concentrating on their FulBe neighbours.]


[Page 3 para. 7: The Mambila pagans are uncivilised and 6d per adult male is the most that can be imposed at first. Nothing else relevant to the Mambila.]


[Fascinating account of the "Battle of Gashaka" A hitherto unknown document.]


[Drawing of Mambila religious artefacts (1911) but no explanation or other information.]

--- 1925. Dichten und Denken im Sudan. Atlantis Volksmarchen & Volksdichtungen Afrikas 5:


[Tantalisingly sparse.]


[Mambila shields are illustrated, and reference is made to a joint Nso, Mambila war with Foumban in the early C20th.]


[The definitive work on Yamba spider divination. Some mention of the Mambila also, but this has not been corroborated by fieldwork.]


[p24 photograph of Mambila house and a mention of "betrothal sticks".]


[Some Mambila examples illustrated in colour.]


[Many Mambila examples, also some photographs of the country, but not much information apart from the illustrations.]

[Many Mambila examples, also some photographs of the country, but not much information apart from the illustrations.]


[Covers some Mambila villages including some population figures.]


[A single page of notes, adding, and correcting little to Meek.]


[The first British assessment report on taking over from the Germans. Clearly an important historical document with much of interest, although one wonders how much reliance can be put on any of the information!]


[Includes the first published population estimate (20,000), but little else relevant to the Mambila.]


[Of purely ornithological interest.]


["Page 10 records Kuma as the principle Mambila town Page 10/11 is possible the first record of the use of yom (Tephrosia vogelli).".]


[Mambila is one of the languages studied with an accompanying word list. The conclusions are that Mambila is not as similar to Vute as has been often suggested.]


[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]


[Of purely ornithological interest.]
[Not consulted, Reference from Frantz.]

Hare, J. N. n.d. Pages of the Mind.  
[Memoir of first years of Independence on Mambila Plateau.]


[A useful summary.]

[Summary of preceding reports augmented by Hare’s own findings.]

[Mambila p 107 Volcanic stones carved by Mambila, 322 326 337.]

[Passing reference to “Songolong” (p 195) but only comments are about the landscape.]

[Not yet consulted.]

[Includes some descriptions of building, of the sua enclosure at Tep, and an otherwise undescribed piece of ritual which Hepper also photographed.]


[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]
___ 1973c. Write Mambila. Yaoundé: S.I.L.  
[Mambila text, Atta dialect.]

[Mambila text, Atta dialect.]

[Mambila text, Atta dialect.]

[Mambila text, Atta dialect.]

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

[This was also published in Paris in 1962 but I have not yet been able to trace it. It should contain much useful information to judge by the examples culled from the fieldwork that are used in the works cited below. Hurault has informed me (p.c.) that this has never, in fact, been published, but a xerox copy is in ORSTOM library Yaounde. However, he also says that it contains nothing of relevance to the Mambila not already published.]

___, 1963. Applications de la Photographie Aerienne aux Recherches de Sciences Humaines dans les Regions Tropicales. Memoires de Photo-Interpretation No. 1: [see below.]

[See below.]

[These papers contain much of the little information published about the Mambila in Cameroun.]


[Complements and concludes the work of Hurault 1975. It is relevant to the Mambila even when not about them directly.]

[An intriguing argument relying on the evidence presented in Hurault 1979 for the decimation of the indigenous population since the Fulani invasion. It also provides a summary history of the lamidat.]

Mambila Bibliography

[Focuses on the geological and ecological effects of over-grazing. Some details from Mambila.]


[Presents aerial photographic evidence for the pre-FulBe population of Adamaoua. An intriguing and perplexing paper. Although some questions must be raised about his contemporary demography the historical reconstruction of population densities have yet to be seriously considered by others working in the area.]


[Hoe types mentioned fleetingly.]


[Mainly about Tikar.]


[Details of house construction, and some notes on disputes types, also census details, also early population figures.]


[Not yet consulted; possibly the work cited above.]


[Includes Map, and some interesting pages about the Mambila. Includes population figures.]


[Strictly not Mambila, but close neighbours.]


[Includes Mambila twin names. Not corroborated.]

Mambila Bibliography

[Reference to the Makka witch-craft expulsion cult.]


[Though suspect because of the linguistic and political context in which this was taken this is a very important text giving information about numerous topics documented nowhere else, in particular the Makka cult which gains the scarcest mention in published sources.]

[Mambila Bible text, Gembu dialect.]

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]


[P 50/51 describes Mambila oaths from (unspecified) secondary sources. These are: swearing on jiru grass, or on the double bell, ordeal to chickens and cutting shoa although this is described as an ordeal in which the fall of the chicken determines the result.]

[Some scattered references to Mambila. Appendix E reprints material from Kirk-Green 1955. The diary records troubles in Mambila in 1952.]

[Mambila figure taken from Percival 1938.]

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

[Mainly concentrating on areas closer to Banyo, but some interesting pages about the Mambila. Includes population figures.]

[Mainly working from secondary sources but includes some interesting farm budgets. Otherwise it reads somewhat confusingly.]

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

[This would be an important historical survey and summary but uncertainty over the sources make it untrustworthy.]

[A novella written by a Mambila man!]
[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

[Spider divination mentioned briefly (328/9), but only to give yes no answers - no mention of a set of cards is made. Meek suggests this may be a Chamba borrowing.]

[Chapter 9 “Mambila” pp532-582 is the earliest published account of the Mambila by an anthropologist, and it remains the only source of information about the religion (but see Kabri above). Meek worked through interpreters and had to leave precipitously due to illness, so this cannot be wholly trusted. The autograph manuscript of this is in Rhodes House library but it is verbatim with the published version.]

[Mambila are used as an example but nothing is added to the account in Meek 1931b.]


[This is the only published grammar of Mambila, of Warwar and Mbanga dialects.]

[p. 247 has one paragraph about Mambila the only interesting thing of which is that Lt Thiel made some unpublished linguistic notes in 1909.]

[Two page summary of Mambila p 643/4 based on Meek and Meyer’s own work.]


[Figure 64 Seated mother & Child is ascribed to Mambila but this is an uncertain attribution which D.Z. doubts.]

[The Mambila figure only in passing.]

[The Mambila figure only in passing.]

[Information about early German exploration. An invaluable source of references.]

[Reference from Hepper 1966. In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

[The sociological section seems incomplete and based on some easily available sources (mainly on the Tiv). Population figures are based on the 1952 Census, and the Mambila are not referred to at all!!]

[Reference on p.91ff, based on Meek and Percival. No original contribution.]

[Mambila mentioned p 223 based on articles in Abbia.]

[Mambila text, Somie dialect, non-standard orthography.]

[Mambila text, Somie dialect, non-standard orthography.]


[Mambila examples p 190-194.]


[Administrative details only.]
Mambila Bibliography

[Compiled from notes made by Major Freemantle & T.H. Haughton. Includes map of the battle of Gashaka.]


[Some material about the Mambila.]

[Not yet consulted.]


[Includes a mention of Nggu cult coming from the Tikar.]

[The IAI copy is part 3 only, being a summary of his Intelligence report, including some population figures.]

[Not yet consulted. possible identical with Percival 1935 b.]

[Long and most detailed of the Intelligence reports. The copy that is in UK lacks the village lists, which continue much detailed demographic information, as well some religious information. One of the most comprehensive reports available, more trustworthy than Meek on many points.]

[Details of the 1936 census among the Mambila.]

[The IAI copy is part 3 only, being a summary of his Intelligence report, including some population figures.]

[Mambila text, Atta dialect.]

[Mainly an English translation of the Tone chapter of Perrin & Hill 1969, but also includes comparative material on the Gembu tone system which differs from that of Atta.]

[Written of the Gembu dialect.]
Mambila Bibliography


[Also written of Gembu dialect - equally interesting.]


---. 1987. *Cours d'initiation à l'orthographe de la langue MAMBILA*. Yaoundé: S.I.L.

[Early paper by Perrin. The topic was later fully dealt with in Perrin & Hill 1969.]

[The definitive work on Mambila language, containing about 1000 words used in examples, comparative (40) word lists of many Mambila dialects and some grammatical information in the tone chapter which conflicts with the tonal system as recorded by Meyer (qv Meyer 1939).]

[Includes detailed description of Spider divination.]

[Nothing of interest, only passing references to Mambila.]

[Published verbatim as Rehfisch 1972.]

[A chapter from the thesis (1956 & 1972).]

[Description of competitive beer giving, mobilising village wide production.]

[Again a published part-chapter from the Thesis.]

[Interesting account of dreams, illness and witchcraft are connected, and attitudes to imported cloth are discussed.]

[The published MA thesis (1956), a detailed account of Warwar village, with most information relating to Ndiel hamlet where Rehfisch resided. It covers agriculture.
residence and marriage patterns, land tenure political structure and kinship.
Religion is conspicuously absent. Still, it is an excellent piece of work that sets
the scene for any subsequent work.]


[Strictly Kwadja is a Kaka village. The description is not very informative.]

[Superseded by Rehfisch's work it does contain some fascinating photographs.
Schneider was in Warwar in the late 1940's.]

[Both this and Tong 1976 (which virtually reduplicates this book, but with some
different illustrations) is based on Schneider's collection made whilst working as
a missionary in Warwar (and Gembu?). The quality of the collection is
stupendous and it contains both masks and masquerade suits with names, thus
providing a good starting point for further enquiry.]

[p151 Birthing stool from Kate White collection.]

[Two Mambila examples are used.]

[78rpm record of two small bible passages.]

[Early vocabulary lists of many Northern tribes, and as such an invaluable resource.
The Mambila are only mentioned, in that Lt. Thiel had taken a word-list (which
remains untraced).]

[Typed English notes, mainly dealing with relations with Banyo. The translator is
unknown.]

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

[p131 has following entry: "MABILAJO, Mabila’en, a pagan tribe in the french part
of Adamawa; the Mambilas."]


[See notes to Schwartz 1972, above.]


[Contains two pages on Mambila, based on Meyer only.]


[Mambila 123, 132, 145: (Trade routes).]


[p 238 cites Migeod (157) deposing Mambila and FulBe replacing them.
239: Glasson: deposed Yipso Mambila chief of Kuma, replaced by Hama Joda of Jalingo “a new town barely 3 yrs old”
241 mambila (Nigeria) 3885 km2
Mambila (cam) + konja 976 in 18 villages.]


[linguistic classification only.]


[linguistic classification only.]


[See above, Williamson & Shimizu 1968.]


[Mambila examples prepared by M.V. Hill including some examples not contained in Perrin & Hill 1969. Dialects other than Atta are included that were taken from the word-lists at the end of Meek 1931b, but these do not have the tones marked.]


[Preliminary version of chapter 3 above Zeitlyn’s PhD. Subsequent fieldwork has corrected the linguistic speculation about the divinatory invocation.]


[The published form of this bibliography.]
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JASO 17(2): 159-163.


Hurault, J. M. 1963. Applications de la Photographie Aerienne aux Recherches de Sciences Humaines dans les Regions Tropicales. Memoires de Photo-Interpretation No. 1:


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A.N.Y.: IAC 3386.


Bibliography


Transcription conventions

"[" marks the beginning of simultaneous speech, ""]" its end.

"=>" are utterances with no gap between them.

"()" is a small but appreciable pause. The approximate time (in seconds) of longer pauses is put in the brackets.

Speakers are identified by two initials followed by a semi-colon e.g. "xx;" but full names are used for those making only occasional remarks e.g. "david;". Speakers are identified only when they begin to speak, so many lines do not contain speaker identification.

"xxxxx" marks unclear passages, often because of the overlap between two or more speakers.

"(variant, alternative)" is used for variant readings, and "??" marks other uncertain passages.

"< text <=" are marginal comments, usually marking the point where laughter occurred.

">" marks the end of the validity of the marginal comment, if different from a line end.

Passages in italics were spoken in a language other than Mambila, usually in Fulfulde, although some French was recorded. Reference to the complete transcripts will reveal the language spoken.

Grammatical markers are given glosses in capitals which abbreviate their function:

NEG: Negation marker
QN: Question marker
PRES: Present tense marker
PAST Past tense marker
SUB EMP: Emphasis on the subject.
Bibliography: Addenda.


