

Mambila Traditional Religion:

Sua in Somié.

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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.'

# Sua in Somié:

MAMBILA TRADITIONAL RELIGION.

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## Note on this Version

This is a revised version of my PhD thesis “Mambila Traditional Religion. Sua in Somié” submitted to Cambridge University in June 1989, examined in November 1989 and awarded in February 1990. The revision takes account of some of the comments made by my examiners and enables me to incorporate some of the corrections which I wish to make after further research which has included more fieldwork in Somié. The post-doctoral research has been made possible by the tenure of a Junior Research Fellowship at Wolfson College, Oxford for which I am very grateful.

## Acknowledgements

Among the many people who aided my work in Cameroon, and to whom I remain most grateful, I list here those 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, Stephen Giles, Franz Schouten, 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 Rehfish, 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.

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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: **Mì vraga bí. 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 and Hill (1969), and recently revised in Perrin (1987a). Specifically, I do not include [ə] as an allophone of /i/. This change remains within the recommendations of the Cameroon National Alphabet (Tadadjeu and Sadembouo 1978). Perrin's own revision of her earlier work (Perrin 1987b) also acknowledges this, partly as result of her present focus on the Sonkolong dialect. 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 and Hill (1969).

/e/	/ə/	/i/	/o/	/ɔ/	/u/
/y/ = /j/ voiced alveopalatal semi-vowel					
/ch/ = unvoiced alveopalatal fricative					
/ny/ = voiced alveopalatal nasal					
/ŋ/	/n/	/nd/	/nj/	/m/	/mb/
/gb/	/h/	/f/	/j/	/p/	/s/
/t/	/u/	/v/	/w/		

/g/: Medial /g/ is a voiced post-velar fricative, notably in [-ɔgɔ] which is often very close to [-ɔrɔ], 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 and Hill 1969, and Perrin 1974a. 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 similar in both **nde** (go) and **ndée** (come), and the differences which do exist are small.

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, Malassis, Meyer, and Meek as well as that of the writer.

**Gender:** The Mambila language lacks gender (it is classified as a non-Bantu Bantoid). The third person pronouns (**à**, **bɔ**) are neuter, and the word **nùàr**, 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 **Bɔ̀ Bà** (The **Bà**) and speak **Jù Bà**. In Nigeria the group officially called “Mambilla” live on the Mambila Plateau and call themselves **Nɔr bɔ̀** (The people). This latter appellation was among the earliest recorded (for example, by Meek 1931b). Voeglin and 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 Mvanip 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 ascribing 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, 1975 on conversion, as well as Horton 1967 and Horton and 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<sup>1</sup> 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 (1977) has argued).

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.

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<sup>1</sup>The Dogon are a well documented counter-example, but even 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).

## “TRADITIONAL” RELIGION

Before discussing “traditional religion” I shall briefly examine the use of the term “tradition.”

It has been suggested that the use of “tradition” as an analytical term, as in: “Mambila Traditional religion”, creates differences which do not otherwise exist. One line of criticism stems from Hobsbawm & Ranger’s seminal book “Inventing Tradition” (1983). This suggests that we can no longer assume that anything described as traditional is as old and as immutable as the label usually implies.

More recently, Boyer (1987b & 1990) has examined “tradition” as an analytic term in anthropology. Its use imports some unexamined assumptions which Boyer criticises. The implicit theory of memory, particularly, is shown to be psychologically naïve.

I shall explain the use of “tradition” in this work, albeit at the risk of attracting criticism from either of the above stances. “Mambila Traditional Religion” labels those aspects of Mambila religion which contrast with world religions (Islam and Christianity) in that they are indigenous, and are largely independent of them. Mambila would call “tradition” **gèné ɔɔ**.

I have attempted a historical reconstruction of Mambila Religion only from the time when the influence of World Religions was felt in Mambila. To attempt such a reconstruction of any earlier period would be mere speculation, however fascinating its results might prove. It should be remembered that in Nigeria contact with missionaries did not occur until the late 1930’s. In Cameroon direct contacts were only established after the Second World War,

although travellers would have imported reports of Christianity before that date. Islam, by contrast, has been established in the area for much longer. It is viewed locally as the religion of the FulBe, and tends to be disparaged by the Mambila as the FulBe have been. However, since the Second World War there has been an influx of cattle-owning FulBe onto the Mambila Plateau in Nigeria, and since the end of the 1950's some Mambila have owned cattle (Crowder 1960). In this environment large numbers of Nigerian Mambila have converted to Islam. In the past this has not been the case in Cameroon. When fieldwork began in 1985 there were less than ten Muslims in Somié. In 1990 the number had greatly increased due to Mambila immigration from Nigeria. The religious composition of the village is undergoing a process of rapid change. The account which follows describes the situation as it was in 1985-1986.

In Cameroon, Traditional and World religions are to a great extent separate and insulated from each other notwithstanding that most people actively subscribe to more than one religion. It is not explicitly acknowledged that members of one congregation also practise another religion.

The only references made to such syncretism are the regular condemnations (usually by expatriate missionaries) in church of the use of divination and **sua**<sup>2</sup>. These have had little effect: I know of only one man (a catechist) who refuses to use divination because of his Christian belief.

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<sup>2</sup>The reciprocal influence of traditional religion on Mambila Christianity is being examined during continuing fieldwork.

One of the few open acknowledgements of any connection between the members of different religions is evidenced by the timing of the **sua** masquerades. For at least the last five years the masquerades have been rescheduled to avoid their coincidence with Ramadan. In Somié this occurs principally at the instigation of the Chief who is a Muslim. It also occurred at Atta whose Chief is a Catholic. Apart from the question of timing no other influence of Islam or Christianity could be detected in the main **sua** rites described below.

Wendy James has shown how Uduk understanding of Christianity has evolved partly through the assimilation of Christian concepts (especially that of the resurrection) to items in the Uduk conceptual “archive” (James, 1988). It may well be that a similar process has occurred in the Mambila case. In this study my concern is with the Mambila archive itself rather than with their understanding of Christianity or Islam. Further study of this is planned, and it is hoped that this will produce material which will further illuminate fundamental Mambila concepts. However, it remains reasonable to start by examining the Mambila concepts before attempting to examine the reciprocal interactions between Mambila and world religions (which project is planned for the future).

## 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<sup>3</sup>. It is

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<sup>3</sup>Lewis’s “Day of Shining Red” (1980) is a good example of a ‘refusal’ to make inferences in response to just such a ‘poverty’.

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<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup>.

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

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<sup>4</sup>Let 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.

<sup>5</sup>Indeed, in 1990 a myth has been discovered which explains why divination spiders do not talk. It does not, however, explain the origin of their knowledge in the first place.

<sup>6</sup>Cf Wieder 1974.

tradition<sup>7</sup> (*gəné lóó*, *dina lóó* (*dina* is a Fulfulde loan), *bò njai chum*, *bò njai də bò tele bə*, *tou ló'ó* (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 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

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<sup>7</sup>Boyer (1987b) questions the validity of “tradition” as an analytic term, but its use is warranted here by the existence of an indigenous concept of tradition. See the discussion above.

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<sup>8</sup> (Mbɔr) and Somié (Ndeba). There are also some in the North-West Province along the Nigerian border, for example, in the villages of Sabongari (ŋgɔm) and Ly.

In Cameroon Mambila (**B̀̀ B̀̀**) speak **J̀̀ B̀̀** (The language of the **B̀̀**.) This is language 710 in the Cameroon Atlas of Languages (eds. Dieu and Renaud 1983). The language was first described by Meyer (1939) but more recently and thoroughly by Hill and Perrin (1969) and Perrin (1974a and b, 1976, 1978). Meyer worked only 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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<sup>8</sup>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.

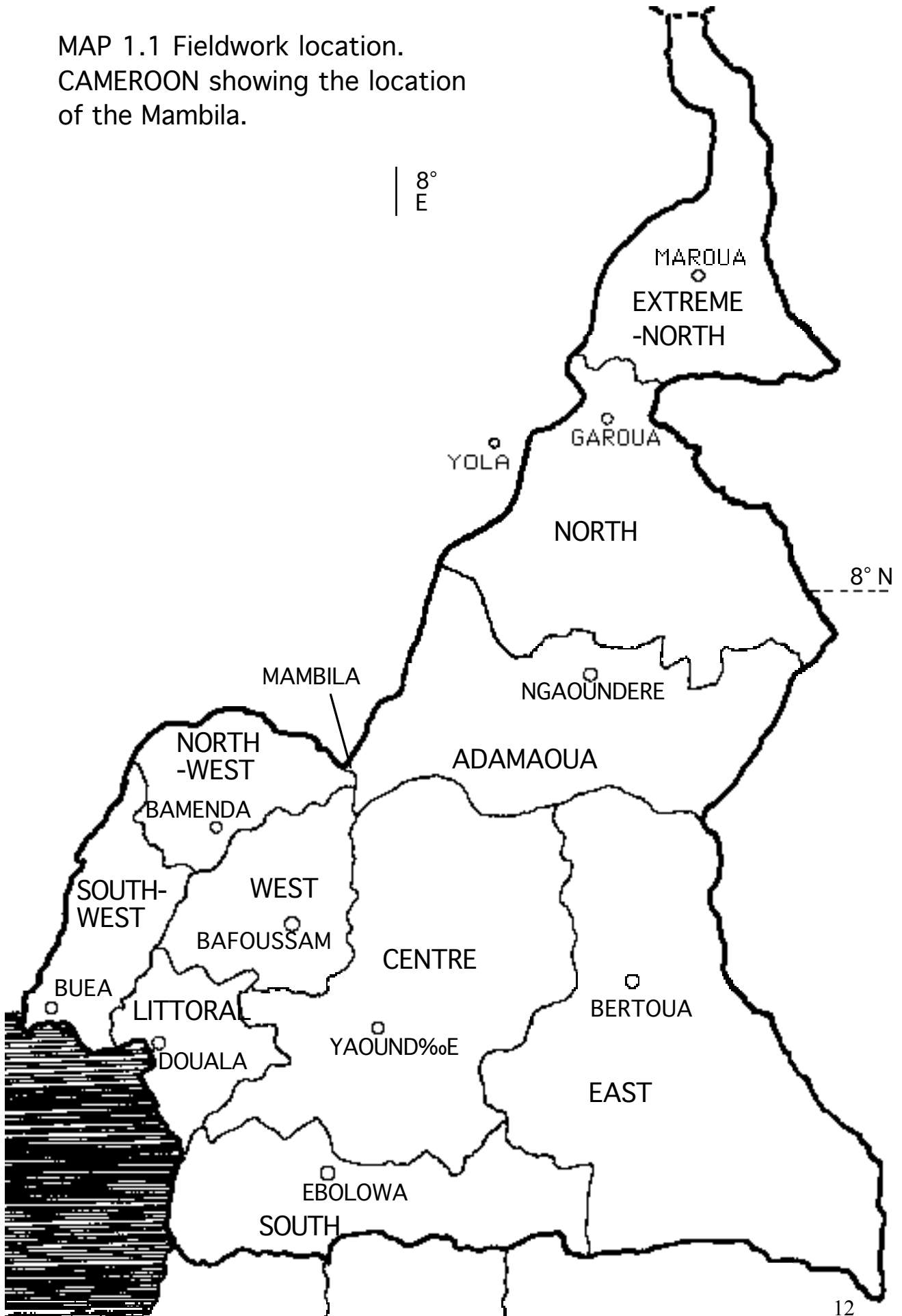


The main documentary sources of information about the Mambila are all concerned with the Nigerian population. To date no ethnographic work has been written of the Mambila in Cameroon. Meek published the earliest anthropological description of the Mambila in 1931, but since he left the Plateau after only 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<sup>9</sup>. 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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<sup>9</sup>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.



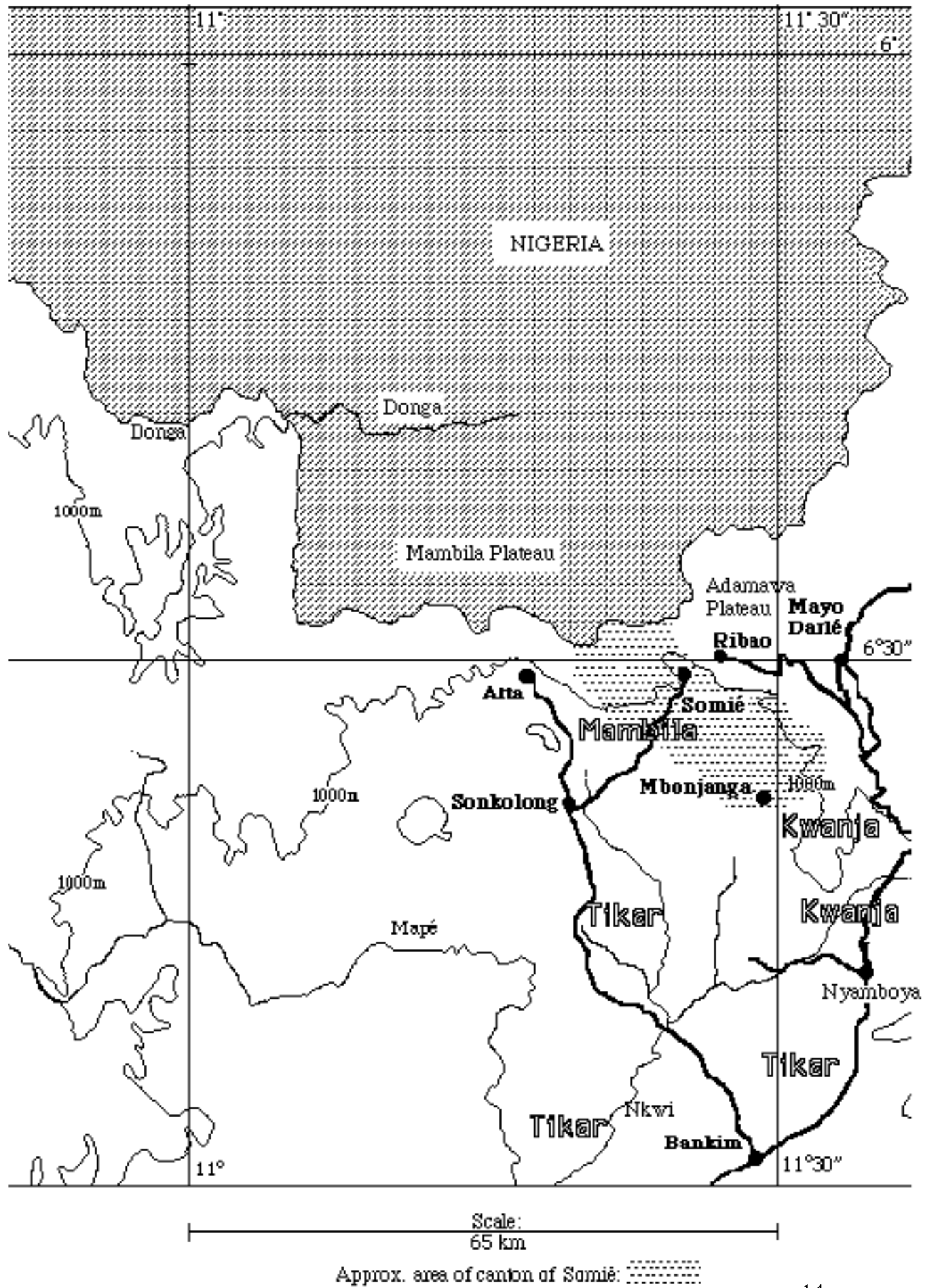
*The Tikar Plain*

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<sup>10</sup>, and with fertile soils benefiting from the run-off from the surrounding plateaux. Phyto-geographically the area has been classified as a mix of Sudano-Zambeian and Guinea-Sudanian zones (Letouzey 1985).

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<sup>10</sup>2200-3000 mm/yr (Letouzey 1985).

MAP 1.2: The Tikar Plain



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, large Tikar populations are also found on the other side of the Mape for example, at 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 Adamawa 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 chiefly power).

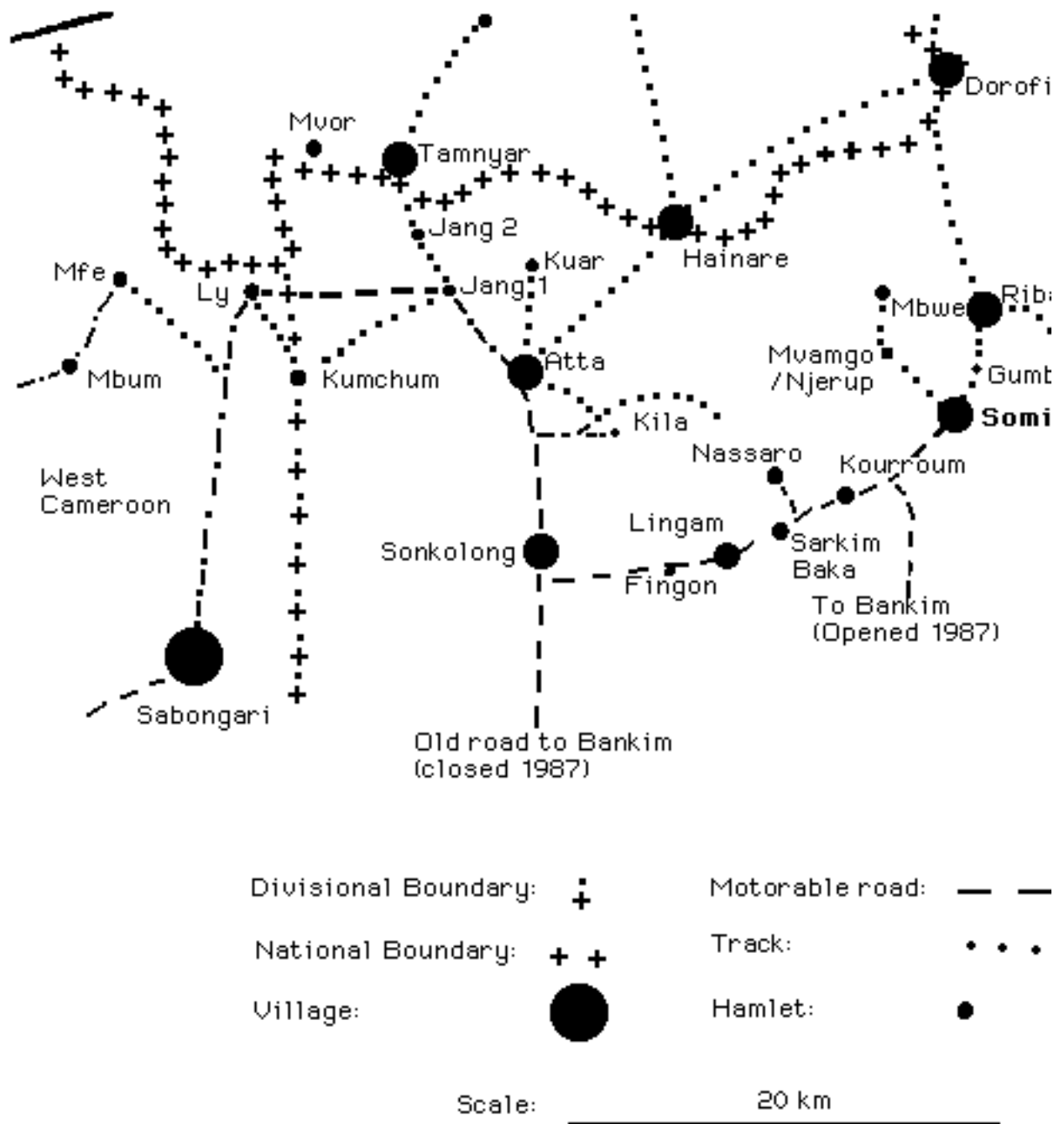
Population densities are low and there was no competition for land until the recent establishment of large coffee plantations especially in the corridor along the main Foumban-Banyo road. This situation is now in great flux due to the flooding of many Tikar fields by the Mape River dam (see below).

#### 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  $\text{ŋg\textcircled{m}}$ ), 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 acting as hamlet spokesman.

Map 1.3. Mambila Villages



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.



## HISTORICAL SUMMARY

The Mambila are within the southern-most limits of FulBe<sup>11</sup> 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<sup>12</sup>).

Jean Hurault has used aerial archaeological techniques to estimate past population figures, especially those before the FulBe slave raids began (see especially Hurault 1979, 1986). At present this work is controversial; high population figures are claimed which 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 archaeology 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<sup>13</sup> 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<sup>14</sup>. The first immigrants were called the Liap and came from the area around Guessimi. Little is now known of them<sup>15</sup>. One informant related them to the Wawa

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<sup>11</sup>I have adopted the convention of indicating the implosive b as occurs in the word FulBe by using a capital.

<sup>12</sup> Njoya 1952:144-145, Banyo Rapport de Tournée 1950 and Mohammadou 1978:173.

<sup>13</sup>It 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.

<sup>14</sup>This version of events is discussed below.

<sup>15</sup>There 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.

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 Mvɔp who came down the escarpment from Mvɔr village South-West of Dorofi - the site has been documented by Jean Hurault (1979:22 and Plate VII, 1986:131 and Plate III). These were a group of children of Touloum (their common ancestor in Mvɔp) 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<sup>16</sup>. 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 evidence<sup>17</sup> that the arrival in Somié of the Mvɔp, 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 1981 the Tikar Plain continued to be administered from Banyo as it had been throughout the colonial period. Closer contact<sup>18</sup> 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

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<sup>16</sup>The Chief of Ta BaΔ (Petit Atta) does have these rights. The explanation for the shift in power from Ta BaΔ to Ta (Atta) is to be found in the detailed history of the area, and further research is needed to elucidate this point.

<sup>17</sup>The 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.

<sup>18</sup>Bankim 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.

hamlet who is of Mvɔp 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 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 and in the next chapter which considers religion. 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 Mambila society.

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. Rehfish 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<sup>19</sup>. Rehfish (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 **memin**, a descent group in which the affiliation of children depended on whether they were born from an exchange or bridewealth marriage<sup>20</sup>, and the **man**, a group of coresident bilateral kin. Neither of these resembled lineages, and there was no segmentation. However, even in 1953 his description was an historical reconstruction. The **memin-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

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<sup>19</sup>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.

<sup>20</sup>This is discussed in Rehfish 1972 and Percival 1938.

influence) and no pressure to preserve the information per se. Residence patterns lead to groupings of coresidential kin similar to the **man**. These groups are not named nor do their members act as a group, hence the notion of descent group has no utility here<sup>21</sup>. A group of coresidential kin is not named in **Jù Bâ**, 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: **b̀̀ ǹ̀à̀r m̀̀**: all the speaker’s kin, and **b̀̀ l̀̀p m̀̀**: the matrilineal kin of the speaker. Yet neither of these classes of people acts 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<sup>22</sup>. 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<sup>23</sup>. 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<sup>24</sup>. The word **l̀̀s̀̀** means “compound” or “village” depending on context. This results in the residence pattern in Somié being very similar to that described by Rehfish.

<sup>21</sup>Verdon (1981) argues that only groups recruited by cognation alone should be termed “descent groups”. In an earlier paper (Verdon 1980) he distinguished descent as a principle of aggregation from the criteria of membership of what he defines as “simple operational groups.”

<sup>22</sup>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.

<sup>23</sup>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.

<sup>24</sup>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<sup>25</sup>. Her husband will be in his early twenties.

Betrothal and subsequent marriage are consensual<sup>26</sup>, 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 (qv Rehfisch 1972 and Percival 1938). In this it resembles the Tiv system (Bohannan and Bohannan 1966, 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 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

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<sup>25</sup>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.

<sup>26</sup>Goody 1973:65 describes it as "courtship" marriage.

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 **memin** with the Tiv **ingôl**, the groups between which women were exchanged. Indeed the rules which assign an individual to a **memin** 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 "**memin** guardian" who could then marry her to another man in satisfaction of the debt of a marriage ward, and so on. Neither Rehfish, 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 **memin** 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 and 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, and 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 French<sup>27</sup>. It does not now occur among Mambila in Cameroon. There is, however, 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.

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<sup>27</sup>However none of the relevant *Rapports de Tournée* consulted in the National Archives, Yaoundé, nor any of the Banyo annual reports mention marriage practices .

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  $\frac{3}{4}$  to the wife's father and only  $\frac{1}{4}$  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<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>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).

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 uxori-local 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<sup>29</sup> (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

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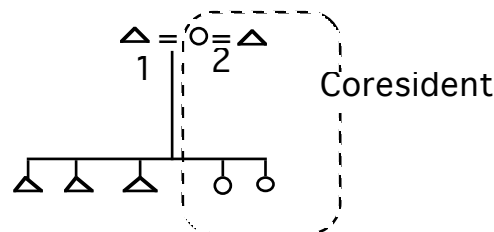
<sup>29</sup>The CFA is tied to the French Franc. The exchange rates prevailing during fieldwork gave approximately 500 CFA for £1.



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.

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<sup>30</sup> 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*

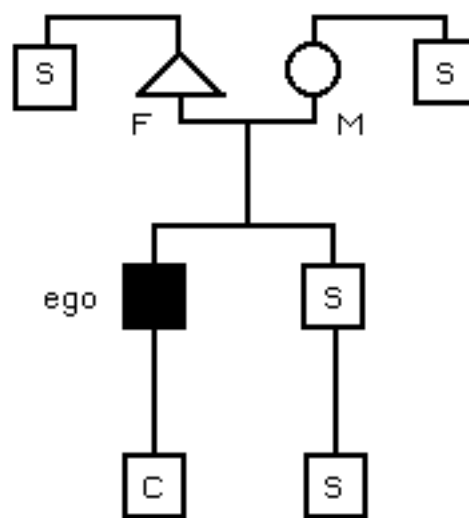
The kinship terminology is bilateral and its use emphasizes relative age rather than generation: except for the lines father, father's father, mother and mother's mother, (and their reciprocals)

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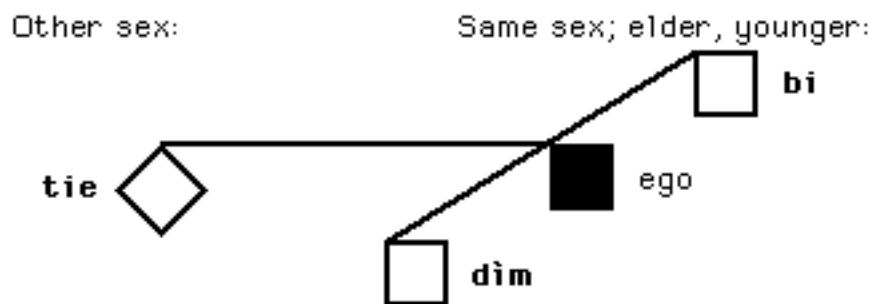
<sup>30</sup>I documented only one case during my fieldwork in Somié.

all other non-affinal kin are “siblings<sup>31</sup>”. 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 and Good 1984: 61<sup>32</sup>). 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 Rehfishch recorded with the exception of the increasing use of Fulfulde loan **masi** to distinguish the sex of same-generation affines.

DIAGRAM 1.2 Kinship terminology: summary



Sibling Terms:



<sup>31</sup>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.

<sup>32</sup>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.

Key to the diagram:

S = Sibling, details in the lower part of the diagram.

C = Child, **ɲuna**. Sex terms can be added.

F = Father, **tèlè**

M = Mother, **mif**

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<sup>33</sup>: “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 Fouban 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 nùàr 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 above) 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.

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<sup>33</sup>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.

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 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<sup>34</sup>. 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 **bɔ nyu** (the sister's sons) or **bɔ nyu mgbe** (the sister's sons of the Chief) and they have divers special functions. In particular, they are in charge of many of the rites comprising the **ɲgwun** 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 **ɲgwun** rites<sup>35</sup>

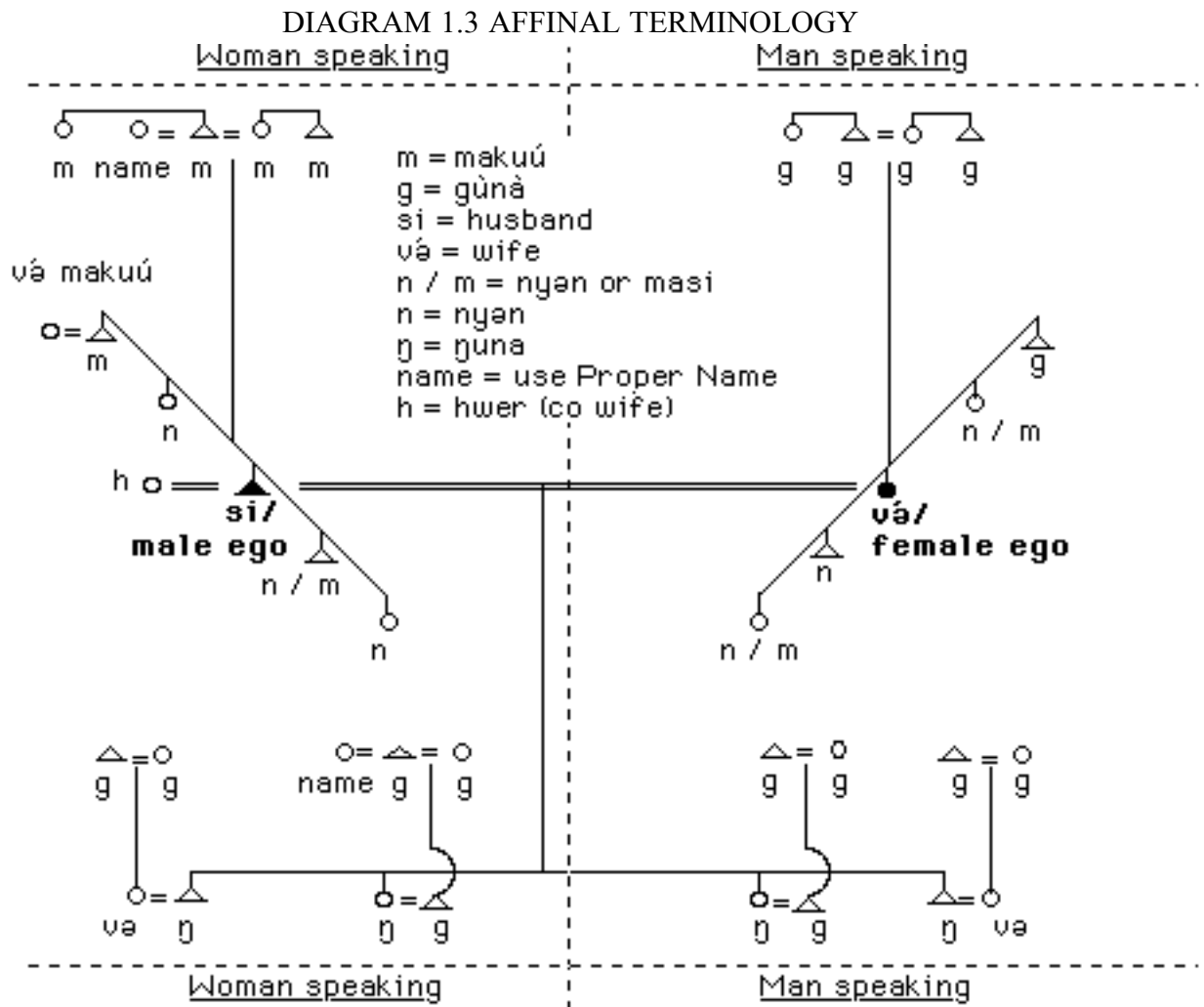
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<sup>34</sup>The gist of the invocation is to say that good things come to the village and that bad things go far away. Hence it is very similar to the text of **Dam\** (but without the invocation of **sua**) and to **Lom**.

<sup>35</sup>**Ōgwun** is partly a war dance in which the domination of the outlying hamlets by the village centre is dramatically enacted. Mainly, it is 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,

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 chon** (sister's son (of) peace). Such a distinction is not made among other families.

*Affinal Terminology*



The affinal terminology differs from that recorded by Rehfish (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 sex. **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

and thereafter biannually at the new moon in the middle of the dry season (December). During these rites the chief repeats his oath of office. In the past it was also performed after the birth of a son of the Chief.

**nyən.** The dialects of Atta and Sonkolong (but not Somié) use **sièr** for opposite sex affines of the same status.

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

*A brief note on naming.*

Recently published works discuss naming among groups North of the Mambila<sup>36</sup>: Vute, and to the South: the Bamiléké (Siran 1987, and Pradelles de la Tour 1986 respectively). Space here permits only brief consideration of the Mambila 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 kin). 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. For example, only the name giver may know the reason or the history lying behind the choice of name. Yet others may be able to produce a highly convincing and plausible explanation. Worse still that explanation may even be correct for other bearers of the same name! Once the name giver and the name holder have both died there may be no one who knows the specific reason for the giving of that particular name to that individual person.

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 **Ŋgeya**. The parents of twins are also given special names, in addition to their other names (**Gə** or **Ge** for F of twins; **Məŋ** or **Nun** for M of twins). In one documented case a twin name was given to a single child, recycling (**nyim**) the name of the child’s father’s father (himself a twin) who died soon before the child was born. Hence the possession of a twin name is not an infallible guide to twinhood. However, on the other hand, I know of no cases in which twins were not given the appropriate twin names.

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<sup>36</sup>Edwards (1984:82) includes a brief discussion of Tiv naming.

## THE CHIEF

The institution of chief among Cameroonian Mambila appears to be of recent creation. There is no record of the Mambilla in Nigeria having other than ritual-chiefs<sup>37</sup> The word used in Cameroon (**mgbe**), is a Tikar word for “councillor” and the word for palace (**mbam**) is also a Tikar loan. The legitimacy of Mohammadou’s grouping of Konja, Mambila 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. There are three **mgbe ti** on the Tikar plain, in the villages of Somié, Sonkolong and Taga Baŋ (Petit Atta). **Mgbe ti** have rights to a class of game called **mbe** (also a Tikar loan word. Price 1987:92.). The **mbe** animals are python (**lamsua**), Gaboon viper (**ngubu**), buffalo (**yar**), waterbuck (**mbəlim**), and serval (**sie**). One elderly informant also included the tortoise (**kpəlox**). Price (1985:99 and 1987:98) records Tikar “royal animals” as being leopard, lion, eagle or python as well as an unidentified large fish. 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.

If anyone finds a vine which has naturally grown around itself so as to form a knot, the knotted section should be cut out and presented to the chief. It too may be described as “**mbe**”. The chief blesses the knot by spitting on it. The finder then chops it to pieces in front of the chief’s palace. The finder is rewarded with a small quantity of palm oil.

Chief’s without such rights are **mgbe ndun**, and range in importance from the Chief of Atta to heads of hamlets. **Mgbe ŋgun** are chiefs of hamlets and **mgbe la** are those with important named rôles in the biennial **ŋgwun** 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 Tulum, their ancestor at Mvør, was himself a chief.

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<sup>37</sup>Cf Meek 1931 and Rehfisch 1972.

The institution of chief is now well established, and the independent government continues the colonial policy of underwriting his authority<sup>38</sup>. 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 in Somié centre 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 masquerades<sup>39</sup> are not used by closed, ranked associations which fill this rôle as occurs elsewhere in Cameroon. The authority of the

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<sup>38</sup>As a "chief -third 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).

<sup>39</sup>The term masquerade is discussed below Chapter Two, section: "Sua: an overview".

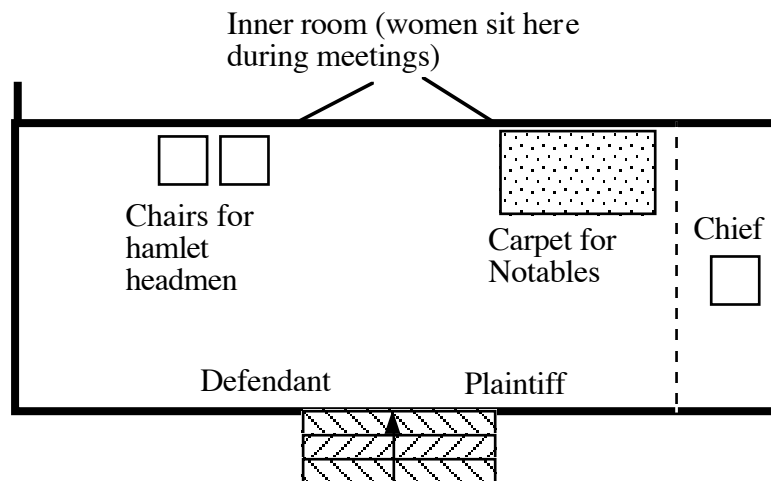


Chief does not depend on the masquerades. He is thus in a similar situation to the Paramount Chief of Ide in the Metchum valley as described by Masquelier (1978:266-270).

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**-oath<sup>40</sup>; this is held to prevent witches attacking the litigants. Witches may otherwise use the publicity of the dispute to camouflage their own activity<sup>41</sup>.

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 **Jolori**, the 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 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.

DIAGRAM 1.4 Chief's Palace: The verandah of the **Jolori** building.



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 above). Otherwise the disputants do not occupy these positions. If a discussion between parties and Chief

<sup>40</sup>This is fully explained below.

<sup>41</sup>Rehfish (1969:310) notes that parties to disputes were held to be among the main targets of witches in Warwar.

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 **B̂ Kuku b̂** (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)<sup>42</sup> to assess the degree of unanimity of opinion in an acephalous society.

The **B̂ Kuku b̂** 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 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 and ownership (as well as ownership of palm- and cola-trees)

Theft

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<sup>42</sup>Although the distribution of percentages resembles that obtained by Rehfisch, in Somié 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 Notables, whilst others restricted themselves to Notables 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.

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<sup>43</sup>.

Witchcraft diagnosed by divination as a cause of illness.

*The skull cult of The Chief*

**Ŋgwun** and men's **sua** are danced following the death of a chief. Chiefs are buried sitting upright in a circular shaft grave<sup>44</sup>. Approximately a month after the burial the head is removed and washed. The skull is placed in a small four-handled Mambila basket (**sogo bà**) in the skull house (**gua fə**) 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 are 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 "sóo": 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).

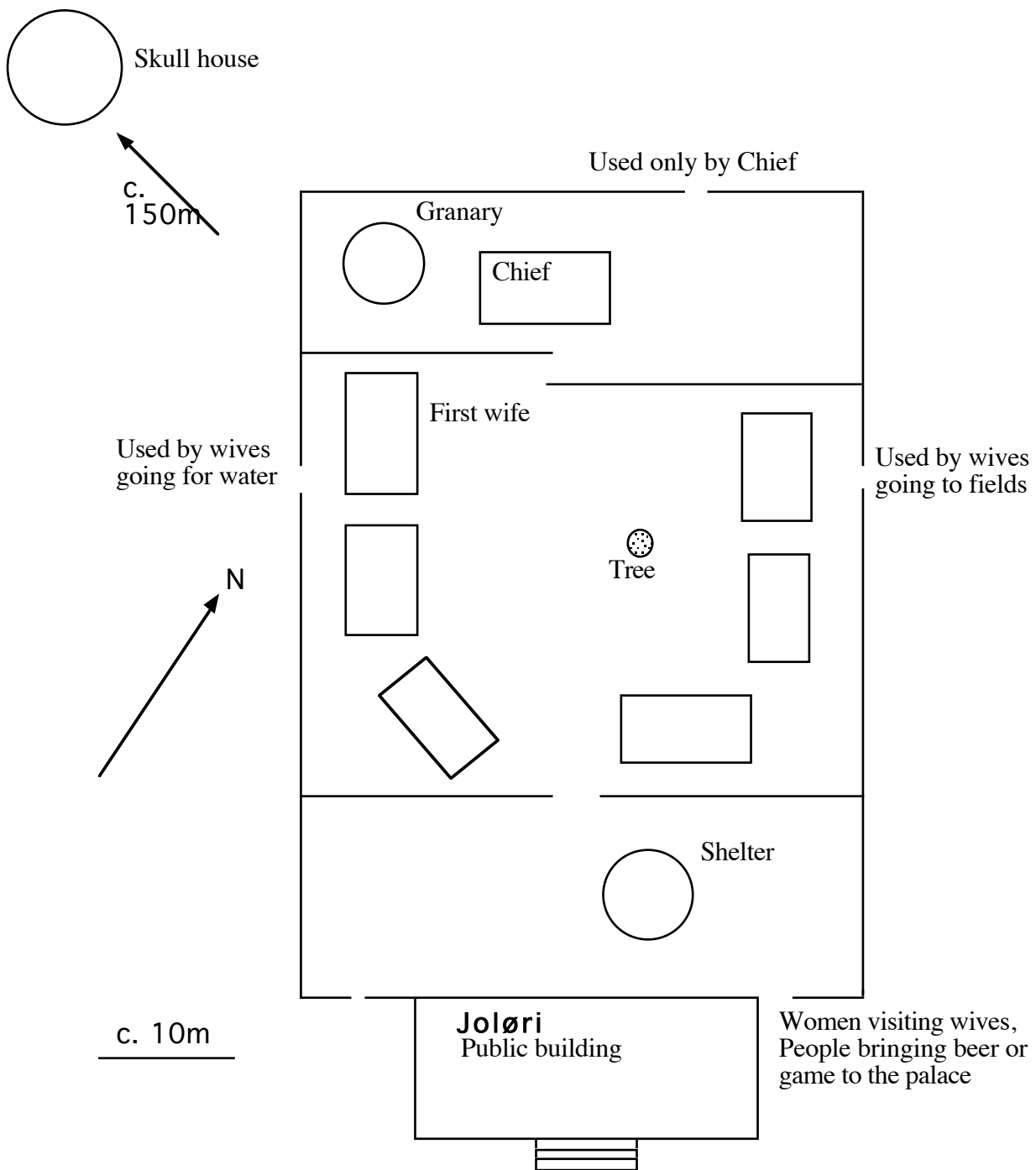
In the past non-Mambila immigrants to the village acted as guards and had permanent sleeping-quarters in the skull house, but this practice ceased in the 1950's. The heads are said to shake in their baskets when a Notable is going to die, and the guards were supposed to report this to the Chief so that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

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<sup>43</sup>See chapter 8 **Kulu sua**, below.

<sup>44</sup>Other burials are considered below.

DIAGRAM 1.5 The Chief's Palace



*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.<sup>45</sup> 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 Mvɔp he himself traces his descent via a sister of Tulum and therefore is ineligible for the Chieftainship. These two pick a “short-list” from among all the sons of past chiefs<sup>46</sup> and then use spider divination<sup>47</sup> 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 are available. Each of the present incumbents has succeeded his elder brother, and each will be succeeded by their son or by a son of their predecessors.

Since the rôle 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<sup>48</sup>. The sketches show the relationships between the successive chiefs (where known) and also illustrate the principle points of 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

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<sup>45</sup>When 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.

<sup>46</sup>The 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.

<sup>47</sup>Goody 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.”

<sup>48</sup>A fragment is included as footnote 30 to the transcript in Chapter 6.

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.

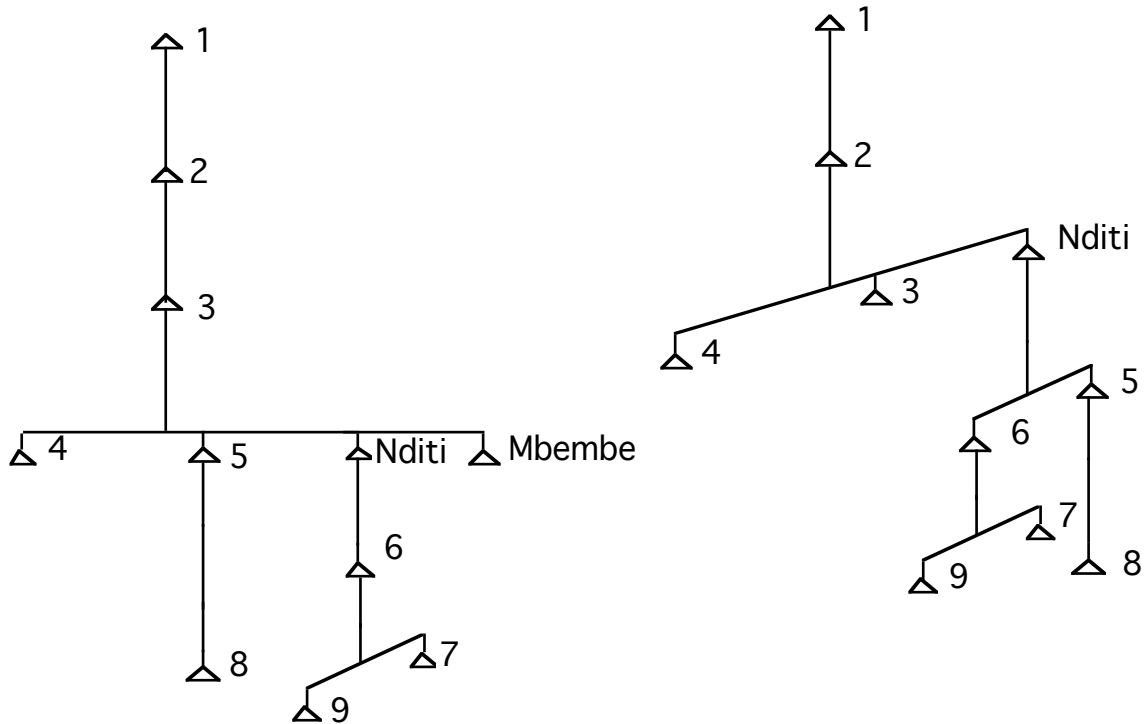
The Somié list is followed by a list of the recent regents who have served during the interregnums. The regent must be the Zs of the chief. The name of their mother, their father (when known), and the chief who was their mother's father are also given. Since there was far more uncertainty about the identity 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
- (6) Kolaka. Chief: 1923?-1949. d.Nov 49\*
- (7) Ndi Etienne. Chief: 1950-c1953\*
- (8) Mɔ̀gɔ̀ Michel. 6 wives recorded. Chief: 1954-1976
- (9) Dega François. b. 1950. Chief: 1976-

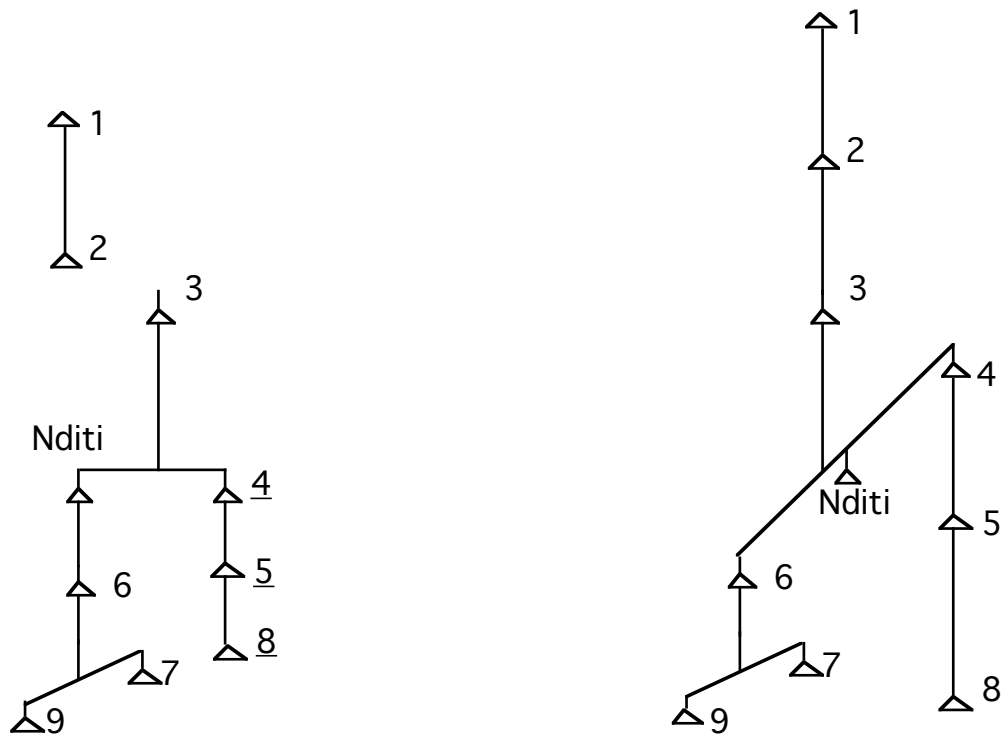
Two versions of the genealogy of the chiefs of Somié (the numbers refer to the chiefs named in the above list):

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.

DIAGRAM 1.7 Genealogy of Somié chiefs according to other researchers:  
 After Mohammadou 1990 Hurault (Collected Dec. 1954).



Note that Mohammadou (1990) has not recorded a link between Ndinyura and Chokmo. His account has Chokmo being sent as tribute to Banyo aged five years. He was subsequently installed as Chief of Somié by Lamido Umaru of Banyo who gave him a **gandura** gown as a badge of office. This explains both the origin of his name, and the fact that no Mambila name is remembered for him



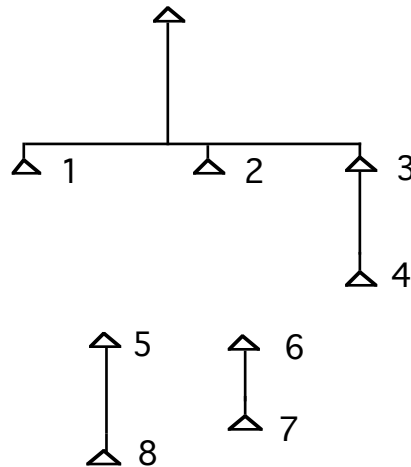
*The regents of Somié***Chief's name**

Regent	Regent's mother (father)	Mother's Father
<b>Nua (Nura?)</b>		
Jeba	Nde (Jɔkɔ)	Ndinura (2)
<b>Menandi</b>		
Tuú	Dan (Kue/Kuɲbili)	Nditi
Tuú	Nɔnbe (Kuɲbili)	Menandi (5)
<b>Kolaka</b>		
Jəba/Juba	Ndehi (Jɔgɔ)	Chomo (3)
Nyimakə	Bɔɲdiə (Kəɲbe)	
Nimakə	Bɔɲdiə (Kuɲbe)	Nyura (4)
Nimakə	Bɔɲjiə (Kuɲbe)	Nyura (4)
Nimakə	Bɔɲdie	Nyura (4)
<b>Ndi</b>		
Nyimakə	Bɔɲdi (Guɲbe)	Nyura (4)
Nyimakə	Bɔɲdie (Kuɲbe)	Chomo (3)
Juba	Nde (Gi-jɔgɔ)	Nyura (4)
Jeba	Nyɔgəcho (Jɔgɔ)	Nditi?
<b>Mɔgɔ Michel</b>		
Kung (Nafa Jeremy)	Nurome (Suawe)	Kolaka (6)

*Chief list of Atta*

Hurault	Menandi (via DZ)	DZ
Mvuwaŋum		Fumbək/Fumbəŋaga (1)
Na		Ləndam (2)
Fəmsuawe		Gia (3)
Fəmjjuwe	Fəmjjuwe	Fəmjjuwe (4)
Ga	Timi (December 56)	Timi (5)
Mere	Merep	Merep (6)
Ga	Geya Gaston	Geya Gaston (7)
	Geya Gaston	Geya Gaston (8)

DIAGRAM 1.8 Chiefs of Atta



Dates and events attested by archival information:

Timi in place in 1923. (Migeod, 1925:155) It is unclear who this is.

Mérou in place 1930- December 1933 (A.N.Y)

Ngah in place 1942 (Banyo Archives)

1953 Gah son of Gerou and Djoumba was Chief (A.N.Y.)

December 1956 Gah Timi replaces Gah imprisoned November 1955 for abuse of office (A.N.Y.).

*Chief list of Sonkolong*

Menandi's list (via DZ).

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

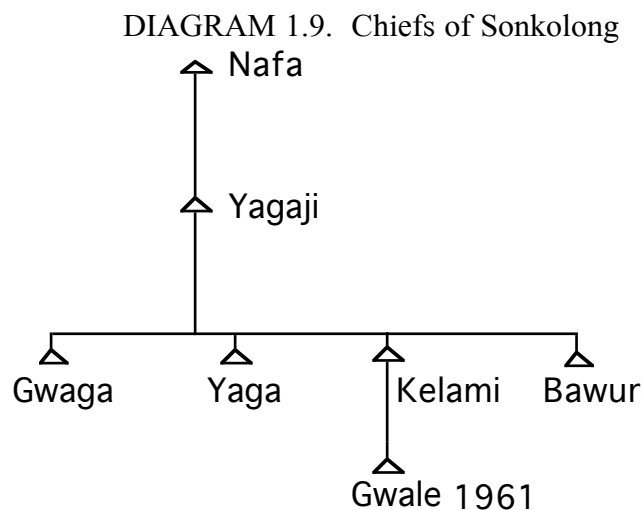
Notes on the Sonkolong Chiefs (dz 1988).

Moisel's map of Kamerun (published in 1913) describes the village of Songolong (sic) as "Kémés". (sheet F2 Fumban).

Kəmi succeeded once Yaga had been deposed. He was then succeeded by Gwaga on whose death Kəmi 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 1933 and he was still in place in 1942.



## Sonkolong Chief lists from Hurault's data:

## 1) List of Garba Bini (b. c.1880)

List made 1983

2) List made by  
Hurault at a meeting  
of Notables 2/2/85

	Name	Years of rule	Father	Name
1	Gwale			1 Gwale
2	Yabon		F = 1	2 Yabon
3	Kia		F = 2	3 Wè
4	Yie		F = 2	4 Yié
5	Nde Jolomo	2	F = 4	5 Kea
6	Wakatcha		F = 4	6 Nju =Ndijulumo?
7	Londam		F = 4	7 Wakatcha
8	Yilayor	12	F = 4	8 Londam
9	Keme	4	F = 4	9 Yaji Yilayor
10	Gwalu	17	F = 8	10 Keme
11	Keme	2 1/2	F = 6	11 Gwa
12	Kia	15	F = 8?	12 Kèr
13	Basuro	37	F = 8?	13 Basuro
14	Gwa	1961 =	F = 12	14 Gwa

&gt;

## 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, 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.<sup>49</sup> 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 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.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>I know of it being grown once during the three growing seasons which I spent in Somié.

<sup>50</sup>In 1988 he told me that he is planting a small coffee field.

### *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 **ngondom** 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 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 **Chuaàr** in the traditional ten-day week (see below), but since c. 1952 (during the chiefship of Ndi Etienne) 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.

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<sup>51</sup>. 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.

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<sup>51</sup>These are called called **dashi**, **djaΔgi** or **møgø** (group).

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 the collection and recording of the contributions. A Christian prayer is then said 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<sup>52</sup>. 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.

### *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.

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

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<sup>53</sup> 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.

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<sup>52</sup>A series of transcripts of such speeches has been made.

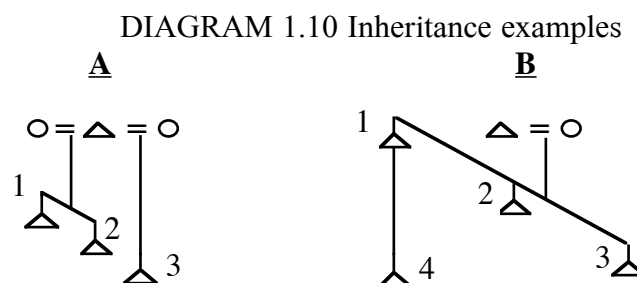
<sup>53</sup>Usually **koro**.



### *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.

There follow two examples<sup>54</sup>. Case A is a documented case. On the death of the father his coffee field was split between two sons. They were 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.



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

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<sup>54</sup>Relative age between siblings is represented by the vertical dimension, so the higher siblings are older.

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<sup>55</sup> 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 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 reports<sup>56</sup> 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 Tikar Plain, crossing the Mambila Plateau and hence remaining in British administered territory.

Warnier’s analysis of trade and politics in the Bamenda region portrays the Grassfields as containing a regional system within which a double hierarchy obtains (1985: 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.

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<sup>55</sup>Villagers, however, assert that this is the case.

<sup>56</sup>References in Zeitly 1989 included as an appendix below.

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 coast<sup>57</sup>, despite the contact via the cola route (for example, Koelle's examination of the languages spoken by slaves arriving in Sierra Leone includes languages from North-West Province, but not ones from further North).

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

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<sup>57</sup>Confirmed in conversations with Professor Warnier and E.M. Chilver.

replaced. Twenty years ago most houses were made of wattle and daub, and were roofed with grass thatch<sup>58</sup>, 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 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 Nigeria<sup>59</sup> 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 marriage<sup>60</sup> 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.

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<sup>58</sup>This observation is based on study of photographs of Atta taken by Mona Perrin in the late 1960's.

<sup>59</sup>See the section on the Chief.

<sup>60</sup>As discussed by Meek 1936, Percival and Rehfisch, and above.

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.

The influence of the FulBe has been and continues to be small by comparison with their neighbours further North (for example, NyamNyam, Wawa and Vute<sup>61</sup>) 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.

#### THE TRADITIONAL WEEK

Mambila have a traditional ten day week. This regulates (or regulated) both markets and the organisation of labour. It has now been largely superseded by the seven day week (see the section on the market, above), but note is still kept of it for ritual purposes. Some markets in Nigeria still operate on the ten day cycle.

Between the principle Mambila villages in Cameroon there is broad agreement on the days of the week. **Baàm** is the day on which all major religious rites take place (apart from the **Ŋgwun** festival which is timed to occur at a new moon). Apart from some small dialect variations there is disagreement only on one day: **Mvàn** in Somié is **Daàr** elsewhere. It is another holy day. On this day no work on farms should take place - to be precise neither the clearing of fields or hoeing should occur. Elephant grass must not be cut. Hence work in

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<sup>61</sup>Q.v. Leis 1970, Mohammadou 1964, 1967,1971,1978,1981 and 1990, Siran 1980 and Lembezat 1961.

coffee fields and work house building or roofing is not prohibited. Some people suggested that **Mvàn** is the name of a ritual or of a cult society (of Tikar origin). The name has been given to the day as well since the rites took place on this day. There is no consensus about this account. Individuals practice prohibitions similar to those of Mvàn on the day of the traditional week on which their father died. This is also the day on which they should perform the ritual of pouring sorghum beer on their fathers grave (when this is performed). If the day of death is unknown the rite is performed on the day of Baàm<sup>62</sup>.

Table: The Mambila ten day week

Village

Mbər	cuaàr	dɔ̀ɔ̀b	sèb	daàr	yà	jùlù	mvuagàr	trè	manòg	baàm
Atta	cuaàr	dɔ̀ɔ̀b	sèb	daàr	yàgàr	jùlù	mvuagàr	trère	manòg	baàm
Somie	cuaàr	dɔ̀ɔ̀b	sèb	mvàn	yà	jùlù	mvuagà	trèrə	manòg	baàm

## LIFE CRISIS RITES

Before describing the key terms of the Mambila religion I give summary descriptions of the rites which mark an individual's progress through life. These may serve to conclude this general introduction to Mambila and to anticipate the next chapter which directly addresses questions of Mambila Religion.

*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.

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<sup>62</sup>I have heard it suggested that people with **sua be** (**sua** hands) should also practise these prohoibitions on Ba`am. However, since every initiated member can describe themselves as having **sua be** gthis cannot be accurate as it stands.

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<sup>63</sup> 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 is performed 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* sp.) 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.

### *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 and no rituals were performed. However, the next child born to that woman 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 circling of the house with **fer** (*Solanum* sp (*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. Once the twin(s) walk, talk and begin to be regarded as "real people" a further rite is performed in which a tree is planted outside the house one for each surviving twin. It is still rare for both twins to survive.

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.

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<sup>63</sup>Rehfisch (p.c.) notes that eggs were not eaten in Warwar. In 1954 "Warwar Mambila found them disgusting."

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 immanent but unutterable (q.v. Bellman 1984). 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 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.

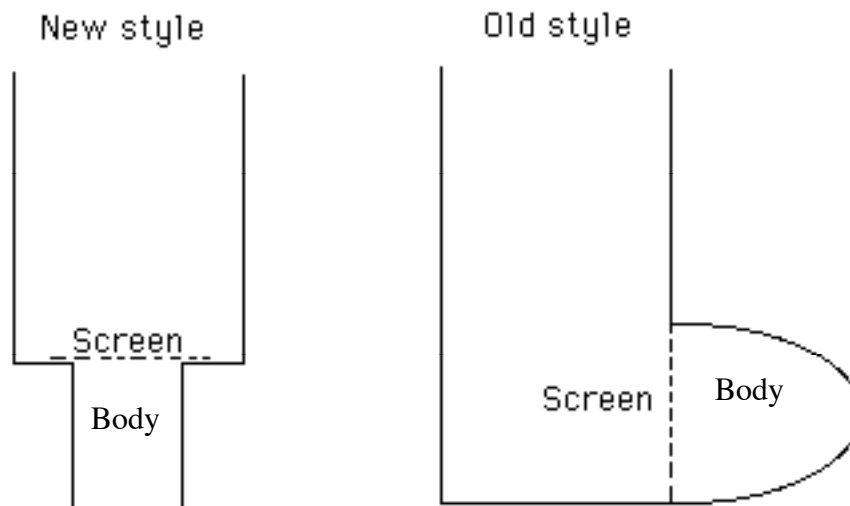
### *Death*

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. When filling the grave The soil is replaced so that the darker soil from the surface is put in first. Red sub-surface soil is thus left at the top. This serves to mark the location of the grave. The skulls of Chiefs are removed and given a secondary “burial” in the “Chiefs’ skull house” behind the Palace. Only sister’s sons of the Chief may enter this building. Some old men say that in the distant past men who participated in the **Lom** rites (now long defunct) had their



skulls removed and placed in trees. Generally, however, there is no skull-cult and no connections are made between skulls, stones, pots and rain as has been reported in the North of Cameroon (as reported by e.g. Barley 1983 and David et al 1988).

DIAGRAM 1.11. Burial styles



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.

In the past women used not to accompany the body to the grave side. Women were not supposed to see the grave until it had been filled. I could elicit no explanation for this.

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 **fuɔ yə plant** (one of the *Labiatae* (?*plectranthus sp.*), the smell of which is said to drive the spirit (**Chàŋ**) of the deceased out into the bush. Close relatives (and affines) are also treated “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 and 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.

Rehfishch 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<sup>64</sup> and during the masquerade.

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.

In the past funerary rites were certainly more complex. Both Rehfishch and Schneider, who were in Warwar in the early 1950’s, report funerals of senior men at which the body was displayed, tied upright to a ladder, or to stakes placed in the ground (Schneider 1992). Death

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<sup>64</sup>For example, at the **sua**-oath taken at Sonkolong in November 1986 to establish peace between Somié and Sonkolong.

was announced by a special drum beat (**jùàr jùm**) on the **jùàr mbə** drum. No burial took place until close kin had seen the body, to verify that it was in fact dead. Senior participants in **sua** were treated by their peers before burial. Men did this beside the grave and women in the house before the corpse was carried out for burial. Some such rites are still performed. The ladder on which the corpse was carried was left to rot on top of the grave. Today, if the body was carried on a raffia bed it will be dismantled and left on top of the grave.

### CONCLUSIONS

The next Chapter continues the introduction to Mambila society by examining the wider generalities 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 (1977b) 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 metacommunicative events of societal-constructing significance” since it is operational<sup>65</sup>. 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 widereaching 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 1976:171, *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 I begin by considering 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 manifest the ... understanding of the divine, but rather to control and avert misfortune from mystical causes.” (Edwards 1983 Fn 42 p 478).

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<sup>65</sup>That is: it is usable in the field.

In principle all illness is held to be caused either by **Chàṅ** (the remote creator and supreme god) or by people (i.e. witches). To attribute the cause to **Chàṅ** is to say that it is “natural,”<sup>66</sup> 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 leprosy<sup>67</sup> caused by crossing the path of, or treading in the spittle of, the **chɔ** 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 **Chàṅ**) 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 **lɔ** (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 **lɔ** but are regarded as highly potent **lɔ**.

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 **Chàṅ**. 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 **tsav**<sup>68</sup>, 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 holders and so to legitimate 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

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<sup>66</sup>Such a system seems widespread in West Africa. Jackson 1975:389 reports the same for the Kuranko.

<sup>67</sup>Leprosy can also be caused by human intervention.

<sup>68</sup>Discussed in Bohannan 1955, 1957.

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” (**lɔ**) is universally ascribed to **Chàŋ**; no mention was made to me of ancestors or other spirits<sup>69</sup>. Before enumerating the varieties of witchcraft, let us consider the available courses of action.

1) Treatments. There are 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) Public Warning. 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**: lit. drawing boundaries) 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) Public hearing & **sua**-oath. 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.

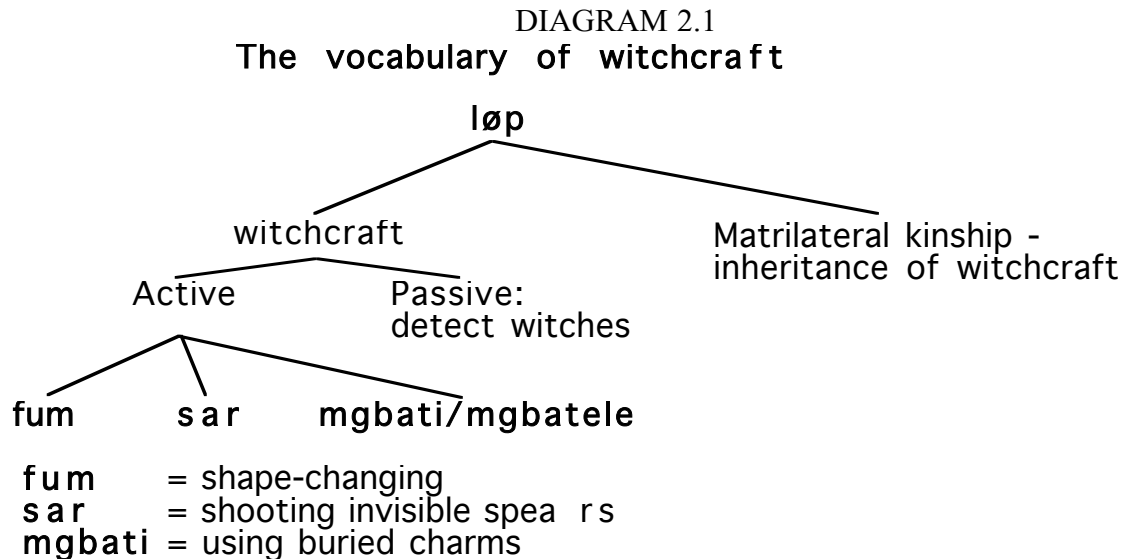
Another oath, **sua kare** (also called **sua karup**), may be taken privately at home in addition to any of the above. This is a preferred option if no firm identification has been obtained. The choice between different types of **sua** may be settled by divination as occurred in the example in the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

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<sup>69</sup>However one informant BT described **sua** as being “before” all l\ The rôle of **sua** is discussed further below.

*Witchcraft*

The vocabulary of witchcraft is summarized in the following diagram:



The Mambila words in the diagram are used to name both a class of people (for example **bð sar bð**: The **sar** (people)) or to name their attributes (for example **wð nde mə sar yə**: you go with your **sar**).

*Knowledge & Confessions*

It should be noted that **lɔp** is used to describe matrilineal kinship, and witchcraft is inherited matri-laterally. 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 lɔŋ** (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 **lɔp** 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.

**Ŋgam 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. **Chàṅ** was mentioned only in the sense that, as creator, **Chàṅ** 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<sup>70</sup> 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

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<sup>70</sup>Unidentified, but not camwood which is used only as decoration.



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 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.

### CHÀŋ

Now to consider **Chàŋ** in more detail. **Chàŋ** is seen as the creator of the world and everything in it. (The word generally used for creation (**mèè**) is the verb for house building and potting). It is commonly held that **Chàŋ** decides what will happen, and that people cannot avoid this<sup>71</sup>. For example, the standard response on hearing of a death is to say **Chàŋ né ten** (**Chàŋ** PRES. exists). The word “**Chàŋ**” has been adopted by the Christians as the translation of “God” and this has been continued 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 **Chàŋ** 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 **Chàŋ** but have adopted world religions. This is consistent with Horton’s Conversion Hypothesis<sup>72</sup>: that a 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 **Chàŋ mò** (**Chàŋ** mine), meant in a similar sense to the Christian notion of spirit. Mambila “conceptions of the body and person” seem unlike those of other groups<sup>73</sup> 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 **chúchuí** (breath) has been altered by assimilation from Christian and Muslim doctrine, at the expense of, for

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<sup>71</sup>The extent to which this is an adaptation in response to Christian and Islamic teachings is extremely moot.

<sup>72</sup>This has already been discussed p1 above.

<sup>73</sup>Some examples are described by de Surgy 1983, Buhan & Kange Essiben 1986 and Onwuejeogwu 1981.

example, **chəchemə** (shadow). It seems likely that some changes have occurred here precisely because the concepts are peripheral to the central Mambila concepts (that is: to **Chàŋ** 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 2.1: Bodily attributes, and their wider meanings

A) shadow, reflection (e.g. in a mirror)

**chemə / chəchemə**

B) life

A) breath

**chúchuí**

B) life

A) liver; sternum

**temə**

B) 1) idiomatic usages of “heart” in English<sup>74</sup>

E.g. notions of centrality

2) Place of intentional thought

**yɔr** - body

**kumú** - corpse

**Chàŋ** - spirit

**Chàŋ** is unique in the list, having no bodily referent other than personal spirit.

Moreover, the word **Chàŋ** is used in this sense only to describe a dream in which, it is said, the

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<sup>74</sup>Ochalla-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.

dreamer saw the **Chàṅ** of a dead person, or during funeral rites in which the **Chàṅ** 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** + **Chàṅ** since the corpse includes all the organs.

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

On death the spirit (**Chàṅ**) leaves the body and is then banished from the house into the bush. In the bush is **Chàṅ 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). A similar situation also obtains among the Wuli (Baeke 1984:156) and the Tiv (Edwards 1984). However, this is not to say that “ancestors” are held not to exist at all. Rehfisch (1969:309) reported of Nigerian Mambilla in 1953 a belief in a “village of the dead”, wherein life continues much as on earth. 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). It appears, from the accounts which I have been given, that there was once a greater elaboration of rituals and belief in the influence of the dead than is found at present.

A detailed examination of the past situation is currently in preparation in a work provisionally entitled “Shades of ancestors. Mambila avatars in history.” This will present the evidence for Mambila beliefs about the dead, and will discuss the extent to which this warrants attributing to them an ancestor-cult.

#### AN OVERVIEW OF SUA.

The discussion of illness and its treatment contains references to **sua** as an alternative to treatments (**lɔ**) 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 “Omabe” 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, 1979b) using “Masks” (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 (1990) that such ritual killing is insufficient to warrant the term “sacrifice<sup>75</sup>”. 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<sup>76</sup> 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*<sup>77</sup>. Yet the main **sua** ritual performed at the Chief’s Palace conforms exactly to 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” (Rehfishch 1969:309). Oath-taking is important in Metchum valley politics; oaths in Ide in the relatively nearby Metchum valley of North-West Province 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).

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<sup>75</sup>The question of sacrifice is treated quite differently in Zeitlyn, S. 1986, but does not figure in Zeitlyn, A. 1988.

<sup>76</sup>On 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.

<sup>77</sup>Volumes 2-6, 1976-1983.

**Sua**-oaths are very similar in form to the **wə 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 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<sup>78</sup>. 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 initiate 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

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<sup>78</sup>I am an initiate into the masquerade but have not learnt to officiate at the oaths. I am assured that the two sets of leaves used are distinct.

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 **denor 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.

**Blessing sua**, (**kulu sua**) however, involves the principle use of the **ndungu sua**. This is the rite 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.

**Licking sua** (**naga Sua**), on the other hand, is a pure oath - one swears that one is making a true statement by repeating it three times, licking the **ndungu sua** stick each time. I have never witnessed it, although it is occasionally referred to during cases heard at the chief's palace. Oaths can also be sworn in a very similar fashion by licking the chief's stool of office and it should be noted that in argument people refer to either or both types of oath as 'licking'. In the course of argument further references to both **sua** and to the stool occur. This suggests that the two are not clearly distinguished, although formal, elicited, accounts do make a clear distinction: **naga sua** is a direct invocation of the power of **sua** whereas swearing on the chiefs stool of office invokes the power of the chief. It is uncertain to what extent the power of the chief itself is connected to the force of **sua**.

The main difference between **naga sua** and the main **sua**-oath is that **naga sua** is remediable. If one is affected by **sua**<sup>79</sup> then the effects can be removed by being blessed (qv **kulu sua** the **sua** blessing, above). On the other hand, the main **sua**-oath will kill those that it affects. It is taken not only to ensure the truth of the statements in question but also to deter

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<sup>79</sup>Mambila say "taken by **sua**": **sua sie né cø**.

witches from using the existing dispute to disguise their presence. The main **sua**-oath therefore has a wider remit than that of licking **sua** which is an oath-taking in the strict sense of the term.

The **damə** rite is very similar to two other rites: the pouring of beer on a father's grave, and the **lom** rite<sup>80</sup>. Both of these include invocations similar to that made in **damə**, but with no mention of **sua** corresponding to that which occurs during **damə**. During the **damə** rite the village population gathers in the square outside the Palace, and forms a circle. The Chief sits on his **kəgə 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, **damə** 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 **damə** they are not presented here since they are more formulaic than the addresses made during oath-takings and can be fairly described in general terms.

**Damə** is the least integrated of all aspects of **sua**. It is possible either that **damə** has only recently come to be regarded as a part of **sua**, or that it is in the process of becoming separated from it.

The **damə** described is performed regularly in Somié. The description is recognized as **damə** in Atta and Sonkolong but different versions are performed in these villages. **Damə** refrains in Sonkolong contain no reference to **sua**, and although **sua** is mentioned during **damə** as performed in Atta, it is not afforded the prominence there which it receives in Somié. In Sonkolong 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". Moreover, in Atta **damə** is always performed during the **mbe Chàŋ** (beer Spirit/God) rites, and is held to be directed at the generality of ancestors. No such explanation was ever

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<sup>80</sup>**Lom** is now defunct, so data about it is hearsay. It appears to have been a masquerade society, possibly recruited through illness.



spontaneously given in Somié. When I related the account I had received in Atta it was accepted as a plausible description. 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 the difference was small and that it was not significant. Those in Somié concurred with this view. Moreover, the **damə** spoken by Sapkə in Somié (on 8/12/85 before the **sua** sacrifice transcribed below) contains examples of both types of refrain.

Another manifestation of inter-village differences is found in the variation of dialects 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<sup>81</sup>.

### *Damə and Sua*

**Damə** differs from the other **sua** rites in its brevity and irregularity of performance<sup>82</sup>. Its significance is hard to assess. Links to the masquerades are not brought out by the actors. It may be characterised as a “collective assertion of the moral order<sup>83</sup>” but it does not, I believe, contribute to Mambila understanding of **sua**. During discussions of **sua** (what it is, or how it is best exemplified) **damə** was never elicited as an example.

Hence, **damə** is not considered here in great detail since, as I have said, I believe it to be only weakly connected to **sua**.<sup>84</sup> From the perspective of the Mambila audience **damə** does not

give as much information about **sua** as do the **sua**-oath addresses. **Sua** figures in **damə** as

something seen: a deterrent but nothing more. The **sua**-oath addresses reveal **sua** as a similar

deterrent. They are, however, more informative, stressing the agency of **sua** through prolonged

repetition. **Sua** is not merely a passive entity which acts as a scarecrow to ward off evil-doers.

<sup>81</sup>Another case which I have documented is the nomenclature of frogs.

<sup>82</sup>**Mbe ChàΔ** is no longer performed in Somié, so there is no routine occurrence of **dam\**.

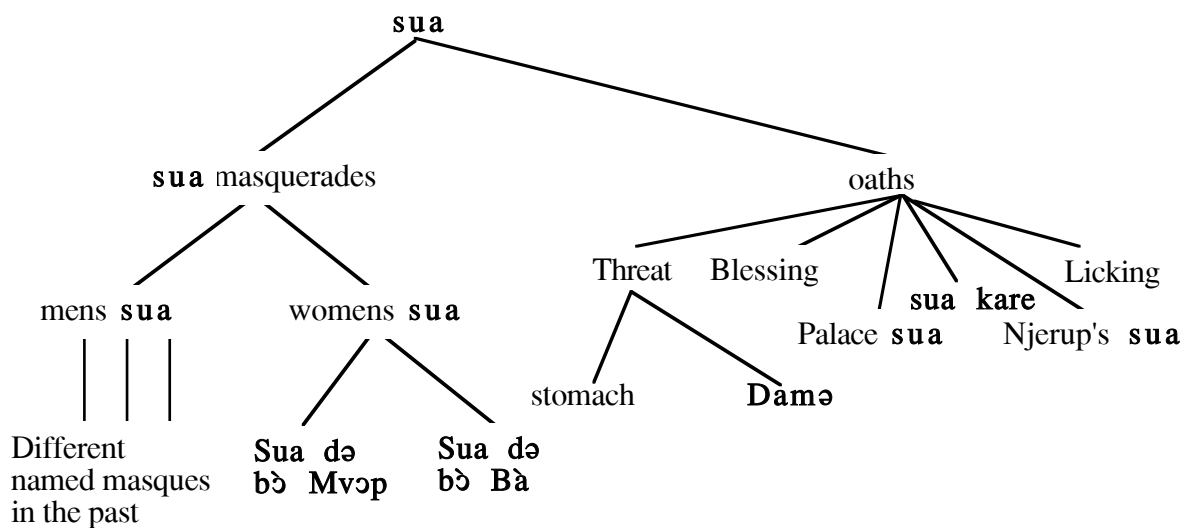
<sup>83</sup>To use Malcolm Ruel's phrase.

<sup>84</sup>Moreover, it does not exhibit the same mixing of individual concerns and issues with the form of the rite which is found in the **sua**-oath. Hence its analysis reveals less of issues of wider sociological interest.

It assesses the true situation and acts accordingly. It will kill liars and witches. The **sua**-oath conveys this not only through the addresses themselves but also through the performance. A clear analogy is established between the chick and an evil-doer, between the knife and the power of **sua**. **Damə** lacks such analogues, and is understood in terms derived from the **sua**-oath rather than vice versa.

This summary account of **sua** may be represented in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM 2.2 The semantic range of **sua**



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 **damə** 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. However, its purpose is to benefit the whole hamlet. It serves to set the seal upon the invocation of **damə**. 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 **damə** and **sua** at the Chief's Palace. The concurrence of **damə** 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.

### PERFORMATIVES

**Sua**, at least in its guise as an oath, seems prima facie to be a speech act so we should enquire whether the analysis of speech acts may help our understanding of **sua**.

Tambiah (1968) used Austin's notion of the speech act (Austin, 1962) to as the basis for his an analysis of "magical speech". Searle later attempted to make the subject more rigorous (Searle, 1969), although a recent review (Levinson, 1983:Ch 5) suggests that the subject may

dissolve into smaller components which give a piecemeal solution to the problem of “illocutionary force”.

The illocutionary force of the **sua**-oath is hard to assess. On the one hand the rite functions as an oath, with its concomitant illocutionary force. The oath-takers are committed and believe that if they lie during a **sua** address this may result in their death.

On the other hand little or no attempt is made to pursue the effects of taking a **sua**-oath. After an oath has been taken the audience to a hearing immediately disperse, or turn to the discussion of another case. Nothing more is said about the subject which has just been at issue. This does not, of course, preclude the case being revived on another occasion under a different head. In such cases it is my impression that the fact of previous oath-taking is not an issue in the subsequent discussion.

Taking the **sua**-oath serves both to emphasise the truth of an utterance and to curse anyone who has done (or will do) evil. I am confident, although I have witnessed no actual cases, that if an oath-taker were afflicted by either serious illness or accident in the days following a **sua**-oath then this would be widely ascribed to **sua** “seizing” them.

The taking of a **sua** oath terminates formal proceedings. As soon as the chick has been beheaded the atmosphere lightens markedly. When **sua**-oaths are taken in hamlets following a **damə**, the conclusion of the oath-taking is followed immediately by a beer drink. Once an oath has been taken at the Chief’s palace people begin to drift away, begin to chat or turn to the

next case. Indeed this is insisted upon. Once the oath has been taken, any attempt to continue the discussion is prevented. “It is too late to say anything more. The affair is no longer in our hands, it is up to **sua**.”

#### UNDERSTANDING **SUA** IN PRIVATE OR ON THE PUBLIC STAGE.

Ruel (1969) examined a Cameroonian example in which negotiations behind the scenes held far more importance than statements made in the public meetings. The meetings were in fact structured so that private (off-record) discussions could be held as interspersed with the public negotiations. Decision making occurred as a dialectic between public statement and private negotiation. That characterisation does not apply to the sorts of dispute which lead to **sua**-oath taking. Disputes are discussed, and sometimes negotiations take place in private and off-record. However, these negotiations are not the main locus of the decision making.

I have eschewed such closed discussions since my focus differs from that of Ruel. My main concern is to understand **sua** rather than to determine the political structures at play during decision making.

When negotiations take place in private they are wholly concerned with the problem at hand.

They may reveal details of the dispute not openly discussed in public, but they are not informative about the **sua** rites themselves. **Sua**, I contend, is understood, by outsiders as well as by the Mambila, through participation in the masquerades and through attention to the addresses made during **sua**-oath taking.

When **sua** is discussed informally and in private it is the detail of performance which provokes debate. The most general conversation which I witnessed concerning **sua**-oaths was a debate about the consequences which would ensue if the chick were not cleanly beheaded with a single blow. (It was concluded that the sacrificer would shortly die.) Other discussions concerned details of practice, especially in the days preceding the masquerade rites.

When specific cases were discussed attention focussed on the facts of the matter in issue rather than the oath taking which the case occasioned. The content of such discussions adds neither to a Mambila nor to an anthropological understanding of **sua**. Very little instruction is given during men's **sua**. Listening to the addresses of the **sua**-oath is the principal mode of instruction about the **sua**-oath.

In summary, the imagery of the masquerade is united with the rhetorical images of the **sua**-oath within the linguistic domain of **sua**. That domain is not, however, performatively unified.

### 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 2.2 **Sua** as a regional system

Tribe	Masquerade	Oath	Source
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Mambila	sua	sua	DZ
Konja	sɔp	sə́r	DZ
Tikar	swɔa	--	DZ
Yamba	sɔ; nwe?	sɔta/sɔtap	DZ
Wuli	---	sɔ	Baeke, 1984 Lus village

### 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.

Moreover, the formal account tends to overplay the domination of women in sua oath-taking. The prohibition on women directly addressing **sua** can be effectively overcome. One **sua karup** oath which I witnessed was made in order to protect the house of a single woman. I do not know what events lead up to the decision to take the oath.

Her classificatory brother performed the oath-taking (the same man as performed the **sua karup** oath which was transcribed in Zeitlyn (1990). They were scrupulous in preventing her from seeking the **sua** bundle - she was inside her house behind the closed door, he stood outside with the bundle and chick in his hand. It was also the case that the man made the address. The oath-taking thus conformed to the stereotype description of **sua**-oath-taking already given. The women neither saw nor addressed the bundle. What such an account masks is that between phrases the man paused and his sister then told him what to say, at such length and in such detail that, rather than indicating the general subjects to be mentioned<sup>85</sup> to all intents and purposes the man repeated what she said. Just as the parody of the **sua**-oath during women's **Sua** reveals that women have seen more than anyone will admit, so the actual practice shows that women may have a more active voice than may first be apparent.

### 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 Somié can be summarized as follows.

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<sup>85</sup>As occurs in the transcribed sua kare oath Zeitlyn 1990: 165ff esp. 173.

The strand of monotheism exemplified by **Chàṅ**, the remote creator-god, has been accentuated. Other elements of the religion, though, especially those not well integrated with **Chàṅ** or **sua**, have tended to fall into disuse. This results in the concepts of **Chàṅ** and **sua** attaining a prominence which they may well not have had previously. **Chàṅ** 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 Somié.

I have found it helpful to picture the traditional religious system as a galaxy of practices; centred around a double centre (**Chàṅ** and **sua**). An individual practice (rite, et cetera), 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)<sup>86</sup>.

To continue the analogy, the influence of Christianity and Islam 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. I suspect that in the course of this change **damə** may have moved from a position of independence to being within the ambit of **sua**.

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 Somié 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 attempt to tap the expertise which they assume exists, to use a system of concepts as vague (in 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.

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<sup>86</sup>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.



In Somié, then, **Chàn** is the ultimate cause and reason, **sua** the ultimate means of action

## Chapter Three

# Mambila Divination

## INTRODUCTION

Mambila divination<sup>87</sup> 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 (1989).

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

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<sup>87</sup>I have greatly benefited from discussing drafts of this chapter with Pascal Boyer, Ian Litton, and James Woodburn, none of whom is 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.

object<sup>88</sup>. Its practice has been widely reported in societies both throughout the world and going back to the distant past<sup>89</sup>. Such a widespread human concern merits an equally wide-ranging analysis which pressure on space prohibits here. This must serve as a prologemenon to a subsequent, 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<sup>90</sup> 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

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<sup>88</sup>Such 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.

<sup>89</sup>See general surveys included in Loewe & Blacker 1981, Vernant 1974 and Caquot & Leibovici, 1968.

<sup>90</sup>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. 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. This is to say that due consideration must be given to the factors, introduced below, which form part of the intellectual context within which divination occurs.

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 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<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup>

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.

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<sup>91</sup>It is treated in more depth by Lewis 1971.

<sup>92</sup>This point was made by Esther Goody, in response to an early draft.

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<sup>93</sup>.

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),

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<sup>93</sup>Junod 1913 vol 2:493 & seq.

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 rôle of the diviner is literally mechanizable since his rôle<sup>94</sup> is to choose by sortilege which set of verses to chant "blindly" to

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<sup>94</sup>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

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 rôle 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

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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.



contrast is absolute between systems found in Northern Ghana, for example, among the Tallensi (Fortes 1959b, 1966), the Sisala (Mendonsa 1973, 1982), and Yoruba “Ifa” (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<sup>95</sup>, yet from the 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

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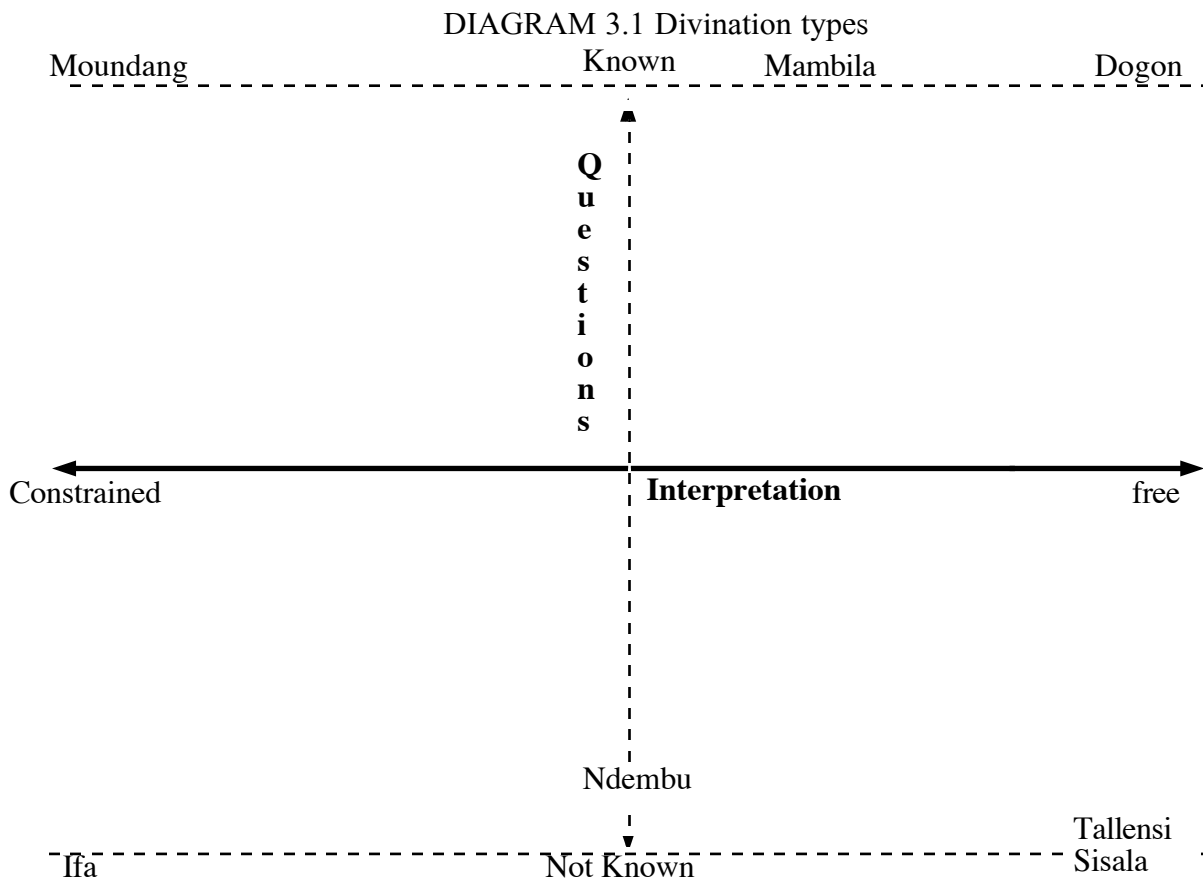
<sup>95</sup>The mathematical similarity has been recently discussed by Klein (1983) but he provides no argument for any similarity at the level of **ese**. Indeed he compares I Ching Trigrams with **Ifa Odu**, yet the semantic load and the rôle in their respective divination systems are quite different. 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 systems there is no great similarity between the different examples qua divination systems. It imposes little or no threat to the recognition of African intellectual achievement to suggest that the notational system (itself of Chinese origin according to Klein) crossed the desert and was put to use in purely African divinatory techniques.

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 are at issue) 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 work<sup>96</sup> 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.

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<sup>96</sup>Parkin 1979, Shaw 1985 and Werbner (1989).

The distinctions under discussion can be represented by the following diagram:<sup>97</sup>



<sup>97</sup>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).

Ndembu: Ndembu basket divination, Turner (1975).

Tallensi: Sortilege as described in Fortes (1959b , 1966).

Sisala: Sortilege as described in Mendonsa (1973, 1982).

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 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 Wɔŋ’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 (**ngam**) this writer does not endorse a stronger diffusion hypothesis which would seek to link **ngam** spider divination with the **dlra** 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 **ngam**-type systems.

To sum up: while it is plausible to explain the wide distribution of **ngam**-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 homonymy of crab, spider and divination (**ngam**) 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 **ngam**-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 **ngam** 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. **Ngam** 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) **ngam** is clearly closely related to the words listed as “spider” (p211) and “native-doctor” (p192). **Ngam** 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-ók-) and for “spider” (\*-bòbè) are similar (pp 59 & 63).

The detailed studies of spider divination fall into two groups: “southern” i.e. Banen, Bekpak & Bamiléké and “northern” i.e. Yamba/Mambila. The “southern” group is characterized by a variety of signifiers that is, by a set of cards plus batons<sup>98</sup> 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

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<sup>98</sup>A full account requires more than a mere description of the cards and their meanings. Hence Bamoun divination has not been sufficiently well recorded (Paré 1956) to be included here.

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.



Table 3.1. Spider & Crab divination systems

Tribe	Reference
<b><u>1) Spider</u></b>	
Ayom	Guillemin 1948
Bamiléké	Pradelles 1986; Labouret 1935; Masson 1939/40
Bamoun	Dellenbach 1932; Nicod 1950; Paré 1956.
Bandoun	Maillard 1984
Banen	Dugast 1960
Bangwa	Pradelles 1979
Bassa	Hegba 1979; Matip n.d.
Bekpak (Bafia)	Leiderer 1982
Beti	Hegba 1979; Towo-Atanga 1966, Laburthe-Tolra 1984; Mallart Guimera 1981
Ewondo	Cournaire 1936; Towo-Atanga, 1966; Tsalla 1958.
Konja	Gebauer 1964

Mambila	Zeitlyn 1987
Manenguba	Hedinger 1987
Mbembe, Mfumte, Wuli	Baeke 1984; Pollock 1926
Meta'	Forgwe 1983
Mkako	Copet-Rogier 1986 (No mention of spiders but nga = divination)
Nsaw	McCulloch 1954
Nzakara (C.A.R.)	Retel-Laurentin 1974
Oku	Krafczyk 1982
Tikar	Gebauer 1964
Wiya	Jeffreys 1953
Wute	Siran (p.c.)
Yamba	Gebauer 1964

## **2) Crab**

Chamba	Fardon 1980; Edwards (p.c.)
Gbaya	Burnham (p.c.)
Jukun	Meek 1931a

Kapsiki	van Beek 1978
Koma	Edwards (p.c.)
Matakam	Martin 1970
Mouktélé	Juillerat 1971
Verre	Edwards (p.c.)

### THE LANGUAGE OF MAMBILA DIVINATION

**Ŋgam** is used both as the generic term for divination and to refer to specific sorts of divination, with its unmarked sense being **ŋgam d̀̀** (divination earth i.e. spider divination). The verb “to divine” is “**mb̀̀**,” 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 **ŋgam d̀̀** and **ŋgam 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.

**Ŋgam kɔl**: (divination straw) throwing straws and reading their fall. Not taken seriously at all.

**Ŋgam ŋgofɔgɔ**: (divination snail). A snail<sup>99</sup> 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

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<sup>99</sup>*Achatina?* sp.

string between his toes, the other in his hand<sup>100</sup>. The possibility of manipulation is recognized and it is not highly regarded. I know of only one operator in the village.

**Ŋgam 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.

**Ŋgam 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 **ŋgam 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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<sup>100</sup>It is thus similar to Ndembu "rattle divination" briefly described in Turner 1975: 337, and to divination type a7 from Oku (Krafczyk 1982:63).

A rubbing-hands divination<sup>101</sup> 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 **ngam dũ** (see below). He seems to use it instead of **ngam tubu** as a quick means to test hunches before resorting to **ngam dũ**. 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

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<sup>101</sup>Exactly as described by Meek 1931b:553.

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 **ngam tubu** and **ngam dù**.

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 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 holding onto his elbow, so that they are directly connected to the action. This also occurs in other contexts, for instance, in healing rites<sup>102</sup>.

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

**Ngam d̀̀** 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 d̀̀** the process should be repeated after a few days, but the second time instead of a chicken either a **tetam** (Vieillot's Black

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<sup>102</sup>For an example of this in the treatment of syphilis see field-notes S207/2 &c.

Weaver Bird: *Ploceus nigerrimus nigerrimus*) or **tetaga** (a type of catfish: *Synodontis* sp.) 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<sup>103</sup> 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 discussions of divination. Since most adult men know at least **ngam tubu**, if not **ngam dù** 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.

### ŊGAM 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 **ngam dù**. (Thus

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<sup>103</sup>In 1986/7 this was 2000 -3000 CFA.



it occupies a very similar position to Zande rubbing-board divination<sup>104</sup>). Men tend to learn **ngam tubu** before learning **ngam dũ** and become proficient at it while still lacking confidence in the practice of **ngam dũ**. 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 **tubu**<sup>105</sup> 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

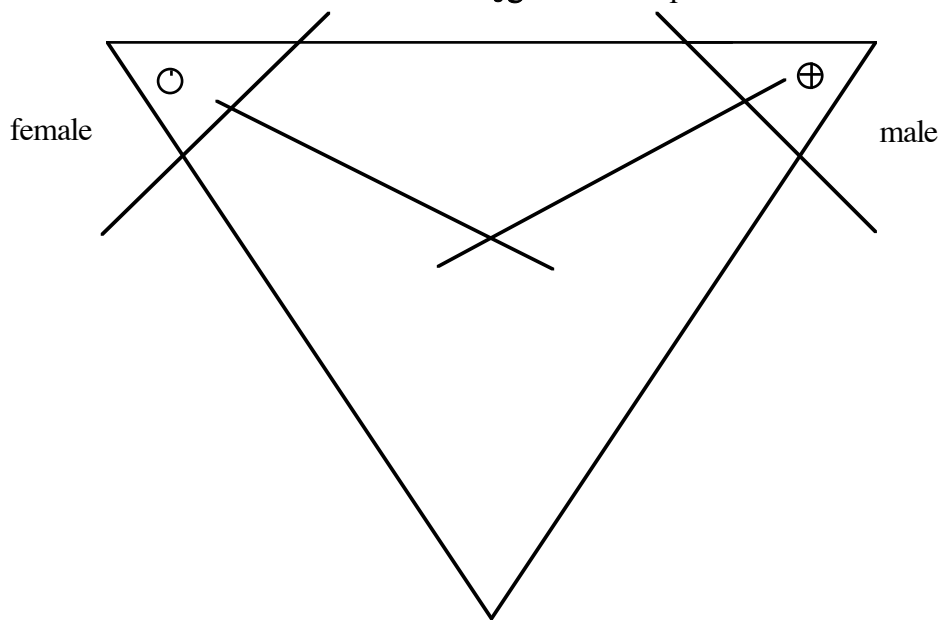
when it is put to the divination.

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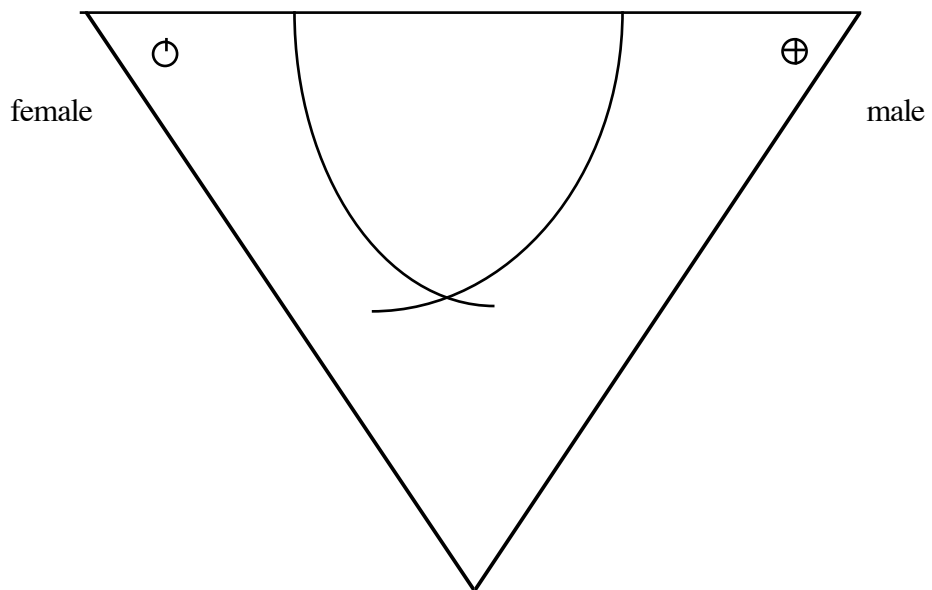
<sup>104</sup>Q.v. Evans-Pritchard 1937.

<sup>105</sup>Unidentified.

DIAGRAM 3.2 **Ŋgam Tubu** patterns



An alternative pattern:



The chips can fall with the bark either up or down<sup>106</sup>, 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.

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”<sup>107</sup>. 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.

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<sup>106</sup>bark-up: **kibi**, bark-down: **Δaa** (lit. clear) or **maplim** (lit. upside-down).

<sup>107</sup>They are thus similar in form to **Δgam dū** questions.

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.”

### ŊGAM DÙ: EARTH DIVINATION

**Ŋgam dù** is the most important form of Mambila divination, and is widespread throughout Western Cameroon.<sup>108</sup> 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 cards<sup>109</sup>, 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 **ŋgam dù** is usually performed by land crabs (*Sudanonantes (convexonantes) aubryi*) although spiders

(*Hysteroocrates robustus Pocock, 1899*<sup>110</sup>) are also used. Both can be referred to as **ŋgamə**.

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 **ŋgam dù**. Amongst those who do, some are widely regarded as experts 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

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<sup>108</sup>See above for discussion of its distribution.

<sup>109</sup>Exceptions being the work of Pradelles de la Tour Dejean 1986, and Leiderer 1982.

<sup>110</sup>Gebauer identifies (1964:42) the spider used in Yamba divination as *Heteroscroda crassipes*, and Leiderer found *Phoneyusa bidenta Pocock 1899* in use among the Bekpak (1982:116). Nicod (1948, facing p65) describing neighbours of the Banen, illustrates a spider which is *Hysteroocrates* sp. and Laburthe-Tolra (1981:469) gives *Hysteroocrates* sp. for **Δgam**.

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 Somié 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 **ngam dù** 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. Knowledge of **ngam dù** 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 Somié who is a well-respected and influential chief, yet neither knows how to divine, nor consults **ngam dù**, although neighbouring chiefs are known as diviners. However, when I repeated Rehfish's "opinion poll" asking who are the elders of Somié, all those named (apart from the Chief) know **ngam dù** even if they are not regular practitioners<sup>111</sup>.

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<sup>111</sup>Discussed above in the ethnographic introduction.

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.

**Ŋgam dũ** 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<sup>112</sup>). 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 Somié were remanded in custody for over a year in jail before being acquitted. Yet **ŋgam dũ**, 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

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<sup>112</sup>Rowlands and Warnier (1988) discuss the relation of sorcery, along with its embodiment in law, to the Nation State.

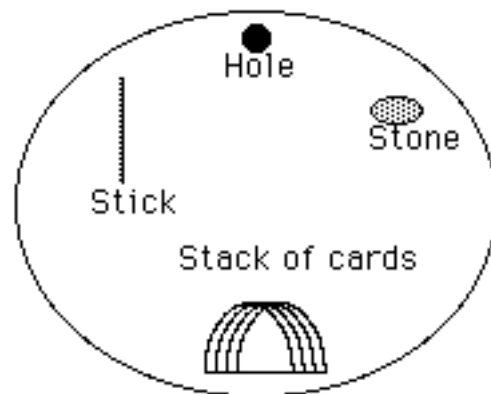
observed practices. Any such “functionalist reduction” is inadequate: it can give no account of intellectual behaviour, particularly of the ratiocination of the diviners.

*Basic techniques of “Ŋgam D̀̀”*

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<sup>113</sup> are neatly stacked, pointing at the hole.

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<sup>113</sup>Gebauer 1954:35 calls them “leaf-cards”, or “cards”: a usage I adopt here.

DIAGRAM 3.3 **Ŋgam D̀̀** 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<sup>114</sup> 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 **J̀̀ B̀̀** I was told that I could speak English, and divination would understand. Questions follow a fixed schema 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:

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<sup>114</sup>Ōgeyea Abraham, and those that he has taught.



My divination, you shape-changer, you witch, if XXXXX then take the stick, my divination.

No, it is not that, not-XXXXX / YYYYYY / divine further, then take/bite the stone, my divination.

Mambila text:

**Ŋgam m̀̀, ẁ̀d fum, ẁ̀d sar XXXXX, ẁ̀d sie tú, ŋgam m̀̀.**

**Sam ŋgwə, “NOT XXXXX” / “YYYYYY” / mb̀̀ mb̀̀, ẁ̀d sie/numa ta, ŋgam m̀̀.**

The choice is between one option (XXXXX) and either its direct negation (NOT XXXXX) or an element from its contrast set (YYYYYY) which may be more or less precisely specified.

Commonly the vague alternative **mb̀̀ mb̀̀**, (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 ngam)*

The divination leaf-cards used are obtained from a shrub<sup>115</sup>, 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 then incised with a razor. The cards are all of the same form<sup>116</sup>, 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 **ngðə**, 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<sup>117</sup>. 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

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<sup>115</sup>The shrub is called **mvu Δgam**, (*Dacryodes* sp.). Yamba leaves were cut from *Dacryodes edulis* (which is the reclassification of *Pachylobus edulis* given by Gebauer) (Gebauer 1964:35). Leiderer (1982:I.125) identified the leaves used by the Bafia as coming from the tree *Oddoniodendron micranthum*. The Wuli use only three cards cut from the *Euphorbicae Bridelia* sp. (**ts\ts\** in Wuli) according to Baeke (p.c.).

<sup>116</sup>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.

<sup>117</sup>Especially in Gebauer 1964, Leiderer 1982 vol 1 ch. 4, Dugast 1960 and Parré 1956

different holes for divination. One diviner placed some feathers from a chicken cooked to provide **sér 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.

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.

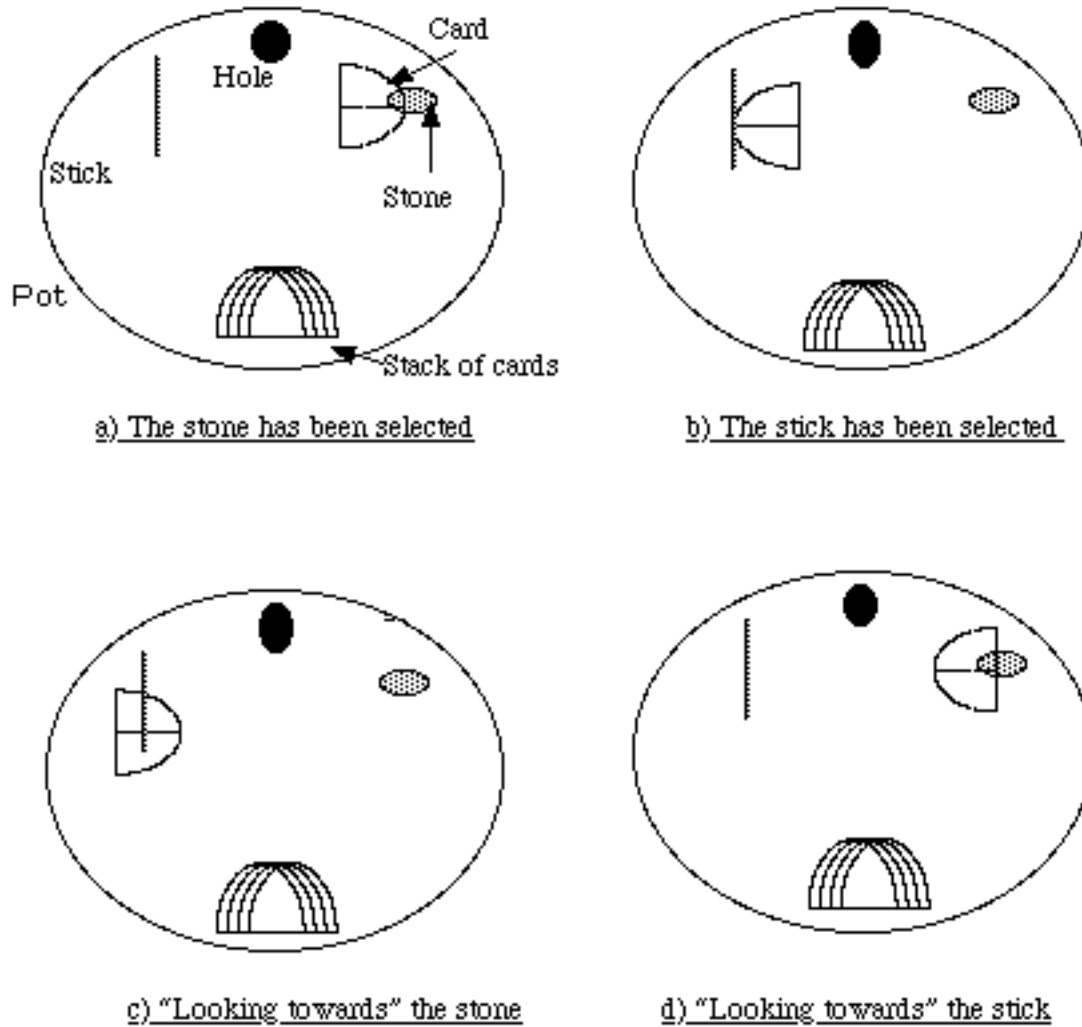
The first complication of this simple system is the possibility of the cards “looking,” which is illustrated below. A card may be viewed as an arrowhead due to the symmetry of its shape<sup>118</sup>: then if, when on the stick, it points at the stone it is the stone which has been chosen and vice versa. 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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<sup>118</sup>See diagrams.

Thus far we have considered the four following possibilities:

DIAGRAM 3.4. **Ŋgam dù** basic responses

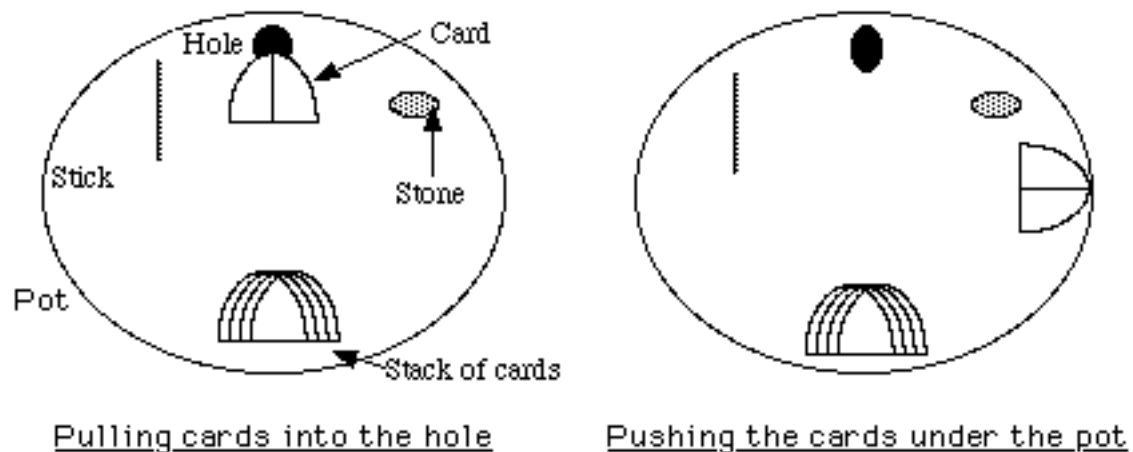


The idea of a card “looking” can be used to elaborate on the basic answer which is read from the alternatives attached to the stick and the stone. If a card on the stone “looks” outside the pot as in a) and b) above, this can be used to give more information about the evil which threatens. For example, 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 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. Bəbə, 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 Bamiléké 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. Bəbə 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. *Ŋgam d̀* Further responses

#### *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. **Ŋgam 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 ngofogo**. 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?”<sup>119</sup>.

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

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<sup>119</sup>The Zande tests of the efficacy of benge poison are similar, q.v. Evans-Pritchard 1937:337.



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 tree<sup>120</sup> which has been scraped onto an old-style Mambila hoe-blade<sup>121</sup>. The bark is sprinkled into the holes, using both hands, to the accompaniment of an invocation similar to that described above. It is unclear whether all practitioners of **ngam dù** use this technique, but certainly all use **sér ngam**. 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 **sér ngam** 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.

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<sup>120</sup>**Bop**: *Albizia zygia* (DZ).

<sup>121</sup>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.

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)<sup>122</sup>. 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

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<sup>122</sup>Fortes 1983.

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 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 travelled. 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 **sér ngam** 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:  
INFERENCE 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

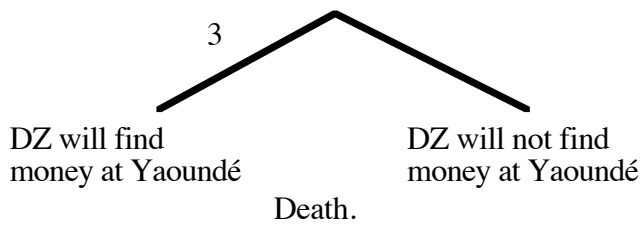
divination session lasting some six hours on 30th January 1987. I was present throughout, and recorded on tape most of the questions posed, as well as the comments made when the results were inspected. The results were photographed when possible and others were sketched. Some of the session is omitted 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 Wɔŋ 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 Wɔŋ already there, making arrangements for the next day. I do not know if they had consulted **ŋgam tubu** before my arrival, but I saw no sign of **tubu** chips. It is probable that Wɔŋ went to Bi to express his intention to divine about his child on the following day (possibly as a result of having done **ŋgam tubu** himself, at his home or with another practitioner living nearby) rather than going to Bi to ask whether he should divine.

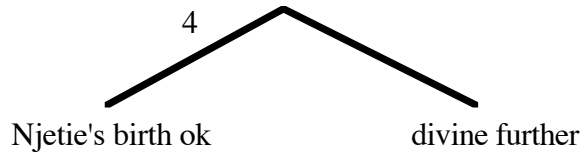
There now follows commentary to Diagram 3.6 and Table 3.2 (below) which chart the questions and answers. Diagram 3.6 charts the further questions posed by the diviner in response to two unexpected results which referred to death. Each fork marks the alternatives put to the divination, and subsequent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

DIAGRAM 3.6 Reactions to unexpected results  
NB Questions 1-2 not shown

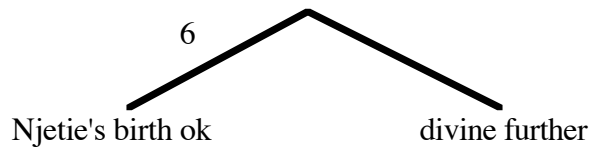
(a) Q: Will DZ's money be waiting in Yaoundé or not?



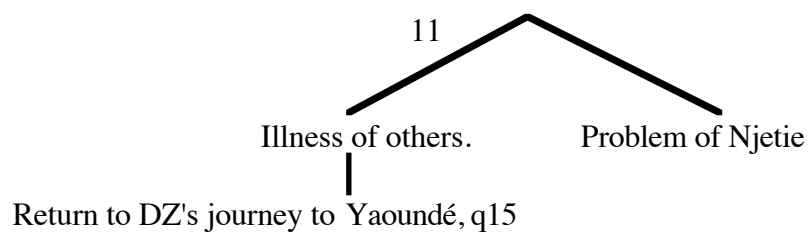
Q: Is Njetie's birth alright, or should we divine further?



Q: Is Njetie's birth alright, or should we divine further?



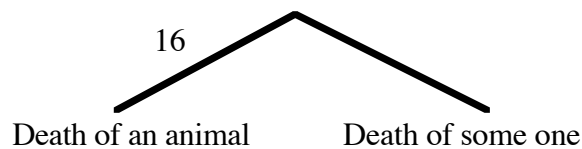
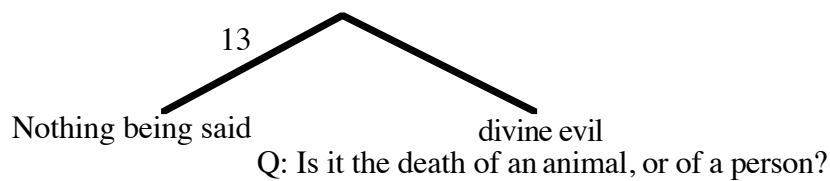
Q: Is it an illness of somebody else, or to do with Njetie?



(b)

Ba Son i.e. death.

Q: Is nothing being said, or should we divine further?



End

Continue with questions about illness:  
Question 18 table 1 pot 3

The questions reveal why he was so anxious: Njetie, his daughter, was in labour, and he had not yet heard how she was. (Wɔŋ, when he arrived, told us that she had given 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 Wɔŋ and Bi suggested it may mean that a cow was being slaughtered somewhere.

Three days later, however, Wɔŋ 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.

Q 40:  
TABLE 3.2 Divination Questions.  
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 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 not end it\*

Q 39:

Solve quarrel with Bere

[4]

vs.

Not that, look outside

NB Ambiguous response

[2]

**POT 2**[Started late]

Q 25:

Wəkə return to Nyangi

vs.

\*divine further. Not return\*

Q 27:

Wəkə return to Nyangi

vs.

\*divine further. Not return\*

Q 28:

Problems for Wəkə if  
she returns [6]

vs.

\*search outside\*

Q 29:

\*Problems at Wəŋ's\* [7]

vs.

Problems at Ləbən'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. 3.6 above

Q 18:

illness not serious

vs.

\*divine further\*

Q 24:

**sua** will end it

vs.

\*divine further\*

Q 28:

Problems at Wəṅ's

vs.

Problems at Ləbən's

*Abandoned before Q38 since*

*"it wanted to talk about death."*



Table 3.2: Notes.

The table charts the sequence of divination concerning the illness of Wɔŋ 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 Wɔŋ's house, i.e. his wife and Z (Wəkə, see below [6]), which Wɔŋ 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. Wɔŋ 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 Wɔŋ's mother, had claimed that a maize field cultivated by Wɔŋ 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. Wɔŋ 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 (**lə**).

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] Wəkə is the (full) sister of Wɔŋ who had left her third husband Nyanggi in about October 1986 (when I was not in the village). She was his fourth wife. Wɔŋ'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 Wɔŋ. In May 1987 she had still not returned to Nyanggi.

Wɔŋ asked divination whether Wəkə 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.

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

[7] Lɔbɔn Philippe, the full younger brother of Wɔŋ had recently moved into his new house beside that of Wɔŋ, 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 hits<sup>123</sup>. 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. Wɔŋ 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 Wɔŋ'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.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>That is to say: if the **sua**-oath taking has discernible results.

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 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 Wɔŋ’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 with<sup>125</sup> (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 38 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

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<sup>124</sup>A 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).

<sup>125</sup>e.g. buried treatments.

henceforth ignored. They forced the diviners into examining the possibilities of more complicated problems. Once these had been eliminated they could return to the main strand 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.



## 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.”

## 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 be discussed in its own right before the consideration of the translated **sua** addresses themselves.

#### THEORIES OF TRANSLATION

Anthropologists' strive 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."<sup>126</sup> Those who take the pessimistic and subversive line<sup>127</sup> 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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<sup>126</sup>The 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. Bootstrapping 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.

<sup>127</sup>This 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"<sup>128</sup>. 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<sup>129</sup>, 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<sup>130</sup> 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 practise: their very success in analysing

Yoruba concepts of knowledge (**mò** and **gbàgbó**) 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.

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<sup>128</sup>Bourdieu is further discussed in the conclusion.

<sup>129</sup>Strecker, 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.

<sup>130</sup>See Garfinkel, Lynch and Livingston 1981 or Gilbert & Mulkey 1984.

Kirk (1969) claims that the possibility of “back translation” (a routine check practiced 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 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. Quine’s position may 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 a choice of best 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<sup>131</sup>.

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”<sup>132</sup> (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 be 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 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<sup>133</sup>. Bilinguals can and do discuss the adequacy of translations, and thereby confute the radical translation problem. Indeed Quine allows for this

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<sup>131</sup>Indeed, this is Quine’s motive in advancing the argument.

<sup>132</sup>Boyer 1989a, 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.

<sup>133</sup>Feleppa 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).

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 (pace Quine) there is evidence that “basic level objects” do exist<sup>134</sup> (Rosch et al. 1976; Rosch 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.

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<sup>134</sup>Notwithstanding the arguments of Atran (1983, 1985, 1987a ,1987b) questioning the ontological status of biological taxa .

## 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. 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 1969<sup>135</sup>. 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. They provide useful techniques for anthropologists whose goals otherwise differ from those of socio-linguists.

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.

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<sup>135</sup>But see the comments of Barber 1988 on the dangers of taking Ifa’s claims about itself at face value.

“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.

The second source of guidance is the now extensive literature in both philosophy, and anthropology concerning “the radical translation problem<sup>136</sup>” or the “hermeneutic circle<sup>137</sup>.” Such discussion may be illuminating and occasionally entertaining but it has surprisingly little application<sup>138</sup> when one actually faces the task of translating a text.

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<sup>136</sup>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.

<sup>137</sup>See Kepnes 1986 for citations of Ricoeur.

<sup>138</sup>Needham’s examination of Wittgenstein in the context of the translation of “belief” (Needham 1972) is similarly fascinating but unhelpful as a handbook.

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<sup>139</sup> 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. The way

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<sup>139</sup>If applied as method only then ethnomethodology sidesteps Gellner’s strictures against its lack of sociological awareness.



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<sup>140</sup>.

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.

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<sup>140</sup> The literature on repairs (when the turn-taking sequence has broken down, or has faltered) is discussed by Levinson 1983 especially p 360.

*Anthropological Translation*

Ethnographic enquiry proceeds as a series of conversations<sup>141</sup> 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.

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<sup>142</sup>. 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).

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<sup>141</sup>This is in accord with the "dialogic" or dynamic, interactive approach as advocated by Dwyer 1977, Tedlock 1983: 321-338 and Fabian 1974, 1985.

<sup>142</sup>Especially the use of the "contrast set" to understand a word.

Those who translate<sup>143</sup> 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), Tedlock, B. (1982) and Tedlock, D (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.

The text then is in part a peg upon which ethnography can be hung, and in part it constitutes

that ethnography<sup>144</sup>. 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.

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<sup>143</sup>The theory of Bible-translation is discussed in Nida & Taber 1969, Nida 1979a & b and Noss 1981.

<sup>144</sup>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.

*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.

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 B́; M̀i ch̀o sua h̀n. (1) M̀i ch̀o h̀n, mgbe.  
m̀i ch̀o sua h̀n (1) m̀i ch̀o h̀n mgbe  
I chop **sua** this (1) I chop this chief
- 2 Ch; Aha  
aha  
aha
- 3 B́; M̀i yuo sar, m̀i yuo chibi,  
m̀i yuo sar m̀i yuo chibi  
I leave witchcraft I leave night
- 4 m̀i nde bie Mallam<sup>145</sup> di  
m̀i nde bie Mallam di  
I go ask **Mallam** some
- 5 Nuar d̀ni, ma d̀ b́ ǹ k̀ wa  
nuar d̀ni ma d̀ b́ ǹ k̀ wa  
person here if of you is what QN.
- 6 M̀i siri nuar m̀ Mallam -e  
m̀ siri nuar m̀ Mallam -e  
I witchcraft person with **Mallam**
- 7 m̀ yila le bu h̀n,  
m̀ yila le bu h̀n  
I enter in knife this

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<sup>145</sup>Mallam, an Islamic scholar and proselytiser.

- 8      mì sɔ chén wanyu, mì fa sɔ sɔ.  
          mì sɔ chén wanyu mì fa sɔ sɔ  
          I live one else I two live live
- 9      Yuo sar, yuo chibi,  
          yuo sar      yuo chibi  
          leave witchcraft leave night
- 10     Nuar 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 mì ha ɲgwə də ki wa?  
          ama fii baá mani à mì ha ɲgwə də ki wa  
          but bush PRES. thus he I give NEG. of what QN.
- 12     Mì bə nyam, mì bə gɔŋ, mì bə ló.  
          mì bə nyam mì bə gɔŋ mì bə ló  
          I harm animal I harm hunt I harm compound
- 13     Mì yila le bu hən,  
          mì yila le bu hən  
          I enter in knife this
- 14     mì sɔ chén wanyu, mì fa sɔ sɔ.  
          mì sɔ chén wanyu mì fa sɔ sɔ  
          I live one else I two live live
- 15     Ma mì kɔ ɲgwə, mì ke njulu baa  
          ma mì kɔ ɲgwə mì 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.

*Notes 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.

*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.

“( ) ” 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<sup>146</sup> 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

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<sup>146</sup>The terms Mask, mask and masquerade have been defined in Chapter 2 above.

be danced for any one individual; there are no clear criteria. Those of the other 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 SOMIÉ 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 initiator 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<sup>147</sup>. 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<sup>148</sup> (two of which are also used in constructing the **boḡo** (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.

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

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<sup>147</sup>Schneider 1955:117 writing of Warwar mentions repairing the enclosure of the "sacred grove (**njir**)".

<sup>148</sup>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.

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 (**ko lo**) 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<sup>149</sup> 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 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

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<sup>149</sup>The 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**.

assumed to have occurred unless its absence is mentioned. Similar chains occur during other rituals<sup>150</sup>. 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.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>152</sup>. 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 the bundle of leaves. Everyone looked westwards and touched right shoulders while the Chief “buried the village<sup>153</sup>”. Everyone faced westwards, and extended their hands behind their back to touch

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<sup>150</sup>For example, during the learning of divination and in curing rites or "medical" treatments.

<sup>151</sup>Rain did not fall from Saturday afternoon until after Wednesday morning. The grass was tied late on the Sunday afternoon .

<sup>152</sup>It is not observed when **sua** is danced for funerals. Therefore it can be suggested that the rule is connected with the wrestling discussed below.

<sup>153</sup>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**).

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.”

Mambila text:           **Bó mbəri ne kaga dɔle lóó mbo**  
                                  **nyám bàgà ndeè lóó nyám vən nden yaga**  
                                  **tong bàgà ndeè lóó, tong vən nde yaga**  
                                  **fuò vən kela ter, njai bàgà ndeè ka lóó.**

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**<sup>154</sup>. Whilst the women treat both sexes, men administer **lab mbo** only to other males. What followed was the **lab mbo** of men’s **sua**. First the participants were treated. Lees 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**

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<sup>154</sup>**lab** (**labbe** for repeated action) is the verb used for plastering with mud .



**nguru mií yə**), 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<sup>155</sup> 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 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

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<sup>155</sup>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.

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 **cho** (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 **soó**, 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. (The latter two actions also occur at the end of the **sua** oath). The officiant says **Chàṅ 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 bending the right arm back so that the hand touches one's own right shoulder then slapping right palms above shoulder height. 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<sup>156</sup>" 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 annointed with the oiled feathers.

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.

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.

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<sup>156</sup>Salt 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 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 **gəgə** (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 Ŋgu Mark, who had also been active in organizing the rites. Ŋgu 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. Ŋgu 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 (**lɔgɔ**) 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 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 Ŋgu 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 ndɔgɔ**. (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 Ŋgu 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 Mask 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 Mask 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 Mask 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 Mask.

The next day was **soó**, a holy rest day. In recognition of this the Mask 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 damə** (the most powerful **sua** type), a man who has entered **sua mbo** as described above may perform **kulu sua** in an adultery case. **Sua damə** enables one to be the sacrificer at the main **sua** oath, as well as to enact **damə** in order to protect the village. Learning **sua damə** 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 Sapkə, the eldest sister of the Chief.

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

Ritual Title (name)	Hamlet	Qualifications <sup>157</sup>
Fəniaga (Spakə)	Centre	d of Chief Menandi
Fəwani (Kərəbən)	Centre	d of Chief Kolaka
Fəachen (Ləvə)	Centre	sd of Chief Menandi
Fəhəme (Ni)	Gumbe	d of head of Gumbe
Mbəgəm (Njiə)	Njerup	d of head of Njerup

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 **sua** 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 **Bàgà**, and so on. Hence a moiety system operates among all women who participate in the women's **sua** in Somié. This includes the women from the hamlets.

Fəniaga (Sapkə) heads **Sua də bə Bàgà**

Fəwani (Kərəbən) heads **Sua də bə Mvop**. If a newly selected Fəniaga (or Fəwani) 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 **sua** 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 except for **Ŋgwun** which occurs around a new moon.

The rite on the first Bam is performed every year. It is the only activity of women's **sua** to take place in the years when the Mask itself does not dance. This is called "the burial

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<sup>157</sup>The 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 .



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 **damø** rite). On request the senior **Marenjo** (Sapkø) 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 **sua**” 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 **sua**, discussed below). They then dance in front of Sapkø’s house before going to Gumbe and **Ŋgwe**<sup>158</sup> hamlets. Later the initiands are inducted through eating **tetaga**<sup>159</sup> fish and goat in the **gubu sua**, the women’s **sua** enclosure in the bush.

What might be termed “women’s **sua** behaviour” is much in evidence in the days preceding that of the main dance, and during the dancing on the Bam of digging **sua**. This 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<sup>160</sup>, and one (in 1988) tied some tin cans between her legs representing swollen testicles. Clay penises are fleetingly 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 **ha mban** 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<sup>161</sup> 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

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<sup>158</sup>This is where **Kørøbøn** lives.

<sup>159</sup>a type of catfish: *Synodontis* sp.

<sup>160</sup>Meek 1931:553 mentions female ritual transvestism.

<sup>161</sup>The women’s Mask is an amorphous mass of vegetation.

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 unanimity among the women. Several times a procession of the **Marenjo** emerges from the Palace, Sapkə wearing the Chief's ceremonial hat and all the three **Marenjo** from Somié 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 (**kɔgɔ 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 Sapkə 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 bɔ̀ Bàngà**, goes 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 song<sup>162</sup>. 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.

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<sup>162</sup>This song is also sung by the women while men dance men's **sua**.

The next day the other group, the **sua də bð Mvop**, 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**) this may also<sup>163</sup> be called **naga sua** (lick sua). 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.

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 də bð 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.

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<sup>163</sup>There is inconsistency in the usage of **lab sua** vs. **naga sua**. Some women use them synonymously, others said that what has just been described is **naga sua**, and that **lab sua** is the similar rite performed in the years when women’s **sua** is not danced.

## 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**<sup>164</sup> 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 leading up

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<sup>164</sup>*Sporobolus pyramidalis*. This appears to be the **jiro** grass discussed by Meek (1931:552).

to the Palace. The area thus defined is called **mɔ 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)<sup>165</sup>.

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 **ngam 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.

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<sup>165</sup>The tapes are available for further analysis in the Cambridge Department of Social

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; in between 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.

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<sup>166</sup>, 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<sup>167</sup> 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

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<sup>166</sup>Contra Meek 1931:552.

<sup>167</sup>As occurred on the occasion considered below q.v. line 480.

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 remaining in his hand over his right shoulder<sup>168</sup>. 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<sup>169</sup>. 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.

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<sup>168</sup>A similar action occurs in divination when a chain of questioning is to be terminated and before a new set of questions is posed.

<sup>169</sup>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.

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 words "sɔ sɔ sɔ sɔ..." ("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, 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 **damə** rite. **Damə** 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 Chief's 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`ò nùàr dɔ́ʒɛ pat! B́ ndée 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 Mambila labour migrants from Nigeria 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 rôles 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 decorticating 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 Sapkə emerged from inside the **jolori** to voice the women's opinion: "Men drink moonshine then beat up women." The women applauded Sapkə's speech..

Jubon was then sent to fetch the **kogo baji** (the stool of the chief). This was in anticipation of **dame**.

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

Once the **dame** had been completed most people returned to the Palace (some men left to go fishing or beer drinking). Talk resumed, matters raised before the **dame** 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

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<sup>170</sup>.  
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"<sup>171</sup> women.

---

<sup>170</sup>"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.

<sup>171</sup>**Kulu**, "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

- A person who has buried a hen's egg<sup>172</sup>  
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<sup>173</sup>.  
You see a person, you say kill a person  
Maize in this plain I eat never, ever, ever<sup>174</sup>  
If I don't know, I live with an open heart.  
We, my friends will stop quarreling thus.
- 15 Village of Ndeba<sup>175</sup>, 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.  
If 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.

---

by the homonymity it is of note that all connection was denied (both to D.Z. and to Mona Perrin).

<sup>172</sup>The implication is that the egg is part of some evil treatment. Farnham Rehfisch notes (p.c.) that Mambilla in Warwar in 1953 considered the eating of eggs to be disgusting.

<sup>173</sup>If 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.

<sup>174</sup>The refrain has been discussed in the section "The **sua**-oath".

<sup>175</sup>Ndeba is another name for Somié village.

- 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<sup>176</sup>  
You'll die, thus you won't eat this maize never, ever, ever.  
If you have one mouth<sup>177</sup> your heads<sup>178</sup> will be strong.  
Come do this **sua**. < = to Tam  
Ta; I, this person say;
- 35 Yesterday when Chief Møgø died<sup>179</sup> 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?  
Even then Njai<sup>180</sup> here, you here,

---

<sup>176</sup>This refers to the transformations discussed above ( note to L 3).

<sup>177</sup>A “shared” mouth is a conventional metaphor for agreement.

<sup>178</sup>“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.

<sup>179</sup>Møgø 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.

- I had called him already.  
Nj; We two were right up<sup>181</sup>, right over there.
- 45 Tam; So, I called the Ŋgeya, the Ŋgon, the Tabə<sup>182</sup>  
The Nyimadoŋ and the Nia<sup>183</sup> 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?
- 50 Did you divine for us, or didn't you divine?  
I sorted it out with an open heart<sup>184</sup>,  
Did I see with my eyes?  
Divination was at another place.  
I was with my things at Atta, touring.
- 55 I was there, I saw earth divination.  
Divination went too hot<sup>185</sup> at Atta.  
I came to this village.  
I took Njai and Jumvop<sup>186</sup> who was there

---

<sup>180</sup>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.

<sup>181</sup>“Up” at Mayo Darlé, at the top of the escarpment to the East of Somié.

<sup>182</sup>A list of the names of some senior men. Nia is another name for Guanam, the sacrificer.

<sup>183</sup>Nia = Guanam.

<sup>184</sup>lit. “one heart”. This relates to **søn chén** the one “shared” mouth of agreement, and is a conventional metaphor for honest and open action, without secret motives.

<sup>185</sup>“too hot” as a metaphor for being too much for him, either beyond his comprehension or (more likely) warning of the death of Møgø but giving no clues how it could be averted.





- 80 We are tired with hunger, don't be tired, tired, tired.  
Children of the Chief, they say seized and took  
Dega<sup>190</sup> thus, and not otherwise.  
So we are, not otherwise.  
Chief, they divine us freely.
- 85 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.  
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.<sup>191</sup>
- 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<sup>192</sup>  
I harvested my father's palm trees, and my mother's palm trees.<sup>193</sup>

---

<sup>190</sup>Dega is the current Chief of Somié.

<sup>191</sup>Tam worries that the recurrent cases which are heard in the Palace will wear the present Chief to death.

<sup>192</sup>“The thing borrowed” refers to the palm trees discussed below.

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<sup>193</sup> 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 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



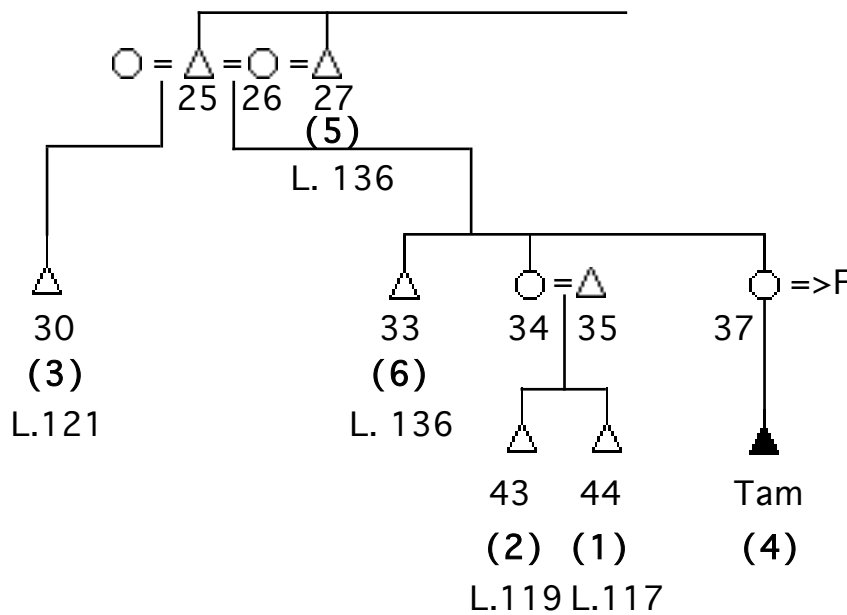
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7	Ôunani;	8	NyuΔ;	9	T\tiya;
10	Gøgar/Ôgw\gar;	11	Chi;	12	Ge;
13	Ôgeya Joseph;	14	Ôgwuse;	15	Møgø;
16	Kwør Pierre;	17	GaΔfi Joseph;	18	Telechen Simon;
19	Nyakati François;	20	Wulakwa;	21	Ba Anne;
22	Chief of Ribao;	23	Chomo;	24	BaΔ;
25	Nditi;	26	Nø;	27	Menandi;
28	Nyiten;	29	BøΔdie;	30	Kolaka;
31	??;	32	Ti;	33	Kwe;
34	D\dia;	35	KuΔbili;	36	Dan;
37	Kuwøk\Ôøk;	38	Ôgwa / Ôgø;	39	K\mi;
40	Ôg\;	41	Yabøn;	42	??;
43	Njita\b\;	44	Toó;	45	Gwa;
46	Mena Adolph;	47	BøΔdi\;	48	Chenuar Elizabeth;
49	Gamgbe/Gamia.				

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 Toó [44] (labeled **(1)**) then Njita\b\ [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.

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<sup>194</sup> 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 Toó.  
 Toó died already.  
 Njitabə entered there.  
 120 Njitabə died, Dədia came, she died already.  
 Njitabə 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



<sup>194</sup>Kwa = Chief Kolaka d. 1949.



- 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<sup>197</sup>.  
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<sup>198</sup>  
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<sup>199</sup>.  
If you have already paid we are fine.

---

<sup>197</sup>This has an 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...

<sup>198</sup>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.

<sup>199</sup> He refers to the cutting of **sua**.

- 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  
and his elder brothers will find their mouths<sup>200</sup>.  
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<sup>201</sup>.  
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<sup>202</sup>.

---

<sup>200</sup>“find their mouths” i.e. come to agreement.

<sup>201</sup>What is being given is life (L 201) in contrast to the actions of witches.



- 210 I climb up to that village  
a person goes to different people for that  
[  
xx; One, just one over there.  
Ta; 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  
may 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<sup>203</sup> is bad  
This year I will not climb<sup>204</sup>.  
I do not harm the things of this person.  
They the children will leave there in a bit.

---

<sup>202</sup>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.

<sup>203</sup>“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.

<sup>204</sup>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.

225 It's the end, my younger brothers, we two, will leave in the case of the field<sup>205</sup>.

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.

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 xxxxxx xxxxxx

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 **Chàṅ**,

---

<sup>205</sup>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.

- Ta; If it's the wind from the East<sup>206</sup>, sorting it out alright.  
 If its a thing of treatment<sup>207</sup>, 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<sup>208</sup>, 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.  
 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; xxxx xxxx  
 260 Ta; if we don't know, we turn the eyes to the East  
 [  
 Ga; xxxxxxxx  
  
 262 20 second fast exchange between Tam and Guanam, with  
 263 interjections from Jacob and others, discussing  
 264 whether problems arising from coffee cultivation

---

<sup>206</sup>Wind from the East. This is usually a synonym for the wind of **ChàΔ**, but the East is unambiguously good whilst the latter is ambivalent. The wind of **ChàΔ** is given as the cause of unwanted events. It should also be noted that **fuō** means both wind and breath so **fuō ChàΔ** could be translated as the breath of god (**ChàΔ**) rather than the wind of god (**ChàΔ**).

<sup>207</sup>Treatment (I\ ) is a neutral and wide-ranging expression, here used in a negative sense i.e. referring to poisons et cetera.

<sup>208</sup>As do intestinal worms

265 should be mentioned during **sua**, or merely discussed.  
266 Guanam says that since illness means not working, it  
267 is better to cut **sua** < = laughter.

Ta; Listen. You dig thus  
You put it thus - yesterday wind came against the house<sup>209</sup>.

[

270 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.  
Jb; Thus.  
285 Ta; If it is a thing which **Chàṅ** 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

---

<sup>209</sup>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).



- 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 drink<sup>211</sup>.  
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,  
you live one day you don't live two days never, ever, ever.  
[ ]  
Ga;xxx xxx  
[ ]
- 345 Jb; They harm divination.  
They harm divination.

---

<sup>211</sup>Were the Chief to be vanquished by witchcraft then even chickens will be too frightened (of  
poison) to drink beer.

[ ]

Ta; They harm divination.

You the people who divine at the divination place  
you look. Njai here, his head<sup>212</sup> 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 stay<sup>213</sup> 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

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.

---

<sup>212</sup>“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.

<sup>213</sup>“Stay” is used to mean: “transform into”.

I, Guanam, here now. You do it.  
Jb; You listen. The day which they looked at divination  
375 Tətiya wasn't in the village. Patience.  
Ga; They pull things<sup>214</sup> here, our **sua** won't see it.  
Jb; So, Tətiya wasn't in the village  
He looked at his compound. I said: its bad. ()  
So, () and Miya<sup>215</sup> 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<sup>216</sup>.  
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 theirs, 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<sup>217</sup>  
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 you. Who does it?

---

<sup>214</sup>“Pull things” the speaker objects that different issues are being confused.

<sup>215</sup>She has been ill for a long time.

<sup>216</sup>Possibly implying she's been caught by anti-witchcraft medicine, or by **sua karup**, hence is a witch herself.

<sup>217</sup>Suggesting 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 they must die.  
If it is thus how can they give birth.  
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<sup>218</sup>.  
405 If she gave with an open heart,  
person, palm person, you take the palms,  
you return with palm-oil<sup>219</sup> you give her, she licks it.  
If the work isn't straight,  
she removes you and gives to another person.

---

<sup>218</sup>Usufruct 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.

<sup>219</sup>The 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) .

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<sup>220</sup>

goes to that house,

entered there. You measure<sup>221</sup> the woman < = 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<sup>222</sup> 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.

---

<sup>220</sup>Chi's child is Mønday, and Chi is the wife of Nø Mark.

<sup>221</sup>To measure or to try out someone, is to "try something on them" i.e. to attempt some evil of them.

<sup>222</sup>"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.

430 Ga; You, I'm Gia<sup>223</sup>: may snakes bite him,  
may things look<sup>224</sup> 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<sup>225</sup>, 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.  
A child of the Sarki<sup>226</sup> people did it.  
440 You man, woman  
you will enter there.

---

<sup>223</sup>"Gia" Guanam makes a play on two of his own names to make a third: Guanam + Nia (q.v. line 46) = Gia.

<sup>224</sup>"look": Rather than an implication of evil eye the idea is that (bad) things search out the person concerned and plague them.

<sup>225</sup>Tarchimi was a FeB of Guanam, and affine(??) of Jacob; he stands as a paradigm senior to both of them.

<sup>226</sup>Sarki 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.

The hearts are ill so they say its Sarki<sup>227</sup>  
which did it all then.  
May that person enter into the **sua** knife  
445 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  
450 He did uncover it and if he did so with a needle<sup>228</sup> 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 they don't know, may they turn their eyes to the East  
We men, women, () you someone,  
455 you enter there so they say: Sarki did the thing.  
Yøgøten<sup>229</sup> has children, and a mother.  
His younger brothers have children,  
they have wives.  
If they go and enter<sup>230</sup> there, Mambila,  
460 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.  
Ga; Blow and look into divination<sup>231</sup>, things are bad in Ndeba.

---

<sup>227</sup>Sarki 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.

<sup>228</sup>The use of poisoned needles is attributed to witches especially those called **sar**.

<sup>229</sup>Yøgøten is a son of Njaibi at Gumbe hamlet. I do not know why he was singled out here.

<sup>230</sup>“enter there” that is to say into the affair of the Palace roof.

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<sup>232</sup> < = laughter
- 470 You of the centre, you have the site of the **sua** enclosure.  
You wait for me I chop **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 **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, a person over me  
**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.

---

<sup>231</sup>“blow and look” at the beginning of divination the diviner blows into the spider-hole to encourage it to emerge.

<sup>232</sup> Guanam lives about 1 km outside the village. He jokes about being old and hence walking slowly so arriving late for village meetings.

- Get dry grass<sup>233</sup>.  
Ga; Some, they will look for people's heads  
They will put them  
that is to say: don't cross the open road, people.
- 490 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 ??**ngunguṅ**<sup>234</sup>?? < = laughter
- 495 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".  
Buyør Vincent; I'll find my money<sup>235</sup>  
so I can cut my **sua** with it .
- 500 Nj; Give a pipe<sup>236</sup>.  
pause: 1 minute  
Ga; cut through thus, cut through his back<sup>237</sup>,  
carry it outside. I said carry **sua** outside.  
You'll thus not eat this maize never, ever, ever.

---

<sup>233</sup>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.

<sup>71</sup>Unknown word.

<sup>235</sup>The money is the **laga sua** needed so a **sua**-oath could be taken for a different case to which Buyør Vincent was a party.

<sup>236</sup>This is the pipe referred to in the note to line 486.

<sup>237</sup>Guanam is saying this while treating himself and the others who have addressed **sua**. (q.v. L508 & 509).

- Nj; Have you got any matches?  
505 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.  
510 Nj; It is thus, they leave the harmful things to enter the ground.  
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 in the same manner.

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).

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 l. 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 **ngam dù**. 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<sup>238</sup>. 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<sup>239</sup>. It must be noted that the village sits against a low hill to its Western edge

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<sup>238</sup>There are two different verbs which the informant in question used: **chø** (chop) and **Δuøp** (cut), usually used to describe the action of slitting a chicken's throat.

<sup>239</sup>Beliefs about rainbows are not greatly elaborated. The **chø** snake is said to "blow" rainbows, but this statement was never explained with respect either to snake or rainbows. A

looking over the plain towards Guengue mountain from behind which the 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 lo**<sup>240</sup>) 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 example<sup>241</sup> 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 (**gùnà**). 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 culminated<sup>242</sup> when one of her children died

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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.

<sup>240</sup>Lit. fire-stone treatment.

<sup>241</sup>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.

<sup>242</sup>This happened 19/4/1988, eighteen months after the oath transcribed here.

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.

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 arranging the marriage of 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 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 Ịgu/Nuaga, now c 10 years old.

c. 1967 Catechist of Somié village under Jean-Pierre Malassis.

1983 W2

1986 end of the year: Separated.

Her first marriage was childless. She has had two children (s, d) with SS.

SUA KARE TRANSCRIPT. 26 NOVEMBER 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; Nuaga<sup>243</sup>, whose lap will he sit on?
- 5 Give him to whoever will hold him.  
MA; **Kusum**<sup>244</sup>, a person with magic spears, with witchcraft, with poison;  
even I, should I be that person, which treats them. I leave as witchcraft,<sup>245</sup>  
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 and threaten me.  
If I don't know about this, may 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<sup>246</sup>. < = Chicken squawks, being gripped firmly in the hand.

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<sup>243</sup>"Nuaga" is SS's son crippled with polio. Note that although a twin he does not have a "twin-name". DZ speculates that this is due to his illness - the name may have been changed.

<sup>244</sup>ideophone for blessing with spittle.

<sup>245</sup>This is a personalized variant of the paragraph introduction, fitting the more personalized (private) form of **sua karup** by contrast to **sua**-oaths taken at the Chiefs Palace although this personalized form also occurs during Palace oaths. The speaker here is saying "If I transform into a witch ... may I enter into the **sua** knife" [ and die like the chicken].

(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 Ŋgu<sup>247</sup> 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<sup>248</sup>. (2)

Ma; This, I leave as a witch, I leave as the night.

Someone asks that I help them,

I will help them with an open heart.

35 If I take evil grass and put it there.

If 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, may I turn my 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)

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<sup>246</sup>A possible reading is that the malefactors cannot remain hidden, that Muy will come to know them.

<sup>247</sup>Ŋgu is an abbreviation of Nuaga who was not looking at the ground as he was told.

<sup>248</sup>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.

- 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 their 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<sup>249</sup>  
 55 I leave as () ants<sup>250</sup>.  
 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.  
 Only if they have some kind of motive<sup>251</sup>,  
 let them tell me and I will freely pay them.  
 Freely, openly!  
 They slander me.  
 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 **Chàṅ**, fine.  
 But be it () in someone's hands. They say: I do this  
 70 Why should I get help?

---

<sup>249</sup>See note L 7 .

<sup>250</sup>“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: “**wò 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.

<sup>251</sup>Note the similarity between this and lines 195-199 of the transcript of the **sua** oath in Chapter Six above.

- Only the road which I cut  
A person mustn't cross there  
if a person crosses intentionally  
I'll hear them.
- 75 They enter into this knife then  
they 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 ()
- 80 So I drive away the children with them.  
Illnesses which pursue  
this house here.  
my wife whose stomach left badly<sup>252</sup>.  
Only if it's the wind of **Chàṅ**
- 85 leaving people's things<sup>253</sup>...  
If people enter their hands there  
They say: aaa me?  
I, for myself, I...()  
Are these children so many times too many?
- 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.  
My daughter staying here  
if she doesn't want men.
- 95 Only if it's the wind of **Chàṅ**, alright.  
If it isn't the wind of **Chàṅ** ()  
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 bush<sup>254</sup>.

---

<sup>252</sup>“Stomach”: a common idiom for pregnancy. SS's wife had had a miscarriage some months previously.

<sup>253</sup>Implicitly, the “things” have been left in disarray.



- Only if it is just illnesses which stay with them  
If it is the hand of **Chàṅ**, 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 **Chàṅ**.  
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 JJ<sup>255</sup>  
If I here am something which annoys them.  
Only if it is the wind of **Chàṅ** alright.  
If it is not the wind of **Chàṅ**
- 125 they enter into the knife this itself.  
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 brothers.

---

<sup>254</sup>Those in the open bush = all those not in the village.

<sup>255</sup>JJ - a full younger brother of SS. He works in Ngaoundere.

- You slander his sisters.  
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 **Chàṅ**
- 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<sup>256</sup>  
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,
- 160 that person will not be named.  
That person will harm the earth, and not be named.  
Those who take this are just ()<sup>257</sup>  
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,

---

<sup>256</sup>Evil 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).

<sup>257</sup>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).

- 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 may 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,  
if you enter a Mallam's house<sup>258</sup>  
so you can take them, so to harm them.  
If a Mallam knows about this
- 195 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 Ŋgu.
- 200 MA; This child<sup>259</sup> is too much, she is too fat {big}.

---

<sup>258</sup>Mallams sell treatments and spells for a wide range of purposes, including (by repute only) witchcraft.

- She doesn't marry any husband, today at all,  
people, young men bless her.
- [
- SS; It's forbidden<sup>260</sup>
- 205 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 housey
- 210 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<sup>261</sup>, alright.
- 215 That person do no harm!  
You threaten the child,  
you threaten and say:  
You say "Jak"<sup>262</sup>! If you say "Jak"! She will not find a husband to marry.  
Person you enter into the **sua** knife.
- 220 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,  
then she here will turn her eyes to the East.  
SS; The child with a dead foot<sup>263</sup>, this one here,

---

<sup>259</sup>Seven months after this she married and her first child was born in May 1988.

<sup>260</sup>SS is still speaking to Nuaga who had been looking up to see what MA was doing.

<sup>261</sup>If 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.

<sup>262</sup>Ideophone.

<sup>263</sup>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

- only if it is wind of **Chàṅ**, 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  
 may they enter into this knife.
- 230 If they don't know, may their heads be strong.  
 [  
 MA; I will break<sup>264</sup> this over him here.  
 I will break this over him here  
 < sit down & take the chicken < = To SS  
 SS; Yuaga - sit down on the ground!<sup>265</sup>
- 235 Simon<sup>266</sup>; 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,  
 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<sup>267</sup> enter into the **sua** knife,

---

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.

<sup>264</sup>“break this” MA is referring to the chicken which is about to be sacrificed.

<sup>265</sup>Yuaga is another name for Nuaga.

<sup>266</sup> One of SS's sons.

- you live for one day only, not live to eat two, not not ever.  
 SS; The coffee hasn't arrived<sup>268</sup>.  
 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.<sup>269</sup>  
 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<sup>270</sup>,  
 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  
 SS; Only if they come to the Chief's house<sup>271</sup>.

---

<sup>267</sup>The 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.

<sup>268</sup>SS 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.

<sup>269</sup>A rare usage of **mgbe ChàΔ** (chief god), which is here synonymous with the usual **fuò ChàΔ** (wind of god).

<sup>270</sup>This 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.

- MA; Alright<sup>272</sup>. The house isn't happy.  
 270 Even if it is () money.  
 If the earth is bad<sup>273</sup> 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 **Chàṅ** 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  
 (50)<sup>274</sup> So, bring fire.

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<sup>271</sup> SS doesn't expect to get paid before the Chief himself gets paid.

<sup>272</sup>“Dites donc” This is an emphatic which MA has learnt in isolation. He does not otherwise speak French.

<sup>273</sup>This is a variation on the idea of natural causes (usually expressed by **fuò ChàΔ**) 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.

SS; So, Ŋgu 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<sup>275</sup>.

(1) Its 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.

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<sup>274</sup>Some 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.

<sup>275</sup>Said 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.



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:

Extracts 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 Mb<sup>276</sup> twelve times! The Chief said this should not go to Bankim but must be sorted out in the village.

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<sup>276</sup>Mb is not the mother of Dd but mother of the headman of Yokasalla, and FZ of Dd

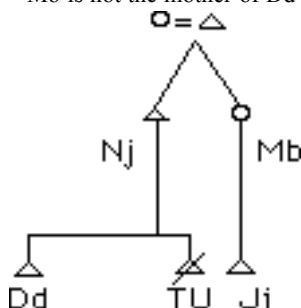
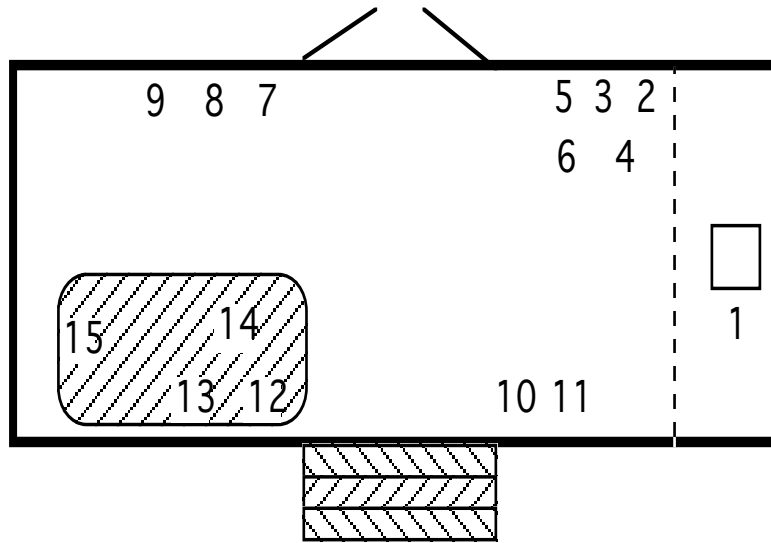


Diagram 8.1 Those at the Chief’s Palace after the fight



- |    |   |    |                           |
|----|---|----|---------------------------|
| 1  | Chief   | 2  | Ŋgom David                |
| 3  | Gañfi Daniel from<br>Yokasalla                | 4  | Bəbə (a late arrival)     |
| 5  | Salé  | 6  | GW                        |
| 7  | Njaibi Papa                                   | 8  | Gamia                     |
| 9  | DZ  | 10 | Hamajulde Ba              |
| 11 | MB “M” of Dd                                  | 12 | Merup<br>(intermittently) |
| 13 | Wiya Benjamin                                 | 14 | Jean-Marie Yəgəten        |
| 15 | Other members of audience<br>(in shaded area) |    |                           |

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 job<sup>277</sup> 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:

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<sup>277</sup>He was a primary school teacher before becoming Chief.

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 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<sup>278</sup>. The supposition is that **sua** made her ill because she had not admitted her adultery.

---

<sup>278</sup>An allusion to this may be behind his remarks in the second hearing (line 36) about Ngaoundere.

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 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 **kulu 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<sup>279</sup>:

"Le jour 23-11-86 la nommé AAA reconnaît avoir commis l'adultère avec BT et KG tous deux du quartier Gumbe.

Question aux accusés:

Reconnaissez-vous les faits qui vous sont rapprochés?

BT: Je reconnais avoir parlé à AAA mais jamais on a dormi sur un même lit.

---

<sup>279</sup> The Chief very kindly made these notes on my behalf.

KG: je ne connais rien.

Les notables doivent vérifier les situations selon la coutume et la prochaine audience aura lieu après résultat des notables car pour l'heure tout paraît obscur. (Déclarations contradictoire)

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 reconnaît le fait; d'après la tradition il paye trois poulets plus une amende de 20 000 CFA (vingt mille franc)”

*First hearing 22 November 1986*

speakers:

Bb: Bəbə

Bt: One of the accused.

Ch: Chief

Ga: Gamia

Gw: Ng's Father

Kg: The other accused youth.

Kp: Kotap Jeremy

Ng: The husband of the woman who allegedly committed adultery.

Nj: Njaibi

Ch; To start the thing then ()

I've gathered you together today

here so as to talk to you about the small thing<sup>280</sup> 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 It's clearly work for real people. (4)

I stopped here, I stopped up here to see

since if the women make war, it's just a mock battle.(6)

Even if it's your child even if it's your mother,

even if it's your younger sibling, even if it's your elder sibling ()

15 if it is true

When you arrive someplace and you start hitting out

it's a fight. What

you will do is one.

That's simply fight, () and it's over.

20 If you're a true person, you just take the fight. (1)

---

<sup>280</sup>The Chief is referring to the fight and the slandering of his name which has been discussed in the introduction to this section.

If it's 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)  
Even the elders who are grey with age  
35 they cannot when they arrive  
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)  
40 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  
45 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.  
50 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.()  
55 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 thus I find the place of the things  
I now say here (2)  
60 A person left, then came and found me in the palace and called me shit.  
You women you left, and then you quarrelled<sup>281</sup>.  
You said Party Police<sup>282</sup> don't take him ()  
don't do it. Today you light something else. (3)  
But you will talk honestly about all this  
65 Because it's 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)  
70 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  
It's not my case () that I put to you here.  
For me they insulted me here.(3)  
75 Me, I will go outside tomorrow just like you all.  
You walk, you leave again so as to sort it out with me. (2)  
Yesterday here they talked a territorial hearing<sup>283</sup>. (1)  
If not a hearing of fish dams  
they talked a hearing of bailing fish. Bailing fish like that of women, ()  
80 a hearing of work. () People don't go to one place,  
People don't go to one place.

---

<sup>281</sup>Lit. "planting stones": the idiom for quarreling; the imagery is of stamping feet on the ground.

<sup>282</sup>Two 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.

<sup>283</sup>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.

Today I think to say that if people will go and do the road<sup>284</sup>.

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

It's you a male child, () it's you a woman ()

If you know that you have raised a hand to the Party Police

90 it's 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<sup>285</sup>. (3)

If it's 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 it's clear tomorrow a person won't go again.()

If it's clear tomorrow a person won't 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)

It's 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 it's fallen in, how can I say to start it again? ()

You of this wall<sup>286</sup>; this wall.

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<sup>284</sup>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.

<sup>285</sup>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 ...

- 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)  
 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.()  
 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 moonshine<sup>287</sup> 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 it's not taken, can I go and take it alongside?  
 Women of the centre here
- 135 the day when I call them together,

---

<sup>286</sup>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.

<sup>287</sup>Locally 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**.

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 Ga<sup>288</sup>, 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; **Chàŋ** 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: it's you! (3)  
155 If someone is found in a house, that person  
that person we give them a hearing of this place.  
This is not thus, that person hasn't given<sup>289</sup>  
so the Chief doesn't have to return to it to again.  
xx; xxx xxx xxx  
160 xxx xxx  
Nj; Divination, go and divine your divination.  
It was at Bankim but the thing they gave to the Chief<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>288</sup>Ga used as a nickname of the speaker Ga.

<sup>289</sup>A possible reading of an otherwise obscure phrase: 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 promptly 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 who had so grievously insulted the Chief.

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<sup>291</sup> 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).  
Nj; It starts in divination, in the divination that went before that.  
So you, so you, you are clear,  
you the sisters' sons<sup>292</sup>, () you all the sisters' sons' of the palace here  
I put the talk to you.

---

<sup>290</sup>The official ban on the manufacture and consumption of moonshine came from Bankim i.e. the seat of local government.

<sup>291</sup>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.

<sup>292</sup>“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.

- 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 **Bam**'s ago they heard.  
They said in two or three **Bam**'s time  
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.

Lebɔn 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 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 Sonkolong<sup>293</sup>, they were here.  
(2) 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)

---

<sup>293</sup>The 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.

So that day we chopped **sua** here.

You saw the speeches that came after that (3)

all that came then (2)

were 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 it's 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.

They treat you as a liar, if you are of Sonkolong

You are from the Sonkolong side, there's 10,000 in your hand.

230 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: Lebɔn 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...
- 235 The thing that you say I don't fully understand.  
They find a few people  
Bb; We must start this, we must start this<sup>294</sup>.  
Truly, we must start this.  
If we've to settle this, succinctly, truly, truly, Allah.
- 240 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.
- 245 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**.
- 250 **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
- 255 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?
- 260 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.
- 265 Kp; Where did she find you?  
Bt; She found me in Nɔ's house over there, in the house of Nɔ Mark. (1)  
I'd returned from Atta when night fell,  
when I arrived I slept there. (1)

---

<sup>294</sup>Beginning of the adultery case proper.



- 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.  
 It's not. It's not me who knows...  
 Me, I've a field of coffee<sup>295</sup>, I will split it up
- 275 I will give him some money.  
 Nj; It's not a field of coffee, it's 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.
- 280 Ga; But he talks of coffee.  
 Then he knows it's true.  
 xx; xxxx  
 Nj; But if you speak of coffee then you know it's true.  
 Right after the coffee says it's true.
- 285 xx; xxxxxxxx  
 Nj; You talk of coffee, then you know it's true.  
 Right after the coffee says it's true.  
 Bt; How do I know? I don't know to give something different.  
 Nj; 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.  
 Nj; 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; It's an old thing  
 Kj; For me, I didn't see anything<sup>296</sup>  
 so for me I don't know anything.
- 300 Taillu; Not good  
 Here they chase after you until they catch you up.

---

<sup>295</sup>The 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.

<sup>296</sup>Kj lives opposite Nø Mark so could have seen something.

- That's not good  
Ga; you do lots of work but that is just work.()
- Nj; So, listen you. You called him so he comes here.
- 305 Kg; They put it<sup>297</sup> 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?  
Nj; 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,  
it's not something new.
- 315 Its something traditional. Its traditional that  
we take **sua** outside.  
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<sup>298</sup>.  
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 won't go again. ( ) look to him()

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<sup>297</sup>“it” the Chief's stool for oath taking.

<sup>298</sup>The point is that **sua** will kill the guilty parties. Cases heard in public at Palace affect people not bits of wood.

- 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,  
 he didn'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)  
 Yiaŋgi<sup>299</sup>; () Let me say my piece<sup>300</sup>.
- 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  
 during the funeral of my in-law at Iŋgwe<sup>301</sup>.  
 I found it like war there.  
 Ch; Have a little patience
- 365 Whilst I do cut through to this thing then.

---

<sup>299</sup>YiaΔi is the husband of Yi, Sondue's "grandmother". They live in Dar hamlet.

<sup>300</sup>YiaΔgi was acting for a younger "brother" who had never been paid the compensation after he had been knifed three months before the meeting.

<sup>301</sup>Funeral of YiaΔi's **guna**: Nima, the mother of Kuwo Pierre.

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.

Bb; He says he's not seen the thing. How's that?

Ga; For me I say its a thing for the stool

Bb; xxxx

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.

It's whose child?

So () the in-laws () do stupid work,  
we talk through the problem<sup>302</sup>.

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.

---

<sup>302</sup>idiom for talking through a problem lit. "open open clearly".

- 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 ()  
It's 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.  
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<sup>303</sup> 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 it's lies, if it's true..  
Nj; Give it to divination divination.  
GW; If it avoids the issue
- 425 does he say it's 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

---

<sup>303</sup>Ng's wife = Gw's wife.

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 it's finished, this is already finished.  
Nj; No it's 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 won't 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; It's not just a mouth talking vacuously.  
XX; For NG, he's not free to speak.  
What does he say there?
- 450 Yiangi; NG what will you say?  
It's not your father who speaks for you,  
then there how can you speak?  
Bb; This thing that we want to say, do you, do you know it?  
Nj; GW, do you know what what to do?
- 455 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, it's only his father.  
Aaa to those who refuse.  
They want it, so look to them. **Sua** is an old thing.
- 460 Bb; You two, you get up, you walk outside there  
till the chief he says, he talks to you you come, you come  
Ŋgenedon; Aaa you go to where?  
XX; You go outside, the chief removes them.  
Bb; Does the chief remove them?

- 465 But he said to you, you come, you come here.  
Till they came then.  
XX; They come where?  
Yiaŋgi; You wait patiently.  
Nj; The Chief didn't come, until you, you left afterwards.
- 470 How could you just leave? No.  
Gw; It's 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 it's finished.
- 475 GW; Don't do it, I don't ask. If I'd asked already  
**Sua** wouldn't have seized me.<sup>304</sup>  
For me I arrived amongst this, if I asked  
it would be over for me just like that.  
Yiaŋgi; So BT
- 480 Gw; He wanted to, to cool the thing that didn't end,  
the thing that they didn't see, never.  
Ga; For that, it's not a new thing  
that's a traditional thing.  
Yiaŋgi; So for now they ask you the thing.
- 485 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 it's our ancestors.  
Bb; What he wants to say,
- 490 Yiaŋgi says it is the ancestors that call.  
Yiaŋgi; 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.
- 495 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.

---

<sup>304</sup>A reference to the illness of Gw's second wife who died later that year, as well as to the illness of AAA herself.

But if you know you will call some senior person  
500 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.  
505 You tell them to come that you know  
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.  
510 They know to say: it is a kind like so.  
It doesn't start with you: it's an old thing.  
Ch; Bəbə go and have a look see.  
Nj; It's an old thing. Your shame doesn't just begin.  
So surely they understand ()  
515 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.  
520 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* it's too much.  
Ga; xxx  
525 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.  
530 For you it's not a hearing. For you it's 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,  
535 all of them, true or false.  
Yiaŋgi; That you can't say until their mouths are finished {talking}.



Ch; Yes, that's a hearing.

Nj; xxxx

[

Kp; xxxx

Ch; Good.

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 signalled the end of his speech by reaching for his radio and switching it on.

*Second Hearing 23 Nov. 1986*

Speakers

Bb: Bəbə

Bt: One of the accused.

Ch: The Chief

Ga: Gamia

Gw: Ng's Father

Jb: Jacob

Kp: Kɔtap 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: Wiya Benjamin

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

10 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'd do it anyway?  
 Mb; the things are just their {problems}  
 It's their problem, theirs  
 one of them is here, one hasn't come<sup>305</sup>.
- [ ]
- 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
- 25 yes, ultimately we're all saying the same thing.  
 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<sup>306</sup>?

---

<sup>305</sup>Only 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.

<sup>306</sup>AAA's Father is dead. Gw talks of "the fathers" but in L29 he accepts that Møggø, 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:

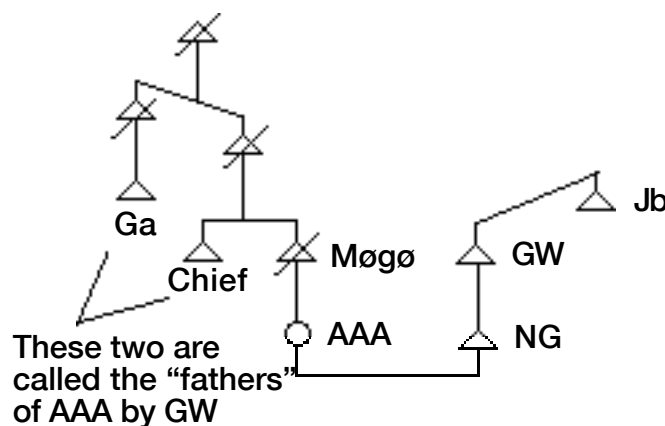
30 I said I only know the father,  
 my fathers Lucas and the Chief.  
 I didn't say father. Are you still asking?  
 aa () You say to me: () I say I know only the fathers  
 of this woman.

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  
 Ngaoundere<sup>307</sup>

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.  
 Ga and the Chief aren't there<sup>308</sup>.  
 If that woman will take them,  
 her fathers would send for her.



<sup>307</sup>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.

<sup>308</sup>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?

- [ ]
- 45 Gw; The talk of sex leads to evil.() Leave it.  
 Ga?; The Chief isn't involved?  
 XX; xxxxxxxx We don't lick<sup>309</sup>
- [ ]
- Nj?; If we didn't lick.
- [ ]
- Gw; xxxx xxx () xxxx see
- 50 ɲgu; The Chief up there says be quiet.
- [ ]
- Gw; **Sua** isn't blessed.
- ɲgu; Now the affair is in their hands. (.) The cloths<sup>310</sup> 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
- [ ]
- 60 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.

---

<sup>309</sup>“Lick” i.e. lick the **nduΔgu sua**, that is to say do the **kulu sua** rite. Note however that it can be an allusion to licking the **køgø baji** (Chief's stool) which is a form of oath taking, 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.

<sup>310</sup>Referring to the woman's clothes loosened in the course of adultery.

- [
- 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; Does he speak only with his lips?
- Nj; Tell him, they're going to have to marry, one day they will.<sup>311</sup>
- 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 **Chàŋ** 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<sup>312</sup>.
- 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 pay  
with thieving eyes. Am I putting things in?  
People are people.  
Ga; xxx xxxxx

---

<sup>311</sup>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.

<sup>312</sup> Lines 83-85 This passage remains obscure.

- Gw; People go where? are you not Chief-**Chàŋ**?
- 90 Nj;(..) Expletive  
 Ga?; If it is thus, it's 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. < = 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; It's for the ears of your fathers so  
 Mb; They sort out the case  
 [ ]  
 Nj; xxxxx the chicken is afterwards  
 [  
 115 Gw; Lucas ki!





Ni; It isn't an affair in which to say they say that =

Gw; = they didn't say that Ngg<sup>315</sup>  
they said something different.

[

Ga; They didn't want

145 Gw; They said the father, the father. They called me and Njaibi, I didn't call Njaibi<sup>316</sup>

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.<sup>317</sup>

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 place<sup>318</sup> where it is.

Since they don't give only a small amount<sup>319</sup>

[

155 Jb; Aaa look at you, you yourself aren't the person.

Gw; < Be quiet >

For me illness<sup>320</sup> is on top of me.

<sup>314</sup>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 Δgam**, and **laga sua** respectively).

<sup>315</sup>Ôgu an abbreviation of Ni's name. NB Honorific abbreviation in naming.

<sup>316</sup>That is to say he, Gw, did not accuse those under Njai's authority.

<sup>317</sup>The treatment referred to is blessing **sua**, and the theft, of course, alludes to the adultery.

<sup>318</sup>"Place:" I read this as referring to the place where the real culprits are.

<sup>319</sup>They may be forced (possibly by their seniors) into paying the fine (20,000 CFA the standard fine paid in adultery cases, is not an inconsiderable sum c. £ 40 in 1986) even whilst protesting their innocence.

<sup>320</sup>The illness referred to is that of Gw's wife.

- Nj; For me, they go and bless sua, for me I know only treatments<sup>321</sup>.  
 Gw; Ki! Ki! Ki! (1)  
 160 But look his hands are full??  
 [  
 Ga; It's more than that.  
 Gw; Perhaps it's someone else?  
 [ ]  
 Ga; Nyugemi<sup>322</sup> 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 Lɔvə<sup>323</sup> 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.  
 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.

---

<sup>321</sup>"treatments" often used to contrast with **sua** but here including it; qv L253.

<sup>322</sup>Wife of Ge Gaston at Gumbe, daughter of Ve.

<sup>323</sup>Wife of Kanuo, a Marenjo.

- Ga; But we {haven't} sorted out the affair.  
 [        ]
- Nj;        GA,        GA 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<sup>324</sup>.  
 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...æææ 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.  
 Nj; They trouble us outside.
- 205 Mb; Now she is someone's wife.  
 Gw; Your wives and their children, when they leave here,  
 your children, children come and speak here

---

<sup>324</sup>The two women are AAA, the adulteress, and the wife of Nø Mark, the alleged witness. Neither were present.

they will go there.

Affairs, your affair, ask at home.

210 Is it because our penises are dead, finished<sup>325</sup>?

Mb; But GW, we said only the lovers of that woman.

Just as they say

if they were in the dispensary<sup>326</sup>, the thing they say to GA

it would be the end of it.

215 Jb; Mmhm so it is, but listen you

[

Mb; GA listen

[

Nj; xxx xxxx xxx xx

Jb; But this isn't a small small speech.

Ga; It is not me saying that yet again

[

220 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

225 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 ee eee ? No, that's the end of it.

Ny: GW says that because tomorrow we will know xxx xxx

[

---

<sup>325</sup>If their penises are dead they can't be accused of adultery therefore the trouble must be somewhere else (qv 209).

<sup>326</sup>If there were medical evidence...

- 230 Jb; It is this  
that we ask just this.
- Ny; GW says it's in your hands GA, 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.
- 235 For me, if you say yes, treat them, they bless **sua**, thus.  
[  
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 GA<sup>327</sup>.
- 240 Mb; Even GA, even GA listens to the mouths of the lovers.  
[  
Jb; Yes it's thus  
yes thus, GA listens to them still then  
[  
Mb; Only GA 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; GA 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

---

<sup>327</sup>GA is the “father” of AAA active in the affair (the Chief kept out of it as much as possible due to his role as Chief). As such he is a good candidate as recipient of the fines which should properly go to NG and his father's family i.e. (Gw and Jb).



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. < = laughter

Mistakes are mistakes. < = 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.

Ga; They don't come.

Ch; Aa oui normalement c'est comme ça.

285 Nj; If the day comes, if I don't see someone,

from that day they will stay somewhere else.<sup>329</sup>

So from today they live elsewhere.

Ga; xxx xxx

Ch; You call a meeting, everyone attends.

290 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?

295 Nj; You spoke to him? < = 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.

300 Il faut venir au Somié pour voir les choses. () Vraiment.

Ni; Bt, now we wait for something to come from your mouth,

---

<sup>329</sup>Nj threatens people with exile for not responding to summons from the Chief's palace.





- 330 Because () it's 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<sup>330</sup> 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 GA. (2)  
 he hasn't spoken. Then for me, because I don't want to talk
- 340 but this will leave me behind. I can speak in this space.  
 This one says it is small. Moses says it's 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<sup>331</sup>  
 We will do it, we will do it. We shall act.  
 For you is compulsory, because the women are in our hands, ()
- 350 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; It's not you you lot, we will take it thus.  
 If you make a bill<sup>332</sup> with the cost, with all the costs

---

<sup>330</sup>Moses is Gw's Christian (lit.) name.

<sup>331</sup>"Dispensary" That is to say they will treat the illness as a "natural" illness (caused by **ChàΔ**) and hence effectively treatable with western medicine.

You come and say I have a bill, this small thing.

XXXX; əə əə < = Laughter

360 Ga; But if there's no bill now?

Ch; It's 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<sup>333</sup> him then?

365 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?<sup>334</sup>

How can you do that to him?

370 So you will see suffering then

Allah till two times are xxxx I xxxxxx < = laughter

Ch; I do not put the hearing on you group by group. < = laughter

Truly it is like that. < = laughter

Nj; xxxxxxxx

375 Jb; They measure them with laughter?

Nj; They measure them in kilos < = laughter

Jb; If **Chàŋ** 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

<sup>332</sup>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.

<sup>333</sup>“Eat:” this implies witchcraft, who paradigmatically resort to secret cannibalism to wreak revenge.

<sup>334</sup>Reference to going to the maize mill, where the grain is weighed before being ground.

- we must remove this small {thing}.
- Gw; For me. () I see that nothing surpasses **Chàŋ**.
- But it's just me.
- We think that inside me here I don't want **sua**
- 385 they bless mistakenly =
- Jb; = Everything is so
- Ny; But but but that which they've already talked out,  
gives no more illness
- [
- xx; xxxx xxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxx xxxx
- 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 xxxxxxxx
- 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 reason<sup>335</sup> leave the palace quickly.  
Any woman if that has reason leave the palace because we of the palace<sup>336</sup>  
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 blessed<sup>337</sup>. They will go
- 405 **Chàŋ** gave things to those of the past

---

<sup>335</sup>“Reason:” guilty knowledge is the reason he has in mind.

<sup>336</sup>“Of the palace:” <b`ø mbam b`ø > 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.

<sup>337</sup>Ideophone spoken at the act of blessing.

- There is suffering today in the body of the village<sup>338</sup>.  
 Say where the place is, the suffering today in the compound. Where is it? ()  
 Now our quarter searches, we search  
 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, **Chàŋ** 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 body<sup>339</sup>, 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** seized<sup>340</sup>

---

<sup>338</sup>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 patrilineal) tend to live close to one another, (in a manner similar to that described by Rehfish (after fieldwork in Warwar 1953)) 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.

<sup>339</sup>the body which is being attacked (“killed”) is that of Gw’s wife.

[  
 Nj; But this was so she left off -  
 stopped. It's that woman she stopped, left off the thing.  
 So for you that's it  
 430 Mb; For you then, it's 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; It's his **sua** that sorts it out.

[ ]  
 435 Gw; How can they kill?<sup>341</sup> 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 man<sup>342</sup>

[ ]

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<sup>340</sup>“**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.

<sup>341</sup>“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.

<sup>342</sup>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).



- She kills you off, your days were those before.  
 Gw; You're talking nonsense.  
 Jb; You're talking nonsense, what we we talking?  
 470 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  
 475 because who knew how to speak of it?  
 But you listen, you, those of Gumbe  
 [  
 Nj; It's not us, do we know about it?  
 Till the talk is clear  
 [  
 Gw; I am ill with the talk  
 480 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.  
 485 Gw; **Chàṅ** exists. He has spoken his voice.  
 [  
 Nj; **Chàṅ** 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)

GA & 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)<sup>345</sup>  
 Him here, he has a wife. No one must harm her.  
 If you desire his territory, speak up (1)  
 For him<sup>346</sup>, you speak up, don't walk and say it elsewhere,  
 495 he has open eyes<sup>347</sup>.  
 The woman has said, for her it is thus.  
 She wants what he wants<sup>348</sup>. < = 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 meeting<sup>349</sup> is tomorrow < = to Joseph  
 Gw; If it wasn't bad it isn't you  
 and today it's not your sister,  
 505 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?<sup>350</sup>  
 I pass there to find what is mine

---

<sup>345</sup>“**safi**” Fulfulde for tradition. <Nùàr safi > lit. traditional person, meaning people with treatments, that is, healers.

<sup>346</sup> The doctor/nurse.

<sup>347</sup>“Open eyes” passing inherited witchcraft gives one the ability to detect witches; the bearer of such power has “open eyes”.

<sup>348</sup>Lit. this line is “of yours is of mine then,” which I take to mean that his interests are hers.

<sup>349</sup>The Chief is answering a question about a meeting to be held in Bankim.

<sup>350</sup>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.



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.  
**Chàṅ** 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 FulBe man from Mbor or Mbum

If we listen here because this isn't known  
 [     ]  
 Ch; **Chàṅ** **Chàṅ** 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?  
**Chàṅ** knows we will pay with our patience. (4)  
 xx; xxxx xxx  
 Nj; aaaha. It's 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  
 you give it to **Chàṅ**.  
**Chàṅ** knows they will pay.  
 Ga; cool (4)  
 530 Nj; Kie (3)  
 Young men you see 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; It's not some child that walks fast now < = laughter  
 Is it centipedes?<sup>351</sup> < = laughter  
 Has she a stomach, like as not she's not xxxxx 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<sup>352</sup>.  
 At that point no one should get close.  
 If someone - if they put grasses<sup>353</sup>, the belt breaks,<sup>354</sup> the world breaks.  
 It's that that they do here.
- 550 WB; She is always at market. < = laughter<sup>355</sup>  
 Ga; So, the time approaches, people don't get upset<sup>356</sup>.  
 Nj; That's to say illness, the child is ill. But if not ill<sup>357</sup>  
 then I say: it is lies.  
 They "married" her in what bed, where?
- 555 If I haven't struck there at Njere < laughter<sup>358</sup>

---

<sup>351</sup>"Having centipedes" in the stomach is an idiomatic excuse for walking slowly or in discomfort.

<sup>352</sup>End of tape T210A Start tape T210B.

<sup>353</sup>"Put grasses" that is to say put evil treatments into something, the targets house or their food.

<sup>354</sup>The "belt breaks" idiom for great disaster.

<sup>355</sup>Loitering in the market can be represented as looking for trouble, looking for sexual partners.

<sup>356</sup>"Approaches" The day is drawing on.

<sup>357</sup>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.

- 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  
 ñgombi 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 **Chàṅ** 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<sup>359</sup> it up?

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<sup>358</sup>Obscure.

<sup>359</sup>Ideophone, imitating the sound of fast high pitched speech?

- 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 won't 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 it's a hearing of children.  
 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>360</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; It's **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

---

<sup>360</sup>The affair will be sorted out so NG can go for a walk without fear of his wife committing adultery.

- [ ]
- 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>361</sup>.
- [
- Jb; it's 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; It's divination... It's old divination  
it doesn't sit on good things.
- 625 Gw; It's 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 =

---

<sup>361</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.

- Nj; = like there is the refuser (1)  
 For picking okra<sup>362</sup> 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<sup>363</sup>  
 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; əəə 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

---

<sup>362</sup>Okra used as an example of an unfree good.

<sup>363</sup>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.

- [
- 655 Ga; Give it to Baba.  
 Nj; Moses take that money, take it. You say but not again then.
- [
- Ch; You there, it's for you.  
 Nj; Aaa take the piece of cloth you want.
- [ ]
- Ch; Who knows what to do? Who will scrape?<sup>364</sup>  
 Who will do it?
- 660 Ni; Njaibi takes it again?
- [
- Nj; əəə  
 Ni; Give it to Ningə<sup>365</sup> 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. ()  
 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 ŋgomni he's got **sua** hands.<sup>366</sup>
- 675 Nj; You go {outside} you scrape.

---

<sup>364</sup>The first steps have been made before deciding who will actually officiate “the blessing”.

<sup>365</sup>Another nickname for Jb.

<sup>366</sup>The 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.

- Ŋgomni 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; eeee  
 Ni; **Chàŋ** give the thing to the small children, the children roast it<sup>367</sup>.  
 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.  
 Nggū; 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.

---

<sup>367</sup>The 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.



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 fingers<sup>368</sup>.

710 You touch earth to the left.

Gw; Allah, You're grinding up the hearing, only say

this person here has done what?

So talk to Mvu's people, 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.<sup>369</sup>

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).

---

<sup>368</sup>Nj is directing the actions from inside the Chief's palace.

<sup>369</sup>“Hearts” preferentially liver but carrying the metaphorical load of “heart”. Also used, as here, to refer to the sternum. In linguistic usage the **tem** is the seat of desires and inclinations.

Yesterday they walked from Mbor, when they returned, when they entered the village<sup>370</sup>.

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.<sup>371</sup>

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) Nggw you go and look for fire wood. (2)

750 Ni; GA has left so he can come tomorrow to give the money.

[       ]

Nj;     Long ago       He left long ago

Ny; (3) You say you must take a feather, grab it! < = approving

<sup>370</sup>“They” the alleged adulterers.

<sup>371</sup>“Chopped” Nj still wants a **sua**-oath to be taken (i.e. cut or chopped).

- 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)  
 Ni; We wait here, till it's already roasted.  
 Till we go and take it's 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. It's in the hands of the seniors. ()  
 Nj; ʎgenedɔŋ<sup>372</sup> 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 **dengor sua**?<sup>373</sup>  
 770 Wb; Have you?  
 Nj; A **dengor sua**?  
 Gw; He laughs there.  
 Ny; xxxx  
 Nj; If I do **sua**'s stomach<sup>374</sup>, if you don't die in the morning  
 775 then when the evening comes you will die.  
 It's my **dengor** (6)  
 Ki! world. () The world harms things Oi! (4)  
 They chop this (1) How can it be done?

---

<sup>372</sup>Son of Njaibi, husband of Kørøbøn.

<sup>373</sup>The baton (also called **nduΔgu**) scraped into the palms of the adulterer(s) and cuckold during **kulu sua**.

<sup>374</sup>A curse made invoking **sua** while patting the stomach or even using the **deΔgor sua** qv. chapter on **sua** above.

- Ni; 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.  
Ni; He knows it's only one of these days,  
795 so he doesn't think, that's to say money will someday come there.  
I'll pass over it.  
When do we meet again?  
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<sup>375</sup>.  
() 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* <sup>376</sup>< = laughter  
805 that's not enough.  
Nj; It's too much for us.  
Ni; How much it is, I find you with your work.

---

<sup>375</sup>He starts walking out (with women).

<sup>376</sup>Original in Fulfulde.

- They've got quarrels, they do xxx xxx  
 [
- Wb; xxx  
 [
- 810 Nj; No matter what length, I surpass them  
 Ni; That's what I said.  
 If 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, it's 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<sup>377</sup> you return today now  
 she finds a child for free!
- 830 Nj; That woman =  
 Ny; = you men you just run away, alright  
 [
- Nj; It's thus they say

---

<sup>377</sup>“Reciprocally” the word **kuo** is ambiguous between bone, to die and to do reciprocally which is the only sense which makes any sense here, although the translator still has reservations on the issue.

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

[

Nngu; She did this thing then

Ms; For this, women, they do it but they don't pay

[

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; It's 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 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?<sup>378</sup>

Nj; Aaaa?

---

<sup>378</sup> 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.

- Wb; In your **sua** enclosure, ginger pop, popping!  
 Nj; The **sua** enclosure at Beya's?  
 860 Wb; At Beya's<sup>379</sup> < = laughter  
 Mb; He's got things, he goes with -  
 Nj; aaa you don't blow the cloth<sup>380</sup>  
 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, it's traditional.  
 Mb; Hə?  
 870 Nj; Will they blow cloth?  
 Ch; Before did they blow like this?  
 Mb; Before, they blew your cloth<sup>381</sup>  
 afterwards thus, if no news<sup>382</sup> 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.  
 You're things with intelligence (3)

---

<sup>379</sup>This **sua** enclosure has fallen down.

<sup>380</sup>“Cloth”. Here the reference is to the **chuar chøk** 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.

<sup>381</sup>i.e. accompanied the new bride to the bride-groom's house.

<sup>382</sup>“News:” (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.

- parce que* it's 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 it's 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)

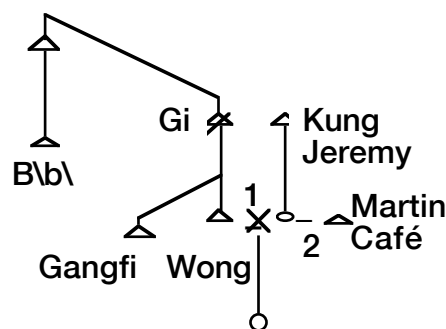


- He said to the woman's husband, to find the money.
- 910 He had taken them in what month?  
 Wait for what month? Wait for what month? ()  
 Of this thing here I tell you truly.  
 You haven't been clear.  
 They didn't call him, so he could be clear.
- 915 Because () marriage () is a thing with it's 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 it's not, it's not you.
- 925 You're upset, the woman says it's not, it's 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)  
 It's the road to where? It's 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<sup>383</sup>  
 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 ()  
 It's 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

<sup>383</sup>Gangfi 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



NB this also explains why B\b\ can call Kung's daughter "masi" (Z in L) since Kung is **guna** (P in L) to B\b\

- Is that too much now?
- 950 So, you can sleep soundly with no worries.  
 Now the hearing says to you: is it your child? It is mine.  
 () So, one two it's the dismissal.  
 You divorce the woman if the hearing says so.  
 You divorce the woman () you don't ask anything.  
 [ ]
- 955 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.()
- 960 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,  
 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.  
 It's 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  
 It's 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?  
 [ ]  
 Jb; He marries the woman, say to her thus.
- 995 TA; How can I not marry?  
 Am I not a man?  
 Jb; (1) Now Moses  
 [ ]  
 TA; How can I not marry?  
 Jb; If you fix it up again, look at what you do.
- 1000 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?  
 [ ]

1005 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.

1010 Jb; It's only you, it's your hearing, it's 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 it's the woman, if she doesn't want her husband.

1015 Kp; You're tearing your thing apart. The chiefs talk privately, it's 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 won't live.

[

Nj; It's not a small thing.

Ng?; It's 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*<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>384</sup>Original in Fulfulde.

[ ]

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 ()*

*It's 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; It's the hearing, this person changes his tune.

() This one you are in the pronouncement of the Chief.

Listen to your talk, will we return?

TA; aha, for me to laugh, it's 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 Nde<sup>385</sup> over there?

Like, like if a hearing comes like someone comes quickly (5)

Ny; The Chief says: patience, it's not thus.

So he goes, it's 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.

---

<sup>385</sup>Nde is eB of Chief (1F). The allusion is not understood by the translator.

- You don't send things, and beside that.  
 Listen to me, Vəju is whose child?<sup>386</sup>
- 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; əəə
- 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.  
 If, before a person gave her something  
 they gave the thing and **Chàŋ** gives it to you then.  
 Ga; So
- 1105 Nj;            You go and take it, you 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.

---

<sup>386</sup>Njaibi stands in an authority relationship comparable to a father over any of Kg's children since V\ju's mother is Bake, Njaibi's sister. V\ju is Kg's wife.



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<sup>387</sup>

Ny; (2) I understand.

Ch; (1) The person is in your hands, vraitment.

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 the expenses NG had incurred buying presents for his wife and in building their house.

Kotap fetched the **ndungu 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 **ndungu sua** and knife were given to Tabø Paul who rose, showed them to the Chief then went outside the verandah onto the square. NG and BT joined him and crouched

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<sup>387</sup>A Distance of four kilometres.

down before him cupping their hands before their chests. The **ndunḡu 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 Tabə Paul.

Second parcel taken by Kətap 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, Kətap...

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<sup>388</sup> at the Chief's Palace than **sua**-oaths are sworn. The blessing of **kulu sua** was performed without the adultery case at issue 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 Tswana disputes. Their evidence is mainly based on the wealth of Tswana court records which are available rather than on what is actually said during a hearing. The fine details of Tswana rhetoric and argument in action remain unavailable and unanalysed.

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<sup>388</sup>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.

It must be stressed that **sua kulu** 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<sup>389</sup>

#### 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<sup>390</sup>. 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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<sup>389</sup>Early 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.

<sup>390</sup>This 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."

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:

{Common idioms: who knows? **Chàṅ** knows.

{ : who made you? **Chàṅ** did.

{

{Cause of (natural) illness

**Chàṅ** {

{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 (**damə**)

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 **damə** 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 **damə**.

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.

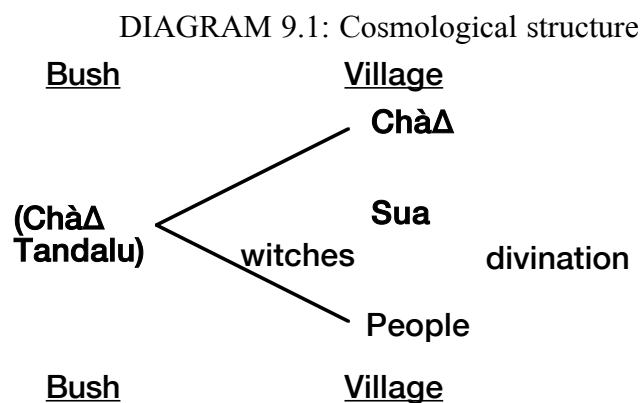
It was suggested in the preface that by examining transcripts of events wherein **sua** is enacted we can reach an understanding of it which is, at least, available to Mambila themselves. Hence we have examined transcripts from several varieties of **sua**. Yet no informal talk has been considered. It 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. There is also an idiom in use: **sua à sie m̀** (**sua** it seizes 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 **damə**. 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”.



**Chàṅ 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:

	men’s <b>sua</b>	women’s <b>sua</b>
costume	human form (village)	inchoate (bush?)
place	enclosure in village	enclosure in bush
dance	clockwise <sup>391</sup>	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:

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<sup>391</sup>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.



- 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 **Chàṅ**) in many more ways than merely in the different styles of discourse employed. Speech is not an important element of the 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<sup>392</sup>. The dilemma thus occasioned is discussed below.

In this work I have outlined the different ways in which the words **sua** and **Chàn** 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 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<sup>393</sup>." 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 wants

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<sup>392</sup>Or those of Needham (1972) which have served as warnings of dangers inherent in, rather than guides to, this analysis.

<sup>393</sup>This is a variant of the same idea expressed in "Rethinking Symbolism" and quoted p45 above.

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 undervaluation 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<sup>394</sup>. 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].

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.

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<sup>394</sup>Hallen & 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.

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 (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<sup>395</sup> 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<sup>396</sup>. 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<sup>397</sup>. 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 (1977a, 1986) that literacy and a literate tradition have wide-reaching cognitive effects. In their absence critical conceptual scrutiny and enquiry which intends disengagement do not arise<sup>398</sup>. 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.

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<sup>395</sup>Boyer 1989:9 cites Keil on this point; see also Keesing 1985, and Lakoff & Kovecses 1987

<sup>396</sup>Nigel Barley's "Symbolic Structures" (1983) may be a first step in that direction for the Dowayo.

<sup>397</sup>Gödel's theorem notwithstanding, which establishes that the converse does not hold: i.e. there are theorems which are not finitely provable.

<sup>398</sup>Finnegan's criticism (1988) of such strong claims are considered briefly in the Preface to this work.

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 “hedgies” 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).

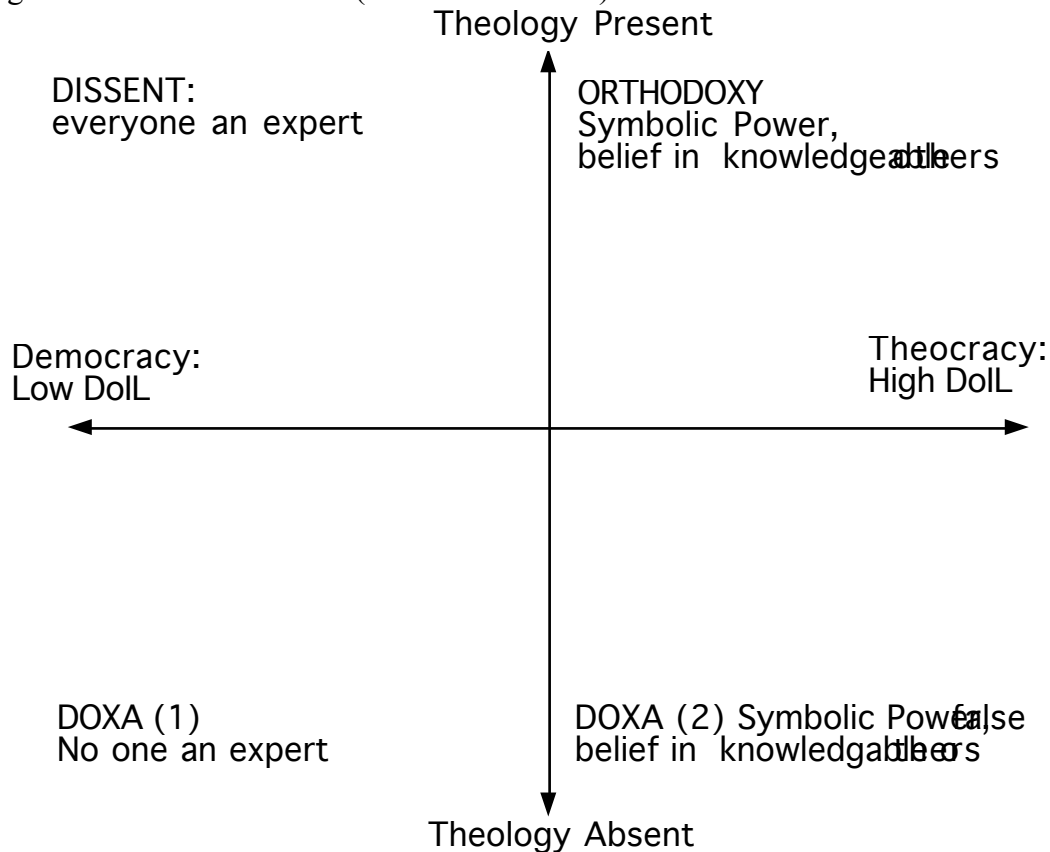
If this correctly identifies a fundamental element of West African traditional religion, then it raises new questions. Why are existing accounts as structured as they are? Is this a result of the concerns of the ethnographer or do other societies have reflective traditions which Mambila lack? Probably 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.

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:-



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 Gnaou 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 Gnaou puberty rites which receive, like the Mambila **sua**, no indigenous commentary. Interpretations are possible, and may help anthropologists “understand” Gnaou ritual. But Gnaou 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**): **tamə, 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 Rehfisch 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 Notables 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 Notables 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.

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## Mambila Bibliography

An earlier version of this bibliography has been published as Zeitlyn 1989. It is the result of library research in Cameroon, Nigeria, Britain and France. The major omission is of archival materials in France, but these are believed to contain little in addition to that obtainable in Cameroon. However, with this 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.

*Mambila District Council - Proceedings of 1943-1945* (Yola Profile 2954B Acc 456). National Archives, Kaduna.

[Little of interest about Councils.

Includes Jangali report from 1942 giving cattle numbers and names of some leaders.]

*Village Heads: Mambila Districts* (SNP 17/2 - 717A). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Changes in headships 30's and 40's.]

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[Mainly concentrating on areas further North, but some interesting pages about the Mambila.]

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[Includes some Mambila Chief names, and dates of sucession. A very important source for chronologies of the Tikar Plain.]

Adda, K. M. *The Formation of the Mambilla c.1800-1926*. 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..]

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[The Wuli (Mfumte) in the village of Lus are near neighbours of the Mambila, but have secret societies typical of NW Province. Intriguing reference to sacrifice type clearly closely related to Mambila Sua.]

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[Some Mambila examples from Gebauer's collection.]

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[Notes that cases of wife battery have been recently reported.]

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[Witchcraft and anti-witchcraft cult from “French Territory” Nggu? but this is not named.

Village head of Jeke died.]

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[No return of cattle - population still very low. Locusts again.]

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[See below.]

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[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.]

Blench, R. M. (1984b). *Livestock & Landuse in Southern Gongola State, Nigeria*. St Helier, Jersey: RIM.

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[Mainly linguistic in orientation.]

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[Reappearance of Makka is noted p 4.

Locusts have been a problem 1938/39.]

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[Mentions petitions made to the U.N. by Mambila.]

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Chilver, E. M., & Kaberry, P. M. (1967). *Traditional Bamenda: the pre-Colonial History & Ethnography of the Bamenda Grassfields*. Buea, Cameroon: Ministry of Primary Education & Social Welfare and W. Cameroon Antiquities Commission  
[p131 Mbem includes a small Mambila population.]

Connaughton, P. (1982). *Final report: Inland Fisheries. September 1980-July 1982*. Unpublished report to American Peace Corps, Yaounde.

[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.]

Cox, W. L. (1941). *Quarterly Report on the Southern Touring Area June 30, 1941 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1939-1946*. (Yola Profile B3J). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Changes to villages headships noted. Conflict over hunting rights between Antere (Kaka) and Betwi in S. Cameroon.]

Cox, W. L. (1941). *Quarterly Report on the Southern Touring Area March 31, 1941 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1939-1946*. (Yola Profile B3J). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Changes to villages headships noted.]

Cozens, A. B. (1949). Bamenda Wedding. *Nigerian Field* **14**(4), 163-167.

Cozens, A. B. (1955). A Village Smithy in the Cameroons. *Nigerian Field* **20**(1), 25-34.

[Strictly not about Mambila, but Kwadja is very close.]

Crane, P. S. *The Chamba Subordinate Native Authority*. Rhodes House MSS Afr s 1485.

Crowder, M. (1960). The Mambila Plateau. *Nigeria* **65**, 154-176.

[General description but mentions Mambila ownership of cattle.]

Detzner, H. (1923). *Im Lande der Dju-Dju*. Berlin: August Scherl.

[p167 has a paragraph description of fields with multicoloured flags used as bird-scarers, otherwise uninformative.]

Dowsett, R. J., Hecq, J., & Knoop, D. P. (1989). Ecological Notes on Two collections of butterflies (Lepidoptera) from Eastern Nigeria. *Tauraco Research Report* **1**, 31-37.

Dowsett-Lemaire, F. (1989). Physiography and Vegetation of highland forests of Eastern Nigeria. *Tauraco Research Report* **1**, 6.

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 Rehfishch was there, but not wholly consistent with his account of land tenure.]

Dyer, M., Gartshore, M. E., & Ezealor, A. U. (1988). A field expedition to the Mambila Plateau, including a sighting of chimpanzees (*Pan Troglodytes*). *Nigerian Field* **53**(1-2), 39-42.

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[Not consulted: Of purely ornithological interest.]

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[Not consulted: Of purely ornithological interest.]

Elias, M. (1955). *Banyo Rapport Annuel 1955*. Unpublished Report. A.N.Y.: 1AC 3465.

[Mainly concentrating on areas closer to Banyo, but some interesting pages about the Mambila. Includes population figures.]

Fagg, R. W. (1970). *African Sculpture*. London: International Exhibitions Foundation.

[Mambila statue p 61 (from Brussels) Sua mask p128 from The Kate White collection.]

Farris Thompson, R. (1974). *African Art in Motion: Icon and Art in the Collection of Katherine Coryton White*. London: University of California Press.

[Mambila items illustrated on pp 56, 57, 91 and 128. Twin pith figures, a birthing? stool and a sua mask (from Schneider or Gebauer?).]

Flegel, E. F. (1882). Reisebriefe vom Januar bis Marz 1882. *Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen* **28**, 227-249.

Flegel, E. F. (1883). Reise nach Adamaua. *Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen* **29**, 241-249.

Frantz, C. (1975). *Contraction & Expansion in Nigerian Bovine Pastoralism*. London: OUP for IAI.

[None of Frantz's works (cited here and below) contain much of relevance to the Mambila themselves, concentrating on their FulBe neighbours.]

Frantz, C. (1978). Ecology & Social Organisation Among the Nigerian Fulbe (Fulani). pp. 97-118 In W. Weissleder (Ed.), *The Nomadic Alternative*. The Hague: Mouton.

Frantz, C. (1980). The Open Niche, Pastoralism & Sedentarisation in the Mambila Grasslands of Nigeria. pp. 62-118 In P. Salzman (Ed.), *When Nomads Settle*. New York: Praeger.

Frantz, C. (1981a). Development without Communities: Social Fields, Networks & Action in the Mambila Grasslands of Nigeria. *Human Organisation* **40**(3), 211-220.

Frantz, C. (1981b). Settlement & Migration among Pastoral Fulbe in Nigeria & Cameroun. pp. 57-103 In P. Salzman (Ed.), *Contemporary Nomadic & Pastoral Peoples: Africa & Latin America*. Virginia: College of William & Mary.

Fraser, D. F. (1962). *Primitive Art*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Freemantle, J. M. (1914-1919). *Gashaka and the war*. Unpublished Colonial Administrative Report: Archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

[Fascinating account of the Battle of Gashaka A hitherto unknown document.]

Freemantle, J. M. (1917). *Muri Province Patrol Report No 1303*. Rhodes House in Nightingale MSS Afr s 1518 (5).

[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.]

Frobenius, L. (1923). *Unbekanntes Afrika*. Munich.

[Drawing of Mambila religious artefacts (1911) but no explanation or other information.]

Frobenius, L. (1925). *Dichten und Denken im Sudan. Atlantis Volksmärchen & Volksdichtungen Afrikas*5,

Gardner, G. R. (1954). *Report on the Mam Cult*. Rhodes House Afr s 655.

[Tantalisingly sparse.]

Geary, C. (1983). *Things of the Palace*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

[Mambila shields are illustrated, and reference is made to a joint Nso, Mambila war with Foumban in the early C20th.]

Gebauer, P. (1964). *Spider Divination in the Cameroons*. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum.

[The definitive work on Yamba spider divination. Some mention of the Mambila also, but this has not been corroborated by fieldwork.]

Gebauer, P. (1971a). Art of Cameroon. *African Arts*4(2), 24-35.

[Some Mambila examples illustrated in colour.]

Gebauer, P. (1971b). Architecture of Cameroon. *African Arts*5(1), 24-35.

[p24 photograph of Mambila house and a mention of betrothal sticks.]

Gebauer, P. (1979). *Art of Cameroon*. New York: Portland Museum & Metropolitan Museum.

[Many Mambila examples, also some photographs of the country, but not much information apart from the illustrations.]

Gebauer, P. & C. (1968). *A Guide to Cameroon Art from the Collection of Paul & Clara Gebauer*. Portland: Portland Museum.

[Many Mambila examples, also some photographs of the country, but not much information apart from the illustrations.]

Georges, E. H. F. (1932). *An Assessment report on the Kaka-Ntem area of the Bamenda Division of the Cameroons Province*. Unpublished Government report: copies in Buea Archives, and in Library of Bambui Regional Major Seminary.

[Covers some Mambila villages including some population figures.]

Gill, H. J. (1931). *Mambila Tribe Ethnological Report of by C.K. Meek 1929*. I.A.I. library in 1950's. Not known if now in Manchester. Copy in the personal collection of F. Rehfish.

[A single page of notes, correcting, and adding little to Meek.]

Gill, H. J. (1931). *Quarterly Report for the quarter ending Dec 31 1931*. In *Recurrent reports. Gashaka Division 1930-32*. (Yola Profile B3D). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Village Heads of Warawr and Barrup have died.

Exodus of cattle 1931-32 noted from 21,000 (1930) to 4700 (1932).]

Gill, H. J. (1932). *Quarterly Report for the quarter ending June 30 1932*. In *Recurrent reports. Gashaka Division 1930-32*. (Yola Profile B3D). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Cola no longer being grown on Plateau. Implicated in witchcraft accusations.]

Glasson, B. (1923). *A Report on the Mambila Tribe of Gashaka District*. Rhodes House: Nightingale Papers MSS Afr s 1518 (3)  
Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna SNP 17 - K3715 acc 628.

[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!]

Glauning, H. (1906). Bericht des Hauptmanns Glauning uber Seine Reise in den Nordbezirk. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*17, 235-241.

[Includes the first published population estimate (20,000), but little else relevant to the Mambila.]

Glauning, H. (1908). Bericht des Hauptmanns Glauning. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*19, 64-69.

Gray, H. H. (1971). Further notes on the birds of Mambilla Plateau. *Bull. Nigerian Orn. Soc.*(31/32), 51-54.

[Of purely ornithological interest.]

Groom, A. (1917). *Muri Province Patrol Report*. Rhodes House in Nightingale MSS Afr s 1518 (5).

[Page 10 records Kuma as the principle Mambila town Page 10/11 is possible the first record of the use of yom (*Tephrosia vogelli*).]

Guarisma, G. (1978). *Etudes Voutes (Langue bantoide du Cameroun) (Bibliotheque de la SELAF 66-67)*. Paris: SELAF.

Guarisma, G. (1987). Dialectometrie Lexicale de Quelques Parlers Bantoides Non Bantoues du Cameroun. In G. Guarisma, & W. J. G. Mohlig (Eds.), La Methode Dialectometrique Appliquée aux Langues Africaines (pp. 281-329). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

[Mambila is one of the languages studied with an accompanying word list. The conclusions are that Mambila is not very similiar to Vute as has been often suggested.]

Gulmu, S. (1974). *Ma Sena Meh (Teach me. A Health Book)*. Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Hall, J. B. (1971). Environment & Vegetation on Nigeria's Highlands. *Vegetatio*23(5), 339-359.

Hall, P. (1976). The Birds of the Mambilla Plateau. *Bull. Nigerian Orn. Soc.*12(42), 67-72.

[Of purely ornithological interest.]

Hamman, M. *BA & PhD Dissertations*. Zaria: History Dept. A.B.U.

[Not consulted, Reference from Frantz.]

Hare, J. N. (1959). *Fulani Clans*. Unpublished Colonial Administrative Report: Archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

Hare, J. N. (1960). *Brief Historical Notes on the Banyo-Gashaka Section of the Mandated Cameroons*. Unpublished Colonial Administrative Report: Archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

[A useful summary.]

Hare, J. N. (1960). *Synopsis of Gashaka History*. Unpublished Colonial Administrative Report: Archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

[Summary of preceding reports augmented by Hare's own findings.]

Hare, J. N. (n.d.). *Pages of the Mind*.

[Memoir of first years of Independence on Mambila Plateau.]

Harter, P. (1986). *Arts Anciens du Cameroun (Arts d'Afrique Noire supp. T.40)*. Arnouville: Arts d'Afrique Noire.

[Mambila p 107 Volcanic stones carved by Mambila, 322 326 337.]

Hassert, K. (1917). *Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Grashochländer Nordwest-Kameruns Vol 1*. Berlin: Mittler.

[nothing of great interest.]

Hassert, K., & Thorbecke, F. (1908). *Berichte Über die Landeskundliche Expedition*. *MDS 21*, 3-12,157-162,189-199.

[Passing reference to Songolong (p195) but only comments are about the landscape.]

Hawkins, P., & Brunt, M. (1965). *Report to the Government of Camerouns on the Soils & Ecology of West Cameroun*. Rome: FAO Report 2083.

[Not yet consulted.]

Heath, D. F. (1927). *Quarterly Report on Gashaka Division for the Quarter ending 30 June, 1927 In Recurrent reports Gashaka Division 1927.* (Yola Profile B3B).

Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Arrest of men for administering ordeals.]

Hepper, F. N. (1961 & 1962). Plants of the 1957/8 West African Expedition 1, 2, 3. *Kew Bulletin* 15(56-66), 16:395-407 & 451-459.

Hepper, F. N. (1962). A Botanist in Adamawa part 2 - Mambila plateau. *Nigerian Field* 27(3), 100-122.

Hepper, F. N. (1966). Outline of the Vegetation & Flora of the Mambila Plateau, Northern Nigeria. *Bull. IFAN XXVII*(Ser A 1), 91-127.

Hepper, F. N. (n.d.). *Travel Diary of the 1957/8 West African Expedition.* Archived in the library of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew.

[Includes some descriptions of building, of the sua enclosure at Tep, and an otherwise undescribed piece of ritual which Hepper also photographed.]

Hildebrand, F. H. (1966). *Report on the detailed soil survey of areas at Kusuku and Luga Barure, Mambilla Plateau, Nigeria.* Soil Survey Bulletin, Institute for Agricultural Research, Northern Nigeria, no. 33.

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

Hill, M., Perrin, M. J., & Kangla, A. (1973a). *Meh Giun Derua Jangen-eh. The first in a series of primers in the Mambila Language.* Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Hill, M., Perrin, M. J., & Kangla, A. (1973b). *Derua a moh bu jou: my first book.* Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Hill, M., Perrin, M. J., & Kangla, A. (1973c). *Write Mambila.* Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Hill, M., Perrin, M. J., & Kangla, A. (1973d). *Ma sena meh: Health Book.* Jos: Institute of Linguistics.



[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Hill, M., Perrin, M. J., & Kangla, A. (1974). *Chir gul gi-neh: Transport book*. Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Hill, M., Perrin, M. J., & Kangla, A. (1975). *Nellip ih Mambila*. Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Holdsworth, W. N. (1969). *Mambilla-Gashaka Game Reserve Proposal*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan, Department of Forestry.

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

Hope, W. A. (1966). *A report on localities on the Mambilla Plateau with particular reference to the cultivation of coffee arabica*. Zaria: Bulletin 32, Soil Survey section, Regional Research Station, Ministry of Agriculture, Samaru.

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

Hurault, J. M. (1955). *Le Lamidat de Banyo*. Yaoundé: Unpublished Report. Archives L'IRCAM.

[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.]

Hurault, J. M. (1963). Applications de la Photographie Aérienne aux Recherches de Sciences Humaines dans les Régions Tropicales. *Memoires de Photo-Interpretation No. 1*;

[see below.]

Hurault, J. M. (1964). Antagonism de l'agriculture et de l'élevage sur les Hauts-Plateaux de l'Adamawa (Cameroun): Le lamidat de Banyo. *Etudes Rurales* 15, 22-71.

[See below.]

Hurault, J. M. (1969 &1970). Eleveurs et Cultivateurs des Hauts Plateaux de Cameroun: la Population du Lamidat de Banyo. *Population* **24**(5), 963-994 and **25.5**:1039-1084.

[These papers contain much of the little information published about the Mambila in Cameroun.]

Hurault, J. M. (1972). *Phases Climatiques Tropicales Seches a Banyo (Cameroun, Hauts Plateaux de l'Adamawa)*. Cape Town: Balkema.

Hurault, J. M. (1973). Aerial Photographic Study of Pastures of the Highlands of Western Adamawa. *Revue d'Elevage et de Medecine Veterinaire des Pays Tropicaux* **26**(4), 443-458.

[Complements and concludes the work of Hurault 1975. It is relevant to the Mambila even when not about them directly.]

Hurault, J. M. (1975a). *Histoire du Lamidat Peul de Banyo*. Outre-Mer: Academie Sciences.

[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.]

Hurault, J. M. (1975b). *Surpaturage & Transformation du Milieu Physique*. Paris: I.G.N.

[Focuses on the geological and ecological effects of over-grazing. Some details from Mambila.]

Hurault, J. M. (1979). Une application de la Photo-interpretation a l'Archeologie de L'Afrique Tropicale: la Reconstitution des Modes de Peuplement et Systemes Agraires Disparus. Exemple de l'Adamaoua Occidental. *Bulletin 75 de la Societe Francaise de Photogrammetrie et de Teledetection*.

[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.]

Hurault, J. M. (1983). Fecondité et Mortalité dans L'Agglomeration Urbaine de Banyo (Cameroun). *Cah. Orstom ser. Sci. Hum.* **19**(3), 247-267.

Hurault, J. M. (1984). Ancien Outils Agricoles de l'Adamaoua Occidental (Cameroun). *Cahiers O.R.S.T.O.M. ser. Sci. Hum.* **20**(3-4), 575-582.

[Hoe types mentioned fleetingly.]

Hurault, J. M. (1986). Les Anciens Peuplements de Cultivateurs de L'Adamaoua Occidental (Cameroun-Nigeria). *Cah. Sci. Hum.* **22**(1), 115-145.

Hurault, J. M. (1988). A Report on Archeological Surveys in the Cameroon-Nigeria Border Region. *Africa* **58**(4), 470-476.

[Mainly about Tikar.]

Hurault, J. M. (n.d. 1988?). *La Peuplement de la Plaine des Tikar a l'époque de la conquête Musulmane (Second quart du XIXe siecle).*

Hurault, J. M., & Lummaux, J.-C. (1979). *Essai de Cartographie de l'Enviroment d'un Milieu Tropicale d'altitude: L'Adamaoua Occidental (Cameroun - Nigeria).* Paper presented at Symposium International sur la Cartographie de l'Enviroment et de sa Dynamique; Caen, France - June 1979.

Isa, Abdullahi, and Mshelizza. 1988. Mambila to produce 20,000 tonnes of wheat. The Reporter, November 29, 1988, 1.

Izard, T. (1926). *Census Report*. Unpublished Colonial Administrative Report: Archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

[Early population figures.]

Izard, T. A. (1925). *Annual on Gashaka District: Cameroons Mandated territory. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka Distruict or Division 1924-1926* (Yola Profile B3A). National Archives, Kaduna.

[Local politics. The “affair of Hamman Joda” - his accusation and deposition.]

Izard, T. A. (1926). *Assessment Report on the Mambila Area* (Yola Profile J20, another copy: SNP 17 - K2996 acc 849). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Includes identification of Jiru grass (qv Meek 1931) as *Sporobolus pyramidalis* Beauv.

Census details from March/April 1927 also included in this file.]

Izard, T. A. (1926). *Half-yearly Report on Gashaka District Cameroons for the 6 months Ending Sept. 30, 1926. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka District or Division 1924-1926* (Yola Profile B3A). National Archives, Kaduna.

[Mambila planting Ganjigaga variety of Cola. ???.]

Izard, T. A. (1926). *Quarterly Report on Gashaka District Cameroons for Quarter Ending 1926. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka District or Division 1924-1926* (Yola Profile B3A). National Archives, Kaduna.

[Local politics. Repercussions of the “affair of Hamman Joda”. Cattle droving - A Frenchman taking cattle across the border to Cameroun.]

Izard, T. A. (1926). *Quarterly Report on Gashaka District Cameroons for Quarter Ending June 30, 1926. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka District or Division 1924-1926* (Yola Profile B3A). National Archives, Kaduna.

[p 3 para 11 “Giman and Ndimbe, both Mambilas, were tired and found guilty of slave dealing.”.]

Izard, T. A. (1926). *Report on the Census and revision of Assessment of the Mambila Area of Gashaka District Cameroons (Mandated Territory)* (Yola Profile J20; another copy SNP 17 - K3715). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Details of house construction, and some notes on disputes types, also census details.]

Izard, T. A. (1926). *Some notes on the Origin of the Mambila Tribe* (Yola Profile J20: This is the autograph. Memo 97/1926/6 Magu on tour Nov 8, 1926; another copy is in SNP 17 - K3715 pp 53-59 dated 17 Jan 1927). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Details of house construction, and some notes on disputes types, also census details.]

Izard, T. A. (1926). *The Tigon Tribe - notes* (SNP 17/1 - 69). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Little of interest.]

Izard, T. A. (1927). *Annual Report on Gashaka Division 1927 In Recurrent reports Gashaka Division 1927.* (Yola Profile B3B). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[includes general population figures.]

Izard, T. A. (1927). *Return of Livestock 1927 In Recurrent reports Gashaka Division 1927*. (Yola Profile B3B). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[General livestock figures.]

Izard, T. A. (1928). *Handing on Notes, May 1928. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka Division 1928*. (Yola Profile B3C). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Gebana = Arnado of Titon, his nephew is Yerima Titon.]

Izard, T. A. (1928). *Quarterly Report on Gashaka District Cameroons for Quarter Ending 31 March, 1928. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka Division 1928*. (Yola Profile B3C). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Population figures for Kentu.]

Izard, T. A. (1930). *The Ngoro* (SNP 17 - K3196). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Origin of Ngoro on Mambila Plateau?]

Izard, T. A., Heath, D., & Paul, W. H. (1927-1935). *Sarkin Gashaka* (Yola Profile 25 vol 1, 2, 3. Acc 289). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Dispute between two D.O.s over the probity of Hamman Joda the Sarkin of Gashaka. Paul their superior attempted to mediate.]

Jaubert. *Rapport de la tournée effectuée dans la Région Sud de Banyo (Tikars)*. Unpublished Report. A.N.Y. File no: APA 11782/B.

[Includes Map, and some interesting pages about the Mambila. Includes population figures.]

Jefferys, M. D. W. (1962b). Some notes on the Kwaja smiths of Bamenda. *Man* 62(s236), 152-153.

[Strictly not Mambila, but close neighbours.]

Jeffreys, M. D. W. (1947). Notes on Twins: Bamenda. *African Studies* 6(4), 189-195 illus.

[Includes Mambila twin names. Not corroborated.]

Jeffreys, M. D. W. (1961-2). Some Historical Notes on the Ntem. *J. Hist. Soc. Nigeria* 2(2 & 3), 260-276 (pt.2) & 384-392 (pt.3).

Jeffreys, M. D. W. (Dec 1952-Feb 1953). African Tarantula or Dancing Mania. *Eastern Anthropologist* 6(2), 98-108.

[Reference to the Makka witch-craft expulsion cult.]

Kaberry, P. M. (1952). *Women of the Grassfields*. London: HMSO.

Kabri, A. (1951). *Some notes on tribal life in Mambila: mainly Kabri & Warwar villages*. Rhodes House: Nightingale Papers MSS Afr s 1518 (3).

[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 no where else, in particular the Makka cult which gains the scarcest mention in published sources.]

Kangla, A. (1973). *Jenesis 1-35*. Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Kangla, M. (1974). *Chir Gul Gi-neh (Transport Book)*. Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Kerbellec, M. (1931). *Rapport de Tournee: Subdivision de Banyo*. Unpublished Report. A.N.Y.: APA 11780/E.

Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. (1955). On Swearing: An Account of some Judicial oaths in Northern Nigeria. *Africa* 25, 43-53.

[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.]

Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. (1958). *Adamawa Past & Present*. London: OUP for IAI.

[Some scattered references to Mambila. Appendix E reprints material from Kirk-Green 1955. The diary records troubles in Mambila in 1952.]

Kucynski, R. R. (1939). *The Cameroons & Togoland: A demographic Study*. London: London:.

[Mambila figure taken from Percival 1938.]

Kwulde, M. (1973). *Derua Nyame*. Jos: Institut of Linguistics.

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Leboucy, H. (1949). *Banyo Rapport Annuel 1949*. Unpublished Report. A.N.Y.:  
APA 11735.

[Mainly concentrating on areas closer to Banyo, but some interesting pages  
about the Mambila. Includes population figures.]

LI.DE.CO. (1972). *Survey for the inclusion of the productive Potential of the  
Mambila Plateau in the context of the Nigerian Economy*. Unpublished report:  
Rome.

[Mainly working from secondary sources but includes some interesting farm  
budgets. Otherwise it reads somewhat confusingly.]

Logan, R. *Report - Section C on that part of the cameroons which lies to the South  
of the Benue river and to the East of the nigerian Province of Yola. In Recurrent  
reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1923-1937.* (Yola Profile  
B3Z). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Smallpox epidemic 1923.]

Logan, R. (1921). *The Ndoro* (SNP 17 - K3196). Nigerian National Archives,  
Kaduna.

Lomax, A. F. T. (1940). *Annual Report on the Southern Touring Area, 1940 In  
Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1939-1946.*  
(Yola Profile B3J). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Ghee making scheme active in Tamnya.]

Lomax, A. F. T. (1940). *Quarterly Report on the Southern Touring Area June 30,  
1940 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1939-  
1946.* (Yola Profile B3J). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Changes to villages headships noted. A land dispute between Barr and Bang  
villages is current.]

Lomax, A. F. T. (1940). *Quarterly Report on the Southern Touring Area September  
30, 1940 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers  
1939-1946.* (Yola Profile B3J). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Murder of a Fulani Trader by youths from Barup.]

Lort-Phillips, D. (1967). *Future Land policy in Mambilla* (BASIS acc. no. 22869 Library Acc. no. 10531). LRD library Tolworth.

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

Maddox, R. H. (1931). *Quarterly Report for the quarter ending March 31 1931. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka Division 1930-32.* (Yola Profile B3D). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Exchange marriage is the origin of most court cases.

Problems from locusts in 1930.

First Mambila census since Izard 1926.

Gwina selected as Village Head of Kuma.]

Mafiamba, P. C. (1969). Notes on the Polyglot Populations of Nkambe. *Abbia* **21**, 59-90.

[This would be an important historical survey and summary but uncertainty over the sources make it untrustworthy.]

Mair, W. D. K. (1921). *Annual Report, period ending March 31, 1921 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1919-1922.* (Yola Profile B3X). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Christmas 1918 influenza epidemic.]

Mangbon, J. W. (1978). *Drink and the Innocent Policeman (Striking lesson Series).*

[A novella written by a Mambila man!]

Maund, J. A. H. (1929). *Quarterly Report for the quarter ending 31 March 1929. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka Division 1928-1929.* (Yola Profile B3C). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Notes on Meek's travels in Mambila 1926:

Left Gashaka Feb 1926, fell sick at Sabongari March 3 (pleurisy of right lung). Left Sabongari for Kentu on March 15 abandoning plans to tour Mambila.]

McComb, A. L., Ojo, G. O. A., & Jackson, J. K. (1970). *Fertiliser response of Eucalyptus grandis sown in a basaltic soil from the mambilla Plateau, Nigeria..* Samaru, Zaria: Savanna Forestry Research Station, Research Leaflet No. 2.

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]



Meek, C. K. (1930). *The Mambila* (Yola Profile J13 Acc 170; another copy SNP 17 - K3715). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[The early version of Meek's report on Mambila, substantially identical with the published version.]

Meek, C. K. (1930). *The Ndoro* (SNP 17 - K3196). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Nothing in addition to the version published in 1931.]

Meek, C. K. (1930). *The Tigon Tribe* (SNP 17/1 - 69). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Nothing in addition to the version published in 1931.]

Meek, C. K. (1931a). *A Sudanese kingdom: An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun speaking peoples of Nigeria*. London: Kegan Paul; Trench & Trubner.

[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.]

Meek, C. K. (1931b). *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria Vol. 1*. London: Kegan Paul.

[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.]

Meek, C. K. (1936). Marriage by Exchange in Nigeria: a disappearing institution. *Africa* 9, 64-74.

[Mambila are used as an example but nothing is added to the account in Meek 1931b.]

Meek, C. K. (1957). *Land Tenure & Land Administration in Nigeria & the Cameroons (Colonial Research Studies 22)*. London: HMSO.

Meyer, E. (1939). Mambila-studie. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* **30**, 1-52, 117-148 & 210-232.

[This is the only published grammar of Mambila, of Warwar and Mbanga dialects.]

Meyer, E. (1942). Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachforschung in Kamerun. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* **32**(4), 240-285.

[ p. 247 has one paragraph about Mambila the only interesting thing of which is that Lt Thiel made some unpublished linguistic notes in 1909.]

Meyer, E. (1947). *Kamerun*. Innsbruck: Schlüsselverlag.

[Two page summary of Mambila p 643/4 based on Meek and Meyer's own work.]

Migeod, C. O. (1921). *Report on Southern Cameroons division In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1919-1922*. (Yola Profile B3X). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Groom (D.O. Muri) estimated Southern Mambila population (excluding Titon/Kuma) at 5,500 in 1916.]

Migeod, F. W. H. (1924). The British Cameroons: its Tribes & Natural Features. *Journal of the Africa Society* **23**, 176-187.

Migeod, F. W. H. (1925). *Through British Cameroons*. London: Heath Cranston.

Milner, J. (n.d.). *The Fred and Diana Uhlman Collection of African Sculpture*. Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne: Hatton Gallery.

[Figure 64 Seated mother & Child is ascribed to Mambila but this is an uncertain attribution which D.Z. doubts.]

Mohammadou, E. (1964). L'Histoire des Lamidats de Tchamba et Tibati. *Abbia* **6**, 15-158.

[The Mambila figure only in passing.]

Mohammadou, E. (1967). Pour une Histoire du Cameroun Central: les Traditions Historiques des Voute ou Baboute. *Abbia* **16**, 59-127.

[The Mambila figure only in passing.]

Mohammadou, E. (1978). *Fulbe Hooseere: les Royaumes Foulbe du Plateau de L'Adamaoua au XIX Siecle..* Tokyo: ILCAA.

[The Mambila figure only in passing.]

Mohammadou, E. (1981). *L'Implantation des Peul dans l'Adamaoua (Approche Chronologique)*. Paris: CNRS.

[Mambila raid 1893 p 242 & 244; other raids 1820-40 against Kam and Tigong.]

Mohammadou, E. (1990). *Traditions Historiques des peuples du Cameroun Centrale. Vol 1: Mbéré, Mboum, Tikar. Vol 2: Vouté, Nyèm,-Nyèm, Kondja..* Tokyo: ILCAA.

[The most recent, and most detailed survey of the history of Central Cameroon. The Mambila is good overall but my evidence differs from his in several places, although mainly we are in agreement. An important contribution to the literature.]

Moisel, M. (1913). *Begleitworte zu dem Blatt E2, Banjo*. Berlin: Geographische Verlagshandlung Dietrich Reiner (Ernst Vohsen).

[Information about early German exploration. An invaluable source of references.]

Mould, A. W. S. (1960). *Report on Rapid Reconnaissance Soil Survey of the Mambila Plateau*. Zaria, Nigeria: Bulletin 15, Soil Survey section, Regional Research Station, Ministry of Agriculture, Samaru, Zaria, Nigeria.

[Reference from Hepper 1966. In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

MRT Consulting Engineers (Nigeria) Ltd. (1978). *DONGA RIVER Pre-feasibility Study*. Kaduna ? : Upper Benue River Basin Development Authority.

[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!]

Murdock, G. (1959). *Africa: its peoples and their Culture History*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

[Reference on p.91ff, based on Meek and Percival. No original contribution.]

Ngoh, V. J. (1987). *Cameroon 1884-1985. A Hundred Years of History*. Yaoundé: Navi Group.

[Mambila mentioned p 223 based on articles in Abbia.]

Nicodeme, M. B. (. (n.d.). *Catechisme at Cantique en Langue Bobah (Mambila)*. Ngaunderé: Eglise Evangelique Lutherienne du Cameroun.

[Mambila text, Somie dialect, non-standard orthography.]

Nicodeme, M. B. (. (n.d.). *Dual Cang de Bovel Cie Dong*. Ngaunderé: Eglise Evangelique Lutherienne du Cameroun.

[Mambila text, Somie dialect, non-standard orthography.]

Nightingale, M. B. L. (1958-9). *Monthly Touring Reports*. Rhodes House MSS Afr s 1518.

Northern, T. (1984). *The Art of Cameroon*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institute.

[ Mambila examples p 190-194.]

Nugent, W. V. (1914). The Geographical results of the Nigeria-Kamerun Boundary Commission of 1912-13. *Geog. J. XLIII*, 630-651.

Park. (1939). *History of Gashaka from Fulani Times*. Unpublished Colonial Administrative Report: Archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

Park. (1939). *Report on Gashaka District*. Unpublished Colonial Administrative Report: Archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

Passarge, S. (1909). *Kamerun*. Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts.

Paul, W. H. (1935). *The Administration of the Southern Mandated Territories of Adamawa Province since 1914*. Archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

[Administrative details only.]

Paul, W. H. (1935). *Gashaka and the War (1914-19)*. Archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

[Compiled from notes made by Major Freemantle & T.H. Haughton. Includes map of the battle of Gashaka.]

Paul, W. H. (1935). *Mambila Area pp 41-53 in Unsettled Area - Mambila* (Yola Profile 2214D). National Archives, Kaduna.

[Rumours of cannibalism are noted p5 but not substantiated.]

Paul, W. H. (1935). *Quarterly Report on the Southern Touring Area 1 October, 1935 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1935.* (Yola Profile B3G). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

Paul, W. H. (1936). *The Tigon Tribe* (SNP 17/1 - 69). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Re-examines Meeks groupings on basis of alliances and dialects.. Also some population figures.]

Peal, J. (1961). Local Leave on Mambila Plateau. *Nigerian Field* 26(3), 129-137.

Pennet. (1933). *Rapport de tournée 1933 (May - June)*. Unpublished Report. A.N.Y. File no: APA 11782/B.

[Some material about the Mambila.]

Percival, D. A. (1930). *Comments on Meek 1930* (Yola Profile J13 Acc 170). National Archives, Kaduna.

[Mention of Tikar anti-witchcraft cult (Ngggu) and some appendices which detail kin terms, rates of marriage between hamlets as well as some details about religion.]

Percival, D. A. (1934). *The Mambilla Tribe* (Yola Profile 2698). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Notes long history of links with Yamba, and that some Bororo were already on the Plateau. Largely superseded by his subsequent reports.]

Percival, D. A. (1934). *Personal Diary 3rd Tour*. Rhodes House MSS BRIT EMP s 364.

Percival, D. A. (1935). *Quarterly Report on the Southern Touring Area March 31, 1935 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1935.* (Yola Profile B3G). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Mysterious disappearances (of an old man and a Hausa trader) in Mambila!]

Percival, D. A. (1936). *Gashaka Area Annual Report 1936* (Yola Profile B3H). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Lions reported at Guroje.  
Smallpox in October 1936 at Garababi, spreading to Serti and up the traderoute to Sugu (Gamu).]

Percival, D. A. (1936). *Mambila Tribe Gashaka division, Administrative Reorganisation.* (Yola Profile 2698A.) Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.  
Another copy was in the I.A.I. library in 1950's. It has not proved possible to trace this copy among the IAI library now housed in Manchester. Copy in the personal collection of F. Rehfish. This, however, is part3 only, being a summary of his Intelligence report, including some population figures.

Percival, D. A. (1937). *Quarterly Report, Quarter ending June 30, 1937 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1936-1939.* (Yola Profile B3H). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Questionable deaths, ordeal suspected.  
Courtcases about legacies of exchange marriage.]

Percival, D. A. (1937). *Quarterly Report, Quarter ending September 30, 1937 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1936-1939.* (Yola Profile B3H). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Notes the arrest of those suspect of administering ordeals at RO village.]

Percival, D. A. (1937). *Southern Touring Area, Annual Report for the year 1937 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1936-1939.* (Yola Profile B3H). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[135 cows have been killed by lions on the Mambila Plateau.]

Percival, D. A. (1938). *Intelligence Report, 1938. The Mambila Area* (Yola Profile 2698A). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

Further copies have been archived in Cambridge, and in Rhodes House, Oxford.

[Long and most detailed of the Intelligence reports. The the village lists, which were compiled Dec 34- June 35, contain much detailed demographic information, as well some religious information. One of the most comprehensive reports available, more trustworthy than Meek on many points.]

Percival, D. A. (1938). *Notes by D.A. Percival on the Census made in the Mambila Area* (SNP 17 - K2996A). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Subsequently published as “Notes on the Count of a Primitive Tribe.”.]

Percival, D. A. (1938). Notes on the Count of a Primitive Tribe in West Africa. *J. R. Stat. Soc.* **101**, 606-616.

[Details of the 1936 census among the Mambila.]

Percival, D. A. (1938). *Southern Touring Area, Annual Report for the year 1938 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1936-1939.* (Yola Profile B3H). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Report on the Makka anti witchcraft-cult p 3. Some moslem settlers also noted.]

Perrin, M. J. (1974a). Mambila. pp. 93-108 In J. Bendor-Samuel (Ed.), *Ten Nigerian Tone Systems*. Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[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.]

Perrin, M. J. (1974b). Direct and Indirect Speech in Mambila. *Journal of Linguistics* **10**, 27-37.

[Written of the Gembu dialect.]

Perrin, M. J. (1976). *Degrees of Verbal Status in Mambila*. Paper delivered to the 12th West African Languages Congress 14-20 March 1976.

Perrin, M. J. (1978). *Who's Who in Mambila Folkstories*. Dallas: S.I.L.

[Also written of Gembu dialect - equally interesting.]

Perrin, M. J. (1980). Mambila. pp. Mam1-Mam5 In M. E. Kropp Dakubu (Ed.), *West African Language Data Sheets Vol. 2*. Leiden: W.A.L.S. & African Studies Centre, Leiden.

[Early linguistic notes about Gembu dialect submitted in 1973. Nothing not subsequently published in a more complete form.]

Perrin, M. J. (1987a). *Cours d'initiation à l'orthographe de la langue MAMBILA*. Yaoundé: S.I.L.

Perrin, M. J. (1987b). *Rapport sur Recherche en la Langue Mambila*. C.R.E.A., Yaoundé.

[Includes some revisions to the Atta phonology as an appendix. These include the recognition of a central vowel.]

Perrin, M. J. (n.d.). *Bi Ndez*. London: Scripture Gift Mission.

[Mambila text, Atta dialect.]

Perrin, M. J. (n.d.). *Bi Nggue (Mark 7:14)*. London: Scripture Gift Mission.

[Mambila text, Atta dialect.]

Perrin, M. J., & Bendor-Samuel, J. T. (1971). *A Note on Labialisation in Mambila*.

[Early paper by Perrin. The topic was later fully dealt with in Perrin & Hill 1969.]

Perrin, M. J., & Hill, M. V. (1969). *Mambila (Parler d'Atta): Description Phonologique*. Yaoundé: Université Federale du Cameroun.

[The major published 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). Some revisions to this work are made in Perrin's 1987 report to MESRES.]

Pollock, J. H. H. (1927). *Bungwum-Mbembe Area Assessment Report 1926*.

Unpublished Government report: copies in Buea Archives, and in Library of Bambui Regional Major Seminary.

Another copy is in Rhodes House: MSS Afr s 797.

[Includes detailed description of Spider divination.]



Prescott, J. R. V. *The Evolution of Nigeria's International & Regional Boundaries 1961-1971. B.C. Geog. Series No.13.* Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd.

[Nothing of interest, only passing references to Mambila.]

Preston, G. N. (1985). *Sets, Series & Ensembles in African Art.* New York: Center for African Art & Harry N. Abrams, Inc.

[Some Mambila examples, and illustrations from Gebauer's photographs.]

Rehfish, F. (1956). *The Social Structure of a Mambila Village.* University of London unpublished MA Thesis.

[Published verbatim as Rehfish 1972.]

Rehfish, F. (1960). The Dynamics of Multilinearity on the Mambila Plateau. *Africa* 3, 246-261.

[A chapter from the thesis (1956 & 1972).]

Rehfish, F. (1962). Competitive Gift Exchange among the Mambila. *Cahiers D'Études Africaines* 9, 91-103.

[Republished 1987 in "Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology" pp 135-145 ed. M. Douglas. Cambridge: C.U.P.

Description of competitive beer giving, mobilising village wide production.]

Rehfish, F. (1966). Mambila Marriage Prohibitions & Incest Regulations and the Role System. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 1(4), 298-309.

[Again a published part-chapter from the Thesis.]

Rehfish, F. (1969). *Death, Dreams and the Ancestors and Mambila Culture.* London: Tavistock Press.

[Interesting account of dreams, illness and witchcraft are connected, and attitudes to imported cloth are discussed.]

Rehfish, F. (1972). *The Social Structure of a Mambila Village.* Zaria: Ahamadu Bello University: Sociology Department (Occ. Paper 2).

[The published MA thesis (1956), a detailed account of Warwar village, with most information relating to Ndiel hamlet where Rehfish resided. It covers agriculture residence and marriage patterns, land tenure political structure

and kinship. Religion is conspicuously absent. An excellent piece of work which is still relevant to contemporary Mambila.]

Rowse, E. R. (1928). *Handing on Notes, E.R. Rowse to J.A.H. Maund 5 Nov 1928. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka Division 1928.* (Yola Profile B3C). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Arnado Kuma died in 1928, replaced by his nephew Bappa but this is opposed locally.]

S.I.L. (1980). *Introduction to Phonemic Analysis.* High Wycombe: S.I.L.

[Two Mambila examples are used.]

Sablaylorles, M. J. (1954). *Banyo Rapport Annuel 1954.* Unpublished Report. A.N.Y.: 1AC 3386.

Sablaylorles, M. J. (31-1-54). *Rapport Annuel de l'Arrondissement de Banyo 1953.* Unpublished Report. A.N.Y.: 1AC 6343.

Schneider, G. (1951). The Village Smithy of Kwadja. *Nigerian Field* 16, 179-183.

[Strictly Kwadja is a Kaka village. The description is not very informative.]

Schneider, G. (1955). Mambila Album. *Nigerian Field* 20, 112-132.

[Superseded by Rehfish's work it does contain some fascinating photographs. Schneider was in Warwar in the late 1940's.]

Schwartz, N. B. A. (1972). *Mambilla-Art & Material Culture.* Milwaukee: Public Museum.

[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.]

Sieber, R. (1980). *African Furniture and Household Objects.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

[p151 Birthing stool from Kate White colln.]

Sondue, M. (Sound Recording). (1963). *Mambila 2580 3A & 3B*. Buenas Nuevas: Buenas Nuevas.

[78rpm record of two small bible passages. Somié Dialect]

Strumpell, F. (1910). Vergleichendes Worterverzeichniss der Heidensprachen Adamauas. Mit Vorbemerkungen von B. Struck. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* **XLII**, 444-488.

[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).]

Strumpell, K. (1912). *History of Adamaoua compiled from verbal information. (Translated)* (Yola Profile K5). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna. Extracts have been archived in Cambridge African Studies Lib. and Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

[Typed English notes, mainly dealing with relations with Banyo. The translator is unknown.]

Swire, P. W. (1956). *Mambila: Grazing and herd economics*. Departmental report, Veterinary and Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Unit, Northern Nigeria.

[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

Taylor, F. W. (1932). *Fulani-English Dictionary*. Oxford: OUP.

[p131 has following entry: MABILAJO, Mabila'en, a pagan tribe in the French part of Adamawa; the Mambilas.]

Tessman, G. (1932). Die Volker und Sprachen Kamerun. *Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen* **78**, 113-120&184-190.

Tong, J. Y. (1967). *African Art in the Mambila Collection of Gilbert D. Schneider*. Athens; Ohio: J. Y. Tong.

[See notes to Schwartz 1972, above.]

Voorhoeve, P., & de Wolf, P. P. (1969). *Benue-Congo Noun Class Systems*. Leiden: West African Linguistic Society.

[Contains two pages on Mambila, based on Meyer only.]

Ward, L. S. (1924). *Report on the Gashaka District for the Year 1924. In Recurrent reports. Gashaka District or Division 1924-1926* (Yola Profile B3A). National Archives, Kaduna.

[This contains a summary of Glasson's "Ethnological Notes on the Mambila Tribe" as an appendix.]

Warnier, J. P. (1985). *Échanges, développement et hiérarchies dans le Bamenda pré-colonial (Cameroun)*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

[Mambila 123, 132, 145: (Trade routes).]

Webb, V. L. (1987). The Photographs of Paul Gebauer. *African Arts* **20**(2), 46-51.

[Two photographs of Mambila p 49, shrine objects and an old man treating a woman. Colour slides from c 1939. Small pot (toó?) and four-handled basket.]

Weladji, C. (1982). The Cameroon-Nigerian Border. *Abbia* **38-39-40**, 213-271.

[p 238 cites Migeod (157) deposing Mambila Chiefs and FulBe replacing them.

p239: Glasson: deposed Yipso Mambila Chief of Kuma, replaced by Hama Joda of Jalingo "a new town barely 3 yrs old"

p241 Mambila (Nigeria) 3885 km<sup>2</sup>. Mambila (Cam) + Konja 976 in 18 villages.]

Welch, T. B. G. (1934). *Native Admisistration Policy. Pagan Administration. Rpt 257/52 In Recurrent reports. Gashaka District or Division 1924-1926*. (Yola Profile B3A). National Archives, Kaduna.

[FulBes had pentrated most of Plateau. Only Mbamga succeeded in resisting.]

Welch, T. B. G. (1936). *Quarterly report, March Quarter 1936 In Recurrent reports, Southern Mandated Districts and associated papers 1936-1939*. (Yola Profile B3Z). Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Locusts in Mambila Jan 1936.]

Welmers, W. E. (1971). Checklist of Languages & Dialect Names. In T. Sebeok (Ed.), Current trends in Linguistics 7

[Linguistic classification only.]

Werner, O. (1909). Eine Expedition gegen die Kaka. *DKB* 20, 219-221.

Westermann, D., & Bryan, M. A. (1970). *The Languages of West Africa*. London: Dawsons for IAI.

[Linguistic classification only. Mambila 143/4.]

Williamson, K. E. (1971). The Benue-Congo languages & Ijo. In T. Sebeok (Ed.), Current trends in Linguistics 7

[Linguistic classification only.]

Williamson, K. E., & Shimizu, K. (1968). *Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist 1*. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.

[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.]

Williamson, K. E. (1973). *Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist 2*. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.

[See above, Williamson & Shimizu 1968.]

Zeitlyn, D. (1987). Mambila Divination. *Cambridge Anthropology* 12(1), 21-51.

[Preliminary version of chapter 3 of this work. Subsequent fieldwork has corrected the linguistic speculation about the divinatory invocation.]

Zeitlyn, D. (1989). Mambila Bibliography. *The Nigerian Field* 54, 65-76.

[Bibliography based on research in UK and Cameroun until early 1988. Nigerian sources are the major omission which has been remedied here.]

Zeitlyn, D. (1990 (submitted June 1989)). Mambila Traditional Religion. Sua in

Somié. PhD thesis. University of Cambridge, Cambridge.

[The original, version of this work.]

## 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 **Chàṅ** or caused by people (**nùàr**)) are summarized below:

CAUSE:	MA 302/78	KUNG 303/15	BI 303/10	TAM 302/84
<b>Chàṅ</b>	<b>lə</b>	<b>lə</b>	<b>lə*</b>	<b>lə</b>
<b>nùàr</b>	<b>lə</b> to drive off witch by its smell	divn then <b>sua</b> or <b>lə</b> . <b>Lə</b> - cut chicken over ill person So sim. to <b>sua</b>	<b>chə sua</b> or warning off: ( <b>ta</b> <b>nduan</b> ) <b>Lə</b> to aid recovery	divn-Chief <b>Lə</b> to aid recovery

\*NB he classed **dulu** (fever) & cough separately as just illness, not work of **Chàṅ**!

## Appendix 2.

### Documented Mambila Masks<sup>399</sup>

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 **suah** and for other ritual objects without further comment.

object name	commentary	source
<b>showa/sur/sowi</b>	general name for masks, hidden from women; used at fertility rites and at important burials.	Anon
<b>suah bvir</b>	mask: dog, owl, ‘tear’?	Schwartz 1972
<b>suah bur</b>	dancing mask of the first rank	Tong 1967:8
<b>bur</b>	‘dog’ mask from Mbamnga	Anon
<b>suah dua</b>	mask: crow	Schwartz 1972
<b>suah dua</b>	Sacred bird, mutual aid soc.	Gebauer 1979:154
<b>suah dua</b>	dancing mask of the second rank	Tong 1967:8
<b>Duwa</b>	Main Suwa masks	Anon
<b>suah mben</b>	fibre suit for young boys play - said to be remnant of N-E cult (Torbi group) dropped in favour of Suwa cult from Warwar & Southern villages.	Anon
<b>suah ndeng</b>	fibre suits; sexual jokes	Schwartz 1972

<sup>399</sup>There 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.

<b>suah ndeng</b>	the dancing suit	Tong 1967:8
<b>suah ndang</b>	black suits used to discipline children, in conjunction with the main <b>Suwa</b> rites	Anon
<b>mafe</b>	‘wind’ mask from Tep Kwar	Anon
<b>mahir</b>	‘storm’ mask from Mbamnga	Anon
<b>nsua ndua</b>	Bird, annual dance of Kurum mutual aid society	Gebauer 1979:299
<b>swaba</b>	fibre dancing suit, Atta	Hurault (1954)
<b>gomvø</b>	black fibre dancing suit, Atta	Hurault (1954)
<b>mbom</b>	fibre dancing suit, Atta	Hurault (1954)
<b>kike</b>	raffia pith figurine	Tong 1967:8
<b>tadep</b>	wood figurine	Tong 1967:8
<b>tawong</b>	wood flute	Tong 1967:8



### 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.

Transcript with Glosses of Sua Oath text discussed in main text

- 0 Ga; m̀̀ nde sua ch̀. M̀̀ ch̀. N̄gue m̀̀  
m̀̀ nde sua ch̀. M̀̀ ch̀. N̄gue m̀̀  
I go sua cut I cut Listen me
- 1 Jb; N̄gue yə b̀ və le < Heh heh >=< Banging on the chefferie  
doors for attention  
N̄gue yə b̀ və le heh heh  
listen you PL. woman in
- 2 Heh heh, B́ fela sua b̀́ seé.  
heh heh b́ fela sua b̀́ seé  
you listen sua do work
- 3 Ga; Ẁ sar yə, ẁ fum yə, Tam tue ju lane gi na'á  
ẁ sar yə ẁ fum yə Tam tue ju  
lane gi na'á  
you spearers yours you shape-changer yours Tam say talk  
today end PAST
- 4 Ẁ nuar sar, ẁ nuar fəm,  
ẁ nuar sar ẁ nuar fəm  
you person spearer you person shape-changer
- 5 ẁ mgbati l̀́ ni, ẁ mgbati yuop.  
ẁ mgbati l̀́ ni ẁ mgbati yuop  
you witch compound who you witch theft?
- 6 Te bə́ te ẁ və baá kulu.ku kulu  
te bə́ te ẁ və baá kulu ku kulu  
NEG harm NEG you woman PRES. bless bless bless
- 7 Nuar mə ẁ furu mə nə gi chuar,  
nuar mə ẁ furu mə nə gi chuar  
person that you bury with is egg chicken
- 8 bé kwa nji kə du, sua sie bu sie.  
bé kwa nji kə du sua sie bu sie  
we find thing at ground sua take it take
- 9 Mavə, huan sep (1) ẁ nyugə mə l̀́ b́ yə,  
mavə huan sep ẁ nyugə mə l̀́ b́ yə  
woman child male you repair with compound yours yours
- 10 ẁ fum yə, ( ) b̀́ tue ju l̀́ gi na'á  
ẁ fum yə b̀́ tue ju l̀́ gi na'á  
you witch yours they say talk compound end PAST
- 11 Ẁ nuar ɲene, ẁ jə: wula kə nuar ( ).  
ẁ nuar ɲene ẁ jə wula kə nuar  
you person see you say kill at person
- 12 N̄gwagam kə van hən m̀̀ yə yə yə (1)  
N̄gwagam kə van hən m̀̀ yə yə yə  
maize at plain this I eat eat eat
- 13 Ma m̀̀ kə ɲgwə m̀̀ sɔ tema chén  
ma m̀̀ kə ɲgwə m̀̀ sɔ tema chén  
if I know NEG. I live liver one
- 14 Bé mbi m̀̀ nde tɔɔ gi mun.

- bé mbi m̀ò nde t̀og̀o gi mun  
we friend m̀ine go quarrel end thus
- 15 L̀óó Ndeba, b̀ò Taa j̀ə: wula nuar k̀ə du.  
l̀óó ndeba b̀ò taa j̀ə wula nuar k̀ə du  
compound PL. Atta say kill person at ground
- 16 M̀ì ɲgwagam ỳə ỳə ỳə.  
m̀ì ɲgwagam ỳə ỳə ỳə  
I maize eat eat eat
- 17 M̀ì hən den d̀ə,  
m̀ì hən den d̀ə  
I this stay of
- 18 v̀ə m̀ò suaga k̀ə ter njulu chugu,  
v̀ə m̀ò suaga k̀ə ter njulu chugu  
woman m̀ine descend at up eyes blind
- 19 b̀ó wula bu lu,  
b̀ó wula bu lu  
they kill her SUB.EMP.
- 20 b̀í j̀ə: b̀í gwom wula bu lu. B̀í xxx,  
b̀í j̀ə b̀í gwom wula bu lu b̀í xxx  
you say you pay kill her SUB.EMP. you xxx
- 21 ẁò nuar gwom te gwom.  
ẁò nuar gwom te gwom  
you person pay NEG pay
- 22 Ẁò ɲene ỳə ỳə ỳə.  
ẁò ɲene ỳə ỳə ỳə  
you see eat eat eat
- 23 Ẁò jena ɲgwagam, () ẁò jena yulu.  
ẁò jena ɲgwagam ẁò jena yulu  
you refuse maize you refuse millet
- 24 F̀ə m̀gbe m̀ə dən d̀ə, b̀ò m̀gbe ỳə.  
f̀ə m̀gbe m̀ə dən d̀ə b̀ò m̀gbe ỳə  
head chief that here of PL. chief yours
- 25 (1) K̀ənəhən b̀ò tue m̀gbe, tue tema chén.  
k̀ənəhən b̀ò tue m̀gbe tue tema chén  
now they say chief say liver one
- 26 B̀ò jibi bu akili, b̀ò jibi b̀ò vo, b̀ò jibi b̀ò ɲuna,  
b̀ò jibi bu akili b̀ò jibi b̀ò vo b̀ò jibi  
b̀ò ɲuna  
they shake her intelligence they shake PL. wife they shake  
PL. child
- 27 B̀ò Ndeba d̀óóɲ, b̀ò v̀ə, b̀ò sep,  
b̀ò Ndeba d̀óóɲ b̀ò v̀ə b̀ò sep  
PL. Ndeba all PL. woman PL. male
- 28 ẁò j̀ə nyí ɲene mavə wa, nyí siri,  
ẁò j̀ə nyí ɲene mavə wa nyí siri  
you say speaker see woman CONJ. speaker harm
- 29 nyí siri huan sep, nyí siri mavə.  
nyí siri huan sep nyí siri mavə

- speaker harm child male speaker harm woman
- 30 Njibu le sap, njibu le tu.  
njibu le sap njibu le tu  
stop in snake stop in tree
- 31 Wò kuó, wò mēna ṅgwagam hən yə yə yə  
wò kuó wò mēna ṅgwagam hən yə yə yə  
you die you thus maize this eat eat eat
- 32 Ma bí sòn bí yə chén, fə bí yə tare.()  
ma bí sòn bí yə chén fə bí yə tare  
if you mouth you yours one head yours yours hard
- 33 < Nde seé sua hən ><= To Tam  
nde seé sua hən  
go do sua this
- 34 Ta; Mì, mì nuar tue dənə hən,  
mì mì nuar tue dənə hən  
I I person say here this
- 35 Leli mə mgbe Mɔgɔ kuó mə mì né dənə.  
leli mə mgbe Mɔgɔ kuó mə mì né dənə  
yesterday with chief Mɔgɔ die that I is here
- 36 Tam chu naá né ban, mì yila  
tam chu naá né ban mì yila  
time return PAST is ill I call
- 37 b̀̀ kuku b̀̀ lɔ́ dənə dɔ́ṅ pat.  
b̀̀ kuku b̀̀ lɔ́ dənə dɔ́ṅ pat  
PL. elder PL. village here all all
- 38 Mì bili b̀̀ b̀̀ chene mb̀̀ bu mb̀̀.()  
mì bili b̀̀ b̀̀ chene mb̀̀ bu mb̀̀  
I together them place one divine it divine
- 39 Bí ke nji mə mgbe né gəchén ga giyə.  
bí ke nji mə mgbe né gəchén ga giyə  
you look thing with chief is true there over-there
- 40 Bí ke né njulu bí yə bí. (1)  
bí ke né njulu bí yə bí 1  
you look is eyes you yours yours
- 41 Bí ɲene né () dən né nan wa?  
bí ɲene né dən né nan wa  
you see is here is how QN.
- 42 Kɔ la mēna Njai hən, wò hən,  
kɔ la mēna njai hən wò hən  
even PAST thus Njai this you this
- 43 mì yila baá wò kən.  
mì yila baá wò kən  
I call PRES. you already
- 44 Nj; Buwo naa ha ma gə ter ha ma  
buwo naa ha ma gə ter ha ma  
we-two PAST until then at up until then
- 45 Ta; To. Mì bɔ́ b̀̀ ṅgeya, b̀̀ ṅgon, b̀̀ Tabə,

- to m̀l b̀ɔ́ b̀ɔ́ ɲgeya b̀ɔ́ ɲgon b̀ɔ́ Tabə  
 To I do PL. ɲgeya PL.ɲgon PL.Tabə
- 46 b̀ɔ́ Nyimadɔŋ, b̀ɔ́ Nia hən.  
 b̀ɔ́ Nyimadɔŋ b̀ɔ́ Nia hən  
 PL. Nyimadɔŋ PL. Nia this
- 47 M̀l yila gi b̀ɔ́. B̀ɔ́ hən bí né dənə,  
 m̀l yila gi b̀ɔ́ b̀ɔ́ hən bí né dənə  
 I call end them they this you is here
- 48 bí ke né m̀gbe dədə nə kə ter giyə ni  
 bí ke né m̀gbe dədə nə kə ter giyə ni  
 you look is chief suitable is at up overthere who
- 49 Bí ɲene njulu bí yə, bí dede, né nan wa? ()  
 bí ɲene njulu bí yə bí dede né nan wa  
 you see eyes you yours you properly is how QN.
- 50 Bí mb̀ɔ́ nə b̀é mb̀ɔ́ wa, bí mb̀ɔ́ mb̀ɔ́ ɲgwə wa?  
 bí mb̀ɔ́ nə b̀é mb̀ɔ́ wa bí mb̀ɔ́ mb̀ɔ́ ɲgwə wa  
 you divine is we divine QN. you divine divine NEG. QN.
- 51 M̀l nyəgə nə ka tema chén.(1)  
 m̀l nyəgə nə ka tema chén  
 I repair is at liver one
- 52 M̀l ɲene njulu mò wa?  
 m̀l ɲene njulu mò wa  
 I see eyes mine QN.
- 53 ɲgam nde nə b̀è hiun.  
 ɲgam nde nə b̀è hiun  
 divination go is place different
- 54 M̀l le naa njai mò kə Taa yoǹ mò .  
 m̀l le naa njai mò kə taa yoǹ mò  
 I PAST PAST thing mine at Atta stroll mine
- 55 M̀l nde yə dua, m̀l ɲene ɲgam du.() 57  
 m̀l nde yə dua m̀l ɲene ɲgam du 57  
 I go at there I see divination ground
- 56 ɲgam jə b̀ɔ́gɔ yɔ́gɔ mə gə Taa  
 ɲgam jə b̀ɔ́gɔ yɔ́gɔ mə gə taa  
 divination say boiling surpass that at Atta
- 57 M̀l wa kə lɔ́ hən,  
 m̀l wa kə lɔ́ hən  
 I arrive at village this
- 58 m̀l wə né Njai ma Jumvɔp né ten  
 m̀l wə né Njai ma Jumvɔp né ten  
 I take is Njai then Jumvɔp is there-is
- 59 B̀é tuɲ nə tə tuɲ ha b̀é ke  
 b̀é tuɲ nə tə tuɲ ha b̀é ke  
 we organise is so organise until we look
- 60 ɲgam yɔ́gɔ né b̀é mə terrup.()  
 ɲgam yɔ́gɔ né b̀é mə terrup  
 divination surpass is us with force

- 61 Mì tema nə Bí.  
mì tema nə Bí  
I send is Bí
- 62 BÍ hən jə: nde kə ter, tue kə ma də.  
Bí hən jə nde kə ter tue kə ma də  
Bí this say go at up say at woman some
- 63 A chu chu, mgbe chu chu ka lɔ́ hən ɲgwə.  
a chu chu mgbe chu chu ka lɔ́ hən ɲgwə  
she return return chief return return at compound this NEG.
- 64 Mgbe né kə ter giyè dədə den wa? 58  
mgbe né kə ter giyè dədə den wa 58  
chief is at up over-there small stay QN.
- 65 Kwə mgbe nde né kuó, le nde kə ter giyè  
kwə mgbe nde né kuó le nde kə ter giyè  
tomorrow chief go is die in go at up over-there
- 66 Bɔ́ nde nde, bu wa.  
bɔ́ nde nde bu wa  
they go go he arrive
- 67 Nj; [xxxxxxxxxx
- 68 Ta; Saa mì jula né fəguli mì jə:  
saa mì jula né fəguli mì jə  
that I flee is shame I say
- 69 BÍ nde nde yɔr bɔ́ nuar semta=  
bí nde nde yɔr bɔ́ nuar semta  
you go go bɔ́dy PL. person shame
- 70 Ga; =Mun  
Mun  
thus
- 71 Ta; Ma chiə sen gi naá kən ndeka a waa, a kuwa kə lɔ́.(1)  
ma chiə sen gi naá kən ndeka a waa a kuwa kə lɔ́  
if day his end PAST already must he arrive he die at  
village
- 72 Bi nə den, nuar chema. (1) Bi hən nde nə kə ter də  
Bi nə den nuar chema. Bi hən nde nə kə ter də  
Bi is here person living Bi this go is at up of
- 73 bɔ́ nə də ma də saa bu hən nde ve liya kən  
bɔ́ nə də ma də saa bu hən nde ve liya kən  
do is of if of that he this go bad remains already
- 74 Mì jə bɔ́: mgbe bɔ́ yə, bi lə lɔ́ suú  
mì jə bɔ́ mgbe bɔ́ yə bi lə lɔ́ suú  
I say them chief do yours thing treatment treat again-  
NEG
- 75 Ndeka də a chu ka lɔ́, bə bɔ́ su safi  
ndeka də a chu ka lɔ́ bə bɔ́ su safi  
must of he return at village we do again with-treatments
- 76 Wa: Hoi! () Yə: nyí nə lə lɔ́ gi ɲgwə yə  
wa hoi yə nyí nə lə lɔ́ gi ɲgwə yə  
say say speaker is treatment treat end NEG. NEG.

- 77 Mì nyægə ka tema chén.(2)  
 mì nyægə ka tema chén.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 wə, bé fon cho né kaa () bé mbəri mbəri  
 bò wə bé fon cho né kaa bé mbəri mbəri  
 they take we search chop is at we sort-out sort-out
- 80 Bé homo né chue tə homo homo homo  
 bé homo né chue tə homo homo homo  
 we tired is hunger NEG. tired tired tired
- 81 B huan mgbe də, bé jə: bé sie wə nə  
 bò huan mgbe də bé jə bé sie wə nə  
 PL. child chief of we say we take take is
- 82 Dega man, tə sam ɲgwə. 60  
 Dega man tə sam ɲgwə 60  
 Dega thus NEG. not NEG.
- 83 Bé gi né lu, tə sam ɲgwə.  
 bé gi né lu tə sam ɲgwə  
 we end is SUB.EMP. NEG. not NEG.
- 84 Mgbe bò mbò né bé lu.()  
 mgbe bò mbò né bé lu  
 chief they divine is we freely
- 85 Bé jə yə: mgbe sie yə.() Bí bar mì lè wa?  
 bé jə yə mgbe sie yə bí bar mì lè wa  
 we say say chief take you you jealous me in QN.
- 86 əə Nuar kan jə:() ma..ma mì sela sam ɲgwə wa  
 əə nuar kan jə ma ma mì sela sam ɲgwə wa  
 əə person anyone say if if I cross not NEG. QN.
- 87 Nyí la den baá la kɔɔ.  
 nyí la den baá la kɔɔ  
 speaker PAST stay PRES. PAST stool
- 88 Nuar kan jə: ma mì sela sam ɲgwə wa  
 nuar kan jə ma mì sela sam ɲgwə wa  
 person anyone say if I cross not NEG. QN.
- 89 Nyí la de baá la kɔɔ,  
 nyí la de baá la kɔɔ  
 speaker PAST stay PRES. PAST stool
- 90 Mì tue ɲaga né nyægə né tə bí ɲgue nyægə baa si.  
 mì tue ɲaga né nyægə né tə bí ɲgue nyægə baa si  
 I say clear is repair is at you listen repair good -ness
- 91 (1) Tə bí ɲgue nyægə baa si,  
 1 tə bí ɲgue nyægə baa si  
 at you Listen repair good -ness
- 92 mì tue, tə bí ɲgue baa si.  
 mì tue tə bí ɲgue baa si

- I say so you understand good -ness
- 93 Ma bí vu ɲgue. () Chiə né lɔŋ, 61  
ma bí vu ɲgue chiə né lɔŋ 61  
if you leave NEG. death is space
- 94 mgbe a wò nde homo kuó go jəmu, bɔ́s sam ɲgwə.  
mgbe a wò nde homo kuó go jəmu, bɔ́s sam ɲgwə.  
chief to you go tired die walk after do not NEG.
- 95 Seé sen bé homo homo, nde nde à kuó.(2)  
seé sen bé homo homo nde nde à kuó.(2)  
work his we tired tired go go he die (2)
- 96 Mì gwan ɲgwə lanen  
mì gwan ɲgwə lanen  
I want NEG. today
- 97 bé wə wò, bé kwa kə lɔ́.  
bé wə wò bé kwa kə lɔ́  
we take you we put at village
- 98 Njə vən wa lane. Wò wò gu kuó gu,  
njə vən wa lane wò wò gu kuó gu  
thing evil arrive today you you walk die walk
- 99 kwə wò gu kuó gu də.  
kwə wò gu kuó gu də  
tomorrow you walk die walk of
- 100 Lɔ́ bé mə nji- Ma mun nde bé.( )  
lɔ́ bé mə nji ma mun nde bé  
village ours with thing if thus go ours
- 101 Ma lɔ́ den, lɔ́ bí yə dən dənə,  
ma lɔ́ den lɔ́ bí yə dən dənə  
if village here village yours yours here here
- 102 Saa baá ju, saa baá ju 62  
saa baá ju saa baá ju 62  
that PRES. talk that PRES. talk
- 103 Lɔ́ bí yə né lɔ́ baa sam ɲgwə.  
lɔ́ bí yə né lɔ́ baa sam ɲgwə  
village you yours is village good not NEG.
- 104 Chiə bé bare né den nə njai də bare də.  
chiə bé bare né den nə njai də bare də  
day we hide is stay is thing of hide of
- 105 Bé bare nə ɲgàm chi.  
bé bare nə ɲgàm chi  
we hide is because that
- 106 Buo huan mgbe di,  
buo huan mgbe di  
you-two child chief some
- 107 bu hua nji, bu hua njərədi sam.  
bu hua nji bu hua njərədi sam  
it borrow thing it borrow something not
- 108 Ter mì kɔ nə ter tele mò, né ter mií mò .



- ter m̀i kɔ nə ter tele m̀ò né ter mií m̀ò  
palm I cut is palm father mine is palm mother mine
- 109 Ndeka b̀è b̀ò mií m̀ò kuó  
ndeka b̀è b̀ò mií m̀ò kuó  
from place PL. mother mine die
- 110 b̀ó seé kwa nə b̀ò ɲor chiə  
b̀ó seé kwa nə b̀ò ɲor chiə  
they work put is PL. speech outside
- 111 B̀ò bí m̀ò kuó nə b̀ò seé kwa nə b̀ò ɲor chiə  
b̀ò bí m̀ò kuó nə b̀ò seé kwa nə b̀ò ɲor  
chiə  
Pl. e.-same-sex-sib. mine die is they do put is PL.  
speech outside
- 112 Nji mə Kwa tue nə, né le m̀ò hən  
nji mə Kwa tue nə né le m̀ò hən  
thing that Kwa say is is in mine this
- 113 Nji mə Ti tue nə, né le m̀ò hən.  
nji mə Ti tue nə né le m̀ò hən  
thing that Ti say is is in mine this
- 114 Nji mə Kwe tue nə, né le m̀ò hən.  
nji mə Kwe tue nə né le m̀ò hən  
thing that Kwe say is is in mine this
- 115 M̀i huan mani, tele sam ɲgwə.  
m̀i huan mani tele sam ɲgwə  
I child small father not NEG.
- 116 M̀i leteni b̀ò, Toó hən le kuó yuo kən.  
m̀i leteni b̀ò Toó hən le kuó yuo kən  
I between them Toó this PAST die leave already
- 117 Ter ya yiə le naa bé be Toó  
ter ya yiə le naa bé be Toó  
palm there overthere in PAST ours hand Toó
- 118 Toó kuó naá kən.  
Toó kuó naá kən  
Toó die PAST already
- 119 Njitabə yila yi ten.  
Njitabə yila yi ten  
Njitabə enter at there-is
- 120 Njitabə kuó, nde Dədia. A kuó kən.  
Njitabə kuó nde Dədia a kuó kən  
Njitabə die go Dədia 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 B̀ò Kwa cher né kɔ́. 64  
b̀ò Kwa cher né kɔ́. 64

- PL. Kwa sleep is SUB.EMP.
- 124 A kú né ɟuna tiə. Kənəhən ma tiə yə...  
a kú né ɟuna tiə kənəhən ma tiə yə  
he orphan is child sister now if sister yours
- 125 ma... ma... huan yə né liya kɔ́ wə,  
ma ma huan yə né liya kɔ́ wə  
if if child yours is remains SUB.EMP. take
- 126 huan wə, wò wə ɲgwə.  
huan wə wò wə ɲgwə  
child take you take NEG.
- 127 xx; wò wə  
xx; wò wə  
you take
- 128 Ta; Wò kú nyugə né bu jə:  
wò kú nyugə né bu jə  
you orphan repair is it say
- 129 Də Kwa a den né, tə a ham də ter lu.  
də kwa a den né tə a ham də ter lu  
of Kwa he stay is so he fat of palm freely
- 130 Njitabə kə mbam hən nde né be Kwa.  
Njitabə kə mbam hən nde né be Kwa  
Njitabə at Chefferie this go is hand Kwa
- 131 A le cher nə ɲgàm kú yɔɔɔ né bu kɔ. A kú nyugə nə bu  
a le cher nə ɲgàm kú yɔɔɔ né bu kɔ́. a  
kú nyugə nə bu  
she PAST sleep is because orphan surpass is him SUB.EMP. he  
orphan repair is him
- 132 Tə Kwa a dən te Njitabə kɔ də nə ter hən né  
tə Kwa a dən te Njitabə kɔ də nə ter hən né  
so Kwa he here so Njitabə cut of is palm this is
- 133 hən né... () hən né... né né (1)  
hən né hən né né né 1  
this is this is is is
- 134 né ter mə Toó kɔ lɔ né.  
né ter mə Toó kɔ lɔ né  
is palm that Toó cut treat is
- 135 Bò Kwe bò bò ??Nɲɔro?? dɔ́ɔ́ pat ter b'ón. ()  
bò kwe bó bó Nɲɔro dɔ́ɔ́ pat ter b'ón  
PL. Kwe we we Nɲɔro all all palm theirs
- 136 Mɲbe Menandi le ha né bó,  
mɲbe Menandi le ha né bó  
chief Menandi PAST give is them
- 137 Ter mə Gamɲbe kɔ dənə kə Makɔbo ka ki yə.(2)  
ter mə Gamɲbe kɔ dənə kə Makɔbo ka kiyə.2  
palm that Gamɲbe cut here at Makɔbo at there
- 138 Mɲbe Menandi le ha nə bò ter de a ()  
mɲbe Menandi le ha nə bò ter de a  
chief Menandi PAST give is PL. palm stay to

- 139 Ka ki yə kɔ bɔ mə nə mɪ siri njərədi  
ka ki yə kɔ bɔ mə nə mɪ siri njərədi  
at at there know them with is I harm something
- 140 mɪ guli mɔ kə ten dubu ŋgwə.  
mɪ guli mɔ kə ten dubu ŋgwə  
I foot mine at there-is plant NEG.
- 141 Kɔ kəmbɔro chue die tə tabə 66  
kɔ kəmbɔro chue die tə tɔbə 66  
even palnuts fall fall at earth
- 142 Ma mɪ wə mɪ doma yə tə tabə ŋgəm  
ma mɪ wə mɪ doma yə tə tɔbə ŋgəm  
if I take I pick-up eat at earth because
- 143 ma mɪ chu mɪ gwom nde kə () kə Makɔbɔ ki yiə  
ma mɪ chu mɪ gwom nde kə kə Makɔbɔ ki yiə  
if I return I pay go at at Makɔbɔ at overthere
- 144 mɪ kɔ ter Chaŋ à yən mɪ.(1)  
mɪ kɔ ter chaŋ à yən mɪ.1  
I cut palm chaŋ it refuse me
- 145 Bè mɪ kəla né də mɪ kəla le ter njə tele mɔ,  
bè mɪ kəla né də mɪ kəla le ter njə tele mɔ  
place I pass is of I pass PAST palm thing father mine
- 146 lə njə mií mɔ.  
lə njə mií mɔ  
PAST thing mother mine
- 147 Buo bɔ huan mə dalela njərədi sam ŋgwə. (3)  
buo bɔ huan mə dalela njərədi sam ŋgwə 3  
you-two PL. child that motive something not NEG.
- 148 Mgbe kuó bə sie nyugə 67  
mgbe kuó bə sie nyugə 67  
chief die we take repair
- 149 né də hən, den su, bə nyugə né  
né də hən den su bə nyugə né  
is of this stay again we repair is
- 150 A tue jə: bə bɔ kam kam bɔ,  
a tue jə bə bɔ kam kam bɔ  
he say say we PL. old old PL.
- 151 bə lɔɔ sie nyugə ŋgwə wa?  
bə lɔɔ sie nyugə ŋgwə wa  
we village take repair NEG. QN.
- 152 Bə lɔɔ sie ŋgwə. Lɔɔ bə sie né bə kə?  
bə lɔɔ sie ŋgwə lɔɔ bə sie né bə kə  
we village take NEG. village we take is place what
- 153 Ngwə bə tue nyugə njə wa?  
Ngwə bə tue nyugə njə wa  
NEG. we say repair thing QN.
- 154 Nuar wɔ bar nuar né mɪ ten ha  
nuar wɔ bar nuar né mɪ ten ha

- person you jealous person is I there-is until
- 155 Wò də né jə: ma mì den bə né də ki wa?  
wò də né jə ma mì den bə né də ki wa  
you of is say if I stay place is of where QN.
- 156 Tə nyí chuua sum mì wa, də mə le wa?  
tə nyí chuua sum mì wa də mə le wa  
so speaker remove remove me QN. of with remains QN.
- 157 Mì le sòn kumu naa mì jə: ter ya yiə,  
mì le sòn kumu naa mì jə ter ya yiə  
I PAST mouth open PAST I say palm there overthere
- 158 bɔ́ né ter mò 68  
bɔ́ né ter mò 68  
they is palm mine
- 159 Mì sòn kumu də ki wa?  
mì sòn kumu də ki wa  
I mouth open of what QN.
- 160 Tə bɔ́ wula sum də mə mì leteni saa (1)  
tə bɔ́ wula sum də mə mì leteni saa 1  
so they kill remove that with me beside that
- 161 Bí né ŋgue ŋaga baa si  
bí né ŋgue ŋaga baa si  
you is listen clear good -ness
- 162 b| duom ŋgam mò ndele  
b| duom ŋgam mò ndele  
we start divination mine shake
- 163 baán kwa bí nə ga gə lɔ́ gi yiə.  
baán kwa bí nə ga gə lɔ́ gi yiə  
illness find you is there at compound end overthere
- 164 Nyima chén mì furu baá nuar gə lɔ́ gi yiə baá taar.  
nyima chén mì furu baá nuar gə lɔ́ gi yiə  
baá taar  
year one I bury PRES. person at compound there overthere  
PRES. three
- 165 Bɛ́ nde furu wò fà di  
bɛ́ nde furu wò fà di  
we go bury you two other
- 166 Ma mì kuó kən, mavə nde nde chu a  
ma mì kuó kən mavə nde nde chu a  
if I die already woman go go return to
- 167 kə lɔ́ mò, kuó chu ndo (2)  
kə lɔ́ mò kuó chu ndo  
at compound mine die return then
- 168 Mì ɣene gi naá mgbe ha ba mì nuar,  
mì ɣene gi naá mgbe ha baá mì nuar  
I see end PAST chief give PRES. me person
- 169 mì vraa baá mgbe wani. () 69  
mì vraa baá mgbe wani 69  
I thank PRES. chief much

- 170 Bò ɲene baá ɲgam ɲjulu.  
 bò ɲene baá ɲgam ɲjulu  
 they see PRES. divination eyes
- 171 Mì kuru də nə də kuru mì jə:  
 mì kuru də nə də kuru mì jə  
 I close of is of close I say
- 172 mgbe hən: bé sie kwa naa bu  
 mgbe hən bé sie kwa naa bu  
 chief this we take put PAST him
- 173 à né hi, mə maŋgu sam ɲgwə  
 à né hi mə maŋgu sam ɲgwə  
 he is where with glory not NEG.
- 174 Ma lane à guo yaŋgə də tə ter ter ter mun wa?  
 ma lane à guo yaŋgə də tə ter ter ter mun wa  
 if today he house fly-aloft of at up up up thus QN.
- 175 Né ve. Mì jula né ɲgàm chi (1)  
 né ve mì jula né ɲgàm chi 1  
 is bad I flee is because that
- 176 Mə mgbe kumu ya ??tə tena ??  
 mə mgbe kumu ya ??tə tena ??  
 that chief open there at cut
- 177 Ma bí gwom kən bé bé jam. ()  
 ma bí gwom kən bé bé jam  
 if you pay already we we good
- 178 Ma bí mì vuwə ɲgwə ndo, tap nde ndeè 70  
 ma bí mì vuwə ɲgwə ndo tap nde ndeè 70  
 if you me release NEG. also war go come
- 179 Mì tue jə né mì jə: tap nde bò ɲuna mò. ()  
 mì tue jə né mì jə tap nde bò ɲuna mò  
 I say say is I say war go PL. child mine
- 180 Ma mì kuó kən, () bò ɲuna mò  
 ma mì kuó kən bò ɲuna mò  
 if I die already PL. child mine
- 181 bò mgbe nde jəmu nare né ɲgwə (),  
 bò mgbe nde jəmu nare né ɲgwə  
 PL. chief go after agree is NEG
- 182 ɲgàm mì mə yonki sam ɲgwə  
 ɲgàm mì mə yonki sam ɲgwə  
 because I with life not NEG.
- 183 Bò nde dənə jə () mgbe, bò bò dim sen,  
 bò nde dənə jə mgbe bò bò dim sen  
 they go here say chief PL. PL. y-same-sex-sib. his
- 184 bò bɔ́ bí sen, kwa naá sɔ́n kɔ́.  
 bò bɔ́ bí sen kwa naá sɔ́n kɔ́  
 PL. do e.-same-sex-sib. his find PRES mouth SUB.EMP.
- 185 Bò bɔ́ nde jəmu nare ɲgwə də  
 bò bɔ́ nde jəmu nare ɲgwə də

- they do go after agree NEG. of
- 186 Mì die gwan ɲgwə. (1)  
mì die gwan ɲgwə  
I fall want NEG.
- 187 Bò né gi yia jaɲdi man, nji bò kwa  
bò né gi yia jaɲdi man nji bò kwa  
they is end there school thus thing they find
- 188 Ma nji yɔgɔ bu kən 71  
ma nji yɔgɔ bu kən 71  
if thing surpass them already
- 189 À tema nji yaa due, bò bɔɔ gam nyí  
à tema nji yaa due bò bɔɔ gam nyí  
they send thing bush open they do help speaker
- 190 Bò gam nde né bu dɔɔɲ ()  
bò gam nde né bu dɔɔɲ  
they help go is them all
- 191 Saa né gi bò gwa tap sen,  
saa né gi bò gwa tap sen  
that is end PL. spear war his
- 192 né gi bò guli sen, né gi bò chɔgɔ sen.  
né gi bò guli sen né gi bò chɔgɔ sen  
is end PL. foot his is end PL. stick his
- 193 Ga; Man  
man  
thus
- 194 Ta; (2) To, nuar wò bar né mì,  
2 to nuar wò bar né mì  
So person you jealous is me
- 195 ma né ka huan di, nde kwa mgbe,  
ma né ka huan di nde kwa mgbe  
if is at child some go find chief
- 196 nde tue mə mgbe. Jə mgbe a  
nde tue mə mgbe jə mgbe a  
go say with chief say chief to
- 197 nji hən mə mì bɔɔ na man, mì bɔɔ naa man.  
nji hən mə mì bɔɔ na man mì bɔɔ naa man  
thing this that I do PAST thus I do PAST thus
- 198 Tema nyí le gwan ɲgwə 72  
tema nyí le gwan ɲgwə 72  
liver speaker in want NEG.
- 199 Tena mì kalɔn, mì gwom ha wò nji a. (2)  
tena mì kalɔn mì gwom ha wò nji a 2  
take me money I pay give you thing to
- 200 Ma nə muna nuar saa mì chemə ha wò  
ma nə muna nuar saa mì chemə ha wò  
if is thus person that I health give you
- 201 Ndeka mə mì ha wò chema.

- ndeka mə mì ha wò chema  
must with I give you life
- 202 Wò wə di saa wò tuò.() Wò ()  
wò wə di saa wò tuò wò  
you take of that you rise you
- 203 à bɔ́ ha wò. Də saa mì wò ndə nə ha  
à bɔ́ ha wò də saa mì wò ndə nə ha  
he do give you of that I you go is give
- 204 Də lane chén njok, kwə chén fà, njokɔ.  
də lane chén njok kwə chén fà njokɔ  
of today one disappears? tomorrow one two disappears?
- 205 Nuar chén njok. Mì de à gwan ɲgwə ()  
nuar chén njok mì de à gwan ɲgwə  
person one disappears? I of it want NEG.
- 206 Mì kwe baá ɲgam ha, mì ɲene gi a ɲgam pat ()  
mì kwe baá ɲgam ha mì ɲene gi a ɲgam pat  
I dig PRES. divination until I see end to divination all
- 207 Ma mì nde li ki 73  
ma mì nde li ki 73  
if I go ordeal-tree drink-ordeal
- 208 Mì nde nde kə to mgbe Kimi  
mì nde nde kə to mgbe Kimi  
I go go at before chief Kimi
- 209 bɔ́ ɲgomna kə Kimi. Mì nde mì ki nde kə dua.  
bɔ́ ɲgomna kə Kimi mì nde mì ki nde kə dua  
PL. official at Kimi I go I drink-ordeal go at there
- 210 Mì ɲaga nde a ka lɔ́ hən saa,  
mì ɲaga nde a ka lɔ́ hən saa  
I climb go to at village this that
- 211 nuar nde a bɔ́ nuar də hiun.  
nuar nde a bɔ́ nuar də hiun  
person go to PL. person of different
- 212 Xx; [ Chén chén di ka kiyə  
chén chén di ka kiyə  
one one some at overthere
- 213 Ta; Mì hən, ma mì jə:  
mì hən ma mì jə  
I this if I say
- 214 mì bɔ́ hən, ger né bí, bɔ́ huan mgbe wa?  
mì bɔ́ hən ger né bí bɔ́ huan mgbe wa  
I do this suffer is you PL. child chief QN.
- 215 Tə mì wə njə vən di.  
tə mì wə njə vən di  
so I take thing evil some
- 216 Tə mì bɔ́ bəé bɔ́ nji. Mì yila le bu sua,  
tə mì bɔ́ bəé bɔ́ nji mì yila le bu sua  
so I do harm PL. thing I enter in knife sua

- 217           mì sɔ chén, am ɲgwə̀ mì fà sɔ sɔ sɔ.  
 mì sɔ chén am ɲgwə̀ mì fà sɔ sɔ sɔ  
 I live one NEG. NEG. I two live live live
- 218           Nji bar né mì ten hən də, 74  
 nji bar né mì ten hən də 74  
 thing jealous is me there-is this of
- 219           kɔ̀ bɔ̀ tue ɲagà mì gi naá.  
 kɔ̀ bɔ̀ tue ɲagà mì gi naá  
 even they say clear I end PAST
- 220   Ga;   Kie kie  
           kie kie  
           Expletive Expletive
- 221   Ta;   Gə̀ lɔ́ mɔ̀ ɲgam jə̀ fə̀ mɔ̀ né ve.  
 gə̀ lɔ́ mɔ̀ ɲgam jə̀ fə̀ mɔ̀ né ve  
 at village mine divination say head mine is bad
- 222           Nyima hən mì ɲagà né ɲgwə̀.  
 nyima hən mì ɲagà né ɲgwə̀  
 year this I climb is NEG.
- 223           Mì njərə̀di nuar hən bə́é ɲgwə̀.  
 mì njərə̀di nuar hən bə́é ɲgwə̀  
 I something person this harm NEG.
- 224           Bó bɔ̀ huan nde yuo kə̀ dua ga giyə̀ manji  
 bó bɔ̀ huan nde yuo kə̀ dua ga giyə̀ manji  
 they PL. child go leave at there there over-there small
- 225           né gi bɔ̀ dim mɔ̀, buo nde yuo né le ju mwə̀  
 né gi bɔ̀ dim mɔ̀ buo nde yuo né le ju  
 mwə̀  
 is end PL. y-same-sex-sib. mine you-two go leave is in  
 talk field
- 226           Bɔ̀ bɔ́ tue ɲgɔ̀r bə́ə,  
 bɔ̀ bɔ́ tue ɲgɔ̀r bə́ə  
 they do say speech ours
- 227           bə́ bɔ́ le sua chɔ̀ gi naá kən gi naá.  
 bə́ bɔ́ le sua chɔ̀ gi naá kən gi naá  
 we do PAST sua chop end PAST already end PAST
- 228           Bɔ̀ yuo njə̀ kən bɔ̀ kən nji tu 75  
 bɔ̀ yuo njə̀ kən bɔ̀ kən nji tu 75  
 they leave thing already they already thing before
- 229           Bɔ̀ yuo njə̀ kən bɔ̀ kan nji tu,  
 bɔ̀ yuo njə̀ kən bɔ̀ kan nji tu  
 they leave thing already they odd thing before
- 230           tə̀ bɔ̀ bili jə̀mu wa?  
 tə̀ bɔ̀ bili jə̀mu wa  
 so they together after QN.
- 231           Bó kwe də̀ mì guli ten wa? tə̀ bó sum mì wa  
 bó kwe də̀ mì guli ten wa tə̀ bó sum mì wa  
 they dig of I foot there-is QN. to they remove me QN.
- 232           Te kwə̀ () ma nuar nde tugu mə̀ tue:



- te kwə ma nuar nde tugu mə tue  
so tomorrow if person go quarrel with say
- 233 Ma né tu hən ni wa? ()  
ma né tu hən ni wa  
if is before this who QN.
- 234 B́í bar m̀ì, b́í bar ɲaga ka m̀ì lə njə kɔp kɔp kɔp  
b́í bar m̀ì b́í bar ɲaga ka m̀ì lə njə kɔp  
kɔp kɔp  
you jealous me you jealous climb at me treatment thing  
IDEO. IDEO. IDEO.
- 235 B́í yila le bu sua,  
b́í yila le bu sua  
you enter in knife sua
- 236 b́í sɔ chén wa ɲgwə, b́í fà sɔ sɔ sɔ sɔ  
b́í sɔ chén wa ɲgwə b́í fà sɔ sɔ sɔ sɔ  
you live one arrive NEG. you two live live live live
- 237 Ma b́í yə m̀ì tue nyən b́í yuo ter, b́í seé sua.  
ma b́í yə m̀ì tue nyən b́í yuo ter b́í seé sua  
if you say I say lies you leave up you work sua  
[ ]
- 238 Ga; xxxxxxx xxxxx xxxxxxx xxx xxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx
- 239 xxxx xxxx<=laughter  
[ ]
- 240 Ta; Baán baán ndée  
baán baán ndée  
illness illness come
- 241 Jb; B́í ɲue dɔ́ɔɲ  
b́í ɲue dɔ́ɔɲ  
you listen all
- 242 Ta; Kwa mə mə mə tugu. Tugu ndə nə lɔ́ dənə (2)  
kwa mə mə mə tugu tugu ndə nə lɔ́ dənə  
put with with with quarrel quarrel go is village here
- 243 ma... ma... nuar kan yuo huan saa né ve  
ma ma nuar kan yuo huan saa né ve  
if if person odd leave child that is bad
- 244 be nuar kan, yuo huan saa né ve  
be nuar kan yuo huan saa né ve  
hand person anyone leave child that is bad
- 245 Ga; Né seé Chaj  
né seé chaj  
is work chaj
- 246 Ta; Kɔ na ka fuo gə Baa, nyugə né kɔ́, ɕa y est.  
kɔ naá ka fuo gə baa nyugə né kɔ́ ɕa y est  
even PAST at blow at East repair is SUB.EMP. ɕa y est
- 247 Kɔ né ka njai lə, b́é lɔ́ b́éə b̀è lɔ ɲgue.  
kɔ né ka njai lə b́é lɔ́ b́éə b̀è lɔ ɲgwə  
even is at thing treatment we village ours never treat NEG.
- 248 B́ó ma né mə fa b́ó nde va nyugə b́é jəmu.  
b́ó ma né mə fa b́ó nde va nyugə b́é jəmu

- they if is with like they go wash repair we after
- 249 Kwə lɔ́ɔ́ dole. ( ) Huan mani də kan "ii",  
 kwə lɔ́ɔ́ dole huan mani də kan "ii"  
 tomorrow compound cool child small of anyone
- 250 nuar kuó "ii".  
 nuar kuó "ii"  
 person die
- 251 Nema li o, b̀ njə kan o, b̀ njə kan o ( ) 77  
 nema li o b̀ njə kan o b̀ njə kan o 77  
 bite stomach o PL. thing odd o PL. thing odd o
- 252 Də saa huom ɲgwə. Nuar ẁ tue vən  
 də saa huom ɲgwə nuar ẁ tue vən  
 of that good NEG. person you say evil
- 253 ẁ yi nji ka lɔ́ɔ́  
 ẁ yi nji ka lɔ́ɔ́  
 you enter thing at compound
- 254 tə b̀ɔ́ huan mə mani kuó chili gi,  
 tə b̀ɔ́ huan mə mani kuó chili gi  
 so do child that small die close? end
- 255 tə tə b̀ nuar kuku b̀ kuó chili gi.  
 tə tə b̀ nuar kuku b̀ kuó chili gi  
 so so PL. person elder PL. die close? end
- 256 Lɔ́ɔ́ wa nde nde kə jemu  
 lɔ́ɔ́ wa nde nde kə jemu  
 village arrive go go at second
- 257 ẁ yila ka le bu sua,  
 ẁ yila ka le bu sua  
 you enter at in knife sua
- 258 ẁ so chén wa ɲgwə, ẁ fà sɔ sɔ.  
 ẁ so chén wa ɲgwə ẁ fà sɔ sɔ  
 you live one arrive NEG. you two live live  
 [ ]
- 259 Ga; xxx xxxxx xxx xxxx xxx
- 260 Ta; Ma bé ka kɔ ɲgwə, ( ) bé ke nji njulu kə baa (.)  
 ma bé ka kɔ ɲgwə bé ke nji njulu kə 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. 78
- 268 Ta; ɲgue yə.(1) Bí kwe ka mun.  
 ɲgue yə.1 bí kwe ka mun  
 Listen you you dig at thus
- 269 Bí kwa mun yə. Fuo leli wa sə gua hən  
 bí kwa mun yə fuo leli wa sə gua hən

- you put thus yours blow yesterday arrive his home this  
 [
- 270 Ga; Ah ha. Yowa
- 271 Ta; nde mə nji. Wa sə gua hun nde mə nji  
 nde mə nji wa sə gua hun nde mə nji  
 go with thing arrive NEG. home this go with thing
- 272 Bě ke bili baá jəmu, ke ke ke dɔ́ŋ.  
 bě ke bili baá jəmu ke ke ke dɔ́ŋ  
 we look together PRES. after look look look all
- 273 Bí yə bə dənə, də bə, bə dən né mba,  
 bí yə bə dənə də bə bə dən né mba  
 you yours place here of us we here is freely
- 274 bə bə mba den ɲgwə. Bě né saa bə ke. (1)  
 bə bə mba den ɲgwə bə né saa bə ke  
 we we freely stay NEG. we is that we look
- 275 Wa () fuo mə wa né hən, Chaɲ bɔ́ɔ né kɔ, wa ɲgwə.  
 wa fuo mə wa né hən chaɲ bɔ́ɔ né kɔ wa ɲgwə  
 say blow that arrive is this chaɲ do is SUB.EMP. QN. NEG.
- 276 Kə lɔ́ɔ Mgbe ma sela die naa, kə ter gua sen.() 79  
 kə lɔ́ɔ mgbe ma sela die naá kə ter gua sen 79  
 at compound chief if cross fall PAST at up home his
- 277 Nuar di sela kuwa kə ten ha. (1)  
 nuar di sela kuwa kə ten ha  
 person some cross die at there-is until
- 278 Ma Mgbe sela noni né ɲgwə,  
 ma mgbe sela noni né ɲgwə  
 if chief cross injure is NEG.
- 279 huan di yə, né və, né huan di yə sela kuwa,  
 huan di yə né və né huan di yə sela kuwa  
 child some yours is woman is child some yours cross die
- 280 nuar fà sela kuó, yuo kə mbam o.  
 nuar fà sela kuó yuo kə mbam o  
 person two cross die leave at Chefferie oh
- 281 Saa né bə bə ɲene naá le ɲgam  
 saa né bə bə ɲene naá le ɲgam  
 that is we we see PAST in divination
- 282 Mì mə sɔ́n tue ɲgwə, ɲgam tue naá məna kɔ́ɔ.  
 mì mə sɔ́n tue ɲgwə ɲgam tue naá məna kɔ́ɔ  
 I with mouth say NEG. divination say PAST thus SUB.EMP.
- 283 Ga; Yuo məna,  
 yuo məna  
 leave thus
- 284 Jb; Mun  
 mun  
 thus
- 285 Ta; Kɔ́ né ka sə nji mə Chaɲ fuo gə sua naá jə  
 kɔ́ né ka sə nji mə chaɲ fuo gə sua naá jə  
 even is at his thing that chaɲ blow at descend PAST say

- 286      gə Baa mba nuar sen kɔ ɲgwə, ɕa y est. 80  
 gə baa mba      nuar      sen kɔ      ɲgwə ɕa y est      80  
 at East freely person his know NEG. ɕa y est
- 287      Nuar saa wò yila məna jəmu nuar Kaka,  
 nuar      saa wò yila məna jəmu      nuar      kaka  
 person that you enter thus after person Kaka
- 288      wò nde wò tulu yə ga ter.  
 wò nde wò tulu yə      ga      ter  
 you go you pull yours there up
- 289      Bò né bɔɔ mə () gua tap be,  
 bɔ      né bɔɔ mə      gua      tap be  
 they is do with spear war hand
- 290      bɔ      né bɔɔ mə mbòk tap be,  
 bɔ      né bɔɔ mə      mbòk tap be  
 they is do with axe war hand
- 291      bɔ nde wa, bɔ kɔ rə sum bi, ()  
 bɔ      nde wa      bɔ      kɔ rə      sum      bi  
 they go arrive they cut again remove thing
- 292      bɔ yila gua dəni.  
 bɔ      yila gua dəni  
 they enter home here
- 293      Ga; [xxxxx
- 294      Ta; Wò kɔ rə sum brik wa?  
 wò kɔ rə      sum      brik wa  
 you cut again remove brick QN.
- 295      Tə bɔ Fum sum jolori kə tàbè dəni,  
 tə bɔ fum      sum      jolori      kə tàbè dəni  
 so Pl. witch remove chefferie at earth here
- 296      ma huɔm bè də ki wa?  
 ma huɔm bè      də ki      wa  
 if good place of what QN.
- 297      Nuar wò yila ka le bu sua,  
 nuar      wò yila ka le bu      sua  
 person you enter at in knife sua
- 298      wò sɔ chén, wanyu wò fà sɔ sɔ. 81  
 wò sɔ      chén wanyu wò fà sɔ      sɔ      81  
 you live one else you two live live
- 299      Ga; [      ]  
 Wò sɔ chén  
 wò sɔ      chén  
 you live one
- 300      Ta; Ma bí sie né kə mgbe tema chén lɔɔ dɔɔɲ,  
 ma bí sie né kə mgbe tema chén lɔɔ      dɔɔɲ  
 if you take is at chief liver one village all
- 301      Ga; Denə ɲgwagam denə yulu,  
 denə ɲgwagam denə yulu  
 here maize here millet

- 302           saa baá huom wò sie né hən xxxxxxxx  
 saa baá huom wò sie né hən xxxxxxxx  
 that PRES. good you take is this xxxxxxxx
- 303 Ta;   bé njulu bé ke nji baa  
 bé njulu bé ke nji baa  
 we eyes we look thing East
- 304 Bi;   Matwa nde ɲgale le cher due  
 matwa nde ɲgale le cher due  
 car go itchy in road open
- 305           xxxxx dɔɔɲ pat cher due né ten  
 xxxxx dɔɔɲ pat cher due né ten  
 xxxxx all all road open is there-is  
 [
- 306 Ga;   Bò kwe nemu yuo ɲgwə  
 bò kwe nemu yuo ɲgwə  
 they dig water leave NEG.
- 307 Ta;   Bé ɲgale nji be, bé wə chuar, bé ha,  
 bé ɲgale nji be bé wə chuar bé ha  
 we stick thing hand we take chicken we give
- 308           bé wə, bò njə kan bé ha. Bé vu né njai dənə,  
 bé wə bò njə kan bé ha bé vu né njai dənə  
 we take PL. thing odd we give we leave is thing here
- 309           bɔɔ né nji, njai bɔɔ yula.  
 bɔɔ né nji njai bɔɔ yula  
 do is thing thing thousand ten
- 310           Mə bé ha gi nə bò nuar bò kwe nə bi, ()  
 mə bé ha gi nə bò nuar bò kwe nə bi  
 that we give end is PL. person they dig is thing
- 311           lɔɔɔ nemu hən. 82  
 lɔɔɔ nemu hən 82  
 hole water this
- 312           Bó kwe loro nemu. Bó njərədi tə ɲene,  
 bó kwe loro nemu bó njərədi tə ɲene  
 they dig hole water they something NEG. see
- 313           bó nde kə cher due, bó tulu né matwa, tə tulu  
 bó nde kə cher due bó tulu né matwa tə tulu  
 they go at road open they pull is car at pull
- 314           Matwa go su ga kə Mabon ka kiyə,  
 matwa go su ga kə Mabon ka kiyə  
 car walk again-NEG there at Mabon at overthere
- 315           cher né ka baá mba.  
 cher né ka baá mba  
 road is at PRES. freely
- 316           Wa ga giyə ve le.() Nemu hən  
 wa ga giyə ve le nemu hən  
 say there over-there bad in water this
- 317           kənəhən nemu sela naa kə mbartɔɔ hən  
 kənəhən nemu sela naa kə mbartɔɔ hən  
 now water cross PAST at chefferie-square this

- 318 Ni doṅ, nua sie wò,  
ni doṅ nua sie wò  
who all thirst take you
- 319 wò jula nde do  
wò jula nde do  
you flee go here
- 320 də wò tue mwe wə. Wò yila nde chu le jolori 83  
də wò tue mwe wə wò yila nde chu le jolori 83  
so you dip drink take you enter go return in chefferie
- 321 Wò den jai. Ma ve né ka də,  
wò den jai ma ve né ka də  
you stay say if bad is at here
- 322 kò né ka kandun, b̀ kwa né ta kə du,  
kò né ka kandun b̀ kwa né ta kə du  
even is at they find is stone at ground
- 323 taa yɔḡɔ né ka b̀ kɔ́ ɕa y est.  
taa yɔḡɔ né ka b̀ kɔ́ ɕa y est  
stone surpass is at them SUB.EMP. ɕa y est
- 324 Nuar wò nde, wò fum yə, fum yə,  
nuar 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,  
wò wò siri yə wò wò né tadubu yə  
you you harm yours you you is witch yours
- 326 Ga; [ ]  
vən Mgbati yə mgbati vən  
evil mgbati yə mgbati  
witchcraft yours witchcraft
- 327 Ta; sar yə, chibi yə, wò yə bə́é nyugə  
sar yə chibi yə wò yə bə́é nyugə  
spearer yours night yours you eat harm repair
- 328 kan njai mba den bə́é kə mbartɔḡɔ  
kan njai mba den bə́é kə mbartɔḡɔ  
odd thing freely stay harm at chefferie-square
- 329 mə den bə̀ də ki wa?  
mə den bə̀ də ki wa  
that stay place of what QN.
- 330 Wò mavə, huan sep, () kwə lɔ́ bí yə  
wò mavə huan sep kwə lɔ́ bí yə  
you woman child male tomorrow village you yours
- 331 mgbe né ten sam ɲgwə 84  
mgbe né ten sam ɲgwə 84  
chief is there-is not NEG.
- 332 Kwə bé bɔ́ lɔ́ guo mbe chuar kò sie mwe ɲgwə,  
kwə bé bɔ́ lɔ́ guo mbe chuar kò sie mwe  
ɲgwə  
tomorrow we do compound house beer chicken even take drink

NEG.

- 333 tele yə mwe ɲgwə, mií yə mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est.  
 tele yə mwe ɲgwə mií yə mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est  
 father yours drink NEG. mother yours drink NEG. ɕa y est
- 334 Mbe tə m̀̀ kɔ mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est.  
 mbe tə m̀̀ kɔ mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est  
 beer so I even drink NEG. ɕa y est
- 335 Mií yə mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est.  
 mií yə mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est  
 mother yours drink NEG. ɕa y est
- 336 Sua bé chum hən kɔ tele yə lɔ́ tena  
 sua bé chum hən kɔ tele yə lɔ́ tena  
 sua ours old this even father yours village amongst
- 337 sam ɲgwə ɕa y est.  
 sam ɲgwə ɕa y est  
 not NEG. ɕa y est
- 338 Tele yə le naa baá tena.  
 tele yə le naa baá tena  
 father yours PAST PAST PRES. amongst
- 339 Wò jə: nyí ɲeli ɲaga ka, wò ten,  
 wò jə nyí ɲeli ɲaga ka wò ten,  
 you say speaker disturb clear at you there-is
- 340 nyí nde te nyí bə́́ ɲam  
 nyí nde te nyí bə́́ ɲam  
 speaker go so speaker harm remove
- 341 Bí jolori wa b̀̀ nde kɔ nyí wa?  
 bí jolori wa b̀̀ nde kɔ nyí wa  
 you chefferie arrive they go know speaker QN.
- 342 Wò yila le bu sua hun 85  
 wò yila le bu sua hun 85  
 you enter in knife sua this
- 343 Wò sɔ chén wò fà sɔ sɔ  
 wò sɔ chén wò fà sɔ sɔ  
 you live one you two live live  
 [
- 344 Ga; xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx  
 [
- 345 Jb; Nyí bə́́ ɲam  
 nyí bə́́ ɲam  
 speaker harm divination
- 346 Nyí bə́́ ɲam  
 nyí bə́́ ɲam  
 speaker harm divination  
 [ ]
- 347 Ta; Nyí bə́́ ɲam wa  
 nyí bə́́ ɲam wa  
 speaker harm divination QN.
- 348 Bí né b̀̀ nuar bí mb̀̀ su b̀̀ ɲam ()  
 bí né b̀̀ nuar bí mb̀̀ su b̀̀ ɲam  
 you is PL. person you divine again place divination

- 349 Wò ke yə. ( ) Hən Njai fə sen né ve  
wò ke yə hən Njai fə sen né ve  
you look yours this Njai head his is bad
- 350 Muyna, fə sen né ve.  
Muyna fə sen né ve  
Muyna head his is bad
- 351 Ma mì kuó kən jemu baá nde a Njai,  
ma mì kuó kən jemu baá nde a Njai  
if I die already second PRES. go to Njai
- 352 jemu baá nde a Muyna,  
jemu baá nde a Muyna  
second PRES. go to Muyna
- 353 jemu baá nde a Bi.  
jemu baá nde a Bi  
second PRES. go to Bi
- 354 Bu b̀ kuku b̀ b̀ kuó gi naá 86  
bu b̀ kuku b̀ b̀ kuó gi naá 86  
it PL. elder PL. they die end PAST
- 355 Mgbe liya mə hwun.  
mgbe liya mə hwun  
chief remains with alone
- 356 Ni le tue né mə k̀. Tap sie né bé fi wa  
ni le tue né mə k̀ tap sie né bé fi wa  
who in say is with SUB.EMP. war take is us bush QN.
- 357 Né bí sar chibi, bí b̀ sum nde nuar ka l̀, (1)  
né bí sar chibi bí b̀ sum nde nuar ka l̀  
1  
is you spearer night you do remove go person at village
- 358 Haa? (2) Nuar ẁ munu ka də saa,  
haa 2 nuar ẁ munu ka də saa  
person you think at of that
- 359 ẁ yila le bu sua,  
ẁ yila le bu sua  
you enter in knife sua
- 360 ẁ s̀ chén wa ɲgwə ẁ fà s̀ s̀  
ẁ s̀ chén wa ɲgwə ẁ fà s̀ s̀  
you live one arrive NEG. you two live live
- 361 Ga; M̀ den né ɲgwagam. M̀ den né yulo,  
m̀ den né ɲgwagam m̀ den né yulo  
I stay is maize I stay is millet
- 362 Yuo sapə b̀ m̀ nemə sie mb̀,  
yuo sapə b̀ m̀ nemə sie mb̀  
leave snake do me bite take freely
- 363 k̀ bé, tue sie bé 87  
k̀ bé tue sie bé 87  
even us say take us
- 364 Saa m̀ ch̀ sua hən mb̀



- saa m̀i cho sua hən mb̀o  
that I chop sua this myself  
[ ]
- 365 Ta; Ma bí hən jə: m̀i tue né nyən  
ma bí hən jə m̀i tue né nyən  
if you this say I say is lies
- 366 bí nde seé sua hən  
bí nde seé sua hən  
you go work sua this
- 367 Ga; B̀o seé cho. Bí né seé < Bí né seé <= laughter  
b̀o seé cho bí né seé bí né seé  
they do chop you is do you is do
- 368 Ta; Bí nde seé sua hən <= laughter  
bí nde seé sua hən  
you go do sua this
- 369 Ga; Seé b̀o pat, bí sua hən seé seé <= laughter  
seé b̀o pat bí sua hən seé seé  
do PL. all you sua this do do
- 370 Nj; Seé sua nde né ẁo jula  
seé sua nde né ẁo jula  
work sua go is you flee
- 371 Ga; Seé seé sua di  
seé seé sua di  
do do sua some
- 372 à bí nde yila yila yuop ỳor. nde a yuop seé.  
à bí nde yila yila yuop ỳor nde a yuop  
seé  
he you go enter enter public-affairs b̀ody go to public-  
affairs do
- 373 M̀i Guanam hən kənəhən 88 Bí seé seé  
m̀i Guanam hən kənəhən 88 bí seé seé  
I Guanam this now you do do
- 374 Jb; Bí ŋgue a lu də, mə b̀o b̀oó ke munə naá  
bí ŋgue a lu də mə b̀o b̀oó ke munə na'á  
you understand to day that that they do look thus PAST
- 375 Tətiya kə lóó sam ŋgwə. Də Muyna  
Tətiya kə lóó sam ŋgwə də muyna  
Tətiya at village not NEG. of patience
- 376 Ga; B́o tulu nji dənə sua bé ŋene ŋgwə  
b́o tulu nji dənə sua bé ŋene ŋgwə  
they pull thing here sua we see NEG.
- 377 Jb; To, à kə lóó sam ŋgwə  
to à kə lóó sam ŋgwə  
So he at village not NEG.
- 378 à ke nə kə lóó sen, wa: né ve.()  
à ke nə kə lóó sen wa né ve  
he look is at village his say is bad
- 379 To () mə və sen Meyə, () fə sen hwom nde ŋgwə

- to mə və sen Meyə fə sen hwom nde ɲgwə  
So with woman his Meyə head hers good go NEG.
- 380 Bò ke dənə ma né ??bi hən?? kə jumu 89  
bò ke dənə ma né ??bi hən kə jumu 89  
they look here if is thing this at after
- 381 Bò kɔ dua né mavə, à die naá mə hwun sen.  
bò kɔ dua né mavə à die naá mə 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 kɔ bɔ və né mə njulu ɲap ɲap  
wò kɔ bɔ və né mə njulu ɲap ɲap  
you know PL. woman is with eyes unfinished unfinished
- 384 Də yə né man, də yə man, də yə man,  
də yə né man də yə man də yə man  
of yours is thus of yours thus of yours thus
- 385 wa: bə tuɲ fə sen tena tuɲ  
wa bə tuɲ fə sen tena tuɲ  
say we organise head hers amongst organise
- 386 Ter sen a né ten, bɔ ɲgan bɔ naa né ten  
ter sen a né ten bɔ ɲgan bɔ naa né ten  
palm hers to is there-is PL. cola they PAST is there-is
- 387 Gi sen kere mə bɔ bɔɔ ne tuɲ mə bɔ ne ter kɔɔ  
gi sen kere mə bɔ bɔɔ ne tuɲ mə bɔ ne ter  
kɔɔ  
end hers split with they do is organise with they is palm  
SUB.EMP.
- 388 Ne gi mənə, bɔ ɲgan mənə  
Ne gi mənə, bɔ ɲgan mənə  
is end thus PL. cola thus
- 389 Wò nuar mə wò nde, wò ka ɲuɔp  
Wò nuar mə wò nde, wò ka ɲuɔp  
you person with you go you at cut
- 390 mənə ɲgan, wò chu, wò ha bu ten  
mənə ɲgan, wò chu, wò ha bu ten  
thus cola you return you give him some
- 391 Wa: bɔ mbo baá kə ka  
Wa: bɔ mbo baá kə ka  
Say they divine PRES at at
- 392 wa ten baá ɲgam () fəlí ve  
wa ten baá ɲgam fəlí ve  
say there-is PRES divination threaten bad
- 393 kɔ sen nyən, ɲgam tue se vùrù ça y est.  
kɔ sen nyən, ɲgam tue se vùrù ça y est.  
even his lies divination says NEG. hidden ça y est.
- 394 Ma né ka nuar bɔn, wò jə: nyí bar bu  
Ma né ka nuar bɔn, wò jə: nyí bar bu

- If is at person theirs you say speaker jealous him
- 395 A liya sen də, leteni. Ni bɔ́ mən wa?  
A liya sen də, leteni. Ni bɔ́ mən wa?  
He remains his of, between Who do thus QN
- 396 Ma ndeka də ten a kuó yɔr  
Ma ndeka də ten a kuó yɔr  
If since of there-is he die body
- 397 Ma né mənə nan wa tə bó ɲaga  
Ma né mənə nan wa tə bó ɲaga  
if is thus how QN so they give-birth
- 398 Ne mənə wò mavə, wò huan sep a  
Ne mənə wò mavə, wò huan sep a  
is thus you woman you child man to,
- 399 wò yila le bu hən də wanyu  
wò yila le bu hən də wanyu  
you enter in knife this of else
- 400 wò yə chiə yə yə yə  
wò yə chiə yə yə yə  
you eat day eat eat eat
- 401 Ga; [ 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 mənə njai vən a ke bu e  
ne mənə njai vən a ke bu e  
is thus thing evil at look him e
- 404 Jb; Le ju ter ma, à ha né ka bɔ́ nuar  
le ju ter ma à ha né ka bɔ́ nuar  
in talk palm then she give is at PL. person
- 405 Ma à ha naá bɔ́ ka mə tema chén  
ma à ha naá bɔ́ ka mə tema chén  
if she give PAST them at with liver one
- 406 Nuar nuar ter, mə wə né ter  
nuar nuar ter mə wə né ter  
person person palm that take is palm
- 407 wò wə chu kə kɔ́mo wò ha nji bu, à naga 91  
wò wə chu kə kɔ́mo wò ha nji bu à naga 91  
you take return at palm-oil you give thing her she lick ( )
- 408 Ma seé dili ɲgwə  
ma seé dili ɲgwə  
if do straight NEG.
- 409 à sum su wò, à ha su nuar di.  
à sum su wò à ha su nuar di  
she remove again you she give again person other
- 410 Jumu mavə wò yila kela ten lə njə tele sen

- jumu mavə wò yila kela ten lə njə 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 chiə yə yə yə.  
 wò kuku kuwa wò chiə yə yə yə  
 you many die you day eat eat eat
- 413 Ma wò kɔ ɲgwə wò ke Baa ()  
 ma wò kɔ ɲgwə wò ke baa  
 if you know NEG. you look East
- 414 Ga; xxxxxx xxxxx  
 [
- 415 Jb; Bò nuar seé tare nə hən.  
 bò nuar seé tare nə hən  
 PL. person work hard is this
- 416 Wa bò ɲgue nji hən, wa; ɲuna Chi la,  
 wa bò ɲgue nji hən ɲuna 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 me bò mavə, <= laughter  
 à yila naá ten wò me bò mavə  
 he enter PAST there-is you measure PL. woman
- 419 və mò, ɲuna mò, wò kuó ka kuó.  
 və mò ɲuna mò wò kuó ka kuó  
 woman mine child mine you die at die
- 420 wa ɲgwə, wa ɲgwə, wa ɲgwə.  
 wa ɲgwə wa ɲgwə wa ɲgwə  
 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; Aftə mə bó chiə gua yila ten  
 Aftə mə bó chiə gua yila ten  
 with they death house enter there-is
- 423 wò me ne mavə, mə bò ɲuna mò  
 wò me ne mavə, mə bò ɲuna mò  
 you measure is woman, with PL. child mine
- 424 wo me ne mavə, huan sep, bò ɲuna mò  
 wo me ne mavə, huan sep, bò ɲuna 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 kare yə lɔɔ sarega yə  
 Wò kuó ka. Mì kare yə lɔɔ sarega yə

- you die at I split eat only funeral yours  
[
- 427 Ga; Wò kuó ka wò ɲgwagam hən də yə yə yə  
Wò kuó ka wò ɲgwagam hən də yə yə yə  
you die at you maize this of eat eat eat
- 428 Jb; Wò kuó ka, m̀ kare yə sarega yə  
Wò kuó ka, m̀ kare yə sarega yə  
you die at I split eat funeral yours
- 429 m̀ kare yə lɔrɔ ɲgan yə wanyu wanyu wanyu  
m̀ kare yə lɔrɔ ɲgan yə wanyu wanyu wanyu  
I split eat funeral cola yours else else else
- 430 Ga; Wò m̀ Gia sap baá guaga bu-e  
Wò m̀ Gia sap baá guaga bu-e  
You I Gia snake PRES bite him e
- 431 Nji a ke 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 ɲgu  
Ki, sap guaga bu e Pal! Yi lè hwa ɲgu  
Ki, snake bite him e Pal! At in hole fish
- 434 Nj; Buo b`̀ Tarchimi, buo b̀ Tarchimi  
Buo b`̀ Tarchimi, buo b̀ Tarchimi  
you-two PL Tarchimi, you-two PL Tarchimi
- 435 bi né b̀ huan manji mba.  
bi né b̀ huan manji mba.  
you is PL child small just
- 436 Də ju, ju kum, bɔ́ bə sen məna. ()  
Də ju, ju kum, bɔ́ bə sen məna.()  
Of case case old do we ours thus ()
- 437 B| b̀ nuar hən də, b́ né də b| fa njəgə,  
b| b̀ nuar hən də b́ né b| də b| fa njəgə  
we PL. person this of we is we of us like flies
- 438 b́ b̀ njə kan ɲgue tena b̀.  
b́ b̀ njə nuar ɲgue tena b̀  
we never thing person understand cut-through never
- 439 Huan b̀ b̀ Sarki né bɔ́ də.  
huan b̀ b̀ Sarki né bɔ́ də  
child they PL. Sarki is do of
- 440 Wò huan sep, wò mavə 93  
wò huan sep wò mavə 93  
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 bɔ́ yula tə b̀ yə: né Sarki,

- tema bɔ́ yula tɛ̀ bɔ̀ yə né Sarki  
liver do illness so they say is Sarki
- 443 bɔ́ dɛ̀ né kɔ́ no,  
bɔ́ dɛ̀ né kɔ́ no  
do of is SUB.EMP. also
- 444 nuar yila le bu sua,  
nuar yila le bu sua  
person enter in knife sua
- 445 wò sɔ́ chén, wò fà sɔ́ sɔ́  
wò sɔ́ chén wò fà sɔ́ sɔ́  
you live one you two live live
- 446 Mə yə Sarki bɔ́ naá kə, () leli  
mə yə Sarki bɔ́ naá kə leli  
that say Sarki do PAST at yesterday
- 447 à nde a yon, ke brik kə tàbè.  
à nde a yon ke brik kə tàbè  
he go to stroll look brick at earth
- 448 Kɔ̀ à nde go sen, nyí nde nyí wə ka njərədi,  
kɔ̀ à nde go sen nyí nde nyí wə ka njərədi  
even he go walk his speaker go speaker take at something
- 449 nyí kwa le brik,  
nyí kwa le brik  
speaker found in brick
- 450 à bɔ́ ware nde war-, tɛ̀ mə tema kɔ́ be wa? 94  
à bɔ́ ware nde war tɛ̀ mə tema kɔ́ be wa 94  
he do uncover go uncover so with send needle hand QN.
- 451 Bò yila, bɔ̀ tema ku-kuó.  
bò yila bɔ̀ tema ku-kuó  
they enter they send die die
- 452 à yila le bu, à chén so, à fà sɔ́ sɔ́.  
à yila le bu à chén so à fà sɔ́ sɔ́  
he enter in knife he one live he two live live
- 453 Ma à ka kɔ́ ɲgwə, .  
ma bɔ̀ ka kɔ́ ɲgwə à ke njulu kə bà  
if he at know NEG. he look eyes at East
- 454 Bɛ́, bɔ̀ nuar sep, və, () wò nuar  
bɛ́ bɔ̀ nuar sep və wò nuar  
we PL. person male woman you person
- 455 wò yila kela ten tɛ̀ bɔ̀ yə: Sarki bɔ́ né nji kɔ́.  
wò yila kela ten tɛ̀ bɔ̀ yə sarki bɔ́ né nji kɔ́.  
you enter pass there-is so they say do is thing  
SUB.EMP.
- 456 Yogoten né mə bɔ̀ huan ten, mií né ten,  
Yogoten né mə bɔ̀ huan ten mií né ten  
Yogoten is with PL. child there-is mother is there-is
- 457 bɔ̀ dim né mə bɔ̀ huan ten,  
bɔ̀ dim né mə bɔ̀ huan ten  
PL. y-same-sex-sib. is with PL. child there-is

- 458 bɔ̃ və né ten. 95  
 bɔ̃ və né ten 95  
 PL. woman is there-is
- 459 Nde nyí yila kela ten, nyí nuar Baa rə,  
 nde nyí yila kela ten nyí nuar Baa rə  
 go speaker enter pass there-is speaker person Mambila  
 again
- 460 nuar Teba, nuar yila kə le bu,  
 nuar Teba nuar yila kə le bu  
 person fulbe person enter at in knife
- 461 wò sɔ chén wò fà sɔ sɔ.  
 wò sɔ chén wò fà sɔ sɔ  
 you live one you two live live
- 462 Nuar ka kɔ ɲgwə ke njulu baa. (4)  
 nuar ka kɔ ɲgwə ke njulu baa 4  
 person at know NEG. look eyes East
- 463 Ga; Fuo ke ke yi ɲgam, ve kə Ndebaa,  
 fuo ke ke yi ɲgam ve kə Ndebaa  
 blow look look to divination bad at Ndebaa
- 464 à bɔ́ nde lɔ́ nuar, lane lɔ́ nuar, kwə lɔ́ nuar  
 à bɔ́ nde lɔ́ nuar lane lɔ́ nuar kwə  
 lɔ́ nuar  
 he do go compound person today compound person tomorrow  
 compound person
- 465 Wò mavə kə lɔ́ sire ka ɲgam,  
 wò mavə kə lɔ́ sire ka ɲgam  
 you woman at compound witchcraft at divination
- 466 wò huan sep wò nde loro ɲgam 96  
 wò huan sep wò nde loro ɲgam 96  
 you child male you go hole divination
- 467 wò hwu nde chu vən ten, ha ɲgam tə mbò.  
 wò hwu nde chu vən ten ha ɲgam tə mbò  
 you tunnel go return evil there-is until divination so  
 divine
- 468 Mì Guanam mì chɔ kə mbartogo,  
 mì Guanam mì chɔ kə mbartogo  
 I Guanam I chop at chefferie-square
- 469 bí wa bí mom tena, mì kə cher due <=Laughter  
 bí wa bí mom tena mì kə cher due  
 you arrive you wait amongst I at road open
- 470 bí bɔ̃ mbam bɔ̃ bí né bə mə jərə kela.  
 bí bɔ̃ mbam bɔ̃ bí né bə mə jərə kela  
 you PL. Chefferie PL. you is place with sua-enclosure pass
- 471 Bí mom baá mì mì chɔ sua mə akilo, mì kwa nji sam.  
 bí mom baá mì mì chɔ sua mə akilo mì kwa nji  
 sam  
 you wait PRES. I I chop sua with intelligence I put  
 thing not

- 472 Kwa nji sap, kwa nji lɔp,  
kwa nji sap kwa nji lɔp  
put thing snake put thing witchcraft
- 473 wò nuar sar, wò njərə nji fəlí mì Guanam 97  
wò nuar sar wò njərə nji fəlí mì Guanam  
97  
you person spearer you surmount thing threaten me Guanam
- 474 Bì nə mə yəp, bì wə ka ɲgwagam di,  
bì nə mə yəp bì wə ka ɲgwagam di  
you is with theft you take at maize some
- 475 bì fəlí mgbe, bì bɔ̀ Ndeba doŋ,  
bì fəlí mgbe bì bɔ̀ Ndeba doŋ  
you threaten chief you PL. Ndeba all
- 476 bɔ̀ və, bì sɔ̀n chén, fə bì yə tare.  
bɔ̀ və bì sɔ̀n chén fə bì yə tare  
PL. woman you mouth one head you yours hard
- 477 Wò nuar, wò nde ka fəlí nuar,  
wò nuar wò nde ka fəlí nuar  
you person you go at threaten person
- 478 wò yə: lɔ́ ve ve. Wò kuó,  
wò yə lɔ́ ve ve wò kuó  
you say compound bad bad you die
- 479 wò ɲgwagam nyima hən yə yə yə < Ooo! Ooo!  
<= Cut Bundle. Laughter, and talk  
wò ɲgwagam nyima hən yə yə yə  
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. Chɔ̀ rə gi doŋ (20) 98  
be ga kela ter chɔ̀ rə gi doŋ 20 98  
hand right pass up chop again end all
- 481 Wò nuar fəlí mì,  
wò nuar fəlí mì  
you person threaten me
- 482 sua sie à wò (28) yə yə yə  
sua sie à wò (28) yə yə yə  
sua take to you eat eat eat
- 483 Nj; Wò né nuar ɲene njulu wa? <= Laughter  
wò né nuar ɲene njulu wa?<  
you is person see eyes
- 484 Gw; Bɔ̀ və tə ka to nde  
bɔ̀ və tə ka to nde  
PL. woman NEG. at before go
- 485 Ta; Bɔ̀ te ke  
bɔ̀ te ke  
they NEG look
- 486 wə??? nyuri nəma baá



- wə nyuri nəma baá  
take grass dry PRES.
- 487 Ga; Bò di, bó fɔn nde né də bò fə nuar  
Bò di, bó fɔn nde né də bò fə nuar  
Pl. some they search go is of PL. head person
- 488 Bó nde kwa lɔ  
Bó nde kwa lɔ  
they go put put.
- 489 Jə: nuar tə cher due kela,  
Jə: nuar tə cher due kela,  
say person NEG road wide pass
- 490 yə njai бага lém kó fə nuar  
yə njai бага l'ém kó fə nuar  
say thing good avoid precisely head person
- 491 Ngwagam də mò, gərə hən wò yi ma yə yə yə  
Ngwagam də mò, gərə hən wò yi ma yə yə yə  
maize of mine farm this you enter EMP eat-NEG eat-NEG  
eat-NEG
- 492 Nj; Wò də yə saa, wò naá nuar saa də ɲene nji wa? <= laughter  
Wò də yə saa, wò naá nuar saa də ɲene nji wa?  
you of yours that, you PAST person that of see thing QN
- 493 Ga; Wò nuar bu saa, wò kɔ mə li yə.  
Wò nuar bu saa, wò kɔ mə li yə.  
you person them that, you know with stomach yours
- 494 A kema məna də kan ma ɲgunguɲ <=laughter  
A kema məna də kan ma ɲgunguɲ <=laughter  
They touch thus of odd ?????
- 495 NJ; Nea, ma wò den fada wò ne nuar bu saa ɲene njulu  
Nea, ma wò den fada wò ne nuar bu saa ɲene njulu  
Nea if you stay like you is person them that see eye
- 496 Ga; Bu mì tue də baa jə mì chɔ sua mò.  
Bu mì tue də baa jə mì chɔ sua mò.  
them I say of good say I chop sua mine
- 497 Mì chɔ mə sua mò kup kup hən.  
Mì chɔ mə sua mò kup kup hən.  
I chop with sua mine kup kup this
- 498 Buyɔr Vincent; Mi fɔn kalon mò  
Buyɔr Vincent; Mi fɔn kalon mò  
I search money mine
- 499 tə mì chɔ sua mò mə nji  
tə mì chɔ sua mò mə nji  
so I chip sua mine with thing
- 500 Nj; Ha nji tətàbè  
ha nji tətàbè  
give thing pipe
- pause 1 minute
- 501 Ga; Tena bu mena, tena bu ɲgoro, jɔgɔ sum chiə

- Tena bu mena, tena bu ngoro,  
cut-through them thus cut-through them. back
- 502 jɔɔ sum chiə, tue sùm sua chiə  
jɔɔ sum chiə, tue sùm sua chiə  
carry remove outside say remove sua outside
- 503 Wò mənə ngwagam hən yə yə yə  
wò mənə ngwagam hun yə yə yə  
you thus is maize this eat eat eat
- 504 Nj; Wò mə asana nde ni wa? <= to xx  
Wò mə asana nde ni wa? <= to xx  
you with matches go who QN
- 505 Ni kuó kuó, wò tue sum chiə  
Ni kuó kuó, wò tue sum chiə  
Who die die you say remove outside
- 506 Ga; Yi lɔɔ be naá mə wò tue sum chiə  
Yi lɔɔ be naá mə wò tue sum chiə  
at compound hand PAST with you say remove outside
- 507 wò kuó kuó.  
wò kuó kuó.  
you die die
- 508 Sua vula bu ngɔɔ, sua vula bu  
Sua vula bu ngɔɔ, sua vula bu  
sua leave them back sua leave them
- 509 tena bu ngɔɔ, a tue sum chiə  
tena bu ngɔɔ, a tue sum chiə  
cut-through them back they say remove outside
- 510 Nj; Ne mənə bu, bó vula si nji a yi dù,  
Ne mənə bu, bó vula si nji a yi dù,  
is thus them they leave injure thing they enter ground
- 511 Sùn sen kuó ngwə yə, sùn né sen kuó ngwə yə  
Sùn sen kuó ngwə yə, sùn né sen kuó ngwə yə  
mouth theirs die NEG NEG is mouth theirs die NEG
- 512 Jə: ndée yiə yiə, a se wə baá kən  
Jə: ndée yiə yiə, a se wə baá kən  
say come there there they NEG take PAST already
- 513 Ga; Sua yə yə yə  
Sua yə yə yə  
sua eat-NEG eat-NEG eat-NEG
- 514 Bó né nyima yə ngwə yə, saa bó furu baá bu kən  
Bó né nyima yə ngwə yə, saa bó furu baá bu kən  
They is year eat NEG NEG that they bury PAST them already
- 515 Jb; Də bó, bó bó nyima hən də yə ne ngwə.  
Də bó, bó bó nyima hən də yə ne ngwə.  
of them they do year this of eat is NEG
- 516 Bó bó njərədi ɲue nde ngwə  
Bó bó njərədi ɲue nde ngwə.  
they do something hear go NEG

517 Bó nde tue nde yə: bó lɔ yi wə naá denə.  
 Bó nde tue nde yə: bó lɔ yi wə naá denə.  
 they go say go yours they treat extinguish take PAST here

518 Bó yə: naá bí hən mə nyí yimi wə naá ten, ehe.  
 Bó yə: naá bí hən mə nyí yimi wə naá ten, ehe.  
 they say PAST you this with speaker extinguish take PAST  
 there-is, ehe

After about two minutes of general chat the closing rites are finished. The women applaud and moan as they begin to leave from inside the palace.

Transcript with Glosses of Sua Karup text discussed in main text

SS, the instigator and host

MA officiating

- 1 SS; Huom né kwa baá chuar də  
huom né kwa baá chuar də  
good is put PRES. chicken that
- 2 Nde kwa fəlí bó, fəlí bó, fəlí bó, dɔ́ɔ́ŋ.  
nde kwa fəlí bó fəlí bó fəlí bó dɔ́ɔ́ŋ  
go put threaten them threaten them threaten them all
- 3 MA; mhm Nuar jə gi aa sen (1)  
mhm nuar jə gi aa sen  
person say end PAST his
- 4 SS; Nuaga, à de- à den tə feli bə ni.  
nuaga à de à den tə feli bə ni  
he stay he stay at threaten PL. who
- 5 Ha bu mə den ka mə den hən.  
ha bu mə den ka mə den hən  
give him with stay at with stay this
- 6 MA; Kusum. Nuar mə sar, mə lɔp, mə lə.  
kusum nuar mə sar mə lɔp mə lə  
spittle person with witch-spears with witchcraft with  
treatment
- 7 Mì nuar njə, mə mì lɔ né. Mì yuo sar,  
mì nuar njə mə mì lɔ né mì yuo sar  
I person that-one with I treat is I leave witch-spears
- 8 mì yuo chibi. ŋgwagam nuar, chuar nuar.  
mì yuo chibi ŋgwagam nuar chuar nuar  
I leave night maize person chicken person
- 9 Bə nuar, ma mì bə́é.(1) Wò nde wula nuar,  
bə nuar ma mì bə́é wò nde wula nuar  
PL. person if I harm you go kill person
- 10 chu chu fəlí mɔ.  
chu chu fəlí mɔ  
return return threaten me
- 11 Mì kɔ ŋgwə, mì nji ke kə baa.  
mì kɔ ŋgwə mì nji ke kə baa  
I know NEG. I thing look at East
- 12 Wò nuar sar, wò nuar chibi, wò jə:  
wò nuar sar wò nuar chibi wò jə  
you person witchcraft you person night you say
- 13 oo, nyí wə nyuri kwa?  
oo nyí wə nyuri kwa  
speaker take grass put
- 14 Nyí wə nyuri vən, nyí bə́é lɔ́ɔ́ mɔ,  
nyí wə nyuri vən nyí bə́é lɔ́ɔ́ mɔ  
speaker take grass evil speaker harm compound mine

- 15           bò və, bò ɲuna mò.  
               bò və     bò ɲuna mò  
               PL. woman PL. child mine
- 16           mì ɲue né bu <= Chicken squawks, being gripped firmly in  
 the hand  
               mì ɲue           né bu  
               I understand is them-S.
- 17           (18) Də və də mì nyən baá nyuri,  
               (18) də və     də     mì nyən           baá     nyuri  
                           of woman that I bless/spray PRES. grass  
 <= During the pause MA spat a blessing on SS, on his children, and on  
 the chicken to be sacrificed
- 18           à den sen ke si mò hən  
               à    den sen ke si           mò    hən  
               she stay hers look husband mine this
- 19    SS;    Eee ɲgu, tə njulu ke suú  
               eee ɲgu tə   njulu ke   suú  
                           NEG. eyes look again-NEG
- 20    MA;    Nuaga te njulu ke suú (7)  
               nuaga te njulu ke   suú           (7)  
                           NEG eyes look again-NEG
- 21           À se ten ke.(17)  
               à se ten           ke.(17)  
               he NEG. there-is look
- 22    SS;    Njulu tə tə ke wa (3)  
               njulu tə   tə   ke wa (3)  
               eyes NEG. NEG. look SUB.EMP.
- 23    MA;    Nji njulu tə tabé (16)  
               nji njulu tə tabé (16)  
               thing eyes at earth
- 24           < Nde né də yə see ndo? (1) <= To DZ  
               nde né də yə     see ndo     1  
               go is of yours do also
- 25    SS;    à ke baá ke a (Tape at 70)  
               à ke baá ke a  
               he look PRES. look at
- 26    MA;    < aha tə ke.<= To Nuaga  
               aha    tə ke  
               mmhmm NEG. look
- 27    SS;    Te ke wa! Am ɲgwə  
               te ke wa           am ɲgwə  
               NEG look SUB.EMP. NEG. NEG.
- 28    MA;                   [  
                           Sam ɲgwə  
                           sam ɲgwə  
                           not NEG.
- 29    SS;    Tə ki. (4)  
               tə ki     4  
               NEG. annoy

- 30 Nde de baá denə.  
nde de baá denə  
go stay PRES. here
- 31 (3) Né mənə mə Mbiti dɔ́ɔ́ŋ (2)  
(3) né mənə mə Mbiti dɔ́ɔ́ŋ (2)  
is thus with Mbiti all
- 32 MA; Hən, m̀, m̀ yuo sar, m̀ yuo chibi.  
hən m̀ m̀ yuo sar m̀ yuo chibi  
this me I leave witch-spears I leave night
- 33 Ma nuar jə: m̀ gam nyí.  
ma nuar jə m̀ gam nyí  
if person say I help speaker
- 34 M̀ gam ka bu, temə chén.  
m̀ gam ka bu temə chén  
I help at him liver one
- 35 M̀ wə nyuri vən, m̀ kwa ten.  
m̀ wə nyuri vən m̀ kwa ten  
I take grass evil I put there-is
- 36 M̀ ge lə vən, m̀ kwa ten  
m̀ ge lə vən m̀ kwa ten  
I divide treatment evil I put there-is
- 37 Də tə m̀ wula bu. (.)  
də tə m̀ wula bu  
so so I kill him
- 38 Tə m̀ béé lɔ́ sen, chu chu fəlí mò  
tə m̀ béé lɔ́ sen chu chu fəlí mò  
so I harm compound his return return threaten mine
- 39 M̀ kɔ ɲgwə njulu ke kə baa.  
m̀ kɔ ɲgwə njulu ke kə baa  
I know NEG. eyes look at East
- 40 Wò nuar huan sep, wò mavə, wò jə:  
wò nuar huan sep wò mavə wò jə  
you person child male you woman you say
- 41 Oho. Wò nuar gam, wò nuar də kə wa?  
oho wò nuar gam wò nuar də kə wa  
you person help you person of at QN.
- 42 Nyí ɲgəri fəlí mò.  
nyí ɲgəri fəlí mò  
speaker slander threaten me
- 43 Nyí ɲgəri fəlí b̀ və mò,  
nyí ɲgəri fəlí b̀ və mò  
speaker slander threaten PL. woman mine
- 44 nyí ɲgəri fəlí b̀ ɲuna mò. (1)  
nyí ɲgəri fəlí b̀ ɲuna mò 1  
speaker slander threaten PL. child mine
- 45 Gatenyare ke wò, maɲare ke wò  
gatenyare ke wò maɲare ke wò

- buried-poison look you ordeal look you
- 46      m̀i tena ɣuna yə kup  
 m̀i tena            ɣuna yə      kup  
 I cut-through child yours all
- 47      Wò sua b̀è lu wanyu,  
 wò sua      b̀è      lu            wanyu  
 you descend harm SUB.EMP. else
- 48      wò njulu ke ke ke ke  
 wò njulu ke    ke    ke    ke  
 you eyes look look look look
- 49      Nuar di f̀ela ka m̀ə tem̀ə  
 nuar    di    f̀ela    ka m̀ə    tem̀ə  
 person some listen at with liver
- 50      ch̀en ch̀en ch̀en d̀óɣ.  
 ch̀en ch̀en ch̀en d̀óɣ  
 one true true all
- 51      Bu d̀óɣ njulu ke k̀ə baa.(2)  
 bu        d̀óɣ njulu ke    k̀ə baa.2  
 them-S. all eyes look at East
- 52      < To, see baá f̀ə l̀óɣ yə kadi >= To SS  
       to see baá f̀ə l̀óɣ        yə kadi  
       To work PRES. head compound yours really
- 53      SS; (1) M̀i, m̀i j̀ə m̀ə m̀i d̀ə hən d̀ə.(  
       (1) m̀i m̀i j̀ə m̀ə    m̀i d̀ə hən d̀ə  
       (1) I I say that I of this of
- 54      M̀i yuo sar, M̀i yuo...(1) M̀i yuo sar,  
 m̀i yuo sar            (1) m̀i yuo sar  
 I leave witch-spears (1) I leave witchcraft
- 55      m̀i yuo () tambani.  
 m̀i yuo    () tambani  
 I leave () ant
- 56      M̀i jim l̀óɣ nuar, d̀ə m̀i b̀éé njai nuar di,  
 m̀i jim            l̀óɣ        nuar    d̀ə    m̀i b̀è njai nuar di  
 I tunnel-into compound person that I harm thing person  
 some
- 57      m̀i yila le bu sua,  
 m̀i yila le bu      sua  
 I enter in knife sua
- 58      m̀i ka k̀ə ɣgwə f̀ə mò tare.  
 m̀i ka k̀ə ɣgwə f̀ə mò tare  
 I at know NEG. head mine hard
- 59      Le b̀ə f̀elí huna mò d̀óɣ pat,  
 le b̀ə f̀elí        huna mò    d̀óɣ pat  
 in PL. threaten child mine all all
- 60      f̀elí v̀ə mò, f̀elí ɣuna mò,  
 f̀elí        v̀ə        mò        f̀elí        ɣuna mò  
 threaten woman mine threaten child mine

- 61            sɔɔɔ bɔ nɛ ka mɛ dalela njɛrɛdi  
sɔɔɔ bɔ    nɛ ka mɛ    dalela njɛrɛdi  
only they is at with motive something
- 62            bɔ tue mɪ, mɪ gwom bɔ lu  
bɔ    tue mɪ mɪ gwom bɔ    lu  
they say me I    pay    them freely
- 63            Nɛ ka mba mba  
nɛ ka mba    mba  
is at freely freely
- 64            bɔ ŋgeri ka fɛlɪ mɔ  
bɔ    ŋgeri    ka fɛlɪ    mɔ  
they slander at threaten me
- 65            bɔ jɛ: mɪ dɛ bɛ´ɛ dɛ kɛ wa?  
bɔ    jɛ    mɪ dɛ bɛ´ɛ dɛ kɛ    wa  
they say I    of harm of where QN.
- 66            bɛ´ɛ see mɔ mɛ chu bili nɛ jemu ndo,  
bɛ´ɛ see mɔ    mɛ    chu    bili    nɛ jemu    ndo  
harm work mine which return together is second also
- 67            hɛn dɔɔŋ pat  
hɛn dɔɔŋ pat  
this all    all
- 68            Sɔɔɔ nɛ ka fuo chaŋ ɕa y est.  
sɔɔɔ nɛ ka fuo chaŋ ɕa y est  
only is at blow chaŋ ɕa y est
- 69            Nɛ ka ( ) be nuar. Nuar jɛ: mɪ bɔɔ man (Tape at 90)  
nɛ ka be    nuar    nuar    jɛ    mɪ bɔɔ man  
is at hand person person say I do thus
- 70            mɪ gam nde nɛ dɛ kɛ wa?  
mɪ gam nde nɛ dɛ kɛ    wa  
I help go is of what QN.
- 71            Sɔɔɔ cher mɛ mɪ to ka,  
sɔɔɔ cher mɛ    mɪ to ka  
only road that I cut at
- 72            nuar ka tɛ kela ŋgwɛ.  
nuar    ka tɛ    kela ŋgwɛ  
person at NEG. pass NEG.
- 73            Nuar à kela te kela.  
nuar    à kela te kela  
person he pass so pass
- 74            Mɪ ŋgue ka mɛ bɔ,  
mɪ ŋgue            ka mɛ    bɔ  
I understand at with them
- 75            yila ka le bu hɛn wanyu  
yila ka le bu    hɛn wanyu  
enter at in knife this else
- 76            bɔ chiɛ yɛ yɛ  
bɔ    chiɛ yɛ yɛ  
they day eat eat



- 77 bɔ̌ kɔ̌ ŋguə, fə bɔ̌ tare.(1)  
 bɔ̌ kɔ̌ ŋguə fə bɔ̌ tare.1  
 they know NEG. head theirs hard
- 78 Hən, den né hən.  
 hən den né hən  
 this stay is this
- 79 Ləgə fona, kɔ̌ né də tə chiə kwə, ()  
 ləgə fona kɔ̌ né də tə chiə kwə  
 fight search even is of at day tomorrow
- 80 tə m̀i () yila sum bɔ̌ huan mə nji.  
 tə m̀i yila sum bɔ̌ huan mə nji  
 so I call remove PL. child with thing
- 81 Bɔ̌ baán mə kwo ka kwo,  
 bɔ̌ baán mə kwo ka kwo  
 PL. illness that chase at chase
- 82 ka guo hən də.  
 ka guo hən də  
 at house this of
- 83 Və mò lì mə yuo ve ka hən də.  
 və mò lì mə yuo ve ka hən də  
 woman mine stomach that leave bad at this of
- 84 Sɔ̌gɔ̌ né ka fuo chaɲ  
 sɔ̌gɔ̌ né ka fuo chaɲ  
 only is at blow chaɲ
- 85 Yuo ka njai nuar,  
 yuo ka njai nuar  
 leave at thing person
- 86 né ka bɔ̌ nuar, bɔ̌ yi né be ten. (tape at 100)  
 né ka bɔ̌ nuar bɔ̌ yi né be ten  
 is at PL. person they enter is hand there-is
- 87 bɔ̌ jə: aa m̀i wa?  
 bɔ̌ jə aa m̀i wa  
 they say aaa me QN.
- 88 M̀i də mò, m̀i... ()  
 m̀i də mò m̀i  
 I of mine I
- 89 huan hən maga kela kuku, né də kə wa?  
 huan hən maga kela kuku né də kə wa  
 child this nmany pass many is of why QN.
- 90 Sɔ̌gɔ̌ bu né mə njərədi,  
 sɔ̌gɔ̌ bu né mə njərədi  
 only them-S. is with something
- 91 bɔ̌ tue m̀i, m̀i gwom bɔ̌.  
 bɔ̌ tue m̀i m̀i gwom bɔ̌  
 they say me I pay them
- 92 Ma m̀i ka kɔ̌ ŋgwə, fə mò nde ter.  
 ma m̀i ka kɔ̌ ŋgwə fə mò nde ter

- if I at know NEG. head mine go up
- 93 Ma mò mæ den hæn dæ,  
ma mò mæ den hæn dæ  
if mine that stay this of
- 94 ma à sep gwan ɲgwə hæn dæ,  
ma à sep gwan ɲgwə hæn dæ  
if she male want NEG. this of
- 95 sɔɔɔ né ka fuo chaɲ ɕa y est.  
sɔɔɔ né ka fuo chaɲ ɕa y est  
only is at blow ɕa y est
- 96 Ma ka fuo chaɲ sam ɲgwə ()  
ma ka fuo chaɲ sam ɲgwə  
if at blow chaɲ not NEG.
- 97 bó yila le bu,  
bó yila le bu  
they enter in knife
- 98 ma bó kɔ ɲgwə mbò,  
ma bó kɔ ɲgwə mbò  
if they know NEG. itself
- 99 fə bó tare.(2)  
fə bó tare.2  
head theirs hard
- 100 MA; Wò yə lane  
wò yə lane  
you say today
- 101 SS; [ Fəlí, fəlí baá mií mò,  
fəlí fəlí baá mií mò  
threaten threaten PRES. mother mine
- 102 Yuo den nə bili yaa due hæn dæ.  
yuo den nə bili yaa due hæn dæ  
leave here is together bush open this of
- 103 Sɔɔɔ né ka, bò baán nde bili né ka bó.  
sɔɔɔ né ka bò baán nde bili né ka bó  
only is at PL. illness go group is at them
- 104 Né ka be chaɲ, ɕa y est.  
né ka be chaɲ ɕa y est  
is at hand chaɲ ɕa y est
- 105 Né ke ka nuar, wò nuar di,  
né ke ka nuar, wò nuar di  
is look at person, you person some
- 106 wò ɲgər rə di.  
wò ɲgər rə di  
you slander again some
- 107 Wò jə: əhə nyí bɔɔ wò mənə no kum.  
wò jə əhə nyí bɔɔ wò mənə no kum  
you say yes speaker do you thus also just
- 108 ɲgàm à nde yila də bə, də bə kə jemu

- Ngàm à nde yila də bə də bə kə jemu  
because they go call of we of we at second
- 109 bə nde Oui nde de, () kə wa?  
bə nde oui nde de () kə wa  
we go yes go stay () what QN
- 110 Kò wò le dalela ça y est,  
kò wò le dalela ça y est  
even you PAST motive ça y est
- 111 ma wò le dalela sam ɲgwə  
ma wò le dalela sam ɲgwə  
if you in motive not NEG.
- 112 bɔ́ yila le bu wanyu,  
bɔ́ yila le bu wanyu  
they enter in knife else
- 113 ma bɔ́ kò ɲgwə, fə bɔ́ tare.  
ma bɔ́ kò ɲgwə fə bɔ́ tare  
if they know NEG. head theirs hard
- 114 Bò dim mò, mə den né bili hən,  
bò dim mò mə den né bili hən  
PL. y-same-sex-sib. mine with stay is together this
- 115 mə bò tie mò ve mò, mə den né yə də,  
mə bò tie mò ve mò mə den né yə də  
with PL. opp-sex-sib mine woman mine with stay is yours of
- 116 bɔ́ mare de ɲgwə hən də. ()  
bɔ́ mare de ɲgwə hən də  
they own of NEG. this here
- 117 Sɔ́ɔ né ka bə'ə- Sɔ́ɔ né ka see chaɲ.  
sɔ́ɔ né ka bə'ə sɔ́ɔ né ka see chaɲ  
only is at harm only is at work chaɲ
- 118 Ma né ka be nuar, (1) né mənə huan di ya,  
ma né ka be nuar 1 né mənə huan di yaa  
if is at hand person is thus child some girl
- 119 à tue, bə gwom lu.  
à tue bə gwom lu  
she say we pay freely
- 120 Ma ka huan di sam ɲgwə,  
ma ka huan di sam ɲgwə  
if at child some not NEG.
- 121 wò Joseph dɔ́ɔɲ pat,  
wò joseph dɔ́ɔɲ pat  
you all all
- 122 ma né ka le nji né ki bɔ́.  
ma né ka le nji né ki bɔ́  
if is at in thing is annoy them
- 123 Sɔ́ɔ né ka fuo chaɲ ça y est  
sɔ́ɔ né ka fuo chaɲ ça y est  
only is at blow chaɲ ça y est

- 124 Ma né ka fuo chaŋ sam ŋgwə  
 ma né ka fuo chaŋ sam ŋgwə  
 if is at blow chaŋ not NEG.
- 125 bɔ́ yila le bu hən wanyu,  
 bɔ́ yila le bu hən wanyu  
 they enter in knife this else
- 126 ma bɔ́ kɔ́ ŋgwə, fə bɔ́ tare.  
 ma bɔ́ kɔ́ ŋgwə fə bɔ́ tare  
 if they know NEG. head theirs hard
- 127 MA; Kwa nyí nuar njə, SS, nyí nuar jə  
 kwa nyí nuar njə SS nyí nuar jə  
 find speaker person that-one SS speaker person say
- 128 nyí yuo sar, nyí yuo chibi  
 nyí yuo sar nyí yuo chibi  
 speaker leave witch-spears speaker leave night
- 129 Nyí ge lə vən wula nuar  
 nyí ge lə vən wula nuar  
 speaker divide treatment evil kill person
- 130 nyí yila le bu sua,  
 nyí yila le bu sua  
 speaker enter in knife sua
- 131 Ma nyí kɔ́ ŋgwə njulu ke kə baa  
 ma nyí kɔ́ ŋgwə njulu ke kə baa  
 if speaker know NEG. eyes look at East
- 132 Nuar saa ndo, nuar mavə. huan sep,  
 nuar saa ndo nuar mavə huan sep  
 person that also person woman child male
- 133 wò ŋgəri fəlí nyí.  
 wò ŋgəri fəlí nyí  
 you slander threaten speaker
- 134 Wò ŋgəri fəlí bə və nyí,  
 wò ŋgəri fəlí bə və nyí  
 you slander threaten PL. woman speaker
- 135 wò ŋgəri fəlí bə ɲuna nyí  
 wò ŋgəri fəlí bə ɲuna nyí  
 you slander threaten PL. child speaker
- 136 wò ŋgəri fəlí bə dim nyí  
 wò ŋgəri fəlí bə dim nyí  
 you slander threaten PL. y-same-sex-sib. speaker
- 137 wò ŋgəri fəlí bə tie nyí  
 wò ŋgəri fəlí bə tie nyí  
 you slander threaten PL. opp-sex-sib speaker
- 138 wò ŋgəri fəlí m̀ nyí  
 wò ŋgəri fəlí m̀ nyí  
 you slander threaten mother speaker
- 139 Kɔ́ wò né le darella le ve, ɕa y est.  
 kɔ́ wò né le darella le ve ɕa y est  
 even you is in motive in bad ɕa y est

- 140 Wò kò ɲgwə, le be am ɲgwə,  
wò kò ɲgwə le be am ɲgwə  
you know NEG. in hand NEG. NEG.
- 141 ɲgəri ɲgəri ka fəlí bó  
ɲgəri ɲgəri ka fəlí bó  
slander slander at threaten them
- 142 Nuar yila le bu sua  
nuar yila le bu sua  
person enter in knife sua
- 143 Ma né ka () baán mə kwa né ka bó,  
ma né ka baán mə kwa né ka bó  
if is at illness that find is at them
- 144 ma né fuo lu chaɲ,  
ma né fuo lu chaɲ  
if is blow freely chaɲ
- 145 Gi né ga gə baa kóó.  
gi né ga gə baa kóó  
end is there at East SUB.EMP.
- 146 Saa bu hən nde ke kə baa  
saa bu hən nde ke kə baa  
that they this go look at East
- 147 Kò lə jəmu mií jəmu tele,  
kò lə jəmu mií jəmu tele  
Even treatment after mother after father
- 148 kò sie né bó kóó,  
kò sie né bó kóó  
even take is them SUB.EMP.
- 149 bó né kware nyí kware  
bó né kware nyí kware  
they is beside speaker beside
- 150 Kò lə jəmu mií jəmu tele sie bó saa le.  
kò lə jəmu mií jəmu tele sie bó saa le  
even treatment after mother after father take them that in
- 151 Kaa né kaa nuar,  
kaa né kaa nuar  
tie is tie person
- 152 wò mavə wò huan sep.  
wò mavə wò huan sep  
you woman you child male
- 153 Wò jə: nyí ɲgəri fəlí lóó ni wa?  
wò jə nyí ɲgəri fəlí lóó ni wa  
you say speaker slander threaten compound who QN.
- 154 Tə nyí bəé lóó  
tə nyí bəé lóó  
so speaker harm compound
- 155 Nuar yila le bu  
nuar yila le bu

- person enter in knife
- 156 Ngwagam ??ngɔrɔ ngwə?? wanyu yə yə yə.  
Ngwagam ngɔrɔ ngwə wanyu yə yə yə  
maize moment NEG. else eat eat eat
- 157 Ma wò kɔ ngwə njulu ke kə baa. ()  
ma wò kɔ ngwə njulu ke kə baa  
if you know NEG. eyes look at East
- 158 Nuar à sie né fə lɔɔ nyí ()  
nuar à sie né fə lɔɔ nyí  
person he take is head compound speaker
- 159 Mì nuar njə.() Ma nuar mə tɔɔ tə lə am ngwə  
mì nuar njə ma nuar mə tɔɔ tə lə am  
ngwə  
NEG.  
I person that-one if person with quarrel so treatment NEG.
- 160 Hən nuar nde nde te yila ngwə  
hən nuar nde nde te yila ngwə  
this person go go NEG enter NEG.
- 161 Hən nuar nde tabé bə'ə re, te yila ngwə  
hən nuar nde tabé bə'ə re te yila ngwə  
this person go earth harm again NEG enter NEG.
- 162 Ni sie né kɔɔ né ka, ()  
ni sie né kɔɔ né ka  
who take is SUB.EMP. is at
- 163 sap, chibi, lɔp, yuui lə  
sap chibi lɔp yuui lə  
snake night witchcraft leaf treatment
- 164 MA; Ma nyí kɔ baá kən,  
ma nyí kɔ baá kən  
if speaker know PRES. already
- 165 nyí me lɔɔ nuar yila le bu  
nyí me lɔɔ nuar yila le bu  
speaker measure compound person enter in knife
- 166 Ma nyí kɔ ngwə njulu ke kə baa  
ma nyí kɔ ngwə njulu ke kə baa  
if speaker know NEG. eyes look at East
- 167 Nuar sar nuar chibi, ngəri fəlí nyí,  
nuar sar nuar chibi ngəri fəlí nyí  
person witch-spears person night slander threaten speaker
- 168 ngəri fəlí guna nyí.  
ngəri fəlí guna nyí  
slander threaten child speaker
- 169 Njeba né ??njeba?? den baá də kə wa?  
njeba né ??njeba den baá də kə wa  
stop is stop stay PRES. of why QN.
- 170 Nuar saa wò nuar nji ter ke ke ke  
nuar saa wò nuar nji ter ke ke ke  
person that you person thing up look look look

- 171 Ma wò kɔ ɲgwə,  
ma wò kɔ ɲgwə  
if you know NEG.  
[ ]
- 172 SS; Jaɲ-  
jaɲ-  
scho-
- 173 kɔ né mə temə chén, bó njulu ke kə baa, dɔɔɲ. ()  
kɔ né mə temə chén bó njulu ke kə baa dɔɔɲ  
even is with liver one they eyes look at East all
- 174 SS; Jaɲdi né fəlí bɔ ɲuna mɔ,  
jaɲdi né fəlí bɔ ɲuna mɔ  
school is threaten PL. child mine
- 175 yila bu hən də.  
yila bu hən də  
enter knife this of
- 176 Sɔɔɔ né gi né ka () né see chaɲ ɕa y est.  
sɔɔɔ né gi né ka né see chaɲ ɕaye  
only is end is at is work chaɲ ɕa ye
- 177 Né ka nuar lu mba, wò jə  
né ka nuar lu mba wò jə  
is at person SUB.EMP. freely you say
- 178 nyí nde nde mə,  
nyí nde nde mə  
speaker go go that
- 179 ma nyí bɔɔ mani, nyí njəre mani.  
ma nyí bɔɔ mani nyí njəre mani  
if speaker do thus speaker slander thus
- 180 Chiə kwə m̀i nde nde a tə yili.  
chiə kwə m̀i nde nde a tə yili  
day tomorrow I go go to so call
- 181 Ma bu bɔɔ né mə dalela, bó tue m̀i,  
ma bu bɔɔ né mə dalela bó tue m̀i  
if them-S. do is with motive they say I
- 182 m̀i gwom lu.  
m̀i gwom lu  
I pay freely
- 183 Ma bu bɔɔ le njərədi sam ɲgwə.  
ma bu bɔɔ le njərədi sam ɲgwə  
if them-S. do in something not NEG.
- 184 bó ɲgəri ka fəlí bé də lu kɔɔ kɔɔ kɔɔ mba man.  
bó ɲgəri ka fəlí bé də lu kɔɔ kɔɔ  
kɔɔ mba man  
they slander at threaten we of freely SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP.  
SUB.EMP. freely thus
- 185 bó yila ka le bu hən wanyu,  
bó yila ka le bu hən wanyu  
they enter at in knife this else

- 186           ma bó kɔ ɲgwə fə bó tare.  
               ma bó   kɔ   ɲgwə fə   bó       tare  
               if they know NEG. head theirs hard
- 187 MA; Lane bó pat ma nyí sie fə ɲuna nyí  
               lane bó   pat ma nyí       sie fə   ɲuna nyí  
               today they all if speaker take head child speaker
- 188           Mə bó jaŋdi jaŋ, bó go ɲgwə  
               mə   bó   jaŋdi jaŋ   bó go   ɲgwə  
               that they school school they walk NEG.
- 189           Ma né ka njərə ??dalela  
               ma né ka njərə ??dalela  
               if is at thing motive
- 190           yɔɔɔ né ka bó kɔ, ɕa y est  
               yɔɔɔ   né ka bó   kɔ       ɕa y est  
               surpass is at them SUB.EMP. ɕa y est
- 191           Wò nuar wò yuo sar, wò yuo chibi.  
               wò nuar   wò yuo sar           wò yuo chibi  
               you person you leave witch-spears you leave night
- 192           Wò yila le gua mallam  
               wò yila le gua mallam  
               you enter in home mallam
- 193           wò te sie bó, tə nyí bə'ə bó.  
               wò te sie bó   tə nyí       bə'ə bó  
               you so take them so speaker harm them
- 194           Ma mallam kɔ né kɔɔ  
               ma mallam kɔ   né kɔɔ  
               if mallam know is SUB.EMP.
- 195           Nuar yila le bu sua  
               nuar   yila le bu   sua  
               person enter in knife sua
- 196           wò sɔ chén wanyu, wò fa yə yə sɔ  
               wò sɔ   chén wanyu wò fa yə yə sɔ  
               you live one else you two eat eat live
- 197           Ma dede yɔɔɔ ɲgwə wò kɔɔ  
               ma dede   yɔɔɔ   ɲgwə wò kɔɔ  
               if properly surpass NEG. you SUB.EMP.
- 198           dɔɔɲ pat bu njulu ke kə baa.  
               dɔɔɲ pat bu njulu ke   kə baa  
               all all it eyes look at East
- 199 SS; (5) Bare re njulu ɲgu  
               (5) bare   re   njulu ɲgu  
               (5) close again eyes ɲgu
- 200 MA; Baá yɔɔɔ né ɲuna hən, à ha nan,  
               baá   yɔɔɔ   né ɲuna hən à   ha nan  
               PRES. surpass is child this she fat how
- 201           à si jɔɔɔ ɲgwə, lane dɔɔɲ pat,  
               à si       jɔɔɔ ɲgwə lane dɔɔɲ pat  
               she husband marry NEG. today all all



- 202            bɔ̃ nuar bɔ̃ nda kulu bu  
               bɔ̃ nuar    bɔ̃ nda            kulu bu  
               PL. person PL. young men bless her
- 203    SS;                                    [  
    Né julu  
    né julu  
    is forbidden
- 204    MA;    Bɔ̃ nda bu gwan, bɔ́ nda kulu bu.  
               bɔ̃ nda            bu gwan bɔ́ nda            kulu bu  
               PL. young men her want they young men bless her
- 205            Bɔ̃ nda kulu bu. Bɔ̃ nda kulu bu,  
               bɔ̃ nda            kulu bu bɔ̃ nda            kulu bu  
               PL. young men bless her PL. young men bless her
- 206            à si jɔ̃gɔ ɲgwə.  
               à    si            jɔ̃gɔ ɲgwə  
               she husband marry NEG.
- 207            Ma né ka geda si né wa ɲgwə yə, ɕa y est  
               ma né ka geda si            né wa            ɲgwə yə    ɕa y est  
               if is at fate husband is arrive NEG. NEG. ɕa y est
- 208            Nuar di, wò nde, wò bə́é bu,  
               nuar di    wò nde wò bə́é 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 mə siri,  
               wò nde mə    siri  
               you go with harm
- 211            wò nde mə mgbati vən,  
               wò nde mə    mgbati            vən  
               you go with witchcraft evil
- 212            wò tue nyí bə́é wa tare: à tə si jogo.  
               wò tue nyí            bə́é wa            tare à tə    si            jogo  
               you say speaker harm arrive hard she NEG. husband marry
- 213            Kɔ̃ () kɔ̃, SS, bɔ̃ və, bɔ́ bə́é naa.  
               kɔ̃    kɔ̃    SS bɔ̃ və    bɔ́ bə́é naa  
               even even SS PL. woman they harm PAST
- 214            Gua di nuar, ɕa y est.  
               gua di    nuar    ɕa y est  
               home some person ɕa y est
- 215            Nuar bə́'é ɲgwə,  
               nuar    bə́'é ɲgwə  
               person harm NEG.
- 216            wò ɲgəri fəlí ɲuna,  
               wò ɲgəri    fəlí            ɲuna  
               you slander threaten child
- 217            wò ɲgəri mə fəlí jə:  
               wò ɲgəri    mə    fəlí            jə

- you slander with threaten say
- 218 à jə: Jək! Ma jə: jək! à nde si jɔɔɔ kwa  
à jə jək ma jə jək à nde si jɔɔɔ kwa  
it say if say she go husband marry find
- 219 Nuar, à yila le bu sua,  
nuar à yila le bu sua  
person it enter in knife sua
- 220 à sɔ chén wanyu, à fa yə yə yə  
à sɔ chén wanyu à fa yə yə yə  
it live one else it two eat eat eat
- 221 Ma nuar geda si né wa ɲgwə yə,  
ma nuar geda si né wa ɲgwə yə  
if person husband is arrive NEG. NEG.
- 222 saa bu hən njulu kee kə baa.  
saa bu hən njulu kee kə baa  
that she this eyes look at East
- 223 SS; Huan mə guli kuó ka bu hən də.  
huan mə guli kuó ka bu hən də  
child with foot die at him this of
- 224 Sɔɔɔ né ka fuo chaɲ, ɕa y est.  
sɔɔɔ né ka fuo chaɲ ɕa y est  
only is at blow chaɲ ɕa y est
- 225 Né ka bə nuar wò yuo wò jə:  
né ka bə nuar wò yuo wò jə  
is at PL. person you leave you say
- 226 aha huan hən nde nde bə də kə wa?  
aha huan hən nde nde bə də kə wa  
mmhmmmm child this go go place of why QN.
- 227 Sɔɔɔ bu hən le dalela bó tue mì, mì gwom.  
sɔɔɔ bu hən le dalela bó tue mì mì gwom  
only him this in motive they say me I pay
- 228 Ma ka le njərədi sam ɲgwə,  
ma ka le njərədi sam ɲgwə  
if at in something not NEG.
- 229 bó yila ka le bu hən wanyu,  
bó yila ka le bu hən wanyu  
they enter at in knife this else
- 230 ma bó kɔ ɲgwə fə bó tare.  
ma bó kɔ ɲgwə fə bó tare  
if they know NEG. head theirs hard
- 231 MA; [ Mì tene nde né fəlí sen hən də.  
mì tene nde né fəlí sen hən də  
I break go is threaten his this of
- 232 Mì tene nde né fəlí sen hən  
mì tene nde né fəlí sen hən  
I break go is threaten his this
- 233 < Den tə tabe tə sie chuar <= To MS

- den tə tabe tə sie chuar  
stay at earth so take chicken
- 234 SS; Yuaga den tə tabé man!  
Yuaga den tə tabé man  
Yuaga stay at earth thus
- 235 Simon; Yuaga den tə tabé, kie! (7)  
Yuaga den tə tabé kie 7  
Yuaga stay at earth Expletive
- 236 SS; Sie tək! (5) Nuaga bare njulu man wa  
sie tək (5) Nuaga bare njulu man wa  
take IDEO. Nuage close eye thus EMP
- 237 MA; Huan lu fəlí ɣuna nyí nan.  
huan lu fəlí ɣuna nyí nan  
child freely threaten child speaker how
- 238 Mì nuar njə, mì nuar mə mì lɔ nə  
mì nuar njə mì nuar mə mì lɔ nə  
I person that-one I person that I treat is
- 239 Mì yuo sar mì yuo chibi,  
mì yuo sar mì yuo chibi  
I leave witch-spears I leave night
- 240 gwa nuar, chuar nuar, bə́é nuar.  
gwa nuar chuar nuar bə́é nuar  
house person chicken person harm person
- 241 Ma mì bə́é (1) mə sar mə chibi mə lɔp.  
ma mì bə́é 1 mə sar mə chibi mə lɔp  
if I harm with witch-spears with night with witchcraft
- 242 Chu chu fəlí bó, mì yila le bu sua  
chu chu fəlí bó mì yila le bu sua  
return return threaten them I enter in knife sua
- 243 mì sɔ chén wanyu,  
mì sɔ chén wanyu  
I live one else
- 244 mì njulu kə baa ke ke ke, ke.  
mì njulu kə baa ke ke ke ke  
I eyes at East look look look look
- 245 Ma mì né ka ka temə chén,  
ma mì né ka ka temə chén  
if I is at at liver one
- 246 te chuɔm huɔm, bé huɔm, nuar huɔm.  
te chuɔm huɔm bé huɔm nuar huɔm  
so sort-out good we good person good
- 247 Mì njulu ke kə baa.  
mì njulu ke kə baa  
I eyes look at East
- 248 Wò nuar sar, wò nuar chibi,  
wò nuar sar wò nuar chibi  
you person witch-spears you person night

- 249 wò nde mə né jəgə  
wò nde mə né jəgə  
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 Mì yila le bu sua  
mì yila le bu sua  
I enter in knife sua
- 252 wò sɔ chén wanyu, fa yə yə yə sɔ  
wò sɔ chén wanyu fa yə yə yə sɔ  
you live one else two eat eat eat live
- 253 SS; Café né wa ɲgwə yə  
café né wa ɲgwə yə  
coffee is arrive NEG. NEG.
- 254 MA; Lɔ́ yə mə gərə hən də.  
lɔ́ yə mə gərə hən də  
compound yours with field this of
- 255 Wò baán lane ka né ??ləm kwa le??  
wò baán lane ka né ??ləm kwa le  
you illness today at is only cough in
- 256 kwə né baán, kula né baán  
kwə né baán kula né baán  
tomorrow is illness day-after-tomorrow is illness
- 257 Kɔ né ka baán mgbe chaɲ ha naa bu baá kɔ́, ɕa y est  
kɔ né ka baán mgbe chaɲ ha naa bu baá kɔ́  
ɕa y est  
even is at illness chief chaɲ give PAST it PRES. SUB.EMP.  
ɕa y est
- 258 Wò sar, wò chibi, nuar mavə huan sep.  
wò sar wò chibi nuar mavə huan sep  
you witch-spears you night person woman child male
- 259 Də lɔ́ yə tə nyí bə́'ə baá  
də lɔ́ yə tə nyí bə́'ə baá  
of compound yours so speaker harm PRES.
- 260 Wò né jəgə wò nde bə́'ə kɔ́  
wò né jəgə wò nde bə́'ə kɔ́  
you is swear?? you go harm SUB.EMP.
- 261 Fela dɔ́ɲ pat, lɔ́ yə huɔm ɲgwə  
fela dɔ́ɲ pat lɔ́ yə huɔm ɲgwə  
listen all all compound yours good NEG.
- 262 Kɔ né ka (1) chiə rə lu cher chum cher sua  
kɔ né ka 1 chiə rə lu cher chum cher sua  
even is at day again day road old road sua
- 263 bu le kɔ hən də, tamə ma wò wa Paul Biya  
bu le kɔ hən də tamə ma wò wa Paul Biya  
it PAST know this of consider even you arrive Paul Biya
- 264 Ka nuar, nyí bə́'ə baá lɔ́ yə  
ka nuar nyí bə́'ə baá lɔ́ yə

- at person speaker harm PRES. compound yours
- 265 wò yila le bu  
wò yila le bu  
you enter in knife
- 266 wò sɔ wanyu wò fa yə yə yə sɔ  
wò sɔ wanyu wò fa yə yə yə sɔ  
you live else you two eat eat eat live
- 267 < Café yə wa ɲgwə <= To MS  
café yə wa ɲgwə  
coffee yours arrive NEG.
- 268 SS; Sɔgɔ bó wa gua mgbe  
sɔgɔ bó wa gua mgbe  
only they arrive home chief
- 269 MA; Dites donc. Gua huom ɲgwə  
dites donc gua huom ɲgwə  
dites donc home good NEG.
- 270 Kɔ né ka () kalɔn  
kɔ né ka kalɔn  
even is at money
- 271 Tabé ve né kɔɔ ɕa y est  
tabé ve né kɔɔ ɕa y est  
earth bad is SUB.EMP. ɕa y est
- 272 Kɔ né ka be nuar, tə nyí bə́é  
kɔ né ka be nuar tə nyí bə́é  
even is at hand person so speaker harm
- 273 Nyí bə́é ɲuna ɲuna yə wa  
nyí bə́é ɲuna ɲuna yə wa  
speaker harm child child yours SUB.EMP.
- 274 Ma né chiə kwə wò wò nde kɔɔ  
ma né chiə kwə wò wò nde kɔɔ  
if is day tomorrow you you go SUB.EMP.
- 275 huan də ki wa?  
huan də ki wa  
child of what QN.
- 276 ɲgəri fəlí ɲuna yə, li huan yuo ve  
ɲgəri fəlí ɲuna yə li huan yuo ve  
slander threaten child yours stomach child leave bad
- 277 Kɔ né ka () kalɔn li, chaɲ ha né kɔɔ  
kɔ né ka kalɔn li chaɲ ha né kɔɔ  
even is at money stomach chaɲ give is SUB.EMP.
- 278 Usur ɕa y est. Kɔ né ka be nuar  
usur ɕa y est kɔ né ka be nuar  
truly ɕa y est even is at hand person
- 279 SS; [ bɔ wa wa gua mbe bɔ fela né ka nuar  
bɔ wa wa gua mbe bɔ fela  
né ka nuar they arrive arrive home beer they listen  
is at person

- 280        bɔ̌ fəla də baa ɕa y est.  
 bɔ̌ fəla də baa ɕa y est  
 they listen of good ɕa y est
- 281 MA; Mə bə́é li kɔ́ó  
 mə bə́é li kɔ́ó  
 that harm stomach SUB.EMP.
- 282        Ma né jəgə ni,  
 ma né jəgə ni  
 if is swear?? who
- 283        ma né kwa bə́é və də ki wa?  
 ma né kwa bə́é və də ki wa  
 if is put harm woman of what QN.
- 284        Wò kwa ɲgwə də ki wa?  
 wò kwa ɲgwə də 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 sɔ̌ chén wanyu wò fa yə sɔ̌  
 wò sɔ̌ chén wanyu wò fa yə sɔ̌  
 you live one else you two eat live
- 287        Kɔ̌ ɲuna hua nuar tema ɲgwə  
 kɔ̌ ɲuna hua nuar tema ɲgwə  
 even child breath person send NEG.
- 288        Chiə hua nuar teba te kela ɲgwə.  
 chiə hua nuar teba te kela ɲgwə  
 outside breath person fulbe NEG pass NEG.
- 289        Bí hua nuar yə ɲgwə yə yə  
 bí hua nuar yə ɲgwə yə yə  
 you breath person eat NEG. eat eat
- 290        Yila le bu sua  
 yila le bu sua  
 enter in knife sua
- 291        wò sɔ̌ chén wanyu wò fa yə yə sɔ̌ (1)  
 wò sɔ̌ chén wanyu wò fa yə yə sɔ̌ (1)  
 you live one else you two eat eat live
- The chicken was beheaded (10)
- 292        < Mì njiba chuar ka kiyə lu mani <= to MS  
 mì njiba chuar ka kiyə lu mani 50  
 I stop chicken at overthere SUB.EMP. thus
- 293        (50) To, wa we (3)  
 (50) to wa we (3)  
 (50) To arrive fire
- 294 SS; To ɲgu tə njulu ke wa  
 to ɲgu tə njulu ke wa  
 To ɲgu 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 kware tə taa. kware tə taa. kware tə taa  
 kware tə taa kware tə taa kware tə taa,  
 kidneys NEG.stone kidneys NEG.stone kidneys NEG.stone

298 (1) Də bí gi aa  
 (1) də bí gi aa  
 (1) for you end PAST

After a short discussion as to the best place to secure it, DZ helped the other two fasten the bundle of head and leaves under the eaves over the front door

MA said he would roast and eat the chicken carcass with old men, but not with women

Transcript with Glosses of Sua Kulu text discussed in main text  
First Hearing

speakers:

Bb: Bəbə

Bt: One of the accused.

Ch: Chief

Ga: Gamia

Gw: Ng's Father

Kg: The other accused youth.

Kp: Kotap Jeremy

Ng: The husband of the woman who allegedly committed adultery.

Nj: Njaibi

- 1 ch; edeko ma mi duom mə nji mə, ()  
edeko ma mi duom mə nji mə  
if I start with thing that
- 2 mi yila bili nə mə bí lane  
mi yila bili nə mə bí lane  
I call together is with you today
- 3 hən mi tue kwa bí nji mə manji mə kela naá lili. (4)  
hən mi tue kwa bí nji mə manji mə kela naá lili  
this I say put you thing with small with pass PAST  
yesterday
- 4 Mi tue kwa né chiə ɲgam (1) naá njə man be mò kum.()  
mi tue kwa né chiə ɲgam naá njə man be mò  
kum  
I say put is outside because PAST thing small hand mine  
just
- 5 wò kwa naá fada njai man no.()  
wò kwa naá fada njai man no  
you find PAST like thing small also
- 6 Mais jemu saá mi ke: à deɲgwə fada njai man.(7)  
mais jemu saá mi ke à den né ɲgwə fada njai man  
after that I look he stay is NEG. like thing small
- 7 ɲgàm mi ɲene bə sembe bə  
ɲgàm mi ɲene bə sembe bə  
because I see Pl. strength Pl.
- 8 yila kwə baá tena mbɔɲ.(4)  
yila kwə baá tena mbɔɲ  
enter enter PRES. amongst many
- 9 Bó kɔ ɲgwə nji mə kela naá,  
bó kɔ ɲgwə nji mə kela naá  
they know NEG. thing with pass PAST
- 10 ɲaga baá seé bə nuar nuar.(4)  
ɲaga baá seé bə nuar nuar  
clear PRES. work Pl. person person



- 11        m̀ njiba hən, njiba ter m̀ ke kə4?  
 m̀ njiba hən njiba ter m̀ ke kə4  
 I stop this stop up I look what
- 12        fabé b̀ və né dubu tap lum də tap mba.(6)  
 fabé b̀ və né dubu tap lum də tap mba  
 like Pl. woman is plant war only of war freely
- 13        Kɔ né huna yə, kɔ né mií yə  
 kɔ né huna yə, kɔ né mií yə  
 even is child yours even is mother yours
- 14        kɔ né dim yə, kɔ né bí yə, ()  
 kɔ né dim yə kɔ né bí yə  
 even is y-same-sex-sib yours even is e-same-sex-sib. yours
- 15        ma né lè gəchén kam,  
 ma né lè gəchén kam  
 if is in true just
- 16        ma wò wa bé-rə-di wò kwa b́ baá bu lebu  
 ma wò wa bé-rə-di wò kwa b́ baá bu lebu  
 if you arrive some-place you find they PRES. him hit
- 17        aha né lè ləgu. Nji mə wò  
 aha né lè ləgu nji mə wò  
 mmhmm is in fight thing with you
- 18        bɔ́ nde nə chén.  
 bɔ́ nde nə chén  
 do go is one
- 19        wò sie nde né ləgə də tal. Saá gia.  
 wò sie nde né ləgə də tal saá gia  
 you take go is fight of SUB.EMP. that end
- 20        Ma wò né nuar gəchén kum, wò sie nde ləgə ma,  
 ma wò né nuar gəchén kum wò sie nde ləgə ma  
 if you is person true just you take go fight then
- 21        ma né nuar yə ma, wò wə nuar yə, wò yuo mə nji.(1)  
 ma né nuar yə ma wò wə nuar yə wò yuo mə  
 nji  
 if is person yours then you take person yours you leave  
 with thing
- 22        Jemu rə wò bie nji saá lu.(2)  
 jemu rə wò bie nji saá lu  
 after again you ask thing that freely
- 23        Mais ma wò nji saá kɔ ɲgə,  
 mais ma wò nji saá kɔ ɲgə  
 if you thing that know NEG.
- 24        wò wa, wò yila kə mba. (1)  
 wò wa wò yila kə mba  
 you arrive you enter at freely
- 25        saá tue né yə: saá nji ndeka  
 saá tue né yə saá nji ndeka  
 that say is say that thing from

- 26 to wò naá kɔ wò mba yila ɲɔ. (6)  
to wò naá kɔ wò mba yila ɲɔ  
before you PAST know you freely enter NEG.
- 27 Alors, bí bɔ̀ vɛ mə̀ mì ɲene naá bí pat, ()  
alors bí bɔ̀ vɛ mə̀ mì ɲene naá bí pat  
you Pl. woman which I see PAST you all
- 28 bí né lè carnet m̀ò  
bí né lè carnet m̀ò  
you is in carnet mine
- 29 Də̀ m̀ò, ndeka lili.  
də̀ m̀ò ndeka lili  
of me from yesterday
- 30 Denə̀ mə̀ bə̀ tue nə̀ dənə̀, mì mì tue né mə̀ s̀òn jə̀:  
denə̀ mə̀ bə̀ tue nə̀ dənə̀ mì mì tue né mə̀ s̀òn jə̀  
here with we say is here I I say is with mouth say
- 31 Saá tal b́ tue ju hən gia, non () ɲgàm né yaware. ()  
Saá tal b́ tue ju hən gia non ɲgàm né yaware  
That IDEO. they say talk this end non because is scorn
- 32 et mì foti ɲgwə̀ mì b́ɔ̀ mə̀ mì kwa yaware  
et mì foti ɲgwə̀ mì b́ɔ̀ mə̀ mì kwa yaware  
et I can NEG. I do with I find scorn
- 33 yohr m̀ò lan(e) kɔ kwə̀ kɔ kula. (6)  
yohr m̀ò lane kɔ kwə̀ kɔ kula  
body mine today or tomorrow or day-after-tomorrow
- 34 Kɔ b̀ò kuku b̀ò də̀ baá m̀əna vii baá.  
kɔ b̀ò kuku b̀ò də̀ baá m̀əna vii baá  
even Pl. elder Pl. of PRES. thus grey PRES.
- 35 B́ foti ɲgwə̀ də̀ b́ wa baá,  
b́ foti ɲgwə̀ də̀ b́ wa baá  
they can NEG. of them arrive PRES.
- 36 b́ yila kwa mì ha ka jolɔ̀ri.  
b́ yila kwa mì ha ka jolɔ̀ri  
they enter find me until at Palace
- 37 B́ sii ləm ma tema bon gwan-e.  
b́ sii ləm ma tema bon gwan-e  
they injure? only if liver theirs want
- 38 Kɔ b́ baá m̀əna vii naá b́ foti ɲgwə̀.(1)  
kɔ b́ baá m̀əna vii naá b́ foti ɲgwə̀  
even they PRES. thus grey PAST they can NEG.
- 39 To, () nde jemu naá nyɔ̀ɔ̀ s̀òn, (2)  
to nde jemu naá nyɔ̀ɔ̀ s̀òn  
To go second PAST organise mouth
- 40 nde naá nyɔ̀ɔ̀ s̀òn, () ni d́ɔ̀ɲ ẁò tasque gu, kadi (4)  
nde naá nyɔ̀ɔ̀ s̀òn ni d́ɔ̀ɲ ẁò tasque gu kadi  
go PAST organise mouth who all you task walk? really
- 41 Ndeka leba, ndeka b̀ò nuar leba naá bu pat.  
ndeka leba ndeka b̀ò nuar leba naá bu pat  
from tongue from Pl. person tongue PAST them-S. all

- 42 Ni dɔɔŋ wò tasque gu,  
ni dɔɔŋ wò tasque gu  
who all you task walk
- 43 ŋgam pat bí né gi lè carnet mò,  
ŋgam pat bí né gi lè carnet mò  
because all you is end in notebook mine
- 44 Ma də mì là chiə hən sam naá ŋgwə,  
ma də mì là chiə hən sam naá ŋgwə  
if of I PAST outside this not PAST NEG.
- 45 mere bí la munu yə aá  
mere bí la munu yə aá  
perhaps you PAST thought yours PAST
- 46 mere à mì ŋene ŋgə  
mere à mì ŋene ŋgə  
perhaps he me see NEG.
- 47 aá nji sa kɔ ŋgwə.  
à nji sa kɔ ŋgwə  
they-S. thing that know NEG.
- 48 Mì, mì naá chiə hən, mì njiba lè?  
mì mì naá chiə hən mì njiba lè  
I I PAST outside this I stop in
- 49 chiə hən nji mə kela hən, ha mə bó nde à mə pat,  
chiə hən nji mə kela hən ha mə bó nde à  
mə pat  
outside this thing which pass this until with they go to  
with all
- 50 mì sua kela hən ŋgàm tə mì ke nyəgə baá si  
mì sua kela hən ŋgam tə mì ke nyəgə baá si  
I descend pass this because so I look repair good -ness
- 51 ke mə mì ke də, bɔ nuar jə a a də mò a  
ke mə mì ke də bɔ nuar jə a a də mò a  
look with I look of Pl. person say to to of mine to
- 52 mì ŋaga nde diyə kə jolɔri.  
mì ŋaga nde diyə kə johlɔri  
I climb go of-yours at Palace
- 53 bó munu né mì bɔɔ nə ŋgàm  
bó munu né mì bɔɔ nə ŋgàm  
they think is me do is because
- 54 mì gwan tə ləgə nde no, ()  
mì gwan tə ləgə nde no  
I want to fight go also
- 55 duɔm nə dənə, see mə ŋene nji mə duɔm naá  
duɔm n'ə dənə see mə ŋene nji mə duɔm naá  
start is here work which see thing with start PAST
- 56 ha bé nji aá chərə di  
ha bé nji aá chərə di  
until we thing PAST stop some

- 57 Ngàm ma mì nde né mena  
ngàm ma mì nde né mena  
because if I go is thus
- 58 to tue nde mì kwa mēna bē mē bō nji mē  
to tue nde mì kwa mēna bē mē bō nji mē  
before say go I put thus place with Pl. thing which
- 59 mì tue kēnēhēn dēnē (2)  
mì tue kēnēhēn dēnē  
I say now here
- 60 nuar yuo ha wa lè kwa mì jolōri, yila mì mber.  
nuar yuo ha wa lè kwa mì jolōri yila mì mber  
person leave until arrive in find me Palace call me shit
- 61 Bí bō vā bí yuo, jemu bí dubu tar,  
bí bō vā bí yuo jemu bí dubu tar  
you Pl. woman you leave after you plant stone
- 62 bí yə: Police Party tē bu sie. ()  
bí yə Police Party tē bu sie  
you say Police Party NEG him take
- 63 Se te njai bí saá na lane né hiun  
se te njai bí saá na lane né hiun  
so so thing you ignite PAST today is different
- 64 ama bí nde gēchén tue le gò?? bu hēn (3)  
ama bí nde gēchén tue le gò?? bu hēn  
but you go true say PAST walk him this
- 65 Ngam pat bí né gi le carnet mō.  
ngam pat bí né gi le carnet mō  
because all you is end in notebook mine
- 66 Kela nuar mē wō kō nyí kema baá bō Police Party be yōr  
kela nuar mē wō kō nyí kema baá bō police  
party be yōr  
pass person with you know speaker touch PRES. Pl.  
hand body
- 67 ma wō kema naá bu dē mē wō sie naá bu dē sie mba  
ma wō kema naá bu dē mē wō sie naá bu dē sie mba  
if you touch PAST him of with you take PAST him of take  
freely
- 68 əahə, diyə kam mì njērədi tue ŋgə (1)  
əahə diyə kam mì njērədi tue ŋgə  
of-yours just I something say NEG.
- 69 mais ma wō kema naá bu dē saá, () wō né lè carnet mō ()  
mais ma wō kema naá bu dē saá wō né lè carnet mō  
if you touch PAST him of ignite you is in mine
- 70 diyə kam, ha kwə, ha kula () ma bí jə ŋgər nde né gi,  
diyə kam ha kwə ha kula ma bí  
jə ŋgər nde né gi  
of-yours just until tomorrow until day-after-tomorrow if  
you say declaration go is end
- 71 bí tue né nyən. Ha kwə, ha kula  
bí tue né nyən. Ha kwə, ha kula

you say is lie until tomorrow until day-after-tomorrow

(32) Gap, general throat clearing &c

- 72 Ngɔr hən bu, ma m̀i tue né bí hən,  
 ngɔr hən bu ma m̀i tue né bí hən  
 declaration this his if me say is you this
- 73 den né ngɔr mò ( ) mə m̀i se den né bí hən.  
 den né ngwə ngɔr mò mə m̀i se den né bí  
 hən  
 stay is NEG. declaration mine which I explain here is you  
 this
- 74 Də mò b́ si denə m̀i mba.(3)  
 də mò b́ si denə m̀i mba  
 of mine they insult here I freely
- 75 M̀i, m̀i kwə nde né chiə feli bí yə.  
 m̀i m̀i kwə nde né chiə feli bí yə  
 I I tomorrow go is outside like you yours freely
- 76 Bí goh, bí yuo su tə bí nyəgə su mə m̀i.(2)  
 bí goh bí yuo su tə bí nyəgə su mə m̀i  
 you walk you leave again so you repair again that I
- 77 Leli dənə b́ tue naá ju tabé. (1)  
 leli dənə b́ tue naá ju tabé  
 yesterday here they say PAST talk earth
- 78 Ju lè, lè ma naá ten àngwə.  
 ju lè lè ma naá ten àngwə  
 talk fish-dam fish-dam if PAST there-is NEG.
- 79 B́ tue naá ju ngu kula. Ngu kula fela né də b̀ və.(1)  
 b́ tue naá ju ngu kula ngu kula fela né də b̀ və  
 they say PAST talk fish bail fish bail like is of Pl. woman
- 80 Ju see. ( ) tə b̀ nuar nde né bé chén nde,  
 ju see tə b̀ nuar nde né bé chén nde  
 talk work so Pl. person go is place one go
- 81 b̀ nuar b́ mə bé chén nde ngwə.  
 b̀ nuar b́ mə bé chén nde ngwə  
 Pl. person they with place one go NEG.
- 82 Lane m̀i munu né jə ma b̀ nuar nde b́ cher,  
 lane m̀i munu né jə ma b́ nuar nde b́ cher  
 today I think is say if they person go do road
- 83 b̀ nuar b́ nde ngwə, b́ né den.  
 b̀ nuar b́ nde ngwə b́ né den  
 Pl. person do go NEG. they is stay
- 84 Cher nde b́ par, mə b́ kela né ten, m̀i munu yə:  
 cher nde b́ par mə b́ kela né ten m̀i munu yə  
 road go they all with they pass is there-is I think say
- 85 Bí b̀ nuar, b́ tema b́, bí nde né ha bí yɔgɔ suú.  
 bí b̀ nuar b́ tema b́ bí nde né ha bí yɔgɔ  
 suú  
 you Pl. person they send them you go is until you surpass  
 again-NEG.

- 86 ngàm né sàm sòn mba see mbo mə tema nə bí (11)  
 ngàm né sàm sòn mba see mbo mə tema nə bí  
 because is only mouth freely work himself with send is you
- 87 Lane mì né ka lóó, () chibi bu lane kum, mì né ka lóó.  
 lane mì né ka lóó chibi bu lane kum mì né ka lóó  
 today I is at village night it today just I is at village
- 88 Né wò huan sep a, () né wò mavə a, ()  
 né wò huan sep a né wò mavə a  
 is you child male to is you woman to
- 89 ma wò kɔ də nyi naá Police Party be yɔr kema.  
 ma wò kɔ də ni naá police party be yɔr kema  
 if you know of who PAST hand body touch
- 90 Né be nyí yuo baá ter mani, ma nyí kema baá yɔr sen (4)  
 né be nyí yuo baá ter mani nyí kema baá  
 yɔr sen  
 is hand speaker leave PRES. up thus speaker touch PRES.  
 body his
- 91 Bí la ma wò kwa mì, ou wò nde kwa nuar kuú di,  
 bí la ma wò kwa mì ou wò nde kwa nuar kuú di  
 you PAST if you find me ou you go find person big some
- 92 wò wa, wò tue ndika mə mì Bankim sua ɲgue yə.(3)  
 wò wa wò tue ndika mə mì Bankim suaga ɲgue yə  
 you arrive you say from with I Bankim descend NEG.  
 yours
- 93 ma muna am ɲgə, ma mì suaga, də to bé ten amɲgə  
 ma muna am ɲgə ma mì suaga də to bé ten amɲgə  
 if thus NEG. NEG. if I descend of before us there-is  
 NEGATIVE
- 94 Ma bí né kɔ, bó bóó njiba bò kita,  
 ma bí né kɔ bó bóó njiba bò kita  
 if you is know they do stop Pl. cases
- 95 bé bóó njiba le kita.() Də mò kum, gi né man.  
 bé bóó njiba le kita də mò kum gi né man  
 we do stop PAST case of me just end is thus
- 96 Mì ha ləm né journeée lane, (1)  
 mì ha ləm né journée lane  
 I give only is today
- 97 kɔ mì né mena ka lóó kwə... kɔó mì né mena ka lóó  
 kɔ mì né mena ka lóó kwə kɔó mì né mena ka lóó  
 even I is thus at village tomorrow even I is thus at  
 village
- 98 ma ɲgaá kwə nuar te nde su ()  
 ma ɲgaá kwə nuar te nde su  
 if clear tomorrow person so go again-NEG
- 99 ma ɲgaá kwə mə nuar tə nde  
 ma ɲgaá kwə mə nuar tə 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 bɔ́ ju see. () See mə bɔ́ tema nə hən, (2)  
to fam bɔ́ ju see see mə bɔ́ tema nə hən  
So like do talk work work which do send is this
- 101 see deɲwə də nuar yə, mɪ tema kwa də nuar di. ()  
see deɲwə də nuar yə mɪ tema kwa də nuar di  
work stay-NEG. of person yours I send put of person some
- 102 Non, see bé tema né hən də,  
non see bé tema né hən də  
work ours send is this of
- 103 bé tema nə see də nuar njə, deɲwə də nuar.()  
bé tema nə see də nuar njə den né ɲwə də nuar  
we send is work of person that-one stay is NEG. of person
- 104 Fela lu bé nde ya yə, yi cher dua yə, ni (2)  
fela lu bé nde ya yə yi cher dua yə ni  
like day we go there at at road there at who
- 105 Kə keləhen suaga bé, mə mɪ la tue duɔm nan?, ()  
kə keləhen suaga bé mə mɪ la tue duɔm nan  
at now descend? ours with I PAST say start how
- 106 bi bɔ̀g`ɔ̀ hən ma, .bɔ̀g`ɔ̀ hən  
bi bɔ̀g`ɔ̀ hən ma bɔ̀g`ɔ̀ hən  
thing wall this then wall this
- 107 Ndeka bɔ́ munu ɲwə: bɔ́ nde né ɲgaá.  
ndeka bɔ́ munu ɲwə bɔ́ nde né ɲgaá  
from they think NEG. they go is climb
- 108 Bɔ̀gɔ hən né ten.()  
bɔ̀gɔ hən né ten  
wall this is there-is
- 109 Ndeka bɔ́ munu ɲwə: bɔ́ nde né ɲgaá  
ndeka bɔ́ munu ɲwə bɔ́ nde né ɲgaá  
must they think NEG. they go is clear
- 110 Bɔ̀gɔ hən né ten. ha né bɔ́ nde nyən nji,  
bɔ̀gɔ hən né ten ha né bɔ́ nde nyən nji  
wall this is there-is until is they go forget thing
- 111 yili mò lè naá man, ha bɔ́ nde nyən nji ma.  
yili mò lè naá man ha bɔ́ nde nyən nji ma  
name mine in PAST thus until they go forget thing then
- 112 Bɔ̀gɔ hən də à né le ten.(2)  
bɔ̀gɔ hən də à né le ten  
wall this of it is in there-is
- 113 Dede né fada bí no, kela naá man:  
dede né fada bí no kela naá man  
properly is like you also pass PAST thus
- 114 ma nuar wa to yə, tə bɔ́ ɲgər wa:  
ma nuar wa to yə tə bɔ́ ɲgər wa  
if person arrive before you so do insult EMP.
- 115 əhə, lane bɔ́ əhə kwə wa né su mɪ wa.

- əhə lane bɔ̃ əhə kwə wa né su mɪ wa  
no today Pl. no tomorrow arrive is again I say
- 116 əhə wò nyægə kwa. (5)  
əhə wò nyægə kwa  
no you repair put
- 117 to de ɲgwə ke le bɔ̃ɔ ki yə, mə temə ɲger.()  
to de ɲgwə ke le bɔ̃ɔ ki yə mə temə ɲger  
before stay NEG. look in wall at there with liver insult
- 118 Də mò mɪ jə: nji par huɔm.  
də mò mɪ jə nji par huɔm  
of mine I say thing all good
- 119 Lane mɪ naá hapdi, dede mò kum, dede mò kum né hapdi.(1)  
lane mɪ naá hapdi dede mò kum dede mò kum  
né hapdi  
today I PAST fight properly me just properly mine just is  
fight
- 120 Mais bí né mɪ tema bɔ̃ɔ yula, (1)  
mais bí né mɪ tema bɔ̃ɔ yula  
you is me liver do ill
- 121 bí bɔ̃ lɔ̃ bɔ̃ bí né mɪ tema bɔ̃ɔ yula,  
bí bɔ̃ lɔ̃ bɔ̃ bí né mɪ tema bɔ̃ɔ yula  
you Pl. village Pl. you is me liver do ill
- 122 ɲgam ma tam di mba mɪ su munu, mɪ jə:  
ɲgam ma tam di mba mɪ su munu mɪ jə  
because if time some freely I again think I say
- 123 kie (béé, mbé) rə né tam mò mba. () tam  
kie (béé, mbé) rə né tam mò mba tam  
Expletive (insult, shit) again is time mine freely time
- 124 tam di, mɪ tema bɔ̃ɔ yula (4)  
tam di mɪ tema bɔ̃ɔ yula  
time some I liver do ill
- 125 Tue né nji né mɪ bɔ̃ɔ nde nə hən par,  
tue né nji né mɪ bɔ̃ɔ nde nə hən par  
say is thing is I do go is this all
- 126 pat bí ɲene ɲguə. (2) Dede bó gwan à bɔ̃ɔ,  
pat bí ɲene ɲguə dede bó gwan à bɔ̃ɔ  
all you see NEG. properly they want to do
- 127 pat bí ɲene be bí yə né gi ve. (3)  
pat bí ɲene be bí yə né gi ve.<  
all you see hand you yours is end bad
- 128 Ma mɪ kema ??yɔ̃r le ju də argi hən manji man,  
ma mɪ kema ??yɔ̃r le ju də argi hən manji man  
if I touch body in talk of moonshine this small thus
- 129 le naá chiə di hi? wa ka leteni hən,  
le naá chiə di ni wa ka leteni hən  
PAST PAST outside some where arrive at between this
- 130 Mɪ nde yila bili bʏɔ̃ ka centre hən, bó naá tue mba (2)  
Mɪ nde yila bili bʏɔ̃ ka centre hən bó naá tue mba



freely I go call together PL. at centre this they PAST say

131 kuare kuare bó naá tue jə: mì tue ju argi  
kuare kuare bó naá tue jə mì tue ju argi  
beside beside they PAST say 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 ɲgwə, mì nde sie nde né kuare wa?  
ama ma sie ɲgwə mì nde sie nde né kuare wa  
but if take NEG. I go take go is beside QN.

134 b̀ò və də ka centre hən,  
b̀ò və də ka centre hən  
Pl. woman of at this

135 lu saá mə mì nde yila bili naá bó,  
lu saá mə mì nde yila bili naá bó  
day that with I go call together PAST them

136 bó b̀ò kuare kuare b̀ò ɲgue naá ɲgwə.  
bó b̀ò kuare kuare b̀ò ɲgue naá ɲgwə  
they Pl. beside beside Pl. understand PAST NEG.

137 Hən, lane mì tue s̀òn né chi. Leli Jauro  
hən lane mì tue s̀òn né chi leli jauro  
this today I say mouth is that yesterday headman

138 Yokosalla, Jigi à le tue naá dene yə nan wa?  
Yokosalla Jigi à le tue naá dene yə nan wa  
Yokosalla Jigi he PAST say PAST here say how QN.

Break in recording: change of batteries

139 Nj; Ga à, ẁò. Mgbe jə né ve, ama də be yə,  
ga à ẁò mgbe jə né ve ama də be yə  
Ga to you chief say is bad but of hand yours

140 mì tue né ẁò ma b̀óó ɲgue tue bé.  
m̀ì tue né ẁò ma b̀óó ɲgue tue bé  
I say is you if do NEG. say us

141 le tu Argi kum mgbe jə: usuku.  
le tu argi kum mgbe jə usuku  
PAST before moonshine just chief say thankyou

142 O, ẁò né mə argi ma  
o ẁò né mə argi ma  
o you is with moonshine then

143 Bé bé vraá né chi ma, ma bí ha sam ɲgwə  
bé bé vraá né chi ma ma bí ha sam ɲgwə  
we we thank is that then if you give not NEG.

144 bé vraá sam ɲgwə, ama bó sie baá.  
bé vraá sam ɲgwə ama bó sie baá  
we thank not NEG. but they take PRES.

145 Ga; Chaɲ à sie bó sie.  
chaɲ à sie bó sie

it take them take

- 146 Nj; Ni bie naá b́e yə ma, ni yə yen wa?  
 ni bie naá b́e yə ma ni yə yen wa  
 who ask PAST us yours then who say forbid QN.
- 147 kɔ ni tɛ yen wa?  
 kɔ ni tɛ yen wa  
 or who NEG. forbid QN.
- 148 ma b́o la ha nji baá kup,  
 ma b́o la ha nji baá kup  
 if they PAST give thing PAST all
- 149 wò sela sie baá b́e ma.  
 wò sela sie baá b́e ma  
 you cross take PRES. us then
- 150 Ma b́e la tue né jə kup, argi ama,  
 ma b́e la tue né jə kup argi ama  
 if we PAST say is say all moonshine but
- 151 njə bə́'é lɔ́ɔ bɔ́ɔ naá  
 njə bə́'é lɔ́ɔ bɔ́ɔ naá  
 thing harm village theirs PAST
- 152 à nji bu hən se yuo su naá ni wa?  
 à nji bu hən se yuo su naá ni wa  
 he thing it this NEG. leave again PAST who QN.
- 153 Wò le bie ka naá b́e, wò le né fə yə yen ŋgwə.  
 wò le bie ka naá b́e wò le né fə yə yen ŋgwə  
 you PAST ask at PAST us you PAST is head yours NEG.
- 154 B́e jə wa: yə yen. De ŋgwə jə: né wò. (3)  
 b́e jə wa yə yen de ŋgwə jə né wò  
 we say say yours stay NEG. say is you
- 155 Ma nuar mə b́o kwa baá guo nuar bu saá,  
 ma nuar mə b́o kwa baá guo nuar bu saá  
 if person with they find PRES. house person him that
- 156 nuar bu saá b́e ha bu ha ama də ju tabé,  
 nuar bu saá b́e ha bu ha ama də ju tabé  
 person him that we give him give but of talk earth
- 157 də saá chi sam ŋguə, nuar bu saá à ha haá  
 də saá chi sam ŋguə nuar bu saá à ha haá  
 of that this not NEG. person him that he give give-NEG.
- 158 Le mun mgbe jemu chu ŋguə.  
 le mun mgbe jemu chu ŋguə  
 PAST thus chief second return NEG.
- 159 ga; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
- 160 xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
- 161 Nj; Ngàm, mbɔ ŋgam yə,  
 ŋgàm mbɔ ŋgam yə  
 because divine divination yours
- 162 le né kə Kimi ama nji mə b́o ha b́e mə mgbe,

- le né kə Kimi ama nji mə bɔ́ ha bé mə mgbe  
 PAST is at Kimi but thing with they give us with chief
- 163 wò né kɔ́ jə yə Fakat  
 wò né kɔ́ jə yə fakat  
 you is know say say truly
- 164 Nji mə mgbe né ten yə  
 nji mə mgbe né ten yə  
 thing which chief is there-is say
- 165 nuar ma wò wa mə nji wò ha mə mgbe.  
 nuar ma wò wa mə nji wò ha mə mgbe  
 person if you arrive with thing you give with chief
- 166 Nuar ma wò bɔ́ ɲgwə ma, ju gi  
 nuar ma wò bɔ́ ɲgwə ma ju gi  
 person if you do NEG. then talk end
- 167 nuar ma wò kwa manji, wò ha mgbe.  
 nuar ma wò kwa manji wò ha mgbe  
 person if you find small you give chief
- 168 Bé kwa né bu kɔ́. Yar, saá ni,  
 bé kwa né bu kɔ́ yar saá ni  
 we put is it SUB.EMP. buffalo fate who
- 169 Ton saá ni, ni né ha nde né bu kɔ́ wa: cher nde.  
 ton saá ni ni né ha nde né bu kɔ́ wa cher  
 nde  
 elephant fate who who is give go is him SUB.EMP. say road  
 go
- 170 à cher nde saá ni. To à bɔ́ nyam, saá né hi wa?  
 à cher nde saá ni to à bɔ́ nyam saá né hi wa  
 he road go that who To he Pl. animal that is where QN.
- 171 Yar hən, né hi? Ton saá né hi?  
 yar hən né hi ton saá né hi  
 buffalo this is where elephant that is where
- 172 ɲgui saá né hi? Mbe saá, de sen kela le tu,  
 ɲgui saá né hi mbe saá de sen kela le  
 tu  
 leopard that is where chiefly-animals that of his pass in  
 before
- 173 kə kələhən bɔ́ bɔ́ yar di wula,  
 kə kələhən bɔ́ bɔ́ yar di wula  
 at now they Pl. buffalo some kill
- 174 bɔ́ bɔ́ njə kan wulaá  
 bɔ́ bɔ́ njə kan wulaá  
 they Pl. thing any kill-NEG
- Break in recording: change of tape
- 175 ch; ma ju di ya gi aá, bé wə su fə di.  
 ma ju di ya gi aá bé wə su fə di  
 if talk of yours end PAST.we take again head some
- 176 Nj; Duom le ɲgamə, le ɲgam mə nde kə to saá.  
 duom le ɲgamə le ɲgam mə nde kə to saá

- start in divination in divination which go at before that
- 177 To, bí bɔ̀, bí bɔ̀, bí ŋgaá,  
to bí bɔ̀ bí bɔ̀ bí ŋgaá  
So you Pl. you Pl. you clear
- 178 To, bí bɔ̀ nyu, bí bɔ̀ nyu mbam hən, chak.  
to bí bɔ̀ nyu bí bɔ̀ nyu mbam  
hən chak  
So you Pl. sister's-sons you Pl. sister's-sons Palace this  
all
- 179 Mì tue kwa bí də saá kɔ́  
mì tue kwa bí də saá kɔ́  
I say put you of that SUB.EMP.
- 180 Mì yə bí yə ma: nuar mə den baá də sen guo, nyima.  
mì yə bí yə ma nuar mə den baá də sen guo  
nyima  
I say you yours then person which stay PRES. of his house  
year
- 181 Mə à bə dua ku bə, né ni wa?  
mə à bə dua ku bə né ni wa  
with he we ask big we is who QN.
- 182 Kə kələhən, bí akili ju fə də de.  
kə kələhən bí akili ju fə də de  
at now you intelligence talk head of sing
- 183 Né bí fə waá ŋgue d|ə.  
né bí fə waá ŋgue d|ə  
is you head wash NEG. then
- 184 Kələhən, bí bɔ̀ nyu ka mbam hən dɔ́ŋ,  
kələhən bí bɔ̀ nyu ka mbam hən dɔ́ŋ  
now you Pl. sister's-sons at Palace this all
- 185 le naá bə Bam fa Bam taár bɔ́ ŋgue,  
le naá bə Bam fa Bam taár bɔ́ ŋgue  
PAST PAST we Bam two Bam three they understand
- 186 bɔ́ jə: baá su Bam fa Bam taár  
bɔ́ jə baá su Bam fa Bam taár  
they say PRES. again Bam two Bam three
- 187 bɔ́ ŋgue bɔ́ wa baá fə. baá su...  
bɔ́ ŋgue bɔ́ wa baá fə baá su  
they understand they wash PRES. head PRES. again
- 188 Kə kələhən jɔ́r ŋguə bie yə gia də bí nde a.  
kə kələhən jɔ́r ŋguə bie yə gia də bí nde a bí  
at now expletive NEG. ask yours end of you go to you
- 189 Bí bɔ́ né nan,  
bí bɔ́ né nan  
you do is how
- 190 bí fə wa ŋgue yə. Né baá mən oh?  
nan bí fə wa ŋgue yə né baá mən oh  
how you head wash NEG. NEG. is good thus QN.
- 191 Ga; Ndema, bɔ́ kɔ̀ bɔ̀ ndema bɔ́ fam fə mə nji.

ndema bó kɔ̀ b̀ ndema bó fam fə mə nji  
palm-wine they cut Pl. palm-wine they spurt head with thing

192 Nj; Bó fə wa ɲgwe yə.  
bó fə wa ɲgwe yə  
they head wash NEG. NEG.

193 Né b́ Bam fa, Bam taár Bam tin wa b́.  
né b́ bam fa Bam taár Bam tin wa b́  
is we two Bam three Bam five arrive us

194 Né b́ Bam chén Bam fa bó ɲue jə: bó wa baá fə.  
né b́ bam chén bam fa bó ɲue jə bó wa baá  
fə  
is we one two they understand say they wash PAST.  
head

195 Nuar mə de ka dua, à b́ ɲɔr ku b́ yə <1  
nuar mə de ka dua à b́ ɲɔr ku b́ yə  
person with stay at there he place body wash place yours

Lɔ̀bɔ̀n 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 Somié to Sambalambo and Banyo as well as the new road to Bankim via Nyamboya.

196 ch; To jemu saá ju... wò kɔ̀ né le...  
to jemu saá ju wò kɔ̀ né le...  
To after that talk you know is in...

197 le chiə yula chop chén,  
le chiə yula chop chén  
in day ten and-numeral one

198 le wə mə keləhən də, b̀ Mbor b̀, bó le naá dənə.  
le wə mə keləhən də b̀ Mbor b̀ bó le naá dənə  
in moon which now of Pl. Mbor Pl. they PAST PAST here

199 (2) Bó le wa baá dənə, (1) tap kum né b̀ leteni nuar.  
bó le wa baá dənə tap kum né b̀ leteni nuar  
they PAST arrive PAST here war old is do between person

200 Jemu saá ma bí () bí chulu baá sòn, bí nyən nji tap də. (3)  
jemu saá ma bí bí chulu baá sòn bí nyən nji  
tap də  
war of  
after that if you you close PRES. mouth you forget thing

201 Bó le wa baá dənə, edeku mə bí wa chili né ju,  
bó le wa baá dənə edeku mə bí wa chili né  
ju  
they PAST arrive PRES. here begin with you arrive close? is  
talk

202 bí né kɔ̀ ndeka ka tu:  
bí né kɔ̀ ndeka ka tu  
you is know from at before

203 ma bó le wa baá dənə baá mbi mbɔɲ mba.()  
ma bó le wa baá dənə baá mbi mbɔɲ mba  
if they PAST arrive PRES. here PRES. occasion many freely

204 Derua naá, bó mə fə bon ma.

- derua naá bó mə fə bon ma  
paper PAST they with head theirs then
- 205 Bam mbiliŋ mbɔŋ bó naá dənə nde.(1)  
bam mbiliŋ mbɔŋ bó naá dənə nde  
Bam times many they PAST here go
- 206 To lu hən bé le chɔ baá sua dənə, (3)  
to lu hən bé le chɔ baá sua dənə  
before day this we PAST chop PRES. sua here
- 207 bí ɲene ɲɔɔr mə kela mana jemu hən  
bí ɲene ɲɔɔr mə kela mana jemu hən  
you see declaration with pass thus after this
- 208 mə nde maá hən pat, (2)  
mə nde maá hən pat  
which go very this all
- 209 né ɲɔɔr bó yə.  
né ɲɔɔr bó yə  
is speech they yours
- 210 Wa ka to yə, yuo yə ɲɔɔr gəchén ()  
wa ka to yə yuo yə ɲɔɔr gəchén  
say at before you leave yours declaration true
- 211 Nuar kan yuo dənə nde nde Mbor.  
nuar kan yuo dənə nde nde Mbor  
person anyone leave here go go Mbor
- 212 Aáa bó yə man: aá bó yə Bò Ndeba,  
aáa bó yə man aá bó yə bò Ndeba  
aáa they say thus PAST they eat Pl. Ndeba
- 213 bó né man. Aáa bó yə man.  
bó né man aáa bó yə man  
they is thus aáa they eat thus
- 214 Yuo gə Mbor, nde dənə, bó tue mena:  
yuo gə Mbor nde dənə bó tue mena  
leave at Mbor go here they say thus
- 215 Yuo dənə nde nde gə  
yuo dənə nde nde gə  
leave here go go at
- 216 Mbor bó tue mena.(2)  
Mbor bó tue mena  
Mbor they say thus
- 217 To, () dənə bé le chɔ baá sua le lɔŋ bu saá  
to dənə bé le chɔ baá sua le lɔŋ bu saá  
To here we PAST chop PRES. sua in gap her that
- 218 Nuar nji mə wò nde né tue, wò wa Mbor,  
nuar nji mə wò nde né tue wò wa mbor  
person thing which you go is say you arrive
- 219 mə wò lɔ́ hən nji mə wò nde né tue.  
mə wò lɔ́ hən nji mə wò nde né tue  
with you village this thing with you go is say

- 220 Nji saá faket wò naá ñgue mə tie yə,  
nji saá faket wò naá ñgue mə tie yə  
thing that true you PAST listen with ears yours
- 221 mə chiə kɔ mə ma bó bie wò,  
mə chiə kɔ mə ma bó bie wò  
with day even that if they ask you
- 222 mə wò nuar wò nde né bu fela.  
mə wò nuar wò nde né bu fela  
with you person you go is him listen
- 223 () Ça y est. Ma jə də wò munu wò né mba,  
ça y est ma jə də wò munu wò né mba  
ça y est if say of you think you is freely
- 224 allah wò wa dənə wò tue, () ma wò yuo dənə,  
allah wò wa dənə wò tue ma wò yuo dənə  
allah you arrive here you say if you leave here
- 225 wò wa Mbor wò tue, wò yila le bù sua naá də ma,  
wò wa Mbor wò tue wò yila le bù sua naá də ma  
you arrive Mbor you say you enter in knife sua PAST of then
- 226 Ma ma wò jə... ma ma bó sie kwa naá wò baá kə???  
ma ma wò jə... ma ma bó sie kwa naá wò baá kə  
if if you say... if if they take put PAST you PRES. at
- 227 bó bie kwa né fada nyən,  
bó bie kwa né fada nyən  
they ask find is like lies
- 228 baá kə bó sie kwa naá wò fada nyən, ma wò né bɔ Mbor,  
baá kə bó sie kwa naá wò fada nyən ma wò né bɔ  
mbor  
PRES. at they take find PAST you like lies if you is Pl.
- 229 wò né kop Mbor ma, le main yə né boro yula.  
wò né kop Mbor ma le main yə né boro yula  
you is side Mbor then PAST main yours is thousand ten
- 230 Ma wò né kop dənə ma le main yə né boro yula ndo.  
ma wò né kop dənə ma le main yə né boro yula ndo  
if you is side here then in hand yours is thousand ten  
also
- 231 Nj; Mgbe Mbor yila mə bɔ və kən ma,  
mgbe Mbor yila mə bɔ və kən ma  
chief Mbor call with Pl. woman already then
- 232 à le dənə, à yila bɔ və.  
à le dənə à yila bɔ və  
he PAST here he call Pl. woman
- 233 bó yə: sam  
bó yə sam  
they say not

Section not transcribed: Lɔbɔn 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 pice 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; də hen sɔgɔ bɔ su ŋgaá su ŋgàm dənə bi...  
 də hen sɔgɔ bɔ su ŋgaá su ŋgàm dənə bi  
 of this only they again clear again because here thing
- 235 nji mə wò tue mì baá ŋgue naá ŋguə.  
 nji mə wò tue mì baá ŋgue naá ŋguə  
 thing with you say me good understand PAST NEG.
- 236 Bɔ su bɔ kwa bɔ nuar ustiar???  
 bɔ su bɔ kwa bɔ nuar ustiar  
 they again they find Pl. person few
- 237 Bb; Ndeka bé duom hən, ndeka bé duom hən də,  
 ndeka bé duom hən ndeka bé duom hən də  
 must we start this must we start this of
- 238 gəchén pat mə ndeka bé duom hən,  
 gəchén pat mə ndeka bé duom hən  
 true all with must we start this
- 239 ma nde bɔ gasi baá də, Usur usur Allah də,  
 ma nde bɔ gasi baá də usur usur allah də  
 if go they succinct PRES. of truly truly allah of
- 240 jemu saá, saá ŋga saá baá see ku  
 jemu saá saá ŋga saá baá see ku  
 after that that climb that PRES. work big
- 241 saá baá dua mə wò nde yə yue yue yə.  
 saá baá dua mə wò nde yə yue yue yə  
 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 ŋgue yə njai de fe di, né su dua ten.  
 de ŋgue yə njai de fe di né su dua ten  
 stay NEG. say thing of new some is again there there-is
- 244 Nji chum chum.  
 nji 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 yɔr yə  
 ma wò wa baá see kuú ma wò kwa nji yɔr yə  
 if you arrive PRES. work big if you find thing body yours
- 247 Nj; bɔ bɔɔ ten: bɔ bɔɔ mani tə huane ee ee,  
 bɔ bɔɔ ten bɔ bɔɔ mani tə huane ee ee  
 they do there-is they do thus so child
- 248 bɔ bɔɔ mani tə huan jə: ee ee. ??



- bó bɔ́ mani tə huan jə ee ee  
they do thus so child say
- 249 Bə yuo bə kwa né sua  
bə yuo bə kwa né sua  
we leave we put is sua
- 250 ha mə bu kuó nde sua ndo lu.  
ha mə bu kuó nde sua ndo lu  
until with he die go sua also freely
- 251 sua né su ten bí wə cho  
sua né su ten bí wə cho  
sua is again there-is you take chop
- 252 KG; Də mò mì tue mə Njai hən, tue né bí:  
də mò mì tue mə Njai hən tue né bí  
of me I say with Njai this say is you
- 253 kɔ́go, kɔ́ mena sua,  
kɔ́go kɔ́ mena sua  
stool or thus sua
- 254 Mavə den tə tabé, bu naga: Ma mì naá bu cher.<= Laughter  
mavə den tə tabé bu naga ma mì naá bu cher.  
woman stays at earth she lick if I lick it road
- 255 Nj; BT de yə  
BT de yə  
BT of yours
- 256 Bt; Də mò mì tue sɔ́n jə né kə wa?  
də mò mì tue sɔ́n jə né kə wa  
of me I say mouth say is what QN.
- 257 Gi né ka fada bə mì tue naá hən  
gi né ka fada bə mì tue naá hən  
end is at like place I say PAST this
- 258 Kp; ham ŋgue yə bí bu cher na baá bə chén-e wa?  
ham ŋgue yə bí bu cher na baá bə chén-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 ŋgwə jə à kwa nyí guo mə bɔ́ cher na kɔ́  
den ŋgwə jə à kwa nyí guo mə bɔ́ cher na  
kɔ́  
stay NEG. say she find speaker house with they sleep PAST  
SUB.EMP.
- 262 nyí kulu naá bu lu ma  
nyí kulu naá bu lu ma  
speaker bless PAST her anyway then
- 263 Bt; mì tue ŋgwə də jemu bu bu cher de,  
mì tue ŋgwə də jemu bu bu cher de



- from day-before-yesterday day-before-yesterday
- 279 bí na mì bade àngwə mì tue né nan  
 bí na mì bade àngwə mì tue né nan  
 you PAST I approach NEG. I say is how
- 280 Ga; ama, à baá mə cafe cafe tue,  
 ama à baá mə cafe cafe tue  
 but he PRES. with coffee coffee say
- 281 saá à né kɔ də yə né gəchén  
 saá à né kɔ də yə né gəchén  
 that he is know of say is true
- 282 xx; xxxxxxxx  
 xxxxxxxx
- 283 Nj; ama wò baá ju cafe tue, saá kɔ jə né gəchén,  
 ama wò baá ju cafe tue saá kɔ jə né gəchén  
 but you PRES. talk coffee say that know say is true
- 284 ha jemu cafe tue saá né gəchén  
 ha jemu cafe tue saá né gəchén  
 until after coffee say that is true
- 285 xx; xxxxxxxx  
 xxxxxxxx
- 286 Nj; wò baá ju cafe tue, saá kɔ jə né gəchén,  
 wò baá ju cafe tue saá kɔ jə né gəchén  
 you PRES. talk coffee say that know say is true
- 287 ha jemu cafe tue saá né gəchén  
 ha jemu cafe tue saá né gəchén  
 until after coffee say that is true
- 288 Bt; Mì kɔ nan. Mì ha njə rə di kɔ ŋwə  
 mì kɔ nan mì ha njə rə di kɔ ŋwə  
 I know how I give thing again some know NEG.
- 289 Nj; də nyí kɔ ŋwə, tue kum manji ma nji naga,  
 də nyí kɔ ŋwə tue kum manji ma nji naga  
 of speaker know NEG. say just small if thing lick
- 290 bó bɔ́ naga wanyu, à tue su a nyí go mba mwə cafe  
 bó bɔ́ naga wanyu à tue su a nyí go mba mwə  
 cafe  
 they do lick else he say again to speaker walk freely  
 field coffee
- 291 Ch; xxxxxxxx kadi  
 xxxxxxxx kadi  
 xxxxxxxx really
- 292 Bt; Ma njai naga bó... bó né kɔ́  
 ma njai naga bó... bó né kɔ́  
 if thing lick they they is SUB.EMP.
- 293 Nj; Bó bie naga nji mə man, mə man yə.  
 bó bie naga nji mə man mə man yə  
 they ask lick thing with small with small yours

- 294 Də mò kum, mì tue naá bí, fà dón bí yə,  
 də mò kum mì tue naá bí fà dón bí yə  
 of me just I say PAST you two all you yours
- 295 mì bí kɔ la bu,  
 mì bí kɔ la bu  
 I you know PAST her
- 296 bí tə chum. Sua bɔn njai tale bɔ  
 bí tə chum sua bɔn njai tale bɔ  
 you NEG. refuse sua theirs thing tradition? theirs
- 297 Ga; Chum də né njai mba  
 chum də né njai mba  
 refuse of is thing freely
- 298 KG; Də mò kum, mì njulu njə kɔ ɲgwə  
 də mò kum mì njulu njə kɔ ɲgwə  
 of me just I eyes thing know NEG.
- 299 də mò mì njərədi kɔ ɲgwə  
 də mò mì njərədi kɔ ɲgwə  
 of me I something know NEG.
- 300 Ta; huɔm ɲgwə.  
 huɔm ɲgwə  
 good NEG.
- 301 Dənə bɔ kwɔɔ baá kwɔɔ kwɔɔ ha bɔ sie baá wɔ nde né.  
 dənə bɔ kwɔɔ baá kwɔɔ kwɔɔ ha bɔ sie baá wɔ  
 nde né  
 here they chase PRES. chase chase until they take PRES. you  
 go is
- 302 Mən, huɔm ɲgwə.  
 mən huɔm ɲgwə  
 thus good NEG.
- 303 Ga; wɔ seé də mə (dade,dada?) baá də saá baá seé  
 wɔ seé də mə (dade,dada) baá də saá baá seé  
 you work of with exceed PRES. of that PRES. work
- 304 Nj; To bí ɲgwə ye, bí ma yila baá bu, ma à wa baá dənə  
 to bí ɲgwə ye bí ma yila baá bu ma à wa  
 baá dənə  
 To you listen yours you "really" call PRES. her if she  
 arrive PRES. here
- 305 KG; bɔ kwa nji tə tabe, bɔ bu naga.  
 bɔ kwa nji tə tabe bɔ bu naga  
 they put thing at earth we it lick
- 306 Oui, bɔ kwa nji tə tabe, bɔ bu naga.  
 oui bɔ kwa nji tə tabe bɔ bu naga  
 oui they put thing at earth we it lick
- 307 Bt?; Ndeka mə à wa baá tu, ndeka bɔ ɲene  
 ndeka mə à wa baá tu ndeka bɔ ɲene  
 must with she arrive PRES. before must we see
- 308 Ga; bɔ le naga naá le jemu wa kɔ de bɔ naga nde kələhən wa? ()  
 bɔ le naga naá le jemu wa kɔ de bɔ naga nde  
 kələhən wa

- they PAST lick PAST in after QN. or of they lick go now  
 QN.
- 309 Nj; bí ɣue nji mì gwan à tue kə kələhən.  
 bí ɣue nji mì gwan à tue kə kələhən  
 you listen thing I want to say at now
- 310 Kənə ju baá be m̀.  
 kənə ju baá be m̀  
 now talk PRES. hand mine
- 311 mì ɣgue né BT kənəhən na ke sum ???ge yə hen nan  
 mì ɣgue né BT kənəhən na ke sum ge yə  
 hen nan  
 I understand is BT now PAST look remove divide yours  
 this how
- 312 () ɣgam tue né nji wa:  
 ɣgam tue né nji wa  
 because say is thing say
- 313 Sua hən né njai chum,  
 sua hən né njai chum  
 sua this is thing old
- 314 den ɣgwə nji fe di.  
 den ɣgwə nji fe di  
 stay NEG. thing new some
- 315 Né njai tal bó, də tal bó rə,  
 né njai tal bó də tal bó rə  
 is thing old they of old they again
- 316 bé wa kwa naá Sua chiə.  
 bé wa kwa naá sua chiə  
 we arrive put PAST sua outside
- 317 Sua rə né njai tal bó,  
 sua rə né njai tal bó  
 sua again is thing old them
- 318 Bé hən də, bé nde kuó gi ləm sua.  
 bé hən də bé nde kuó gi ləm sua  
 we this of we go die end only sua
- 319 Ẁ ɣgue na mba le kuó naá nuar  
 ẁ ɣgue na mba le kuó naá nuar  
 you understand PAST freely PAST die PAST person
- 320 ẁ naá ju mbar tɔɔ tue,  
 ẁ naá ju mbar tɔɔ tue  
 you PAST talk square square say
- 321 à saá ju sie né nuar deɣgwə tu dɔɔɣ  
 à saá ju sie né nuar den né ɣgwə tu dɔɔɣ  
 he that talk take is person NEG. tree all
- 320 Kuɣ vous etes à la palace  
 321 tu va voir la monde rassembler  
 322 pour un jugement donc ce jugement  
 323 va toujours arreter une personne  
 324 et non que la jugement va arreter un morceau de bois

- 322 Ama bí kɔ baá kən,  
ama bí kɔ baá kən  
but you know PRES. already
- 323 bí tue jə bə kɔ baá.  
bí tue jə bə kɔ baá  
you say say we know PRES
- 324 Aa m̀ tue naá dənə jə,  
aa m̀ tue naá dənə jə  
aa I say PAST here say
- 325 ama bó yila wuli baá rə bu kən,  
ama bó yila wuli baá rə bu kən  
but they call bring PRES. again him already
- 326 ama à jə:  
ama à jə  
but he say
- 327 əhə nyí te tema bí.  
əhə nyí te tema bí  
no speaker NEG. send you
- 328 Bí tue bí nan wa?  
bí tue bí nan wa  
you say you how QN.
- 329 ndeka tu, mə bó né yə bu yila ɲgwe yə də,  
ndeka tu mə bó né yə bu yila ɲgwə yə də  
from before with they is say him call NEG. NEG. of
- 330 bí gwan, bí gwan ka den jə: nyí à.  
bí gwan bí gwan ka den jə nyí à  
you want you want at here say speaker to
- 331 Huru Kum baá də, né nji nyən.  
huru kum baá də né nji nyən  
shrink-away just PRES. of is thing lies
- 332 Mə wò bɔ́ ə-hə də, gwan né b̀ sadum.  
mə wò bɔ́ ə-hə də gwan né b̀ sadum  
with you do yes of want is Pl. hard
- 333 (3) To bí né kɔ də m̀ nde à lane dənə,  
to bí né kɔ də m̀ nde à lane dənə  
So you is know of me go to today here
- 334 ma chiə fada ???gwan-e m̀ nde suú () ke baá bu.()  
ma chiə fada ???gwan-e m̀ nde suú ke baá bu  
if day like want I go again-NEG look PRES. him
- 335 Kɔgɔ baji jaá wa? (2)  
kɔgɔ baji jaá wa  
stool laugh QN.
- 336 KG; aa nji né də m̀ sə kɔ ɲgwə,  
aa nji né də m̀ sə kɔ ɲgwə  
aa thing is of me NEG. know NEG.
- 337 m̀ gwan wə ka, əə m̀ jə m̀ kɔ baá wa?  
m̀ gwan wə ka əə m̀ jə m̀ kɔ baá wa  
I want take at I say I know PRES. QN.

- 338 Nj; Mì bie né ka də bie ni.(4)  
 mì bie né ka də bie ni  
 I ask is at of ask very??
- 339 KG; Ndeka mì tue jə fadə mə mì kɔ naá ndo  
 ndeka mì tue jə fadə mə mì kɔ naá ndo  
 must I say say like with I know PAST also  
 [
- 340 Nj; Ama() ha mə mgbe tema naá də,  
 ama ha mə mgbe tema naá də  
 but until with chief sends PAST of
- 341 tə tue mì kɔ də saa tə bə ɲue.  
 tə tue mì kɔ də saa tə bə ɲue  
 so say I know of that so we understand
- 342 Bí na kə Mbam hən, bí yila hapdi wa dua.  
 bí na kə Mbam hən bí yila hapdi wa dua  
 you PAST at Palace this you call fight arrive there
- 343 Bó wa, bó tue mì oho nyí kɔ ɲgwə.  
 bó wa bó tue mì oho nyí kɔ ɲgwə  
 they arrive they say me oho speaker know NEG.
- 344 Ko mena BT tue na mena, kɔɔ BT tue na mən.  
 ko mena BT tue na mena kɔɔ BT tue na mən  
 or thus BT say PAST thus even BT say PAST thus
- 345 BT də sen, à tue ɲə mì nyí kɔ né kɔɔ,  
 BT də sen à tue ɲgwə mì nyí kɔ né kɔɔ  
 BT of his he say NEG. me speaker know is SUB.EMP.
- 346 à tue ɲgə nyí kɔ né kɔɔ,  
 à tue ɲgə nyí kɔ né kɔɔ  
 he say NEG. speaker know is SUB.EMP.
- 347 də hən né ɲgàm nyí ??njərədi kɔ ɲguə.  
 də hən né ɲgàm nyí ??njərədi kɔ ɲguə  
 of this is because speaker something know NEG.
- 348 Ma bó gwan né baá nji ke, bó bɔɔ.  
 ma bó gwan né baá nji ke bó bɔɔ  
 if they want is PRES. thing look they do
- 349 XX; Sebatu yə  
 sebatu yə  
 goodbye yours
- 350 ch; To (1)  
 to  
 To
- 351 Nj; Bí gwan de bó yə, bó nde jə wa: bə kulu né sua nyən.  
 bí gwan de bó yə, bó nde jə wa bə kulu né sua nyən  
 you want of they say they go say say we bless is sua lies
- 352 Mì gwan né ɲguə. (2) Bə, bə tue né mì jə bí chu cham ndo,  
 mì gwan né ɲguə bə bə tue né mì jə bí chu cham ndo  
 I want is NEG. we we say is I say you return refuse then
- 353 ama də bí gwan né ɲguə ndo.(3)  
 ama də bí gwan né ɲguə ndo

- but of you want is NEG. also
- 354 Yaŋi; () nde a mì ndo, (barka mò, barkama).  
nde a mì ndo (barka mò, barkama)  
go to me then (fate mine fate)
- 355 Tue də mò né ka kiyə bə dapə.  
tue də mò né ka kiyə bə dapə  
say of me is at overthere place far
- 356 Né chi saá hən mì nde naá.  
né chi saá hən mì nde naá  
is that that this I go PAST
- 357 Mì mbo, mì ??mberi mba də njə: lu ??geri baá manji  
mì mbo mì ??mberi mba də njə lu geri baá manji  
I myself I consider freely of say day lean PRES. small
- 358 ??mì sə mun su nda sə chu??  
??mì sə mun su nda sə chu  
I NEG. thus again young men NEG. return
- 359 lu mbo geri su à manji mani əə mberi na njə:  
lu mbo geri su à manji mani əə mberi naá njə  
day itself lean again he small thus consider PAST thing
- 360 mì nde mì ɲene baá wò, saá tə  
mì nde mì ɲene baá wò saá tə  
I go I see PRES. you that so
- 361 mì bɔ́ɔ su a gu. à ke mì  
mì bɔ́ɔ su a gu à ke mì  
I do again to walk he look me
- 362 lè nde naá sarega guna mò gə ɲgwe,  
lè nde naá sarega guna mò gə ɲgwe  
in go PAST funeral-feast parent-in-law mine at ɲgwe
- 363 mì le naá kwa fa tap no kə ten ha.  
mì le naá kwa fa tap no kə ten ha  
I PAST 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 bɔ́ɔ tena sum də bu manji hən  
mì bó bɔ́ɔ tena sum də bu manji hən  
I them do cut-through remove of it small this
- 366 Yaŋi; Barka ma. Də mò, cher mò né dapsi,  
barka ma də mò cher mò né dapsi  
fate then of me road mine is long
- 367 de sen ɲwə à né ka lɔ́ɔ ma.  
de sen ɲwə à né ka lɔ́ɔ ma  
of his NEG. he is at village then
- 368 Ch; Sam, lane də lane à tene nde à ki chén.  
sam lane də lane à tene nde à ki chén  
not today of today he break go he at true
- 369 ɲaá ɲgwe bó chu



- ɲaga ɲgwə bɔ̄ chu  
 clear NEG. they return
- 370 Xx; xxxxxxxxxxxx
- 371 Ga; né njai kɔ̄go  
 né njai kɔ̄go  
 is thing stool
- 372 Bébé; à tue ɲene ɲgwe né nan nji à  
 à tue ɲene ɲgwe né nan nji à  
 he say see NEG. is how thing to
- 373 Ga; Də m̀ m̀ tue nji kɔ̄go  
 də m̀ m̀ tue nji kɔ̄go  
 of me I say thing stool
- 374 Bébé; xxxxxxxx
- 375 Nj; < Də m̀ m̀ bɔ̄ su rə kələhən wa? Də m̀ m̀ nde a.<=  
 Laughter  
 də m̀ m̀ bɔ̄ su rə kələhən wa də m̀ m̀ nde a  
 of me I do again again now QN. of me I go to
- 376 Ch; Də kələhən ju baá be bon.  
 də kələhən ju baá be bɔ̄ɔn  
 of now talk PRES. hand theirs
- 377 Ma né "əəə" né "əəə" ma, to.  
 ma né "əəə" né "əəə" ma to  
 if is yes is yes then So
- 378 Ma né "əhə" ma bə kela nde tə to nde.  
 ma né "əhə" ma bə kela nde tə to nde  
 if is no if we pass go so before go
- 379 NJ; Kələhən mɔ̄be a, hən () ju bɔ̄...  
 kələhən mɔ̄be a hən ju bɔ̄  
 now chief to this talk theirs
- 380 ju bɔ̄... Bɔ̄, bɔ̄, kɔ̄ bɔ̄ yila mavə,  
 ju bɔ̄... bɔ̄ bɔ̄ kɔ̄ bɔ̄ yila mavə  
 talk theirs They they even they enter woman
- 381 bɔ̄ bɔ̄ naga sua.  
 bɔ̄ bɔ̄ naga sua  
 they do lick sua
- 382 To ma m̀ chu chum m̀ jə:  
 to ma m̀ chu chum m̀ jə  
 So if I return return I say
- 383 buwada xxxxx bɔ̄ yila be bɔ̄ naga sua,  
 buwada xxxxx bɔ̄ yila be bɔ̄ naga sua  
 bush-knife they call hand theirs lick sua
- 384 ɲgàm m̀ munu ka le m̀.  
 ɲgàm m̀ munu ka le m̀  
 because I think at in mine
- 385 Ju mavə... ma die a tabé  
 ju mavə ma die a tabé  
 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 ɲuna ni wa  
naá ɲuna ni wa  
PAST child who QN.
- 388 To, () guna () see bé see ti,  
to guna see bé see ti  
So parent-in-law work we work stupid
- 389 bé kubu kubu ɲaga,  
bé kubu kubu ɲaga  
we open open clear
- 390 ɲaga bé dɔɲ pat kubu ti né ɲgwə ()  
ɲaga bé dɔɲ pat kubu ti né ɲgwə  
clear we all all open stupid is NEG.
- 391 To, njai mə bó tue naá,  
to njai mə bó tue naá  
To thing with they say PAST
- 392 wò ɲue né ɲue  
wò ɲue né ɲue  
you listen is listen
- 393 Bí né ???be sɔɔ kə be yə  
bí né ???be sɔɔ kə be yə  
you is hand only at hand yours
- 394 Ndeka bí be nyəgə su ndo.  
ndeka bí be nyəgə su ndo  
must you hand repair again also
- 395 gw; bon, Mì kum, ha kwə nde bɔ̄ huan  
bon mì kum ha kwə nde bɔ̄ huan  
bon I just until tomorrow come Pl. child
- 396 hən kum bí sum ɲwə mì njərədi  
hən kum bí sum ɲwə mì njərədi  
this just you remove NEG. me something
- 397 ndeka mì yuo tə tabé.  
ndeka mì yuo tə tabé  
must I leave at earth
- 398 Mì nə kɔ də jə ju sua  
mì nə kɔ də jə ju sua  
I is know of say talk sua
- 399 kə lɔ́ mɔ̄, nji mə mì kulu sam ɲwə.  
kə lɔ́ mɔ̄ nji mə mì kulu sam ɲwə  
at village mine thing which I bless not NEG.
- 400 Mì kwɔɔ kwa də lu,  
mì kwɔɔ kwa də lu  
I chase find of SUB.EMP.
- 401 bó di bó kwɔɔ kwa də lɔ́,  
bó di bó kwɔɔ kwa də lɔ́

- they other they chase find of village
- 402 bɔ̃ di kwɔ̃ɔ mən: kela baá bə̃ man.  
 bɔ̃ di kwɔ̃ɔ mən kela baá bə̃ man  
 they other chase thus pass PRES. place thus
- 403 Bu bɔ̃ mì tue né jə̃ ()  
 bu bɔ̃ mì tue né jə̃  
 he they me say is say
- 404 de ɲwə̃ jə̃ bɔ̃ bɔ̃ɔ̃ né mə̃ njə̃ man sam ɲwə̃  
 de ɲwə̃ jə̃ bɔ̃ bɔ̃ɔ̃ né mə̃ njə̃ man sam ɲwə̃  
 stay NEG. say they do is with thing small not NEG.
- 405 To mì () mavə̃ yila guo,  
 to mì mavə̃ yila guo  
 To I woman enter house
- 406 nde ma a yila guo,  
 nde ma a yila guo  
 go if she enter house
- 407 mì mbõ mì lugə̃ mə̃ njə̃. Né su lane wa.  
 mì mbõ mì lugə̃ mə̃ njə̃ né su lane wa  
 I myself I fight with thing is again today QN.
- 408 Nj; Né mena bon ma naá ɲgam ha naá wò kɔ̃  
 né mena bon ma naá ɲgam ha naá wò kɔ̃  
 is thus theirs if PAST divination until PAST you know
- 409 gw; Mì lugə̃ baá le lugə̃,  
 mì lugə̃ baá le lugə̃  
 I fight PRES. PAST fight
- 410 mì kela mì bie bu.  
 mì kela mì bie bu  
 I pass I ask her
- 411 Kə̃ kelə̃hən baán wa baá. Mì kwa tu mì ha nji bə̃rə̃di  
 kə̃ kelə̃hən baán wa baá mì kwa tu mì ha nji  
 bə̃rə̃di  
 at now illness arrive PRES. I find before me until  
 thing some-place
- 412 bɔ̃ tue yə̃ né gə̃chén baán bɔ̃ wa baá  
 bɔ̃ tue yə̃ né gə̃chén baán bɔ̃ 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 Və̃ mò mì ɲene né ma wò tue ɲwə̃ mbo  
 və̃ mò mì ɲene né ma wò tue ɲwə̃ mbo  
 woman mine I see is if you say NEG. freely
- 415 saá baán yila (1)  
 saá baán yila  
 that illness enter
- 416 Kɔ̃ si ma kwa mì jə̃ də̃ sen A kɔ̃ ɲwə̃, ???lu mì.  
 kɔ̃ si ma kwa mì jə̃ də̃ sen a kɔ̃ ɲwə̃ ???lu mì  
 even husband if find I say of his she know NEG freely me

- 417 No () ama wa: oui m̀i nde, nuar hən tue,  
no ama wa oui m̀i nde nuar hən tue  
also but say I go person this say
- 418 tue, nuar hən tue bu kɔ́ pht <= blows raspberry  
tue nuar hən tue bu kɔ́ pht  
say person this say him SUB.EMP.
- 419 Nde b̀ò mgbe bó yila bu kɔ́ pht <= blows raspberry  
nde b̀ò mgbe bó yila bu kɔ́ pht  
go Pl. chief they call her SUB.EMP.
- 420 nji mə ka () ndem ndem ()  
nji mə ka ndem ndem  
thing with at just-that
- 421 dua m̀i nuar njə, m̀i kwa kwa jə m̀i a : "əhə"  
dua m̀i nuar njə m̀i kwa kwa jə m̀i a "əhə"  
there I person that-one I put put say me to no
- 422 Ma né nyən, Ma né gəchén,  
ma né nyən ma né gəchén  
if is lies if is true
- 423 Nj; ha né ɲgam ɲgam  
ha né ɲgam ɲgam  
until is divination divination
- 424 gw; ma à wòɲ lu  
ma à wòɲ lu  
if he avoid SUB.EMP.
- 425 à tue né gəchén  
à tue né gəchén  
he say is true
- 426 Də mò, watene, bó mə m̀i yila jolɔ́ri də,  
də mò watene bó mə m̀i yila jolɔ́ri də  
of me say we which I call Palace of
- 427 m̀i tue né jə bó yila b̀ò huan  
m̀i tue né jə bó yila b̀ò huan  
I say is say they call Pl. child
- 428 ɲgàm tə m̀i bie fada sedako mò  
ɲgàm tə m̀i bie fada sedako mò  
because so I ask like witness mine
- 429 Nj; aha, né ka mun  
aha né ka mun  
mmhmm is at thus
- 430 gw; ma bó kɔ ɲgwə bó yuo nji bon.  
ma bó kɔ ɲgwə bó yuo nji bon  
if they know NEG. they leave thing theirs
- 431 To, də mò m̀i tue né jə kə keləhən lanen ()  
to də mò m̀i tue né jə kə keləhən lanen  
To of mine I say is say at now today
- 432 yuli fə hən bó,  
yuli fə hən bó

shame head this them

433 kenehən wə bu ma bɔ̃ kɔ̃ ɲgwə  
kenehən wə bu ma bɔ̃ kɔ̃ ɲgwə  
now take her then they know NEG.

434 bɔ̃ gwa cho sua mə bɔ̃ mə kə  
bɔ̃ gwa cho sua mə bɔ̃ mə kə  
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 of low volume on the tape.

435 Yuli bɔ̃ wò.  
yuli bɔ̃ wò  
shame do you

436 Nj; bɔ̃ ɲgwə, bɔ̃ ɲgwə, bɔ̃ ɲgwə  
bɔ̃ ɲgwə bɔ̃ ɲgwə bɔ̃ ɲgwə  
do NEG. do NEG. do NEG.

437 gw; To bí nde a. () Saá də mò ha gi a, hən gi a kən.  
to bí nde a saá də mò ha gi a hən gi a kən  
To you go to that of mine until end to this end to  
already

438 Nj; Sam ɲgwə nde bie ka bie ni. () Bie ka bie ni!  
sam ɲgwə nde bie ka bie ni bie ka bie ni  
not NEG. go ask at ask very ask at ask very

439 Bí tə cham de.  
bí tə cham de  
you NEG. refuse stay

440 gw; Bɔ̃ vulu. Də mò m̀i tue né jə bɔ̃ vulu  
bɔ̃ vulu də mò m̀i tue né jə bɔ̃ vulu  
they leave of me I say is say they leave

441 fabé m̀i tue né hən də. Gi né fabé mani  
fabé m̀i tue né hən də gi né fabé mani  
like I say is this of end is like thus

442 ng; Də be kum b́e bie nde su  
də be kum b́e bie nde su  
of hand old we ask go again-NEG

443 Nj; M̀i le cham sam ɲgwə.  
m̀i le cham sam ɲgwə  
I PAST refuse not NEG.

444 M̀i naá ha njai cham də sam ɲgwə  
m̀i naá ha njai cham də sam ɲgwə  
I PAST until thing refuse of not NEG.

445 gw; Də mò kum, m̀i gwan a gədə fabé hən  
də mò kum m̀i gwan a gədə fabé hən  
of me just I want to precisely like this

446 ng; Də mò, m̀i gwan fadə gədə hən  
də mò m̀i gwan fadə gədə hən  
of me I want like precisely this

- 447 Nj; Ju né sòn sam ɲgwə  
ju né sòn sam ɲgwə  
talk is mouth not NEG.
- 448 XX; NG a, də sen: a né mə sòn sam ɲgwə  
NG a də sen a né mə sòn sam ɲgwə  
NG to of his he is with mouth not NEG.
- 449 a dua tue né ki wa?  
a dua tue né ki wa  
he there say is what QN.
- 450 Yiangi; NG wò tue nde di ye né ki wa?  
NG wò tue nde di ye né ki wa  
NG you say go of yours is what QN.
- 451 Né tele yə né tue mə wò né də ye tue,  
né tele yə né tue mə wò né də ye tue  
is father yours is say with you is of yours say
- 452 saá dua tue wò kɔ né də yə kə ma  
saá dua tue wò kɔ né də yə kə ma  
that there say you know is of yours at then
- 453 Bb; Hən nji mə bə gwan né tue də, bí né də bí kɔ wa?  
hən nji mə bə gwan né tue də bí né də bí kɔ wa  
this thing with we want is say of you is of you know QN.
- 454 Nj; GW a, nji mə bɔɔ né wò né kɔ wa.  
GW a nji mə bɔɔ né wò né kɔ wa  
GW to thing which do is you is know QN.
- 455 Ju sua, sua né njai chum saá né talebo.  
ju sua sua né njai chum saá né talebo  
talk sua sua is thing old that is tradition
- 456 To ama bɔ nuar mə dənə jemu dua, bɔ tue yə:  
to ama bɔ nuar mə dənə jemu dua bɔ tue yə  
So but Pl. person with here after there they say say
- 457 də ɲenefi a tə sòn tue, am ɲwə lem né tele sen.  
də NG a tə sòn tue am ɲwə lem né tele sen  
of NG he at mouth say NEG. NEG. only is father his
- 458 Aáa bɔ chum ke né bɔ.  
aáa bɔ chum ke né bɔ  
aáa they refuse look is them
- 459 bɔ né gwan, ke né mənə bɔ. Sua né njai chum.  
bɔ né gwan ke né mənə bɔ sua né njai chum  
they is want look is thus them sua is thing old
- 460 Bb; Bí fa, bí yuo baá, gu bí yuo kela gə chiə də.  
bí fa bí yuo baá gu bí yuo kela gə chiə də  
you two you leave PRES. walk you leave pass at outside of
- 461 Ha mgbe a tue tue naá bí yə, bí ndée baá bí ndée baá.  
ha mgbe a tue tue naá bí yə bí ndée baá bí  
ndée baá  
until chief he say say PAST you yours you come PRES. you  
come PRES.

- 462 Țenedɔɔŋ; Aaa bí nde də bí hi wa?  
 aaa bí nde də bí hi wa  
 aaa you go of you where QN.
- 463 XX; Bí yuo kela kə chiə, mgbe sum naá bɔ kɔ waá  
 bí yuo kela kə chiə mgbe sum naá bɔ kɔ  
 waá  
 you leave pass at outside chief remove PAST them SUB.EMP.  
 QN.
- 464 Bb; Mgbe sum naá bí kɔɔ wa.  
 mgbe sum naá bí kɔɔ wa  
 chief remove PAST you SUB.EMP. QN.
- 465 Ama də a tue naá bí yə bí ndée baá də bí ndée.  
 ama də a tue naá bí yə bí ndée baá də 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; bɔ nde né hi wa?  
 bɔ nde né hi wa  
 they come is where QN.
- 468 Yiaŋi; Bí muyni  
 bí muyni  
 you patience
- 469 Nj; Mgbe də sen wa ŋgwə yə, ha də bí bí yuo baá jemu.  
 mgbe də sen wa ŋgwə yə ha də 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 m̀.  
 né njai kweka be m̀  
 is thing small hand mine
- 472 TT; Kadi də keləhən de, ma kɔ baá ẁ jə:  
 kadi də keləhən de ma kɔ baá ẁ jə  
 really of now of if know PRES. you say
- 473 əhə m̀ kɔ baá, ma kɔ ŋgwə,  
 əhə m̀ kɔ baá ma kɔ ŋgwə  
 yes I know PRES. if know NEG.
- 474 ẁ jə: əhə m̀ kɔ ŋgwə. Də saá gi né mena  
 ŋgwə ẁ jə əhə m̀ kɔ ŋgwə də saá gi né mena  
 you say yes I know NEG. of that end is thus
- 475 gw; Se bɔɔ, m̀ bie ŋgwə, ma m̀ bie baá kən,  
 se bɔɔ m̀ bie ŋgwə ma m̀ bie baá kən  
 NEG. do I ask NEG. if I ask PRES. already
- 476 sua m̀ sie ŋgwə.  
 sua m̀ sie ŋgwə  
 sua me take NEG.

- 477 Də mò mì wa leteni hən də, ma mì bie baá,  
 də mò mì wa leteni hən də ma mì bie baá  
 of me I arrive between this of if I ask PRES.
- 478 də mò gi né lem fada mən də.  
 də mò gi né lem fada mən də  
 of me end is only like thus of
- 479 Yiaŋi; əə baá baá BT  
 əə baá baá BT  
 PRES. PRES. BT
- 480 gw; Naá la gwan a, tə dole nji mə gi né sam ɲgwə,  
 naá la gwan a tə dole nji mə gi né sam ɲgwə  
 PAST PAST want to so cool thing which end is not NEG.
- 481 nji mə bɔ ɲene ɲgwə sam ɲgwə ndo.  
 nji mə bɔ ɲene ɲgwə sam ɲgwə ndo  
 thing with they see NEG. not NEG. also
- 482 ga; Də saá də, se den ɲgwə njə fe. Də saá,  
 də saá də se den ɲgwə njə fe də saá  
 of that of NEG. stay NEG. thing new of that
- 483 saá den né njai talebo.  
 saá den né njai talebo  
 that stay is thing old
- 484 Yiaŋi; To ke kələhən, bɔ bie nji mə bí.  
 to ke kələhən bɔ bie nji mə bí  
 To at now they ask thing with you
- 485 BT tə tabé leli mba mə bɔ kuku bɔ chərrep,  
 BT tə tabé leli mba mə bɔ kuku bɔ chərrep  
 at earth yesterday freely with Pl. elder Pl. quiet
- 486 mə bɔ tue nji mə bɔ hən də  
 mə bɔ tue nji mə bɔ hən də  
 which they say thing with they this of
- 487 tə tabé hən də, le ləm kɔ baá, bí bɔ kuku bɔ churəp.  
 tə tabé hən də le ləm kɔ baá bí bɔ kuku bɔ  
 churəp  
 at earth this of PAST only know PRES. you Pl. elder Pl.  
 quiet
- 488 Hən ma mì yila BT də, tue né yə: né neguŋ bé  
 hən ma mì yila BT də tue né yə né neguŋ bé  
 this if I call of say is yours is ancestors ours
- 489 Bb; də né a gwan də a tue də.  
 də né a gwan də a tue də  
 of is he want of he say of
- 490 Yiaŋi tue né jə: neguŋ mə yila né də ()  
 Yiaŋi tue né jə neguŋ mə yila né də  
 Yiaŋi say is say ancestors with call is of
- 491 Yiaŋi; To () kə kələhən mə nji saá kɔ huɔm né yə:  
 to kə kələhən mə nji saá kɔ huɔm né yə  
 To at now with thing that even good is say



- 492        ndeka wò yila wuli nuar ku di,  
 ndeka wò yila wuli nuar ku di  
 must you call bring person big some
- 493        bí nde gə jəmu wò tue bu yə: nyí kɔ baá saá.  
 bí nde gə jəmu wò tue bu yə nyí kɔ baá saá  
 you go at after you say him yours speaker know PRES. that
- 494        ɲgàm kə wa? Nuar mə bɔ kwa né bu le kɔgɔ hən.  
 ɲgàm kə wa nuar mə bɔ kwa né bu le kɔgɔ hən  
 because what QN. person with they put is him in stool this
- 495        Bɔ jə: a né huan mani, ama kə kələhən a baá nuar ku.  
 bɔ jə a né huan mani ama kə kələhən a baá nuar  
 ku  
 they say he is child small but at now he PRES. person  
 big
- 496        Jə: ma wò kɔ ɲgwə xxxxx jiba né ma wò jə nyí  
 jə ma wò kɔ ɲgwə xxxxx jiba né ma wò jə nyí  
 say if you know NEG. stop is if you say speaker
- 497        kɔ ɲgwə ndo saá wò kɔ ɲgwə.  
 kɔ ɲgwə ndo saá wò kɔ ɲgwə  
 know NEG. also that you know NEG.
- 498        Mì den dua ma kɔ ɲgwə wò jə nyí ko ɲgwə.  
 mì den dua ma kɔ ɲgwə wò jə nyí ko ɲgwə  
 I here ask if know NEG. you say speaker know NEG.
- 499        Ama wò kɔ baá wò yila wò nde né nuar ku di,  
 ama wò kɔ baá wò yila wò nde né nuar ku di  
 but you know PRES. you call you go is person big some
- 500        wò tue bu, wò jə bu a: nyí kɔ baá.  
 wò tue bu wò jə bu a nyí kɔ baá  
 you say him you say him to speaker know PRES.
- 501        ɲgàm le mɔgɔ GW fə né bə, bə lie.  
 ɲgàm le mɔgɔ GW fə né bə bə lie  
 because in group GW head is us we remain
- 502        Ma wò kɔ baá, kɔ wò ??tem na mena bu be tu lu,  
 ma wò kɔ baá kɔ wò ??tem na mena bu be tu  
 lu  
 if you know PRES. even you touch PAST thus her hand before  
 day
- 503        saá wò gwan.  
 saá wò gwan  
 that you want
- 504        Wa: wò foti baá də mə wò yila nuar di,  
 wa wò foti baá də mə wò yila nuar di  
 say you can PRES. of with you call person some
- 505        wò jə bu a ndée, də nyí kɔ baá,  
 wò jə bu a ndée də nyí kɔ baá  
 you say him to come of speaker know PRES.
- 506        nyí tema baá bu be tu lu.  
 nyí tema baá bu be tu lu  
 speaker send PRES. him hand before freely

- 507 Wò yila nuar di, wò tue bu a: fə-guli né nyí sie.  
wò yila nuar di wò tue bu a fə-guli né nyí sie  
you call person some you say him to shame is speaker take
- 508 Də hən né nji mə nyí bɔ́ naá. Nde tue bɔ́ yə.  
də hən né nji mə nyí bɔ́ naá nde tue bɔ́ yə  
of this is thing with speaker do PAST go say do yours
- 509 Ama də nyí bɔ́ baá man. Hən né ɲɔ́r də bé.  
ama də nyí bɔ́ baá man hən né ɲɔ́r də bé  
but of speaker do PRES. thus this is declaration of we
- 510 Bó kɔ́ né yə: də à né bə́ fabé man.  
bó kɔ́ né yə də à né bə́ fabé man  
they know is yours of it is place like thus
- 511 Yɔ́r bí yə duóm ɲɔ́: né njai chum.  
yɔ́r bí yə duóm ɲɔ́ né njai chum  
body you yours start NEG. is thing old
- 512 Ch; Bə́bə́ jɔ́ɔ́ nde ke ke di yə  
Bə́bə́ jɔ́ɔ́ nde ke ke di yə  
B|b| carry go look look of yours
- 513 Nj; Né njai chum, fə yɔ́r bí yə duóm ɲɔ́wə  
né njai chum fə yɔ́r bí yə duóm ɲɔ́wə  
is thing old shame body you yours start NEG.
- 514 ch; to bien sur ɲɔ́gue bó ɲue () də bé, bé,  
to bien sur ɲɔ́gue bó ɲue də bé bé  
So bien sur listen they listen of we we
- 515 bə́ kita bə́,  
bə́ kita bə́  
Pl. cases Pl.
- 516 wateni dole, bó gwan baá se yuo nde né mənə.  
wateni dole bó gwan baá se yuo nde né mənə  
say cool they want PRES. NEG. leave go is thus
- 517 Bó bɔ́ gwan mənə lane  
bó bɔ́ gwan mənə lane  
they do want thus today
- 518 wò tue menə "aha" mì la jə wò la jə əəəə  
wò tue menə "aha" mì la jə wò la jə əəəə  
you say thus no I PAST say you PAST say yes
- 519 e e yuo né ɲɔ́wə.  
e e yuo né ɲɔ́wə  
leave is NEG.
- 520 Də kita kam, ma nuar wa, ha nji a wò kita  
də kita kam ma nuar wa ha nji a wò kita  
of case just if person arrive until thing to you case
- 521 əhə wò bɔ́ ɲɔ́wə saá wò munu né,  
əhə wò bɔ́ ɲɔ́wə saá wò munu né  
no you do NEG that you think is
- 522 ma bó ha nji a kita rə, kita bɔ́ nde ne kɔ́.  
ma bó ha nji a kita rə kita bɔ́ nde né kɔ́

if they give thing to case again case do go is SUB.EMP.

- 523 Di yə bɔ́ ha nji kita parce que yɔ́ɔ ne lu.  
 di yə bɔ́ ha nji kita parce que yɔ́ɔ né lu  
 of yours they give thing case parce que surpass is day
- 524 Ga; xxxx
- 525 Ch; Wò wa le nji kita, də kita kam,  
 wò wa le nji kita də kita kam  
 you arrive in thing case of case just
- 526 useni ma nuar wa kita,  
 useni ma nuar wa kita  
 please if person arrive case
- 526 bí vulu tema tə ma nuar wa mə nji,  
 bí vulu tema tə ma nuar wa mə nji  
 you leave and so if person arrive with thing
- 527 wò jə: Mì yə bɔ́ di mən  
 wò jə: mì yə bɔ́ di mən  
 you say I say PL. some thus
- 528 Di yə kita sam ɲgwə. ə? Di yə kita sam ɲgwə.  
 di yə kita sam ɲgwə ə di yə kita sam ɲgwə  
 of yours case not NEG. of yours case not NEG.
- 529 Ma wò yuo wa də kita wò fela,  
 ma wò yuo wa də kita wò fela  
 if you leave arrive of case you like
- 530 bé xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx man  
 bé xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx man  
 we thus
- 531 wò fela, wò ke ka bé yuo kə tu  
 wò fela wò ke ka bé yuo kə tu  
 you listen you look at we leave at before
- 532 əhə, kita né baá man.  
 əhə kita né baá man  
 yes cases is PRES. thus
- 533 Gəchén, nyən, bɔ́ tare tare tare tare pat  
 gəchén nyən bɔ́ tare tare tare tare pat  
 true lies they hard hard hard hard all
- 534 gəchén bɔ́ nyən  
 gəchén bɔ́ nyən  
 true Pl. lies
- 535 Yiaɲi?; saá wò tue ɲgwə ha bɔ́ gi nde sòn bon  
 saá wò tue ɲgwə ha bɔ́ gi nde sòn bon  
 that you say NEG. until they end go mouth theirs
- 536 Ch; əhə, saá né kita  
 əhə saá né kita  
 yes that is case
- 537 Nj; xxxxxxxxxxxx  
 [
- 538 KG; xxxxxxxxxxxx

539 Ch; Bon  
bon  
bon

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.467 end of recording

Transcript with Glosses of Sua Kulu text discussed in main text  
Second Hearing

Speakers

Bb: Bəbə

Bt: one of the accused.

Ch: The Chief

Ga: Gamia

Gw: Ng's Father

Jb: Jacob

Kg: the other accused youth.

Kp: Kɔtap 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: Wiya Benjamin

t210a from 207a 238- fast speech in palace transcribed from a re-recorded version and then corrected from the original. I have marked (with "?") the points where due to the low quality of the recording and fast speech some detail has been lost (especially overlapping interjections). The flow of argument has, however, been preserved.

"???" marks unknown words, "xxx" marks untranscribable utterances, and "XX" unknown speakers.

- 1 Ny; Mì tue ɲgwə chi,  
mì tue ɲgwə chi  
I say NEG. that
- 2 XX; Hən hən hən  
hən hən hən  
This This This
- 3 Ny; səye, mì tue naá chi ndo, à tue ɲgwə nan?  
səye mì tue naá chi ndo à tue ɲgwə nan  
Saye I say PAST that "then" he say NEG. how
- 4 Bí jə wa: ma bó gwan baá kən, ma bɔ̃ gwan nji,  
bí jə wa ma bó gwan baá kən ma bɔ̃ gwan nji  
you say say if they want PRES already if they want thing
- 5 Ga; [ ]  
??mgbe bó kɔ́s tena ɲgwə ma  
??mgbe bó kɔ́s tena ɲgwə ma  
chief them SUB.EMP. take NEG. "really"
- 6 Ny; bó gwan baá kən ma. Ma bó gwan baá kən, bɔ̃ kulu sua  
bó gwan baá kən ma ma bó gwan baá  
kən bɔ̃ kulu sua  
they want PRES already "really" If they want PRES already  
they bless sua
- 7 də Gw à tue naa mən ma  
də Gw à tue naa mən ma  
of Gw he say PAST thus "really"
- 8 XX; xxxxx

- 9 Ny; Den ɲgwə à nde ne mə tɔgɔ wanyu.  
den ɲgwə à nde ne mə tɔgɔ wanyu  
Here NEG. he go is with quarrel surely
- 10 À tɔgɔ nde ɲgwə. (..) Bɔ̀ wə, à tue ləm ne də mane.()  
À tɔgɔ nde ɲgwə bɔ̀ wə à tue ləm ne də mane  
he quarrel go NEG. they take he say only is of thus  
[ ]
- 11 Mb; nde ɲgwə  
nde ɲgwə  
go NEG.
- 12 Ny; Bɪ mbo ma la ne le... Njue yə.ne gəchén wa.?  
bɪ mbo ma la ne le ɲgue yə...ne gəchén wa  
you divine then PAST is PAST listen yours at true QN.  
[ ]
- 13 Nj; Aaa m̀, nuar njə mba, ama bɔ̀, ma bɔ̀ gwan ne ɲgwə sua kulu,  
aaa m̀ nuar njə mba ama bɔ̀ ma bɔ̀ gwan ne ɲgwə sua  
kulu  
me person say freely but they if they want is NEG.  
bless
- 14 wò nde ne mən mba wa?  
wò nde ne mən mba wa  
you go is thus freely QN.
- 15 Ga; Ama lane, bɔ̀ kulu ndugu mba wa?  
ama lane bɔ̀ kulu ndugu mba wa  
but today they bless mendaciously? freely QN.
- 16 Mb; Bɔ̀ nji ləm ne yɔr bɔ̀ɔ...  
bɔ̀ nji ləm ne yɔr bɔ̀ɔ  
Pl. thing only is body theirs
- 17 bɔ̀ chén di ne dənə, chén di ne wa ɲgwə yə  
bɔ̀ chén di ne dənə, chén di ne wa ɲgwə yə  
they one some is here one some is arrive NEG. NEG.  
[ ]
- 18 XX; əhəə  
yes
- 19 Mb; bɔ̀ gwan ne sɔn, bɔ̀ dɔɔɲ  
bɔ̀ gwan ne sɔn bɔ̀ dɔɔɲ  
they want is mouth them all
- 20 Ny; dɔɔɲ dɔɔɲ ne gəchén wa. Guna dɔɔɲ ne ???chaɲi  
dɔɔɲ dɔɔɲ ne gəchén wa guna dɔɔɲ ne ???chaɲi  
all all is at true QN. son-in-law all is ???change
- 21 Jb; M̀ tue ngwə  
m̀ tue ngwə  
I say NEG.
- 22 Mb; xxxxxxx nyí kɔ ləm ne bɔ̀ tele,  
xxxxxxx nyí kɔ ləm ne bɔ̀ tele  
speaker know only is Pl. father
- 23 Gw; À mbo tele ɲgam... mə huan xxxxx  
À mbo tele ɲgam mə huan xxxxx  
he divines father because with child
- 24 Ny; dɔɔɲ ne gi ki chén.

- dɔ́ɔ́ŋ ne gi ki chén  
all is end at one
- 25 AA sòn baá dɔ́ɔ́ŋ pat ne gi ki chén məna.  
aa sòn baá dɔ́ɔ́ŋ pat ne gi ki chén məna  
aa mouth PRES. all all is end at one thus
- 26 Gw; Bò tele dɔ́ɔ́ŋ ne ki chén  
bò tele dɔ́ɔ́ŋ ne ki chén  
Pl. father all is at one
- 27 Nj; əəə əəə əəə
- 28 Gw; Ngue yə, ŋue yə. Wò ŋue də ŋue.  
ŋgue yə ŋgue yə wò ŋue də ŋue  
listen yours listen yours you listen of listen
- 29 Mì tue ŋgwə yə: tele. Mì kɔ tele də hi?  
mì tue ŋgwə yə tele mì kɔ tele də hi  
I say NEG. say father I know father of where
- 30 Mì jə: mì kɔ ləm ne tele.  
mì jə mì kɔ ləm ne tele  
I say I know only is father
- 31 Tele mò Lucas bɔ́ Mgbe.  
tele mò Lucas bɔ́ mgbe  
father mine Lucas Pl. chief
- 32 Mì tue ŋgwə tele: wò bie nji wa?  
mì tue ŋgwə tele wò bie nji wa  
me say NEG. father you ask thing QN.
- 33 aa (.) Wò tue mì: (.) mì jə mì kɔ ləm ne bɔ́ tele,  
aa wò tue mì mì jə mì kɔ ləm ne bɔ́ tele  
aa you say me I say I know only is Pl. father
- 34 də mə ve ne hən də.  
də mə ve ne hən də  
of with woman is This of
- 35 Ma bɔ́ jə bɔ́ wə nde ne ki wa?  
ma bɔ́ jə bɔ́ wə nde ne ki wa  
If they say they take go is at QN.
- 36 bɔ́ nde kalɔ́n be yə, bɔ́ nde nji bɔ́ kɔ Ngaundere nde.  
bɔ́ nde kalɔ́n be yə bɔ́ nde nji bɔ́ kɔ́  
ngaundere nde  
they go money hand yours they go thing do SUB.EMP.  
ngaundere go
- 37 bɔ́ nde lɔ́ wa?  
bɔ́ nde lɔ́ wa  
they go treat QN.
- 38 ???Keri bu bɔ́ tue wò, tə bɔ́ kulu sum.  
???keri bu bɔ́ tue wò tə bɔ́ kulu sum  
If him they say you so they bless remove
- 39 Nj; əəə dɔ́ɔ́ŋ xxxxx  
əəə dɔ́ɔ́ŋ xxxxx  
əəə all xxxxx

- 40 Gw; [
   
Mì bie ke ne mæ bð tele.
   
mì bie ke ne mæ bð tele
   
I ask look is with Pl. father
- 41 Nj; aa dua dua kə kələhən tele ten am ne ɲgwə,
   
aa dua dua kə kələhən tele ten am ne ɲgwə
   
aa there there at now father there-is NEG. is NEG.
- 42 GA bð mgbe ten am ne ɲgwə.
   
GA bð mgbe ten am ne ɲgwə
   
GamgbeA Pl. chief there-is NEG. is NEG.
- 43 Ma və saa mæ bɔ̄ nde bu jogo,
   
ma və saa mæ bɔ̄ nde bu jogo
   
If woman that with they go her marry
- 44 bð tele tema naá bu kɔ́ɔ̄ wa.
   
bð tele tema naá bu kɔ́ɔ̄ wa
   
Pl. father sends PAST her SUB.EMP. QN.
   
[ ]
- 45 Gw; Ju jɔ̄gɔ̄ naa kpoɲ ju ve naá (.) Mì jə bí vulu.
   
ju jɔ̄gɔ̄ naa kpoɲ ju ve naá mì jə bí vulu
   
talk marry PAST main-road talk bad PAST I say you leave
- 46 Ga?; Mgbe kɔ́ɔ̄ ten am ɲgwə
   
mgbe kɔ́ɔ̄ ten am ɲgwə
   
chief SUB.EMP. there-is NEG. NEG.
- 47 XX; xxxxxxxx bə naga ɲgwə
   
xxxxxxx bə naga ɲgwə
   
we lick NEG.
   
[ ]
- 48 xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx ma bə naga ɲgwə
   
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx ma bə naga ɲgwə
   
if we lick NEG.
   
[ ]
- 49 Gw; xxxx xxx () xxxx ɲene
   
xxxx xxx xxxx ɲene
- 50 NG; mgbe kə ter tue nde ki yə den ka noɲ
   
mgbe kə ter tue nde ki yə den ka noɲ
   
chief at up say go at yours stay at peace
   
[ ]
- 51 Gw; Sua kulu ne ɲgwə
   
sua kulu ne ɲgwə
   
sua bless is NEG.
- 52 Ng; Ju kənəhən ne be bɔ̄ (.) bð chok hən də.
   
ju kənəhən ne be bɔ̄ (.) bð chok hən də
   
talk now is hand theirs (.) PL. clothing this so
- 53 Bɔ̄ mæ tuɲ baá ju=
   
bɔ̄ mæ tuɲ baá ju
   
they that organise PRES. case
- 54 Gw; =aa hən ne kə wa
   
aa hən ne kə wa
   
This is what QN.
- 55 Ng; Mgbe kiyə à tue nde ne bɔ̄ kə.
   
mgbe kiyə à tue nde ne bɔ̄ kə
   
chief overthere he say go is them what



- 56 Də bí, bí tue nde ne mgbe a, nyə- nyəgə ma.  
də bí bí tue nde ne mgbe a nyə- nyəgə ma  
of you you say go is chief at rep- repair then
- 57 Ama bí nde ne kulu sum nde ne sua ma  
ama bí nde ne kulu sum nde ne 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; Mì jə mgbe a  
mì jə mgbe a  
I say chief to  
[
- 60 Gw; Ju ne man bé ɲela nji mani,  
ju ne man bé ɲela nji mani  
talk is thus we roast thing thus
- 61 Mì tue bí a, mì kɔ ləm ne bɔ tele tele tele  
mì tue bí a mì kɔ ləm ne bɔ tele tele tele  
I say you to I know only is Pl. father father father  
[
- 62 Nj; Mì jə wa: ha bí jə aa mgbe a,  
mì jə wa ha bí jə aa mgbe a  
I say say Until you say PAST chief to
- 63 Gw; Tele tue nde ne kɔɔ.  
tele tue nde ne kɔɔ  
father say go is SUB.EMP.  
[
- 64 Nj; mgbe le naa tue jə bɔ huan a  
mgbe le naa tue jə bɔ huan a  
chief PAST PAST say say Pl. child to
- 65 Gw; Mə tele tue jə: əə bé vulu(.) nyí(.) nyí kɔ ne kɔ  
mə tele tue jə əə bé vulu nyí nyí kɔ ne kɔ  
with father say say we leave speaker speaker know is  
know  
[
- 66 Nj; bɔ nde bé sip wa? Ha nyí, nyí tue nde ne bɔ ɲuna nyí,  
bɔ nde bé sip wa ha nyí nyí tue nde ne bɔ  
ɲuna nyí  
they go we male QN. Until speaker speaker say go is Pl.  
child his
- 67 Gw; À tue mə wa par sɔn sen  
À tue mə wa par sɔn sen  
he say with say lip mouth his
- 68 Nj; Jə nyí a: bɔ nde ne jɔgɔ, bɔ jɔgɔ ma  
jə nyí a bɔ nde ne jɔgɔ bɔ jɔgɔ ma  
say speaker to they go is marry they marry then
- 69 Gw; Mə na hiun mì tue a njərədi, bɔ wula mì.  
mə na hiun mì tue a njərədi bɔ wula mì  
with PAST different I say at something they kill me  
[
- 70 Nj; Huan sip ne man, ma və ne man, .bɔ ne ki chén  
Huan sip ne man, mavə ne man, .bɔ ne ki chén  
child male is thus woman is thus they is at one

- 71 Gw; Ma tele jə: nyí wəp nde ne nji yə gwom,  
 ma tele jə nyí wəp nde ne nji yə gwom  
 If father say speaker control go is thing yours pay
- 72 m̀̀ m̀̀ ma nji b́n tue, chaŋ à wula m̀̀ nda.  
 m̀̀ m̀̀ ma nji b́n tue chaŋ à wula m̀̀ nda  
 I I if thing illness say chaŋ it kill me also
- 73 Allah m̀̀ yuo, bí b́ó sum nji dənə.=  
 allah m̀̀ yuo bí b́ó sum nji dənə  
 I leave you do remove thing
- 74 Nj; =Ma b́ó naa mən, b̀ huan sip naa mənə, b́ kwa-re yə.  
 ma b́ó naa mən b̀ huan sip naa mənə b́ kwa-re yə  
 if they PAST thus Pl. child male PAST thus we put yours
- 75 Ga; b́ó kɔ ne yə:=  
 b́ó kɔ ne yə  
 they know is say
- 76 Gw; =??xxx b̀ ju mavə mə huan sep,  
 ??xxx b̀ ju mavə mə huan sep  
 Pl. talk woman with child male
- 77 huan sep kum  
 huan sep kum  
 child male just
- 78 Ga; ?? b́ó kɔ ne ŋgam kə wa?  
 b́ó kɔ ne ŋgam kə wa  
 they know is because what QN.
- 79 Mavə b̀ huan sip b́ó ne ka to mənə  
 mavə b̀ huan sip b́ó ne ka to mənə  
 woman Pl. child male they is at before thus
- 80 ?? Nuar huan sip, ma mavə sum yɔr tue nji ne ŋgwə.  
 nuar huan sip, ma mavə sum yɔr tue nji ne ŋgwə  
 person child male, if woman remove body say thing is NEG.
- 81 ?? b́ó sela wa tue nde ne naa ŋgwə. Mavə ma wə  
 b́ó sela wa tue nde ne naa ŋgwə mavə ma wə  
 they only?? say say go is PAST NEG. woman if take
- 82 s̀m yɔr kumu nji ŋgwə, à sə den rə ka nɔ́ŋ  
 s̀n yɔr kumu nji ŋgwə à sə den rə ka nɔ́ŋ  
 mouth body open thing ŋgwə she that stay again at peace
- 83 Gw; ma kələhən, ma d̀̀d̀̀i nuar kɔ́ gwan ŋgwə,  
 ma kələhən ma d̀̀d̀̀i nuar kɔ́ gwan ŋgwə  
 if now if small person SUB.EMP. want ŋgwə
- 84 kula b̀ nji ne kɔ́ ve.  
 kula b̀ nji ne kɔ́ ve  
 count Pl. thing is SUB.EMP. bad
- 85 Mə b́ gene njulu də gwɔm ne də... gwɔ- gwɔ- gwɔm  
 mə b́ gene njulu də gwɔm ne də gwɔ- gwɔ- gwɔm  
 with we see eyes of gwɔm is here pay pay- pay
- 86 wəp njulu. M̀̀ nji kwa ten wa?  
 wəp njulu m̀̀ nji kwa ten wa

- steal eyes I thing put there-is QN.
- 87 Nuar ne nuar ma.  
nuar ne nuar ma  
person is person "really"
- 88 Ga; xxx xxxxx
- [
- 89 Gw; Nuar nde ne kə... ??ɲwa Bí ne mgbe chaɲ wa?  
nuar nde ne kə ??ɲwa bí ne mgbe chaɲ wa  
person go is what NEG. you is chief chaɲ QN.
- 90 Nj; (..) Ki!.  
ki!
- 91 Ga?; Ma ne muna ne njai kweka mba  
ma ne muna ne njai kweka mba  
If is thus is thing small freely
- 92 Gw; Bɔ̄ nuar yi lɔ́ pat xxxxx kadi  
bɔ̄ nuar yi lɔ́ pat xxxxx kadi  
Pl. person at compound all really
- 93 Jb; Ma nuar yə və yəə, ɲgwa, mə lə ndo wula ma.  
ma nuar yə və yəə ɲgwa mə lə ndo wula  
ma  
If person eat woman yours penis? with treatment also kill  
then
- 94 kweka ne wɔ̄-le wa? <=laughter  
kweka ne wɔ̄-le wa  
small is you QN.
- 95 Nj; ?? Sagli baá lane  
sagli baá lane  
disturbed PRES. today
- 96 Jb; aaaa xxxxx ?? tue nan, tə mgbe bu yila. <=laughter  
aaaa xxxxx tue nan tə mgbe bu yila.  
say how so chief him names
- 97 À jɔgɔ və yə, bu jɔgɔ bu manji.  
À jɔgɔ və yə bu jɔgɔ bu manji  
he marry woman yours she marry him small
- 98 Mb; Ma à la ju gwan ne ɲgwə,  
ma à la ju gwan ne ɲgwə  
if he PAST talk want is NEG.
- 99 ma à la ju gwan ɲgwə, à ndée a.  
ma à la ju gwan ɲgwə à ndée a  
if she PAST talk want NEG. she come to
- 100 Jb?; Ne məna ma.  
ne məna ma  
is thus "really"
- 101 Mb; Ma à la ju gwan ɲgwə à ndeè aa  
ma à la ju gwan ɲgwə à ndeè aa  
If he PAST case want NEG. he come PAST
- 102 Ni; xxxx gi aa ma, ??Ma nuar la ju gwan su, xxxx le naga.

- xxxx gi aa ma ??ma nuar 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 ɲgwə  
 ma à nde ɲgwə  
 If he go NEG.
- 104 Bɪ tue nde ne jə: à nde ɲgwə mba.  
 bɪ tue nde ne jə à nde ɲgwə mba  
 you say go is say he go NEG. freely  
 [
- 105 Ga; huom ne ka, də mə nji saa à naga  
 huom ne ka də mə nji saa à naga  
 good is at of with thing that he lick
- 106 Ni; ?? Ma nuar wa baá, nyí yue ne jə: nyí sap baá  
 ma nuar wa baá nyí yue ne jə nyí sap  
 baá  
 If person arrive PRES. speaker cry is say speaker mistake  
 PRES.
- 107 Nyí sap baá də ne nji mə bɪ tue kə ne ka tu yə nan wa.  
 nyí sap baá də ne nji mə bɪ tue kə ne ka tu  
 yə nan wa  
 speaker mistake PRES. of is thing with you say at is at  
 before yours how QN.
- 108 Bé gwan baá die nɔ́ɔ́. Ha nji  
 bé gwan baá die nɔ́ɔ́ ha nji  
 we want PRES. fall quiet Until thing
- 109 hən gi aa, xxx xxx xxxx di yə tə b̀ tele,  
 hən gi aa xxx xxx xxxx di yə tə b̀ tele  
 this end PAST of yours at Pl. father  
 [ ]
- 110 Nj; xxx sua baá. ma ne mənə sam ne ɲgwə  
 xxx sua baá ma ne mənə sam ne ɲgwə  
 xxx sua PRES. If is thus not is NEG.
- 111 bó kulu kulu sua bu kɔ́.  
 bó kulu kulu sua bu kɔ́  
 they bless bless sua his SUB.EMP.
- 112 Ni; Tie tele yə tə  
 tie tele yə tə  
 ears father yours so
- 113 Mb; bó tuɲ baá ju  
 bó tuɲ baá ju  
 they organise PRES. case  
 [ ]
- 114 Nj; xxxxx chuar bé jemu.  
 xxxxx chuar bé jemu  
 chicken place after  
 [
- 115 Gw; Lucas ki!!
- 116 Jb; Lucas mə- əə m̀ jə wa: dənə kənə əə dənə den də  
 lucas mə əə m̀ jə wa dənə kənə əə dənə den də  
 with I say QN. here now here stay of

- 117 mə tuŋ am ŋgwə. Am ŋgwə dədə  
 mə tuŋ am ŋgwə am ŋgwə dədə  
 which organise NEG. NEG. NEG. NEG. small
- 118 À də dənə ten am ŋgwə ma saa ne ki wa? à dua ne sua  
 À də dənə ten am ŋgwə ma saa ne ki wa à  
 dua ne sua  
 he of here there-is NEG. NEG. "really" that is what QN. he  
 asks is sua
- 119 Nj; Ne m̀, ne m̀, Njaibi,  
 ne m̀ ne m̀ Njaibi  
 is me is me Njaibi
- 120 Gw; À dua ne sua.  
 À dua ne sua  
 he ask is sua
- 121 Nj; M̀ jula ne sua wa?=  
 m̀ jula ne sua wa  
 I flee is sua QN.
- 122 Jb; =Voila!
- 123 Nj; ?? Sua chum də, m̀ jula ne də nyí chi wa?  
 sua chum də m̀ jula ne də nyí chi wa  
 sua old of I flee is of speaker that QN.
- 124 Jb; To, b́ tue ne chi saa, ma à b́́é lóó, b́ le rə ne ni?  
 to b́ tue ne chi saa ma à b́́é lóó b́ le rə  
 ne ni  
 So we say is that that if he harm compound they PAST again  
 is who
- 125 mə jemu ni?,(.) b́ nde ne lóó wa kóó də b́ jə: sum bu wa?  
 mə jemu ni b́ nde ne lóó wa kóó də b́  
 jə sum bu wa  
 with second who they go is compound arrive SUB.EMP. of  
 they say remove him QN.
- 126 ?? Ne chi saa mə Gw à tue denə.  
 ne chi saa mə Gw à tue denə  
 is that that with Gw he say here  
 [
- 127 Gw; Jemu ne nan wa? Də mò m̀ kó ləm ne b̀ tele.  
 jemu ne nan wa də mò m̀ kó ləm ne b̀ tele  
 second is how QN. of mine I know only is Pl. father
- 128 B̀ tele tue ne jə: huan ne be mò  
 B̀ tele tue ne jə: huan ne be mò  
 PL. father say is say child is hand mine
- 129 Ve; xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxxx
- 130 Gw; Ma bí kwa tue ne jə: ama b́ kulu sum,  
 ma bí kwa tue ne jə ama b́ kulu sum  
 If you put say is say but they bless remove
- 131 nyí nuar jə, nyí wə ne huan, nyí nde Ngaundere=  
 nyí nuar njə nyí wə ne huan nyí  
 nde Ngaundere  
 speaker person that-person speaker take is child speaker go  
 Ngaundere

- 132 Ga; =Xxx=
- 133 Gw; =À tue mì.  
 À tue mì  
 he say me
- 134 Ama ndo, nyí tue ne nan ma, bó bɔ́ ke dua,  
 ama ndo nyí tue ne nan ma bó bɔ́ ke dua  
 but also speaker say is how if they do look there
- 135 À dua bí ha nde ne mən wa? À tue  
 À dua bí ha nde ne mən wa À tue  
 he ask you Until go is thus QN. he say
- 136 Nj; əəə əəə
- 137 Gw; [ ]  
 bó, bó tue nde ne jolori hən.  
 bó bó tue nde ne jolori hən  
 they they say go is palace this
- 138 bó bɔ́ kulu yə sua hən. Mì tue ne bí hən.  
 bó bɔ́ kulu yə sua hən mì tue ne bí hən  
 they do bless yours This I say is you this  
 [ ]
- 139 Jb; xxxxxxx xxx
- 140 Gw; Ngor mò ne laga ngam.  
 ngɔ̀r mò ne laga ngam  
 speech mine is payment divination
- 141 Ni; Am ngwə ju mə tue naa mənə mə bɔ́ jə wa  
 am ngwə ju mə tue naa mənə mə bɔ́ jə wa  
 NEG. NEG. case with say PAST thus with they say say
- 142 Gw; bó mənə tue ngwə, iii, Ngu  
 bó mənə tue ngwə iii Ngu  
 they thus say NEG. iii Ngu
- 143 bó tue ne bə hiun-i  
 bó tue ne bə hiun-i  
 they say is place different  
 [ ]
- 144 Ga; bó gwan ngwə  
 bó gwan ngwə  
 they want NEG.
- 145 Gw; bó jə tele tele, bó yila mì naá Njai. Mì Njai yila ngwə.  
 bó jə tele tele bó yila Mi naá Njai mì Njai  
 yila ngwə  
 they say father father they name I PAST Njai I Njai  
 name NEG.
- 146 Ga; Də tue, də mì kum, də mì kum, mì bie bó kən.  
 də tue də mì kum də mì kum mì bie bó kən  
 of say of me just of me just I ask them already
- 147 Mə mì wa, mì bie bó.  
 mə mì wa mì bie bó  
 with me say I ask them
- 148 Mì jə ma bó gwan bó gwan əəə,

- mì jə ma bó gwan bó gwan əəə  
I say if they want they want əəə
- 149 ama ma bó wəp baá, bó wa, bó wa dənə, nde nə tə b̀ lɔ.  
ama ma bó wəp baá bó wa bó wa dənə nde nə  
tə b̀ lɔ  
but if they steal PRES. they arrive they arrive here go is  
so they treat
- 150 Jb; Ama bó jə baá: ha nde ne ləm kalɔn  
ama bó jə baá ha nde ne ləm kalɔn  
but they say PRES. give go is only money
- 151 Ga; Ama bó tue "aha"  
ama bó tue "aha"  
but they say no
- 152 a saa bó wop ne ɲgwə, bakata, mə bó fon nde ne,  
a saa bó wop ne ɲgwə bakata mə bó fon nde ne  
to that they steal is NEG. like with they search go is
- 153 b̀ le saa.  
b̀ le saa  
place in that
- 154 Ha am ɲgwə ne ləm kweka mbah ma  
ha am ɲgwə ne ləm kweka mbah ma  
give NEG. NEG. is only small freely then  
[
- 155 Jb; Aaa ke ne ẁ ma, ɲgwə nuar njə ne mə ẁ  
aaa ke ne ẁ ma ɲgwə nuar njə ne mə ẁ  
look is you then NEG. person that-one is with you
- 156 Gw; Nde nɔ́ɲ  
nde nɔ́ɲ  
go quiet
- 157 Də m̀ yula ke mì tə keri wa  
də m̀ yula kə mì tə keri wa  
of mine illness at me so on-top-of SUB.EMP.
- 158 Nj; Də m̀: bó jɔ́ɔ kulu sua, də m̀ mì kɔ ləm lə.  
də m̀ bó jɔ́ɔ kulu sua də m̀ mì kɔ ləm lə  
of mine they carry bless sua of mine I know only treatment
- 159 Gw; Ki!, ki! ki! (1)  
ki! ki! ki! 1
- 160 Ama ke, à ne mə ??dede yi be,  
ama ke à ne mə ??dede yi be  
but look he is with small at hand  
[
- 161 Ga; Ne yɔ́ɔ ke.  
ne yɔ́ɔ ke  
is surpass at
- 162 Gw; Mere ne nuar di  
mere ne nuar di  
perhaps is person some  
[ ]
- 163 Ga; Nyugemi ka kiyə bɔ́ mə akilo  
Nyugemi ka kiyə bɔ́ mə akilo  
Nyugemi at overthere do with intelligence

- 164 mə m̀ hapdi gə Mbər chu aa ɲgam  
mə m̀ hapdi gə Mbər chu aa ɲgam  
with I hurry at Mbər return PAST because
- 165 xxx xxxx xxx  
[ ]
- 166 Jb; Aaa ne njai jaa na  
aaa ne njai jaa na  
aaa is thing laugh PAST
- 167 Ga; ɲgàm m̀ ha mbi mò.  
ɲgàm m̀ ha mbi mò  
because I give friend mine
- 168 M̀ tue naa bu a: nda huan b̀ bə́é lɔ́ baá bu kən.  
m̀ tue naa bu a nda huan b̀ bə́é lɔ́ baá  
bu kən  
I say PAST him to young-men child do harm compound PRES.  
it already
- 169 M̀ ha naa mə mə mə mə mə Lɔvə ga giyə də.  
m̀ ha naa mə mə mə mə mə Lɔvə ga giyə  
də  
I give PAST with with with with with Lɔvə there over-there  
of
- 170 Jb; [ Ne b̀ si, b̀ bə́é lɔ́ və yə kɔ ma.  
ne b̀ si b̀ bə́é lɔ́ və yə  
kɔ ma  
is Pl. husband they harm compound woman  
yours SUB.EMP. then
- 171 Ga; M̀ hapdi ne fəlí b̀ ha.  
m̀ hapdi ne fəlí b̀ ha  
I hurry is threaten them until
- 172 Jb; Go baá "pee pee pee pee" də  
go baá "pee pee pee pee" də  
walk PRES. of
- 173 Ga; Nji mə m̀ bə́é ne fəlí b̀ den  
nji mə m̀ bə́é ne fəlí b̀ den  
thing which I harm is threaten them stay  
[ ]
- 174 Gw; Ne ẁ si naa ne dole.  
ne ẁ si naa ne dole  
is you husband PAST is cool
- 175 Ẁ nde a ne dole.  
ẁ nde a ne dole  
you go to is cool
- 176 Ga; Nuar mə kɔ ne ni? (5)  
nuar mə kɔ ne ni (5)  
person with know is who
- 177 Jb; Ma ne və mə nuar bə́é lu,  
ma ne və mə nuar bə́é lu  
If is woman with person harm anyway
- 178 diya ne dili ɲgwə  
diya ne dili ɲgwə



of-that is straight NEG.

- 179 Gw; ???Ndeka bó kulu baa,  
 ???ndeka bó kulu baa  
 must we bless PAST
- 180 Nj; Mgbe mə ju dua ten sam  
 mgbe mə ju dua ten sam  
 chief with talk there there-is not
- 181 Ga; ama bó ju baá tuɔ-  
 ama bó ju baá tuɔ  
 but we talk PRES. organise  
 [ ]
- 182 Nj; Gamgbe, Gamgbe mə ju dua ten am ɲgwə.  
 Gamgbe Gamgbe mə ju dua ten am ɲgwə  
 Gamgbe Gamgbe with talk there there-is NEG. NEG.
- 183 Mì mə mì den hən mì mə ju dua ten am ɲgwə.  
 mì mə mì den hən mì mə ju dua ten am ɲgwə  
 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 ɲgwə.  
 Mvulu Mvulu mə du naa den à mə ju dua ten  
 ma ɲgwə  
 Mvulu Mvulu that ground PAST here he with talk there there-  
 is then NEG.
- 185 Ke ne bɔ̀ və baá fà  
 ke ne bɔ̀ və baá fà  
 look is Pl. woman PRES. two
- 186 Ga; Ne ka mənə.  
 ne ka mənə  
 is at thus
- 187 Gw; Ama gi ne ka mena, ???saa ndeka bó vulu baá ma  
 ama gi ne ka mena ???saa ndeka bó vulu baá ma  
 but end is at thus that must we leave PRES. then
- 188 Ng; Ama bó ke ɲgwə.  
 ama bó ke ɲgwə  
 but they look NEG.
- 189 Jb; Aaa bó ne mə fə bɔ̀ɔn wa?  
 aaa bó ne mə fə bɔ̀ɔn wa  
 aaa they is with head theirs QN.
- 190 Ga; bó tue naa..  
 bó tue naa  
 they say PAST
- 191 Ng; ???Saa bí sum kə bó ka chiə tə bó tema bó fà, bó fà.  
 ???saa bí sum kə bó ka chiə tə bó tema bó fà  
 bó fà  
 that you remove at them at outside so they send them two  
 them two
- 192 Mb; əhə əhə Bí ɲue yə. Bí ɲue yə wa.  
 əhə əhə bí ɲue yə bí ɲue yə wa  
 yes yes you listen yours you listen yours QN.
- 193 Jb (to NG); Di yə kum, ne ten

- di yə kum ne ten  
of yours just is there-is
- 194 Mb; Bɪ tuŋ...əəə bɔ ne mə fə b'ɔɔ sam ŋgwə,  
bɪ tuŋ ... əəə bɔ ne mə fə b'ɔɔ sam ŋgwə  
you organise they is with head theirs not NEG.
- 195 Tema naa bɔ ne ni wa?  
tema naa bɔ ne ni wa  
sends PAST them is who QN.
- 196 Fabé mə, mə bɔ tue naa də domsa də,  
fabé mə mə bɔ tue naa də domsa də  
like with with they say PAST of doctor of
- 197 nuar ha nji ləm () Ma ha naa ni?  
nuar ha nji ləm ma ha naa ni  
person give thing only If give PAST who
- 198 Ga; To  
to  
So
- 199 Mb; Mbi yə ten am ŋgwə də.()  
mbi yə ten am ŋgwə də  
occasion yours there-is NEG. NEG. of
- 200 Jb; xxxx  
[
- 201 Nj; Və saa də, mə bɔ nde bu jogo. Bɔ le kwa naa bu le nda hi  
wa?  
və saa də mə bɔ nde bu jɔɔ bɔ 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 Də guo ni wa?  
də guo ni wa  
of house who QN.
- 203 Mb; Merre, bɔ ten am ŋgwə də.  
merre bɔ ten am ŋgwə də  
perhaps they there-is NEG. NEG. of
- 204 Nj; bɔ, bɔ mare bé chiə bé.  
bɔ bɔ mare bé chiə bé  
they they surpass we outside we
- 205 Mb; Kə kələhən ne və nuaa ma,  
kə kələhən ne və nuar ma  
at now is woman person then
- 206 Gw; bɔ və bɪ yə mə bɔ ɲuna b'ɔɔ, mə bɔ yuo dənə,  
bɔ və bɪ yə mə bɔ ɲuna b'ɔɔ mə bɔ yuo  
dənə  
Pl. woman you yours with Pl. child theirs with they leave  
here
- 207 bɔ ɲuna bɪ, bɔ huan nde ŋgɔr dənə,  
bɔ ɲuna bɪ bɔ huan nde ŋgɔr dənə  
Pl. child you Pl. child go speech here
- 208 mə bɔ nde nde yaa,

- mə bɔ́ nde nde yaa  
with they go go there
- 209 Ju ju yə kum, bie ka lɔ́ yə kum  
ju ju yə kum bie ka lɔ́ yə kum  
talk talk yours just ask at compound yours just
- 210 ɲgàm ɲgwa bɛ́ kuó gi aa wa?  
ɲgàm ɲgwa bɛ́ kuó gi aa wa  
because penis ours die end PAST QN.
- 211 Mb; Aaaa Gw a, də bɛ́ jə ləm bɔ́ si və saa  
aaaa Gw a də bɛ́ jə ləm bɔ́ si və saa  
Gw to of we say only Pl. husband woman that
- 212 Fabé mə bɔ́ tue jə:  
fabé mə bɔ́ tue jə  
like with they say say
- 213 Ma bɔ́ ne le dopta nji bɔ́ tue mə Gamia.  
ma bɔ́ ne le dopta nji bɔ́ tue mə Gamia  
If they is in doctor thing they say with Gamia
- 214 Gi ne ləm məna.  
gi ne ləm məna  
end is only thus
- 215 Jb; aha ne mane. Ama ɲgue yə  
aha ne mane ama ɲgue yə  
mmhmmmm is thus but listen yours
- 216 Mb; [ Gamia ɲgue yə  
Gamia ɲgue yə  
Gamia listen you
- 217 Nj; [ xxx xxxx xxx xx
- 218 Jb; Ama bɔ́ ɲgɔ́r tibi tibi si bɔ́ den ne ɲgwə  
ama bɔ́ ɲgɔ́r tibi tibi si bɔ́ den ne ɲgwə  
but they speech short short -ness they here is NEG.
- 219 Ga; Am ɲgwə də mɔ́, mɪ tue su məna ma.  
am ɲgwə də mɔ́ mɪ tue su məna ma  
NEG. NEG. of mine I say again thus then
- 220 Mb; [ Saa kɔ́ ne ni  
saa kɔ́ ne ni  
that know is who
- 221 Jb; [ Saa gua də () Ne chi saa ama bɔ́ ne de nji  
saa gua də ne chi saa ama bɔ́ ne de nji  
that home of is that that but they is stay thing
- 222 Ga; Nji mə tue baá hən də, bɔ́ wə nde xxx xxx ma ler ne ten  
nji mə tue baá hən də bɔ́ wə nde xxx xxx ma ler  
ne ten  
thing with say PRES. this so they take go xxx xxx if loose  
is there-is
- 223 a saa bɔ́ ha nyí kalɔ́n, () tə nji mɔ́, bɔ́ tue naga.  
a saa bɔ́ ha nyí kalɔ́n, tə nji mɔ́ bɔ́ tue  
naga  
to that they give speaker money so thing wait they say

clear

- 224 Jb; aa ne fada ne lɔɔ ne dɛ bɛ ma.  
aa ne fada ne lɔɔ ne dɛ bɛ ma  
aaa is like is compound is of we then
- 225 Ga; əhə mani  
əhə mani  
yes thus
- 226 Tue ndape kɔ, ha bí tue ndape ne ki?  
tue ndape kɔ ha bí tue ndape ne ki  
say prolix SUB.EMP. Until you say prolix is what
- 227 Jb; dɛ saa, ŋgɔr saa se huɔm ne ka mɛna.  
dɛ saa ŋgɔr saa se huɔm ne ka mɛna  
of that speech that NEG. good is at thus
- 228 Mb; eeee eeee eee wa? Am ŋgwɛ, gi ne ka fabɛ mɛna ndo ma  
eeee eeee eee wa am ŋgwɛ gi ne ka fabɛ mɛna ndo ma  
eeee eeee eee QN. NEG. NEG. end is at like thus also  
"really"
- 229 Ny; Gw tue ne mɛna ŋgam kwɛ bɛ kɔ ma Gw xxx xxxx  
Gw tue ne mɛna ŋgam kwɛ bɛ kɔ ma Gw xxx xxxx  
Gw say is thus because tomorrow we know if Gw xxx xxxx  
[
- 230 Jb; Hɛn ne hɛn  
hɛn ne hɛn  
This is this
- 231 bɛ bie ne chi ma  
bɛ bie ne chi ma  
we ask is that "really"
- 232 Ny; Gw tue ne mɛna, à jɛ: Gamia ne be yɛ, bí mgbe fa.  
Gw tue ne mɛna à jɛ Gamia ne be yɛ bí mgbe fa  
Gw say is thus he say Gamia is hand yours you chief two
- 233 Ma bí jɛ wa: bí nde wɛp ne lu wa, bí tue ŋaga dɛ.  
ma bí jɛ wa bí nde wɛp ne lu wa bí  
tue ŋaga dɛ  
If you say say you go control is SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP. you say  
clear so
- 234 Ma bí jɛ sam ne ŋgwɛ bí tue ŋaga  
ma bí jɛ sam ne ŋgwɛ bí tue ŋaga  
If you say not is NEG. you say clear
- 235 Dɛ nyí kum ma bí jɛ: əəə bɔ nde ne lɔ,  
dɛ nyí kum ma bí jɛ əəə bɔ nde ne lɔ  
of speaker just if you say əəə they go is treat
- 236 bɔ kulu sua.Mani  
bɔ kulu sua.mani  
they bless sua thus  
[
- 237 Jb; Mani dɛ bí yuo  
mani dɛ bí yuo  
thus so you leave
- 238 Ny; Dɛ Gw, à tue Gw mɛna ndo.  
dɛ Gw à tue Gw mɛna ndo

of Gw he say Gw thus also

- 239 Jb; Ma wop ne ɲgwə cher wə kalɔn wò ha Gamia  
 ma wop ne ɲgwə cher wə kalɔn wò ha Gamia  
 If control is NEG. road take money you give Gamia
- 240 Mb; Kɔ Gamia hən Kɔ Gamia də ɲgue sɔn bɔ si hən də  
 kɔ Gamia hən kɔ gamia də ɲgue sɔn bɔ si hən  
 də  
 Even Gamia this Even Gamia of listen mouth Pl. husband this  
 of
- 241 Jb; [ əhəə mani  
 əhəə mani  
 yes thus
- 242 Gamia ɲgue a kə baá re mə bɔ man də ma  
 gamia ɲgue a kə baá re mə bɔ man də ma  
 Gamia listen to at PRES. again with they thus of then  
 [
- 243 Mb; Sɔɔ Gamia sen ɲue sɔn bɔ si saa,  
 sɔɔ gamia sen ɲgue sɔn bɔ si saa  
 only Gamia his listen mouth Pl. husband that  
 [
- 244 Ny; À tue ne chi ma, À tue ne chi saa ma.  
 À tue ne chi ma À tue ne chi saa ma  
 say is that then he say is that that then
- 245 Mb; Ha à sua nde ne mə hən no  
 ha à sua nde ne mə hən no  
 Until he descend go is with this also
- 246 Ga; Də mò, naa mì ɲue ne mə bɔ ma.  
 də mò naa mì ɲgue ne mə bɔ ma  
 of mine PAST I listen is with them then
- 247 Jb; Gamia à hwune baá kə də saa nɔɲ, hən baá rə chi saa bə mə  
 Gamia à hwune baá kə də saa nɔɲ hən baá rə  
 chi saa bə mə  
 Gamia he tight-lipped PRES. at of that peace this PRES.  
 again that that place with
- 248 à ɲgɔr kware kware dənə.  
 à ɲgɔr kware kware dənə  
 he speech beside beside here
- 249 Nj; Sua kulu baá kulu, kulu ha huan də, bɔ nde dənə lɔ dənə.  
 sua kulu baá kulu kulu ha huan də bɔ nde dənə  
 lɔ dənə  
 sua bless PRES. bless bless give child here they go here  
 treat here
- 250 Mb; aaa!
- 251 Nj; Dole sua də bɔ kulu ne bɔ nde ne huan dən lɔ dən, ndo.  
 dole sua də bɔ kulu ne bɔ nde ne huan dən lɔ dən  
 ndo  
 cool sua sɔ they bless is they go is child here treat Here  
 also
- 252 Ga; Dole hən də no, dole bɔ bɔɔ nde ka bu lɔ dən  
 dole hən də no dole bɔ bɔɔ nde ka bu lɔ dən  
 cool This of also cool they do go at him treat here

- 253 Nj; Lɔŋ de sua ne hiən, lɔŋ də lə ne hiən.  
 lɔŋ de sua ne hiən lɔŋ də lə ne hiən  
 space of sua is different space of treatment is different
- 254 Jb; Məna ni. To Ma la yuo chop chén baá mən mən mən mən ma,  
 məna ni to ma la yuo chop chén baá mən  
 mən mən mən ma  
 thus very?? so if PAST leave and-numeral one PRES. thus  
 thus thus thus really
- 255 ma ???njok gwan  
 ma ???njok gwan  
 If that-person? want  
 [ ]
- 256 Nj; Njok  
 Njok
- 257 Jb; Ma bó gwan a mə sòn bon,  
 ma bó gwan a mə sòn bon  
 If they want to with mouth theirs
- 258 bó Gamia: Oui, gwom ɲgwə. bó gwom baá lə dənə.=  
 bó Gamia oui gwom ɲgwə bó gwom baá lə dənə  
 Pl. Gamia pay NEG. They pay PRES. treatment here
- 259 Ga; = To =  
 = to =  
 So
- 260 Jb; bó gwom m̀ mbo baá jam.  
 bó gwom m̀ mbo baá jam  
 They pay me divine PRES. good
- 261 Tə bó ɲene b̀ nji kela,  
 tə bó ɲene b̀ nji kela  
 so they see Pl. thing pass
- 262 kela sua, bó chɔ. Nji mə bó, bó... bó...  
 kela sua bó chɔ nji mə bó bó bó  
 pass sua they chop thing which they they they
- 263 b̀ nuar njə kɔ nde a, fabé mə bó bɔɔ kɔ nde à kɔɔ.  
 b̀ nuar njə kɔ nde a fabé mə bó bɔɔ kɔ nde à  
 kɔɔ  
 Pl. person thing know go to like with they do know go he  
 SUB.EMP.
- 264 Gw; [ ]  
 Yili tə yila  
 yili tə yila  
 name so names
- 265 Ga; Də hən xxx xxxx xxx kɔ  
 də hən xxx xxxx xxx kɔ
- 266 Jb; Ama tam ɲgwə  
 ama tam ɲgwə  
 but none NEG.
- 267 Gw; ha m̀ a kwə a sòn, à tue nde mə sòn  
 ha m̀ a kwə a sòn à tue nde mə sòn  
 Until I at change to mouth he say go with mouth

- 268 Mb; Ha nuar kwə ma  
 ha nuar kwə ma  
 Until person change then
- 269 Gw; Ngam huan nda xxx xxx  
 ngam huan nda xxx xxx  
 because child young-men  
 [
- 270 Ga; Huan hən xxxxx xxx hapdi ɲgwə=  
 huan hən xxxxx xxx hapdi ɲgwə  
 child this argue NEG.
- 271 Kuɲ; =Bé tue naa tu bé tue gəchén  
 bé tue naa tu bé tue gəchén  
 we say PAST before we say true
- 272 Mb; Nuar tue nde nji mə mì tue naa də.  
 nuar tue nde nji mə mì tue naa də  
 person say go thing with I say PAST of
- 273 Mì ma mì ( ) tue den ne ju chén bu saa də  
 mì ma mì tue den ne ju chén bu saa də  
 I if I say here is talk one it that of  
 [ ]
- 274 Nj; Ne mì mì tue jə: də chi saa bé lɔ guom baa.  
 ne mì mì tue jə də chi saa bé lɔ guom baa  
 is me I say say of that that we treat pay PAST
- 275 Nde gwom baá ka jumu bɔ fə=  
 nde gwom baá ka jumu bɔ fə  
 go pay PRES. at after PL. head
- 276 Ga; =Nde kə jemu tə bɔ ke  
 nde kə jemu tə bɔ ke  
 go at after so they look
- 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.
- 277 Ch; See bí yə, bí bɔ kuku bɔ ka Somié <=laughter  
 see bí yə bí bɔ kuku bɔ ka sɔn yə  
 work you yours you Pl. elder Pl. at mouth yours
- 278 Aibe fula aibe <=laughter  
 aibe fula aibe  
 mistake like?? mistake
- 279 Wò yila moptere nuar nde ɲgwə, ( )  
 wò yila moptere nuar nde ɲgwə  
 you call meeting person go NEG.
- 280 wò tue go nuar nde ɲgwə.( )  
 wò tue go nuar nde ɲgwə  
 you say walk person go NEG.
- 281 Hən sɔɔ bí nji bɔ pat,  
 hən sɔɔ bí nji bɔ pat  
 This only you thing Pl. all
- 282 sɔɔ mì yonj ka gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa ɕa y est.  
 sɔɔ mì yonj ka gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa

- ça y est  
only I stroll at house house house house house house house  
ça y est
- 283 Ga; Saa bó nde ɲue.  
saa bó nde ɲue  
that they go NEG.
- 284 Ch; Oui, mais normalement c'est comme ça
- 285 Nj; Ma lu saa m̀ ma, m̀ bu ɲene ɲgwə,  
ma lu saa m̀ ma m̀ bu ɲene ɲgwə  
If day that I if I him see NEG.
- 286 lu saa à de rə b̀ hiən-i  
lu saa à de rə b̀ hiən-i  
day that he stay again place different
- 287 To lane ma à de su a b̀ hiən-i.  
to lane ma à de su a b̀ hiən-i  
To today if they(Sing) stay again to place different
- 288 Ga; xxx xxx
- 289 Ch; Ẁ yila moptere nuar pat ndée.  
ẁ yila moptere nuar pat ndée  
you call meeting person all come
- 290 To, ( ) ma ẁ la tue, ma tue l'heure ka kə lɔ́ bí yə ne  
m̀na.  
to ma ẁ la tue ma tue l'heure ka kə lɔ́ bí yə  
ne m̀na  
so if you PAST say if say l'heure at at village you yours  
is thus
- 291 M̀ den le moptere, m̀ yila yili pal pal pal, le moptere.  
m̀ den le moptere m̀ yila yili pal pal pal le moptere  
I stay in meeting I name name all all all in meeting
- 292 ( )Njai də nuar hən, nuar hən tue m̀ ɲue ɲue kam,  
( )njai də nuar hən nuar hən tue m̀ ɲgue ɲue kam  
( )thing of person this person this say I listen NEG. at-  
all
- 293 Tue m̀ di yə wa?  
tue m̀ di yə wa  
say I of you QN.
- 294 Ga; Agə m̀ bɔ́ ne nan wa?  
agə m̀ bɔ́ ne nan wa  
I do is how QN.
- 295 Nj; Ẁ la nyí tue wa? <=laughter  
ẁ la nyí tue wa  
you PAST speaker say QN.
- 296 Ch; Tam dɔ́ɲ ne ni, ne b́ ka mə aibe ni.  
tam dɔ́ɲ ne ni ne b́ ka mə aibe ni  
none all is who is we at with mistake very??
- 297 Nj; aa?  
aa



- 298 Ch; Dua ne den ka aibe mò .  
dua ne den ka aibe mò  
there is stay at mistake mine
- 299 Dua ne le nde ne sə tuŋ ma ha bə wòŋ nde gi kum  
dua ne le nde ne sə tuŋ ma ha bə wòŋ  
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 bé mom den nji mə yuo nde kə sòn yə,  
Bt a ke keləhən bé mom den nji mə yuo nde kə sòn  
yə  
Bt to look now we wait here thing with leave go at  
mouth yours
- 302 mə wò tue nde nji mə Gamia. Tə bé ŋele yuo.  
mə wò tue nde nji mə Gamia tə bé ŋele yuo  
which you say go thing with Gamia so we disturbed leave
- 303 Ch; Tourjours la patience
- 304 Mb; Bé mom nde ne chi tal  
bé mom nde ne chi tal  
we wait go is that SUB.EMP.
- 305 Ga; Ne də ka ŋgòr chén bii hən də, mə  
ne də ka ŋgòr chén bii hən də mə  
is of at speech one thing this of with
- 306 Ny; [ Ne mani  
ne mani  
is thus
- 307 Mb; əə Bé mom ne ka chi  
əə bé mom ne ka chi  
We wait is at that  
[ ]
- 308 Ny; Ŋgor tue ne mani mə mì bie ne ka mə bó  
ŋgòr tue ne mani mə mì bie ne ka mə bó  
speech say is thus with I ask is at with them
- 309 Ma bó tue nyən mba mba nde ka tu,  
ma bó tue nyən mba mba nde ka tu  
If they say lies freely freely go at before
- 310 à ça y est waga sam ŋgwə  
à ça y est waga sam ŋgwə  
it ça y est fast not NEG.
- 311 Mb; À yuo nde tɔgɔ togo  
À yuo nde tɔgɔ togo  
it leave go quarrel quarrel
- 312 Ny; À saa yuo nde ne togo.  
À saa yuo nde ne togo  
he that leave go is quarrel
- 313 Ga; aa denə bé tue nde nde ne ki wa?  
aa denə bé tue nde nde ne ki wa

- aaa here we say go go is what QN.
- 314 Ne ləm kɔ ɲgɔ̀r chén hən fela den mə mì bie ne hən də  
ne ləm kɔ ɲgɔ̀r chén hən fela den mə mì bie ne  
hən də  
is only SUB.EMP. speech true this like here with I ask is  
this so
- 315 Mì bie ne chi. à bə́'é nji baá dua, b́é ɲue ɲaga.  
mì bie ne chi à bə́'é nji baá dua b́é ɲue  
ɲaga  
I ask is that he harm thing PRES. there we understand  
clear
- 316 ()ne ka le mɔ̀gɔ̀ dənə.  
ne ka le mɔ̀gɔ̀ dənə  
is at in group here
- 317 Nj; Gw ndeka, mì tue nji ne mə mgbe, mì tue nji ne mə Gamgbe.()  
Gw ndeka mì tue nji ne mə mgbe mì tue nji ne mə  
Gamgbe  
Gw must I say thing is with chief I say thing is with  
Gamgbe
- 318 Mb; Də b́é, b́é bie nji su ne mə bu  
də b́é, b́é bie nji su ne mə bu  
of we we ask thing again is with him  
[ ]
- 319 Nj; Də Gamgbe bɔ́ɔ́ bie bí bí, bí, bí b̀ɔ́ jɔ̀gɔ̀ və.  
də Gamgbe bɔ́ɔ́ bie bí bí bí bí b̀ɔ́ jɔ̀gɔ̀ və  
of do ask you you you you Pl. marry woman
- 320 Ma mì nde à bə́'é nji nyí, bí nde ne kalɔ̀n ha ne nyí wa,  
ma mì nde à bə́'é nji nyí bí nde ne kalɔ̀n ha ne  
nyí wa  
If I go to harm thing speaker you go is money give is  
speaker QN.
- 321 Nji?? də tə mì nde lɔ̀ nyəgə su huan bu saa,??  
nji də tə mì nde lɔ̀ nyəgə su huan bu saa  
thing of so I go treat repair again child him that
- 322 Bí bə́'é lɔ́ɔ́ baá kən.()  
bí bə́'é lɔ́ɔ́ baá kən  
you harm compound PRES. already
- 323 Mb; Aa b́ɔ́ tue nji də mə bu  
aa b́ɔ́ tue nji də mə bu  
aaa They say thing of with him
- 324 Ga; Ne ka mən, ẁɔ̀ nde ne mə s̀ɔ̀n yə.  
ne ka mən ẁɔ̀ nde ne mə s̀ɔ̀n yə  
is at thus you go is with mouth yours
- 325 Nj; Chuar, à tue nde ne ka mə s̀ɔ̀n sen.  
chuar à tue nde ne ka mə s̀ɔ̀n sen  
chicken he say go is at with mouth its  
[ ]
- 326 Ga; Ma ẁɔ̀ tue mì a, ẁɔ̀ wə nde ne kɔ́, ẁɔ̀ lɔ̀ nde ne kɔ́,  
ma ẁɔ̀ tue mì a ẁɔ̀ wə nde ne kɔ́ ẁɔ̀ lɔ̀ nde  
ne kɔ́  
If you say me to you take go is SUB.EMP. you treat go  
is SUB.EMP.

- 327 Hən mī ha nde ne kalon tə tə mī hapdi mə nji to.  
 hən mī ha nde ne kalon tə tə mī hapdi mə nji to  
 This I give go is money so so I hurry with thing before
- 328 Ne ləm tibi si mani.  
 ne ləm tibi si mani  
 is only short -ness thus
- 329 Ch; () Oui ma ɲgɔ̄r yuo kela chiə, huom ne tue.(2)  
 oui ma ɲgɔ̄r yuo kela chiə huom ne tue  
 if speech leave pass outside good is say
- 330 ɲgàm () ne tare də ne hən də,  
 ɲgàm ne tare də ne hən də  
 because is hard of is this of
- 331 bé tare ne (1) bó tue ne...ju bə huan mani mba.  
 bé tare ne 1 bó tue ne...ju bə huan mani mba  
 place hard is they say is talk Pl. child small freely
- 332 Bé tue ɲgwə () ɲgɔ̄r gəchén di dua.  
 bé tue ɲgwə ɲgɔ̄r gəchén di dua  
 we say NEG. speech true some there
- 333 Bə huan mani, bó bie nde bó no,  
 bə huan mani bó bie nde bó no  
 Pl. child small they ask go them also
- 334 bó sɔ̄n bóɔ bie nde ne kə?  
 bó sɔ̄n bóɔ bie nde ne kə  
 they mouth theirs ask go is what
- 335 ɲjai bie ten am ɲgwə. dɔɔɲ xxx ɲene ɲgwə  
 ɲjai bie ten am ɲgwə dɔɔɲ xxx ɲene ɲgwə  
 ɲjai ask there-is NEG. NEG. all see NEG.
- 336 Kənəhən () Mose à tue ne bəga.(4) Le bɔ̄ɲ bu saa,  
 kənəhən Mose à tue ne bəga.(4) le bɔ̄ɲ bu saa  
 now Mose he say is good (4) in group it that
- 337 saa baá tue le bɔ̄ɲ bu saa à ten am ɲgwə. (1)  
 saa baá tue le bɔ̄ɲ bu saa à ten am ɲgwə (1)  
 that PRES. say in group it that he there-is NEG. NEG.
- 338 To ma "le decision" də mɔ̄, (2) nde Gamia də kuú,  
 to ma "le decision" də mɔ̄ nde Gamia də kuú  
 To if "le decision" of mine go Gamia of big
- 339 À se tue ɲgwə. Mī hən, ɲgàm chi mə mī gwan ɲgwə tue.  
 À se tue ɲgwə mī hən, ɲgàm chi mə mī gwan ɲgwə  
 he NEG. say NEG. I this because this with I want NEG.  
 say
- 340 Mais nde yuo kela mī kum, mī foti tue le lɔ̄ɲ bu hən.  
 mais nde yuo kela mī kum mī foti tue le lɔ̄ɲ bu hən  
 mais go leave pass I just I can say in space it this
- 341 Bu hən jə wa: à ne tibisi. Mose wa və, () bon.  
 bu hən jə wa à ne tibisi mose wa və bon  
 him this say QN. he is short say woman bon

- 342 Nde wa və, à ke: mystique bɔ́ baá ten (1)  
nde wa və à ke mystique bɔ́ baá ten  
go arrive woman she look do PRES. there-is
- 343 Nde mystique bɔ́ baá, (3) À ha nji su nde bé jumu, ()  
nde mystique bɔ́ baá, (3) À ha nji su nde bé  
jumu  
go mystique do PRES. (3) he give thing again go place  
after
- 344 di ya den ɲgwə giye,  
di ya den ɲgwə giye  
of yours stay NEG. overthere
- 345 b̀ kiye də b̀ maga baá s̀n ten amɲgwə=  
b̀ kiye də b̀ maga baá s̀n ten amɲgwə  
Pl. overthere of Pl. big PRES. mouth there-is NEG.
- 346 Gw; =Mən  
mən  
thus
- 347 Ch; Bé nji nde ne dopta kɔ́.  
bé nji nde ne dopta kɔ́  
We thing go is dispensary SUB.EMP.
- 348 Bé bɔ́ nde ne kə bu, bé bɔ́ baá kə bu. Bé bɔ́ naa kɔ́.  
bé bɔ́ nde ne kə bu bé bɔ́ baá kə bu bé bɔ́ naa kɔ́  
we do go is at it we do PRES. at it we do PAST SUB.EMP.
- 349 Diya ne oblige, parceque ve naa le be bé, ()  
diya ne oblige parceque ve naa le be bé ma ne ɲaga  
e  
of that is oblige parceque woman PAST in hand ours
- 350 ma ne ɲaga e ce soir  
ma ne ɲaga e ce soir  
if is clear e ce soir
- 351 b́ b̀ nuar bə́é naa də bu, b́ tuɲ nde a kɔ́.  
b́ b̀ nuar bə́é naa də bu b́ tuɲ nde a kɔ́  
they Pl. person harm PAST of her they organise go to  
SUB.EMP.
- 352 Di ya ju Mose ten am su, b́ parler nde bu tibisi mən.  
di ya ju Mose ten am su b́ parler nde  
bu tibisi mən  
of yours talk Mose there-is NEG. again-NEG they parler go  
him short thus
- 353 XX; əhə  
əhə  
yes
- 354 Ch; əhə  
əhə  
yes
- 355 Ny; Bí Gw su gwan a mani. À gwan a mən də, tə b̀ b̀ bɔ́.  
bí Gw su gwan a mani À gwan a mən də tə b̀ b̀  
bɔ́  
you Gw again want to thus he want to thus so so they they  
do

- 356 Ch; Di yə kum ɲgwə, bə wə nde a mən.  
 di yə kum ɲgwə bə wə nde a mən  
 of yours just NEG. we take go to thus
- 357 Ma ma bí bɔ́ ne facture ne mə kə, ne mə kə lu,  
 ma ma bí bɔ́ ne facture ne mə kə ne mə kə lu  
 If if you do is is with price is with price  
 SUB.EMP.
- 358 Ma wò wa, wò jə: mì ne mə facture de ne hən. Tibi si hən.  
 ma wò wa wò jə mì ne mə facture de ne hən tibi -  
 adj hən  
 If you arrive you say I is with of is this short -  
 ness this
- 359 XXXX; əəə əəə <= Laughter  
 əəə əəə
- 360 Ga; Kadi ma facture deɲgwə kənəhən wa?  
 kadi ma facture den ne ɲgwə kənəhən wa  
 really if NEG. now QN.
- 361 Ch; Den ɲgwə də wò bie nde ne bu lu.  
 Den ɲgwə də wò bie nde ne bu lu  
 stay NEG. of you ask go is him anyway
- 362 Də yə wò nde ne gwom wa, wò gwom ne ɲgwə wa?  
 də yə wò nde ne gwom wa wò gwom ne ɲgwə wa  
 of yours you go is pay QN. you pay is NEG. QN.
- 363 Aaa ma à jə nyí gwom ne ɲgwə no, wò bɔ́ ne nan.  
 aaa ma à jə nyí gwom ne ɲgwə no wò bɔ́ ne nan  
 aaa if he say speaker pay is NEG. also you do is how
- 364 Wò vulu, wò yə bu kadi?  
 wò vulu wò yə bu kadi  
 you leave you eat him really
- 365 Jb; Bí yə bu nan  
 bí yə bu nan  
 you eat him how
- 366 Ga; Foti ɲgwə (3) Mì yə bu nan  
 foti ɲgwə mì yə bu nan  
 can NEG. I eat him how
- 367 Jb; Ama nuar bu hən xxx xxxx saa baá paɲpaɲ ju.  
 ama nuar bu hən xxx xxxx saa baá paɲpaɲ ju  
 but person him this xxx xxxx that PRES. mills case
- 368 Ne də wò me nde ne bu le kilo wa?  
 ne də wò me nde ne bu le kilo wa  
 is of you measure go is him in QN.
- 369 Kɔ ne də wò bɔ́ nde ne bu nan wa?  
 kɔ ne də wò bɔ́ nde ne bu nan wa  
 Even is of you do go is him how QN.
- 370 Ne saa gər ɲene badi ma.  
 ne saa gər ɲene badi ma  
 is that pain see approach "really"

- 371 Allah, ha mbi fa m̀i xxxxx xxxx xxxx <=laughter  
allah ha mbi fa m̀i xxxxx xxxx xxxx  
Until occasion two I xxxxx xxxx xxxx
- 372 Ch; M̀i s̀e kwa baá ju, b̀ɔŋ mə b̀ɔŋ ooo <=laughter  
m̀i s̀e kwa baá talk də b̀ɔŋ mə b̀ɔŋ ooo  
I NEG. put PRES. case of group with group
- 373 Vraiment c'est comme ca.<=laughter
- 374 Nj; xxxxxxxx
- 375 Jb; B́o me baá b́o le jaa wa  
b́o me baá b́o le jaa wa  
they measure PRES. them in laugh QN.
- 376 Nj; B́o me baá le kilo <=laughter  
b́o me baá le kilo  
They measure PRES. in
- 377 Jb; Ma Chaŋ guan ne j̀ɔŋvə v̀e nuar, də mə kulu gi aa, <=  
Laughter  
ma chaŋ guan ne j̀ɔŋvə v̀e nuar də mə kulu gi baá, <  
If chaŋ want is marry woman person so with bless end PAST
- 378 mə, mə njai vən.  
mə mə njai vən  
with with thing evil
- 379 B̀ɔ nde, b̀ɔ dili kwa ke tuŋ, ha chi yula nde...  
b̀ɔ nde b̀ɔ dili kwa ke tuŋ ha chi yula  
nde  
They go they straight put look organise until that  
illness go
- 380 Nj; [ Aaa də saa mgbe,  
aaa də saa mgbe  
aaa of that chief
- 381 Ndeka bé b́o sum d̀e d̀e.  
ndeka bé b́o sum d̀e d̀e  
must we do remove small
- 382 Gw; Ne m̀i() M̀i ɲene nji mə ỳɔŋvə Chaŋ sam.  
ne mimi ɲene nji mə ỳɔŋvə chaŋ sam  
is me. I see thing with surpass chaŋ not
- 383 Ama ne m̀i kum.  
ama ne m̀i kum  
but is I just
- 384 Ai B́e munu kə le m̀o kum, gwan ɲgwə sua,  
ai b́e munu kə le m̀o kum gwan ɲgwə sua  
we think at in mine just want NEG. sua
- 385 b̀ɔ kulu mə sapdi=  
b̀ɔ kulu mə sapdi  
they bless with mistake
- 386 Jb; = Njai d̀oɔŋ ne ka m̀əna  
njai d̀oɔŋ ne ka m̀əna  
thing all is at thus

- 387 Ny; Də mə Də mə Də mə bó tue sum baá kən, də yə yula suú.  
 də mə də mə də mə bó tue sum baá kən də  
 yə yula suú  
 of with of with of with they say remove PRES. already of  
 yours illness again-NEG  
 [
- 388 xx; xxxx xxx
- [
- 389 Gw; Bó kulu bu sam. Nde mə Mgbe yə,  
 bó kulu bu sam nde mə mgbe yə  
 They bless him not go with chief yours
- 390 nde Gamia tue baá su kóó yə: de ɲgwə njai fe di.  
 nde Gamia tue baá su kóó yə de ɲgwə njai fe  
 di  
 go Gamia say PRES. again SUB.EMP. yours stay NEG. thing  
 new some
- 391 Ny; xxx tele bó, ne də xxxxxxxxxxxxxx  
 xxx tele bó ne də xxxxxxxxxxxxxx  
 xxx father ours is of xxxx xxxxxx
- 392 Kp; Di yə kum ju tam su  
 di yə kum ju tam su  
 some yours just case none again-NEG
- 393 Nj; Mgbe tue də ka()  
 mgbe tue də ka  
 chief say of at
- 394 Kp; Di yə kənəhən, ju yə dua ten am su  
 di yə kənəhən ju yə dua ten am su  
 of yours now case yours there there-is NEG. again-NEG
- 395 Gw; Və də kan, bí kə kə mbam yuo jɔgɔ.  
 və də kan bí kə kə mbam yuo jɔgɔ  
 woman of anyone you know to palace leave first
- 396 Və də kan, wò kə kə mban ɲgàm bé b̀̀ mbam b̀̀,  
 və də kan wò kə kə mban ɲgàm bé b̀̀ mbam b̀̀  
 woman of anyone you know to palace because we Pl. palace  
 Pl.
- 397 bé ne b̀̀ nuar ti.  
 bé ne b̀̀ nuar ti  
 we is Pl. person stupid
- 398 Də m̀̀ m̀̀ munu jə lóó ne chén.()  
 də m̀̀ m̀̀ munu jə lóó ne chén  
 of me I think say village is one
- 399 Wò ɲene mani b̀̀ ??vəla baá  
 wò ɲene mani b̀̀ ??vəla baá  
 you see thus they push PRES.
- 400 Nj; oi lóó ne ka chén m̀̀na, lóó fa sam  
 oi lóó ne ka chén m̀̀na lóó fa sam  
 village is at one thus village two not
- 401 Gw; Ne m̀̀na yi guo yi lóó.  
 ne m̀̀na yi guo yi lóó  
 is thus at house at village

- 402 Kwa ne ma kam hən də, à yɔɔɔ nde kə?  
 kwa ne ma kam hən də à yɔɔɔ nde kə  
 find is woman old this so she surpass go what
- 403 Njərə yɔɔɔ ɲgwə ndo.  
 njərə yɔɔɔ ɲgwə ndo  
 thing surpass NEG. also
- 404 Bí ?ne kusum. Bó nde nde.  
 bí ?ne kusum bó nde nde  
 you is spittle they go go
- 405 Chaɲ ha nji bó saa də kə to  
 chaɲ ha nji bó saa də kə to  
 chaɲ give thing them luck of at before
- 406 kə yɔr lɔ́ ʔʔgər lane ndoʔʔ, kadi.  
 kə yɔr lɔ́ ʔʔgər lane ndo kadi  
 at body village pain today also really
- 407 Tue bé hi, ne ka lɔ́ ʔgə la njoʔ, ne bé hi? ()  
 tue bé hi ne ka lɔ́ gər lane njo ne bé hi  
 say place where is at village pain today also is place  
 where
- 408 Kə kələhən fatere béə () fona fon,  
 kə kələhən fatere béə fona fon  
 at now section ours search search
- 409 nji mə bó fona par ne gi kə fatere béə,  
 nji mə bó fona par ne gi kə fatere béə  
 thing which they search skin is end at section ours
- 410 XX; mun sam. mun sam sam sam  
 mun sam mun sam sam sam  
 thus not thus not not not
- 411 Gw; Ha bó tema béə lu, à ne ki.  
 ha bó tema béə lu à ne ki  
 Until they send us SUB.EMP. it is what
- 412 Bó ju kare lu bó ju kare lu, bó kɔ̀ bɔ̀ nji  
 bó ju kare lu bó ju kare lu  
 bó kɔ̀ bɔ̀ nji  
 They talk interleaf SUB.EMP. they talk interleaf SUB.EMP.  
 they know Pl. thing
- 413 (2) Ju sam ɲgwə, chaɲ à ha nji bó kə tu kə tu (.)  
 (2) ju sam ɲgwə chaɲ à ha nji bó kə tu kə tu  
 (2) talk not NEG. chaɲ it give thing them at before at  
 before
- 414 Bó ne mə yaa bóɔ, bó ne mə nda bóɔ  
 bó ne mə yaa bóɔ bó bó ne mə nda bóɔ  
 They is with young women theirs they is with young men  
 theirs
- 415 bó ne mə ke bó dɔ́ɔɲ, chang a ha nji bó kə tu. Fabé...  
 bó ne mə ke bó dɔ́ɔɲ chang a ha nji bó kə tu  
 fabé  
 they is with look them all chang it give thing them at  
 before like



- 416 Ga; [   
 Bò njai də bó: bó ne yaa, bó ne nda   
 bò njai də bó bó ne yaa bó ne nda   
 Pl. thing of them they is young women they is young men
- 417 Nj; Yaa yə ne yaa, nda yə ne nda ndo.   
 yaa yə ne yaa nda yə ne nda   
 ndo   
 young women yours is young women young men yours is young   
 men also
- 418 bó kɔ nde bò nji hi wa.   
 bó kɔ nde bò nji hi wa   
 They know go Pl. thing where QN.
- 419 Gw; Wò kɔ mə wò tue jə, Ma və a, tə tue.   
 wò kɔ mə wò tue jə ma və a tə tue   
 You know which you say say woman woman to NEG. say
- 420 À kə ke, À ke a () nde nde   
 À kə ke À ke a nde nde   
 she at look she look at go go
- 421 Wò huan sep nde a ??mwo a?? kɔ ɲgwə,   
 wò huan sep nde a ??ma wò a kɔ ɲgwə   
 you child male go to if you to know NEG.
- 422 ma wò wula ɲgwə.   
 ma wò wula ɲgwə   
 if you kill NEG.
- 423 bò mavə di kumu wula su bu tə tə tə tə nji də vule   
 bò mavə di kumu wula su bu tə tə tə tə   
 nji də vule   
 Pl. woman some corpse kill again them-S. NEG. NEG. NEG.   
 NEG. thing of leave
- 424 Ga; [   
 nuar fabé   
 nuar fabé   
 person like
- 425 Nj; Diyə ne fakit   
 diyə ne fakit   
 Of yours is certainly
- 426 Gw; Aaa m̀ hən ne den, m̀ ne den naa sua hən nde ne sie naa   
 aaa m̀ hən ne den m̀ ne den naa sua hən nde ne sie   
 naa   
 aaa I This is here I is here PAST sua this go is take   
 PAST
- 427 Nj; [   
 Ama baá m̀na à vulu =   
 ama baá m̀na à vulu   
 but PRES. thus she leave
- 428 =vula. baá və saa, ama vula tə nji də vule   
 vula baá və saa ama vula tə nji də vule   
 leave PRES. woman that but leave so thing that leave
- 429 Di yə kum ne fakit.   
 di yə kum ne fakit

- of yours just is true
- 430 Mb; Di yə kum, ne bɔ́.  
di yə kum ne bɔ́  
of yours just is them
- 431 Ga; À bɔ́ ne mənə de tə nji də vule  
À bɔ́ ne mənə de tə nji də vule  
he do is thus so so thing of leave
- 432 Ma vu a nde ne vule ma və, si sen huan sep  
ma vu a nde ne vule mavə si sen huan sep  
If leave to go is leave woman husband hers child male
- 433 Nj; Ne fakit  
ne fakit  
is truly
- 434 Ga; Ne sua sen tuɲ də sa  
ne sua sen tuɲ də sa  
is sua his organise of that
- 435 Gw; [ ]  
Bɔ́ wula də mə nan, de ɲgwə ju sua.  
bɔ́ wula də mə nan de ɲgwə ju sua  
They kill of with how stay NEG. talk sua
- 436 Ma à ke, à jɔɔɔ baá kən, mə ma və  
ma à ke à jɔɔɔ baá kən mə mavə  
If he look he marry PRES. already with woman
- 437 À tue ɲgwə, à tue ɲgwə.  
À tue ɲgwə, à tue ɲgwə.  
he say NEG. he say NEG.
- 438 Allah wula sum, à wula sum nuar ten.() Huan nda də  
allah wula sum à wula sum nuar ten huan nda  
də  
kill remove he kill remove person there-is child young  
man of
- 439 Nj; [ ]  
əhə Ma à vulu =  
əhə ma à vulu  
if he leave
- 440 =ma, à ha lə be ma və. À jə ma və a:  
ma à ha lə be mavə À jə mavə 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 və à nde ha... À wə lə, à ha be ma və də, ma və nde =  
À nde ha à wə lə à ha be mavə də  
mavə nde  
she go give he take treatment he give hand woman that  
woman go
- 443 =wula sum bɔ́ si də.  
wula sum bɔ́ si də  
kill remove Pl. husband that

- 444 Ne ɲgam kə bɔ́ bɔ́ saa naa sɔ́n kɔ́.  
 ne ɲgam kə bɔ́ bɔ́ saa naa sɔ́n kɔ́  
 is because what they do ignite PAST mouth SUB.EMP.
- 445 Də saa bə́ ne gi kɔ́ gi.  
 də saa bə́ ne gi kɔ́ gi  
 of that we is end SUB.EMP. end
- 446 Jb; Ma nuar kulu baá və yə, kɔ́ à ne məna mə lə,  
 ma nuar kulu baá və yə kɔ́ à ne məna mə lə  
 if person bless PRES. woman yours Even he is thus with  
 treatment
- 447 À nde ne wò wula.  
 À nde ne wò wula  
 he go is you kill
- 448 Ma bɔ́ bɔ́ nyəgə nde ne sɔ́n,  
 ma bɔ́ bɔ́ nyəgə nde ne sɔ́n  
 If they do repair go is mouth
- 449 ma nuar kula ne və yə kɔ́ bɔ́ ne mə nan.  
 ma nuar kula ne və yə kɔ́ bɔ́ ne mə nan  
 if person bless is woman yours SUB.EMP. do is with how
- 450 Bɔ́ nde ne wò wula.  
 bɔ́ nde ne wò wula  
 They go is you kill
- 451 Ga; Bɔ́, bɔ́ bɔ́ saa sɔ́n, nde dole  
 bɔ́ bɔ́ bɔ́ saa sɔ́n nde dole  
 They they do ignite mouth go cool
- 452 Jb; Bɔ́ wula məna dede məna.  
 bɔ́ wula məna dede məna  
 They kill thus small thus
- 453 Ga; Də saa də sɔ́n ɲgwə. ( ) Də saa də san ten am.  
 də saa də sɔ́n ɲgwə də saa də san ten am  
 of that of mouth NEG. of that of deny there-is NEG.
- 454 Nj; Ma ma və bɔ́ ne wò ndeka to jɔ́gɔ́ di yə kum,  
 ma mavə bɔ́ ne wò ndeka to jɔ́gɔ́ di yə kum  
 if woman do is you from before first of you just good  
 NEG.
- 455 huɔm ɲgwə də bí, bí den  
 huɔm ɲgwə də bí bí den  
 good NEG. of you you stay
- 456 Ama ɲgàm ma mun sam ɲgwə nde nde ka to a fada  
 ama ɲgàm ma mun sam ɲgwə 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 rə bu, ma bili rə ne bu,  
 ma wò toku rə bu ma bili rə ne bu  
 If you together again her if together again is her

- 459        À wula sum wò kə kələhən.  
 À wula sum       wò kə kələhən  
 he kill remove you at now
- 460        Də se kum sɔ ɲgwə  
 də se   kum sɔ ɲgwə  
 of NEG. just live NEG.
- 461 Ga; Hən nuar bɔ́ və yə bɔ́ saa baá sɔ́n,  
 hən nuar   bɔ́ və   yə   bɔ́ saa   baá   sɔ́n  
 This person do woman yours they ignite PRES. mouth
- 462        kɔ bɔ́ mə nan à nde ne wò wula  
 kɔ   bɔ́ mə   nan à nde ne wò wula  
 Even do with how he go is you kill
- 463 Nj; Kə kələhən də saa də, sɔ ɲgwə.  
 kə kələhən də saa də sɔ ɲgwə  
 at now       of that of live NEG.
- 464        Ma ma və bɔ́ ne wò, wò mbo, wò bɔ́ ne bu ndo.       ma mavə  
 bɔ́ ne wò   wò mbo   wò bɔ́ ne 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        də saa kə kələhən de sɔ ɲgwə.  
 də saa kə kələhən de sɔ ɲgwə  
 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 (ɲəɲ, ɲgwə).  
 kan kan kuli ɲgwə  
 odd odd       NEG.
- 469 Jb; Kan, kan kuli ɲgwə, bé tue ne nan.  
 kan kan kuli ɲgwə bé tue ne nan  
 odd odd       NEG. we say is how
- 470 Nj; Wa tu bu tue ɲaga baá  
 watu bu tue ɲaga baá  
 say he say clear PRES.
- 471 Gw; Nuar kan chɔ chɔ chok tə tue.  
 nuar kan   chɔ-chɔ-chok tə tue  
 person anyone IDIO.: babble NEG. say
- 472        Chɔ chɔ chog tə tue. Chɔ chɔ chog tə tue.  
 chɔ chɔ chog tə tue chɔ-chɔ-chog tə tue  
 ??? ??? ??? so say IDIO.: babble so say
- 473        Saa baá tue Kuɲ! bí mənə? tə tue  
 saa baá tue Kuɲ bí mənə tə tue  
 that PRES. say Kuɲ you thus NEG. say
- 474        Ha nde nde bɔ́ huan kuó gi, nuar kuó mə bili bɔ́  
 ha   nde nde bɔ́ huan kuó gi nuar kuó mə bili  
 bɔ́

- Until go go Pl. child die end person die with together  
them
- 475 Ngam dua ka kɔ tue nan wa  
ngam dua ka kɔ tue nan wa  
because there at know say how QN.
- 476 Ama, bí ɲue a wa, bí bɔ̄ Gumbe bɔ̄.  
ama bí ɲgue a wa bí bɔ̄ Gumbe bɔ̄  
but you listen to SUB.EMP. you Pl. Gumbe Pl.
- 477 Nj; [ Tam saa bé, bé kɔ ne rə nji wa.  
tam saa bé bé kɔ ne rə nji wa  
none that we we know is again thing SUB.EMP.
- 478 Ha ju mə ɲaga de  
ha ju mə ɲaga de  
Until case with clear very
- 479 Gw; [ Mì ju yula di  
mì ju yula di  
I case illness very
- 480 Nj; Nuar di nde mì mbo bu mba,  
nuar di nde mì mbo bu mba  
person some go me divine him freely
- 481 ama yili mò kɔ ɲgwə.  
ama yili mò kɔ ɲgwə  
but name mine know NEG.
- 482 Də mì kum, mì yire den ne, də jə: mì baá nuar ku  
də mì kum mì yire den ne də jə mì baá nuar ku  
of me just I attempt here is of say I PRES. person big
- 483 ju sua sen ne be bé. Bé bé tue gi rə nde ne kɔ́.  
ju sua sen ne be bé bé bé tue gi rə nde ne kɔ́  
talk sua his is hand ours We we say end again go is  
SUB.EMP.
- 484 Ma chuar nde a be mò, mhm saa mì nde a bɔ́ wade bɔ́  
ma chuar nde a be mò mhm saa mì nde a bɔ́ wade  
bɔ́  
do  
If chicken go to hand mine mhm that I go to do division  
do
- 485 Gw; Chaɲ ne ten. À tue ne də tue.  
chaɲ ne ten À tue ne də tue  
chaɲ is there-is it say is of say
- 486 Nj; [ Chaɲ jə bu yə a: bí ne kuùn bí yə kun.  
chaɲ jə bu yə a bí ne kuùn bí yə  
kun  
avoid  
chaɲ say him yours to you is avoid you yours  
avoid
- 487 Le bɔ̄ ju nuar hən mə mì ɲue a,  
le bɔ̄ ju nuar hən mə mì ɲgue a  
in Pl. talk person this with me understand to
- 488 saa mì kum mì kɔ ɲgwə, njai mò kɔ ɲgwə()  
saa mì kum mì kɔ ɲgwə njai mò kɔ ɲgwə

that I just I know NEG. thing mine know NEG.

489 Mìí mò kɔ ɲgwə. (10)  
 mìí mò kɔ ɲgwə  
 mother mine know NEG.

GAamia & a Mboro have a Fulfulde conversation: omitted but simultaneous with the below until the Mboro's departure.

490 Gw; Kənəhən, Ng a, nji də nji hən bí bɔ́ sum baá kən,  
 kənəhən Ng a nji də nji hən bí bɔ́ sum baá kən  
 now Ng at thing of thing This you do remove PRES.  
 already

491 Nde ɲgɔ̀r ?nuar safi kən, bɔ́ bɔ́ sum. (1)  
 nde ɲgɔ̀r ?nuar safi kən bɔ́ bɔ́ sum  
 go speech person with-treatments already they do remove

492 Hən də, à la sen və sen, nuar njə, bə́'ə ɲgwə.  
 hən də à la sen və sen nuar njə bə́'ə ɲgwə  
 This here he PAST his woman his person that-one harm NEG.

493 Wò gwan ?nduan sen, wò tue ne kɔ́. (1)  
 wò gwan ?nduan sen wò tue ne kɔ́. (1)  
 You want division his you say is SUB.EMP.

494 To à sen, bí tue tue, tue go di am ɲgwə,  
 to à sen bí tue tue tue go di am ɲgwə  
 To he his you say say say walk other NEG. NEG.

495 à nə mə luɲ njulu  
 à nə mə luɲ njulu  
 she is with open eyes

496 Və jə à də sen, à ne mənə  
 və jə à də sen à ne mənə  
 woman say she of hers she is thus

497 Də yə ne də mò ma. <=laughter  
 də yə ne də mò ma.<  
 of yours is of mine "really"

498 XXX; ɲue dɔ́ɲ ɣɣɣɣɣɣɣɣ  
 ɲue dɔ́ɲ ɣɣɣɣɣɣɣɣ  
 listen all

499 Gw; Fa bé mə Ve na də sen nuar njə də.  
 fabé mə ve na də sen nuar njə də  
 like with (Ve,bad?) PAST of his person that-one that

500 Nda, bɔ́ bɔ́ yɔ̀r den baá yi guo saa ma.  
 nda bɔ́ bɔ́ yɔ̀r den baá yi guo saa ma  
 young men they do body stay PRES. at house that then

501 Ni se yula sen kə ne nuar te hi wa?  
 ni se yula sen kə ne nuar te hi wa  
 who NEG. illness theirs look? is person at? where QN.

502 Ch; Moptere ne kwə de <= to Joseph  
 moptere ne kwə de<  
 meeting is tomorrow then

503 Gw; Ma naa la ve ne ɲgwə yə,

- ma naa la ve ne ɲgwə yə  
if PAST PAST bad is NEG. NEG.
- 504 kɔ lane ne mənə tiə ma,  
kɔ lane ne mənə tiə ma  
even today is thus sister then
- 505 sɔɔ mɪ kɔɔ kɔɔ kɔɔ  
sɔɔ mɪ kɔɔ kɔɔ kɔɔ  
only I SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP.
- 506 mɪ bɔɔ su a bu gə gə gə bu hən  
mɪ bɔɔ su a bu gə gə gə bu hən  
I do again to him suffering suffering suffering him this
- 507 Nj; Ma la ne bə bə Luo bə, ma ne mənə ne ki wa?  
ma la ne bə bə.Luo bə ma ne mənə ne ki wa  
if PAST is place Pl..Luo Pl. if is thus is what QN.
- 508 Mɪ sela kwa wə su mɔ .  
mɪ sela kwa wə su mɔ  
I cross find take again mine
- 509 Bə bə gə Luo bə, ama ne mənə də kwa,  
bə bə gə Luo bə ama ne mənə də kwa  
Place Pl. at Luo Pl. but is thus of find
- 510 mɪ kwa wə njai mɔ  
mɪ kwa wə njai mɔ  
I find take thing mine
- 511 Ch; Muya yɔɔɔ kə, kɔ kə.  
muya yɔɔɔ kə kɔ kə  
patience surpass what even what
- 512 Njai pat ma gua muya,  
njai pat ma gua muya  
thing all if home patience
- 513 Chaɲ bɔɔ kɔ ɲgwə dede baá sɔn kə le muyna yə kɔ ()  
kɔɔ  
chaɲ bɔɔ kɔ ɲgwə dede baá sɔn kə le muyna yə  
chaɲ do know NEG. small PRES. mouth at PAST patience yours  
SUB.EMP.
- 514 Saa bɔ kɔ bu  
saa bɔ kɔ bu  
that they know him
- 515 Gw; Muya də mɔ yɔɔɔ na kɔ, də mɔ mɪ homo jə:  
muya də mɔ yɔɔɔ na kɔɔ də mɔ mɪ homo jə  
patience of mine surpass PAST SUB.EMP. of me I tired say  
  
Departure of a Fulbe man from Mbor or Mbum
- 516 Ma ɲgue dənə ɲgam də hənə kɔ ɲgwə  
ma ɲgue dənə ɲgam də hənə kɔ ɲgwə  
if understand here because of this know NEG.
- 517 Ch; [ Chaɲ ]  
Chaɲ Chaɲ kɔ nde, bə gwom kənəhən dede =  
chaɲ chaɲ kɔ nde bə gwom kənəhən dede  
chaɲ chaɲ know go we pay now small

- 518 =muya yə kɔ, Mose.  
 muya yə kɔ mose  
 patience yours even
- 519 Le wòŋ hən dede bó bɔ́ muya ni. Bɔ́, Bɔ́ bɔ́ məna nan. =  
 le wòŋ hən dede bó bɔ́ muya ni bɔ́ bɔ́ bɔ́  
 məna nan  
 in world this small one do patience very?? do do do  
 thus how
- 520 =Nuar bɔ́ məna nan,  
 nuar bɔ́ məna nan  
 person do thus how
- 521 Chaŋ kɔ nde bé gwom nde ne muya yə kɔ́. (4)  
 chaŋ kɔ nde bé gwom nde ne muya yə kɔ́  
 chaŋ know go we pay go is patience yours SUB.EMP.
- xx; xxxx xxx
- 522 Nj; aaaha ne ka mən. Nde bé bé dua naa,  
 aaaha ne ka mən nde bé bé dua naa  
 is at thus go we we there PAST
- 523 bé dua naa fada məna.  
 bé dua naa fada məna.  
 we there PAST like thus
- 524 Jə Bt a, nde wə kə baá chuar yə wə.  
 Jə Bt a nde wə kə baá chuar yə wə  
 say Bt to go take at PRES. chicken yours take
- 525 Ga; Də muya kum, ne ten.  
 də muya kum ne ten  
 of patience just is there-is
- 526 Ch; Nji à de məna na, den mena naa, ma wa nji,  
 nji à de məna na den mena naa ma wa nji  
 thing he stay thus PAST stay thus PAST if arrive thing
- 527 wò ha nji a mə chaŋ ni.  
 wò ha nji a mə chaŋ ni  
 you give thing to with very
- 528 Chaŋ kɔ ne bó gwom nde kɔ́.  
 chaŋ kɔ ne bó gwom nde kɔ́  
 chaŋ know is they pay go SUB.EMP.
- 529 Ga; Dole (4)  
 dole  
 cool
- 530 Nj; Ki!, (3)  
 ki!  
 Ki!
- 531 Jb; Nda bí ɲene ne hən də,  
 nda bí ɲene ne hən də  
 young men you see is this of
- 532 nji bó yila ne və jɔgɔ hən də yə-  
 nji bó yila ne və jɔgɔ hən də yə



- thing they call is woman marry this that yours
- 533 NJ; Ma və tue jə fadə à ha, à jɔgɔ və wa.  
 mavə tue jə fadə à ha à jɔgɔ və wa  
 woman say say like she give he marry woman SUB.EMP.
- 534 Njari à la və go duom nde.  
 njari à la və go duom nde  
 disorder he PAST woman walk start go
- 535 Ga; Ki!  
 ki!  
 Ki!
- 536 Gw; Am ɲgwə huan di go wuwa kənəhən ma. <=laughter  
 am ɲgwə huan di go wuwa kənəhən ma.<  
 NEG. NEG. child other walk fast now "really"
- 537 Ne ??ɲuɲ kare?? <=laughter  
 ne ??ɲuɲ kare  
 is centipede
- 538 Ne li wa? fela ne li xxxxxx tubu ɲgwə  
 ne li wa fela ne li xxxxxx tubu ɲgwə  
 is stomach QN. like is stomach become pregnant NEG.
- 539 Nj; [ ]  
 À ke ke də yə.()  
 À ke ke də yə  
 he look look of you
- 540 Ga; Ki! () À kə kələhən À sela baá yə dede,  
 ki! À kə kələhən À sela baá yə dede  
 Ki! he look? now he cross PRES. yours small
- 541 Nj; də mə à go duom baá yə və. À bə'é bɔɔ nan wa?  
 də mə à go duom baá yə və À bə'é bɔɔ 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; B'é bɔɔ né nan  
 B'é bɔɔ né nan  
 we do is how
- 544 Ga; Tue:() tam chu dɔɔɲ le moptere bó naa tue.  
 tue tam chu dɔɔɲ le moptere bó naa tue  
 say time time all in meeting they PAST say
- 545 Ma dede nuar yi baá sɔn mani  
 ma dede nuar yi baá sɔn mani  
 if small person there PRES. mouth thus
- 546 Nuar tə ten badi  
 nuar tə ten badi  
 person NEG. there-is approach
- 547 Chu mə lu də, nuar ten badi ɲgwə,  
 chu mə lu də nuar ten badi ɲgwə

- time when day that person there-is approach NEG.
- 548 Ma nuar- ma nyuri yila, gomə tene, wòŋ tene baá,  
 ma nuar ma nyuri yila gomə tene wòŋ tene baá  
 if person if grass enter belt break world break PRES.
- 549 Saa, bó bɔ́ yə hən.  
 saa bó bɔ́ yə hən  
 that they do yours this
- 550 WB; Chum chu à tan ten  
 chum chu à tan ten<  
 time time he market there-is
- 551 Ga; To, Chu mə lu bade, nuar də sen fale ŋwə  
 to chu mə lu bade nuar də sen fale ŋwə  
 To time with day approach person that theirs  
 upset NEG.
- 552 Nj; Wa: yu-yula, huan ne yula. Ama yula ŋwə  
 wa yu-yula huan ne yula ama yula ŋwə  
 say illness child is ill but ill NEG.
- 553 saa m̀i tue wa: ne nyən.  
 saa m̀i tue wa ne nyən  
 that I say say is lies
- 554 Bɔ́, bɔ́ jɔ́gɔ́ hən, gə nda di,  
 bɔ́ bɔ́ jɔ́gɔ́ hən gə ndagá di  
 they do marry this at bed some
- 555 ma m̀i naa lebu naa ŋwə ga gə Njere giyə <=Laughter  
 ma m̀i naa lebu naa ŋwə ga gə Njere giyə<  
 if I PAST hit PAST NEG. there at Njere over-there
- 556 B̀ò və ne mən, b̀ò sep mən ndo.  
 b̀ò və ne mən b̀ò sep mən ndo  
 Pl. woman is thus Pl. male thus also
- 557 Nda də mə m̀i lebu ŋwə ne gə  
 Nda də mə m̀i lebu ŋwə ne gə  
 young men of which I hit NEG. is at
- 558 takere nda də hi?  
 takere nda də hi  
 what sort young men of where
- 559 Ga; Ma sela naa nan bé le tu no wa. Ne nan bé le to no wa?  
 ma sela naa nan bé le tu no wa ne nan bé le to  
 no wa  
 if cross PAST how we in before also QN. is how we in before  
 also QN.
- 560 B́i b́i fa, ne yuo chibi teni, ne mə nə leteni chibi  
 b́i b́i fa ne yuo chibi teni ne mə nə leteni chibi  
 you you two is leave night period is with is between night
- 561 Nj; Sarki, Sarki ndée le jɔ́gɔ́ naa kə wa yuo də le naa  
 Sarki Sarki ndée le jɔ́gɔ́ naa kə wa yuo də le naa  
 Sarki Sarki come in first PAST what QN. leave of PAST PAST
- 562 Ngɔ́nbi le jɔ́gɔ́ mbe yaa, saa Sarki le naa le sep nda.  
 Ngɔ́nbi le jɔ́gɔ́ mbe yaa saa Sarki le naa le

- sep nda  
 Ngɔnbi PAST carry beer young women that Sarki PAST PAST in  
 male young men
- 563 Sarki ???kum wanyu də.  
 Sarki ??kum wanyu də  
 Sarki just else of
- 564 Ne lu mə bɔ́ nde à mbe yaa saa mwe.  
 ne lu mə bɔ́ nde à mbe yaa saa mwe  
 is day with they go to beer young women that drink
- 565 Se bɔ́ jə ndée ndée ndée bɔ́ nyəm we  
 se bɔ́ jə ndée ndée ndée bɔ́ nyəm we  
 so they say come come come they extinguish fire
- 566 se baá ləm kɔ vɔɔɔ mba.  
 se baá ləm kɔ vɔɔɔ mba  
 so PRES. only even game freely
- 567 Bí ke kwere ju saa  
 bí ke kwere ju saa  
 you look beside case that
- 568 Ga; Njərədi ten yuo ɲgwə.  
 njərədi ten yuo ɲgwə  
 something there-is leave NEG.
- 569 Ne dənə sɔɔɔ ma bɔ́ Gumbe  
 ne dənə sɔɔɔ ma bɔ́ Gumbe  
 is here only if Pl. Gumbe
- 570 chibi jɔɔɔ yelili denɲgwə mə bɔ́ və maɲi  
 chibi jɔɔɔ yelili den ɲgwə mə bɔ́ və maɲi  
 night carry evening stay NEG. with Pl. woman small
- 571 Chiə bɔ́ ɲoro baa ɲene Ki!  
 chiə bɔ́ ɲoro ba'á ɲene ki!  
 outside they back PRES see Ki!
- 572 Nj; Ki!.  
 ki!  
 Ki!
- 573 Gw; Bɔ́ sep mənə, bɔ́ və mənə eeheee (20)  
 bɔ́ sep mənə bɔ́ və mənə eeheee  
 Pl. male thus Pl. woman thus
- 574 To, Bɔ́ nda bɔ́ɔ́ nji.  
 to bɔ́ nda bɔ́ɔ́ nji  
 To Pl. young men do thing
- 575 Naa m̀i tue ne jə:  
 naa m̀i tue ne jə  
 PAST I say is say
- 576 kwun m̀ò ne ve ndeka mə duɔm ()  
 kwun m̀ò ne ve ndeka mə duɔm  
 forehead mine is bad from with start
- 577 nji m̀ò pat ne b́ ɲgam. Ne mənə naa.  
 nji m̀ò pat ne b́ ɲgam ne mənə naa  
 thing mine all is place divination is thus PAST

- 578 Kənəhən, sua mə bɔ́ kulu də huan mani tam,  
 kənəhən sua mə bɔ́ kulu də huan mani tam  
 now sua which they bless of child small none
- 579 huan mani ma à jɔ́ɔ və, à huan mani sam su.()  
 huan mani ma à jɔ́ɔ və à huan mani sam su  
 child small if he marry woman he child small not again-NEG
- 580 Chaɲ aa bɔ́ tə tubu bu fela gə mə mì ɲene kə bili  
 chaɲ aa bɔ́ tə tubu bu fela gə mə mì  
 ɲene kə bili  
 chaɲ PAST do NEG. conceive her like suffering which I see  
 at together
- 581 jumu hən də, mə mì kwa, kwa ɲgam tə.  
 jumu hən də mə mì kwa kwa ɲgam tə  
 after this that which I put put because so
- 582 Allah saa də bɛ nuar à kuó dɔ́ɔɲ kum kuó  
 allah saa də bɛ nuar à kuó dɔ́ɔɲ kum kuó  
 that of we person they-S. die all just die
- 583 (3) Tue ɲ- tue ka də tue.  
 (3) tue ɲ- tue ka də tue  
 (3) say NEG. say at of say
- 584 Nj; Wò ne twa hi?  
 wò ne twa hi  
 you is roast where
- 585 Gw; Allah () Ma jibi ka man,  
 Allah ma jibi ka man  
 Allah if shake at thus
- 586 mə nde nde jumu, nji bí bɔ́ mbar də,  
 mə nde nde jumu nji bí bɔ́ mbar də  
 with go go after thing you do square that
- 587 bí see tena, wò nde nde ha wò kɔ́ wò gwom ɲgwə  
 bí see tena, wò nde nde ha wò kɔ́ wò gwom  
 ɲgwə  
 you work cut-through, you go go until you know you pay  
 NEG.
- 588 Wò ɲene gə jumu.  
 wò ɲene gə jumu  
 you see suffering after
- 589 Jb; (1) aa bɔ́ di ne man,  
 (1) aa bɔ́ di ne man  
 (1) aaa they other is thus
- 590 Nj; [  
 xxxxxxxx  
 xxxxxxxx
- 591 Jb; Bɔ́ di jumu saa fona se,  
 bɔ́ di jumu saa fona se  
 they other after that search NEG.
- 592 Nj; [  
 xxxxxxxx  
 xxxxxxxx

- 593 Jb; Bó di vən ten  
 bó di vən ten  
 they other evil there-is
- 594 Nj; [                    ]  
 xxxxxxxx.            To  
 xxxxxxxx to  
                   so
- 595 Jb; Di yə ne ju də bə huan-  
 di yə ne ju də bə huan  
 of yours is talk of PL. child
- 596            də bə nuar ten. Bə nuar nuar ne ten.  
 də bə nuar ten            bə nuar nuar ne ten  
 of Pl. person there-is Pl. person person is there-is
- 597 Gw;                    [  
                   À tue ka ne nan wa? Də bə nuar ne ten.  
                   À tue ka ne nan wa də bə nuar ne ten  
                   he say at is how QN. of Pl. person is there-is
- 598            Də bó, bə bə mií ne ten,  
 də bó bə bə mií ne ten  
 of them PL. Pl. mother is there-is
- 599            bə nuar kan ne ten.  
 bə nuar kan ne ten  
 Pl. person anyone is there-is
- 600            bə nuar kan ten, ( ) To.  
 bə nuar kan ten to  
 Pl. person anyone there-is To
- 601            Ng à ne ka go ne go,  
 Ng à ne ka go ne go  
 Ng he is at walk is walk
- 602            mī go mií mō ten ndo.  
 mī go mií mō ten ndo  
 I walk mother mine there-is also
- 603 Nj; Ne ka məna  
 ne ka məna  
 is at thus
- 604 Gw; Mī tue ka də mō məna.  
 mī tue ka də mō məna  
 I say at of mine thus
- 605            ama mī ɲene ka,  
 ama mī ɲene ka  
 but I see at
- 606 Jb; mī jə mī ɲene ka ɲgam də ɲene naa. (2)  
 mī jə mī ɲene ka ɲgam            də ɲene naa  
 I say I see at divination of see PAST
- 607 NG; Ne ka sua, sua chɔ ka bé kɔɔ (2)  
 ne ka sua sua chɔ ka bé kɔɔ (2)  
 is at sua sua chop at us SUB.EMP.
- 608 Nj; Ne baga fa dɔɔɲ wa,  
 ne baga fa dɔɔɲ wa

- is good two all QN.
- 609 NG; Bó jə fa dɔ́ŋ xxxxxx  
 bó jə fa dɔ́ŋ xxxxxx  
 they say two all
- 610 Nj; [ ]  
 Bé naga Bé naga Bó Bó wə njai bon.  
 bé naga bé naga bó bó wə njai bon  
 we lick we lick they they take thing theirs
- 611 Bó sum nde ne njai sua,  
 Bó sum nde ne njai sua  
 they remove go is thing sua
- 612 Bó sum nde chuar sua kɔ́, bó sum kalɔn kɔ́, bə chɔ sua.  
 bó sum nde chuar sua kɔ́ bó sum kalɔn kɔ́  
 bə chɔ sua  
 they remove go chicken sua SUB.EMP. they remove money  
 SUB.EMP. they chop sua
- 613 Aaa nde ne nuar chén də, ndeka bé bɔ́ sum bó  
 aaa nde ne nuar chén də ndeka bé bɔ́ sum bó  
 aaa go is person one of must we do remove them
- 614 Jb; [ ]  
 Ne mənə  
 ne mənə  
 is thus
- 615 Nj; Bé bɔ́ sum bé denə wa.  
 bé bɔ́ sum bé denə wa  
 we do remove us here QN.
- 616 Jb; Ha nde nde də jemu nde ne waga chén ne bó,  
 ha nde nde də jemu nde ne waga chén ne bó  
 until go go of second go is fast one is they
- 617 bé nyugə su ne bó  
 bé nyugə su ne bó  
 we repair again is them
- 618 Nj; aaa sum bu kalɔn də.(3)  
 aaa sum bu kalɔn də  
 aaa remove it money that
- 619 Mb; Fabé...fabé Bt hən də, ma də jemu waga chu a,  
 fabé...fabé Bt hən də ma də jemu waga chu a  
 like like Bt this of if of after fast return to
- 620 ma tue wò tue ŋgwə ne kɔ́, jumu sua fela mə ne gi chén.  
 ma tue wò tue ŋgwə ne kɔ́ jumu sua fela mə ne gi  
 chén  
 if say you say NEG. is SUB.EMP. after sua listen with is  
 end one
- 621 Mì tue ne hən.  
 mì tue ne hən  
 I say is this
- 622 Gw; Ne ka ŋgòr bu aa.  
 ne ka ŋgòr bu aa  
 is at speech his to

- 623 Mb; [
   
Ne ɲgam ka...ɲgam kam
   
ne ɲgam ka...ɲgam kam
   
is divination old divination old
- 624 À den ɲgwə njai mba de.
   
À den ɲgwə njai mba de
   
it stay NEG. thing free very
- 625 Gw; Ne ka məna
   
ne ka məna
   
is at thus
- 626 Ga; xxxx
   
xxxx
- 627 Gw; Wò yə nuar am ɲgwə gia.
   
wò yə nuar am ɲgwə gia
   
you eat person NEG. NEG. end
- 628 Bó bɔ́ su wò dole ndo bɔ́ bɔ́ bɔ́ dɔ́le ndo.
   
bɔ́ bɔ́ su wò dole ndo bɔ́ bɔ́ bɔ́ dɔ́le ndo
   
they do again you cool also they they they cool
   
[
   
629 XX; aaaaiiii
   
aaaaiiii
- 630 Gw; Hən ne njai dole=
   
hən ne njai dole
   
this is thing cool
- 631 Nj; =Fa dua ne kwunere saa (1)
   
fa dua ne kwunere saa 1
   
like there is refuser that
- 632 Də guɲ kaga ne kalɔn ne də kalɔn də tare.
   
də guɲ kaga ne kalɔn ne də kalɔn də tare
   
of okra pick is money is of money of hard
- 633 Fə sua ne chuar.
   
fə sua ne chuar
   
head sua is chicken
- 634 Mb; [
   
Chuar
   
chuar
   
chicken
- 635 Nj; Fə sua ne chuar, kalɔn hən ne tare mba(4)
   
fə sua ne chuar kalɔn hən ne tare mba
   
head sua is chicken money this is hard freely
- 636 Jb; Ha nji be Ng tə à ha mgbe (2)
   
ha nji be Ng tə à ha mgbe
   
give thing hand Ng so he give chief
- 637 Nj; Kalɔn ne njai tare mba
   
kalɔn ne njai tare mba
   
money is thing hard freely
- 638 Fə sua ne chuar də.
   
fə sua ne chuar də
   
head sua is chicken that

- 639 Jb; Ng wə chuar, ha nji mgbe  
 Ng wə chuar ha nji mgbe  
 Ng take chicken give thing chief
- 640 Ny; () Wò sie ɲgwè, ju tue ne ɲgwə.  
 wò sie ɲgwè ju tue ne ɲgwə  
 you take feather talk say is NEG.
- 641 Ch; Hən à ne chuar chén, chuar taar sam ɲgwə  
 hən à ne chuar chén chuar taar sam ɲgwə  
 this it is chicken one chicken three not NEG.
- 642 MB; Sie ɲgwə saa  
 sie ɲgwə saa  
 take feather that
- 643 Nj; à sie ɲgwè chuar.  
 à sie ɲgwè chuar  
 he take feather chicken
- 644 Ch; À sie ɲgwè no  
 À sie ɲgwè no  
 he take feather also
- 645 Nj; Sie ɲgwè Bt sie ɲgwè.  
 sie ɲgwè Bt sie ɲgwè  
 take feather Bt take feather
- 646 Mb; Ha nji bu, bili nji mə bu.  
 ha nji bu bili nji mə bu  
 give thing him together thing with him
- 647 Ny; [ Sie mə chuar də.  
 sie mə chuar də  
 take with chicken of
- 648 NJ; [ Sie mə chuar də.  
 sie mə chuar də  
 take with chicken of
- 649 Mb; əə məna (2)  
 əə məna (2)  
 thus
- 650 Ch; La famille qu'il cherche il vont voir tout comme ça ()
- 651 Ny; Bí den cher ma, bí ???yuo ter  
 bí den cher ma bí yuo ter  
 you stay road then you leave up
- 652 Ch; Wə kalɔn saa wə ma. L'argent.()  
 wə kalɔn saa wə ma l'argent  
 take money that take then
- 653 Ni bɔɔ né kɔ wa? Bí wə né wə  
 Ni bɔɔ né kɔ wa? Bí wə né wə  
 who do is know QN. You take is take
- 654 Nj; aa bí aa  
 aa bí aa  
 aaa you aaa  
 [





- 670 (3) Nuar ma mə bù man be, à ha nji  
 (3) nuar 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 Mb; Ha nji (1)  
 ha nji (1)  
 give thing (1)
- 674 Ny; Ha ɲgwə ɲgomni à ne mə sua be ma.  
 ha ɲgwə ɲgomni à ne mə sua be ma  
 give NEG. ɲgomni he is with sua hand then
- 675 Nj; Wò sela wò kuɔp  
 wò sela wò kuɔp  
 you cross you scrape
- 676 ɲgomni à ne kuɔp kɔ́.  
 ɲgomni à ne kuɔp kɔ́  
 ɲgomni he is scrape know
- 677 Ma ma mì kuɔp vaa də kɔ, mì sə mò guo yə suú.()  
 ma ma mì kuɔp vaa də kɔ́ mì sə mò guo yə  
 suú  
 if if I scrape torso of SUB.EMP. I NEG. mine house yours  
 again-NEG
- 678 Wə də, wə nji hən, wò kela chiə.  
 wə də wə nji hən wò kela chiə  
 take of take thing this you pass outside
- 679 Ni; Bí la yə den baá də bí wanyu  
 bí la yə den baá də bí wanyu  
 you PAST yours stay PRES. of you else
- 680 NJ; eee  
 eee
- 681 Ny; Wò ha nji bɔ̃ huan mani, bɔ̃ huan ɲela.  
 wò ha nji bɔ̃ huan mani bɔ̃ huan ɲela  
 you give thing Pl. child small Pl. child roast
- 682 Wò ha nyí, nyí ɲela ne kɔ ma.  
 wò ha nyí nyí ɲela ne kɔ ma  
 you give speaker speaker roast is SUB.EMP. then
- 683 Nj; Bɔ́ kuɔp kə chiə. Bí kwa nde ne be mani.  
 bɔ́ kuɔp kə chiə bí kwa nde ne be mani  
 they scrape to outside you put go is hand thus
- 684 Bt a, bí yuo kela də chiə.  
 Bt a bí yuo kela də chiə  
 Bt to you leave pass of outside
- 685 Bí fa dɔ́ɔɲ bí yə, bí kwa nde ne be mani.  
 bí fa dɔ́ɔɲ bí yə bí kwa nde ne be mani  
 you two all you yours you put go is hand thus

- 686 Bó kulu kə chiə.  
 bó kulu kə chiə  
 they bless at outside
- 687 Ni; Mì kɔ kɔ ma.  
 mì kɔ kɔ ma  
 I know know then
- 688 Nj; (4) kuɔp kɔp chiə (2)  
 (4) kuɔp kɔp chiə  
 (4) scrape side outside
- 689 Ni; Bó kuɔp gi, bó ŋela yə ma.  
 bó kuɔp gi bó ŋela yə ma  
 they scrape end they roast yours then
- 690 Ny; Bí sie kwa də be ma. Sie kwa mə be <=laughter  
 bí sie kwa də be ma sie kwa mə be  
 you take put of hand then take put with hand
- 691 Ny (to merup); Də bí bɔ́ fona wuli bə jar.  
 ny to də bí bɔ́ fona wuli bə jar  
 of you do search bring Pl. firewood
- 692 Nj; Yuo kela chiə tu. Mì na ha nde kuɔp kuɔp ne ka be.  
 yuo kela chiə tu mì ne ha nde kuɔp kuɔp  
 ne ka be  
 leave pass outside before I PRES until go scrape scrape  
 is at hand
- 693 () Ne ka le be, () tə kuɔp ne kɔ́.  
 () ne ka le be () tə kuɔp ne kɔ́  
 () is at in hand () so scrape is SUB.EMP.
- 694 Gw; aaa gi ka yɔr m̀.  
 aaa gi ka yɔr m̀  
 aaa end at body mine
- 695 Ha nuar nuar yula yɔr ŋuna m̀  
 ha nuar nuar yula yɔr ŋuna m̀  
 until person person ill body child mine
- 696 Jb; () Den dua Ng  
 () den dua Ng  
 () stay there Ng
- 697 Nj; (1) Bí kwa be mani, bə bə bə chén-e,  
 (1) bí kwa be mani, bə bə bə chén-e  
 (1) you put hand thus place place place one
- 698 bí kwa bə chén-e mba ee bə chén-e mba  
 bí kwa bə chén-e mba ee bə chén-e mba  
 you put place one freely place one freely
- Between lines 699-707 the ndungu sua is being scraped.
- 699 Jb; Bí fa bili bə mbi  
 bí fa bili bə mbi  
 you two together Pl. friend
- 700 Gw; <3 Də hən m̀ ma kwa bu jemu,  
 də hən m̀ ma kwa bu jemu  
 of this mine if put him second

- 701 ma mì kwa, allah, mì wɔpə ne bu.  
ma mì kwa allah mì wɔpə ne bu  
if I find I organise is him
- 702 Nj; (4) Wò kuɔp, wò kuɔp nji kɔp di, bɔ̀ nji kɔp di.  
4 wò kuɔp wò kuɔp nji kɔp di bɔ̀ nji kɔp di  
you scrape you scrape thing side other Pl. thing side  
other
- 703 Ny; À kuɔp kɔp fa dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́  
À kuɔp kɔp fa dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́  
he scrape side two both
- 704 Mb; (2) Də mə mgbe tue naa də, à tue naa gəchén.  
(2) də mə mgbe tue naa də à tue naa gəchén  
(2) of which chief say PAST here he say PAST at true
- 705 hən ne ??nɔ́ɔ́ vən=  
hən ne ??nɔ́ɔ́ vən  
this is meat evil
- 706 Gw; =ndeka bí naa bɔ́ɔ́ ɲgwə,  
ndeka bí naa bɔ́ɔ́ ɲgwə  
from you PAST do NEG.
- 707 wò jula kwa hən də,  
wò jula kwa hən də  
you flee put this here
- 708 Hən də chi jula kwa mì ka lɔ́,  
hən də chi jula kwa mì ka lɔ́  
this here this flee find me at compound
- 709 NJ; Ma baa kuɔp, wò wə tabé wò kwa le nyɔ́ɔ́ də.  
ma baa kuɔp wò wə tabé wò kwa le nyɔ́ɔ́ də  
if PAST scrape you take earth you put in finger of
- 710 Wò kema kwa tabé tə ɲɔ́??  
wò kema kwa tabé tə ɲɔ́  
you touch put earth at left
- 711 Gw; Allah. Tue jula paɲpaɲ ləm jə:  
allah tue jula paɲpaɲ ləm jə  
say flee mill only say
- 712 nuar bu hən À bɔ́ɔ́ nan ma.  
nuar bu hən À bɔ́ɔ́ nan ma  
person him this he do how "really"
- 713 To, tue naa bɔ̀ Mvu, bɔ̀ Mvulu bɔ̀ bɔ̀ dim, bɔ̀ Kuɲ su,  
to tue naa bɔ̀ Mvu bɔ̀ Mvulu bɔ̀ bɔ̀ dim  
bɔ̀ Kuɲ su  
To say PAST Pl. Mvu Pl. Mvulu Pl. Pl. y.--same-sex-sib. Pl.  
Kung again
- 714 bɔ́ ndée hən kə yɔ́r m̀,  
bɔ́ ndée hən kə yɔ́r m̀  
they come this at body mine
- 715 Bɔ́ jə: bɔ́ nde naa tə bɔ́ nde mì tue.  
bɔ́ jə bɔ́ nde naa tə bɔ́ nde mì tue  
they say they go PAST so they go me say

- 716 Mì jə: mì kɔ ɲgwə.  
 mì jə mì kɔ ɲgwə  
 I say I know NEG.
- 717 Jb; Watu bó tue: tə tue. Wa: tə tue  
 watu bó tue tə tue wa tə tue  
 say we say NEG. say say NEG. say
- 718 Nj; Ma wò wə baá tabé wò kwa le (ɲgor,ɲgo) də, wò naga.  
 ma wò wə baá tabé wò kwa le (ɲgor ɲgo) də wò  
 naga  
 if you take PRES. earth you put in (speech,left) of you  
 lick
- 719 Wò kulu nji bó tə tema, wò kulu nuar di le tema,  
 wò kulu nji bó tə tema wò kulu nuar di le  
 tema  
 you bless thing them at liver you bless person other in  
 liver
- 720 Wò naga mə leba ma.  
 wò naga mə leba ma  
 you lick with tongue then
- 721 Wò naga su mə be ɲgo məna. Məna.  
 wò naga su mə be ɲgo məna məna  
 you lick again with hand left thus thus
- 722 Wò naga su mə ɲgo fii  
 wò naga su mə ɲgo fii  
 you lick again with left again
- 723 Gw; Njə baá mì kɔ ɲgwə.  
 njə baá mì kɔ ɲgwə  
 thing PRES. I know NEG.
- 724 Bì den nɔ́ɲ, bí vulu ka mì.  
 bí den nɔ́ɲ bí vulu ka mì  
 you stay quiet you leave at me  
 [
- 725 Mb; aaa ju hən də, Bí ɲue də ɲue yə.  
 aaa ju hən də bí ɲue də ɲue yə  
 aaa talk this here you listen of listen you
- 726 Bó jə bu a: wò sum sen nde bóó chiə wa  
 bó jə bu a wò sum sen nde bóó chiə 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 ne yi lóó  
 go luli bó yuo gə Mbor ma bó chu  
 chu ma bó ne yi lóó  
 walk day-before-yesterday they leave at Mbor if they return  
 return if they is at compound
- 728 MS; À tue ne ka mən  
 À tue ne ka mən  
 he say is at thus
- 729 Mb; Ngàm

- ngàm  
because
- 730 MS; B́ tə see tə sen  
b́ tə see tə sen  
you NEG. work at his
- 731 Mb; wò ɲene ma?  
wò ɲene ma  
you see then
- 732 Nj; Ju gi aa  
ju gi aa  
talk end PAST
- 733 Gw; Nde a tamə nde bɔ́ suu  
nde a tamə nde bɔ́ súu  
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; b́ nde leyili, b́ vulu leyili wa.(3)  
b́ nde leyili b́ vulu leyili wa  
they come evening they leave evening QN.
- 736 NJ; M̀ kɔ-le chɔ baá lu  
m̀ kɔ-le chɔ baá lu  
I know chop PRES. freely
- 737 den ɲgwə b́...  
den ɲgwə b́  
stay NEG. we  
[
- 738 Ny; Sɔɔ b́ kulu gi aa  
sɔɔ b́ kulu gi aa  
only they bless end PAST
- 739 Nj; wò kulu gi aa də dɔ́ɲ b́ chɔ ki chén.  
wò kulu gi aa də dɔ́ɲ b́ chɔ ki chén  
you bless end PAST of all they chop at true  
[
- 740 Ny; de rə də mə liya nə b́ chɔ kela ki chén  
de rə də mə liya nə b́ chɔ kela ki chén  
of again of with remains is they chop pass at true
- 741 Nj; B́ li nde ke  
b́ li nde ke  
they stomach go look
- 742 Ny; aa b́- Lu b́ kulu gi aa dɔ́ɲ b́ chɔ,  
aa b́ lu b́ kulu gi aa dɔ́ɲ b́ chɔ  
aaa we day they bless end PAST both they chop
- 743 b́ chɔ ləm nji, b́ chɔ ləm nji.  
b́ chɔ ləm nji b́ chɔ ləm 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 b3() b3() B3 cho ba3 ki ch3n ma.  
 b3 b3 b3 cho ba3 ki ch3n ma  
 they they they chop PRES. at true "really"
- 746 Ny; aa  
 aa  
 aaa
- 747 Mb; B3 sie aa ba3 kulu fa d33ŋ  
 b3 sie aa ba3 kulu fa d33ŋ  
 they take PAST PRES. bless two both
- 748 Ny; d33ŋ. Ki ch3n saa b3 cho cho ki ch3n#22  
 d33ŋ ki ch3n saa b3 cho cho ki ch3n  
 both at true that they chop chop at true
- 749 (5) ŋu w3 nde jar foni wa. (2)  
 (5) ŋu w3 nde jar foni wa  
 (5) you go firewood search QN.
- 750 Ni; Gamia yuo ba3 wa, t3 à nde kw3 ha b3 kal3n ten.  
 gamia yuo ba3 wa t3 à nde kw3 ha b3 kal3n 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) W3 j3: ny3 ndeka sie sie ŋgw3, sie!  
 (3) w3 j3 ny3 ndeka sie sie ŋgw3 sie!<  
 (3) you say speaker must take take feather take
- 753 o jula den3! <=laughter  
 o jula den3!<  
 flee here
- 754 Nj; O B3 ŋela su wa? B3 nde ŋela ŋela ma.  
 o b3 ŋela su wa b3 nde ŋela ŋela ma  
 you roast again-NEG QN. you go roast roast "really"
- 755 Mb; B3 nde ne ŋela, b3 nde jar foni.()  
 b3 nde ne ŋela b3 nde jar foni  
 they go is roast they go firewood search
- 756 Ny; M3 sie, m3 tue: ??nyima oi  
 m3 sie m3 tue ??nyima oi  
 I take I say year
- 757 W3 nde sie ma, sie ka sie bu, w3 w3 w3.(1)  
 w3 nde sie ma sie ka sie bu w3 w3 w3  
 you go take then take at take it you take take
- 758 Ni; B3 mom den ne h3n. M3 ŋela baa k3n.  
 b3 mom den ne h3n m3 ŋela ba3 k3n  
 we wait here is this when roast PRES already
- 759 Ha b3 nde w3 kwo sen m3 b3 nde dua.  
 ha b3 nde w3 kwo sen m3 b3 nde dua  
 until we go take bone his that we go there
- 760 Ny; M3 tue naa m3na. W3 jumu nde w3 kwa be.  
 m3 tue naa m3na w3 jumu nde w3 kwa be

- I say PAST thus you after go take put hand
- 761 Nj Bɛ̃ nde mə kuɔ  
 bɛ̃ nde mə kuɔ  
 we go with scrape
- 762 ch; To usukɔ. Né be b`ɔ̃ nuar kuú ()  
 To usukɔ. Né be b`ɔ̃ nuar kuú  
 So thank-you is hand PL person big
- 763 Nj; Nɛ̃nedɔ̃ wò kwa mì leyili hən, ??fə bɛ̃ kuɔp????  
 Nɛ̃nedɔ̃ wò kwa mì leyili hən \$\$\$fə bɛ̃ kuɔp\$\$\$  
 Nɛ̃nedɔ̃ you find me evening this like we scrape
- 764 wa, mì fə yi ter tu.  
 wa mì fə yi ter tu  
 say I attach? at up tree
- 765 ()O Nyakati ma wò fə ser bɛ̃ hiun-i <=laughter  
 ()o Nyakati ma wò fə ser bɛ̃ hiun-i  
 ()O Nyakati if you attach? upside-down place different
- 766 Ny; (2) Wò kɔ su a də jə: wò ha nji, ha nji.  
 wò kɔ su a də jə wò ha nji ha nji  
 you know again at of say you give thing give thing
- 767 Wò yuo a ha mì, Wò nji chu də bu lɔɔ,  
 wò yuo a ha mì wò nji chu də bu lɔɔ  
 you leave to give me you thing return of him compound
- 768 kenəhən wò nde baá rə mə nji wanyu <=laughter  
 kenəhən wò nde baá rə mə nji wanyu  
 now you go PRES. again with thing else
- 769 Nj; Mì mò mə də̃gɔr ten am ɲgwə wa?  
 mì mò mə də̃gɔr ten am ɲgwə wa  
 I mine with there-is NEG. NEG. QN.
- 770 WB; Ne ten wa?  
 ne ten wa  
 is there-is QN.
- 771 Nj; Də̃gɔr sua wa?  
 də̃gɔr sua wa  
 də̃gɔr sua QN.
- 772 Gw; À jaa ten-  
 À jaa ten  
 he laugh there-is
- 773 Ny; xxxxxxxxxxxx
- 774 Nj; Ma mì li mən̄jɔ̃gɔ ma wò kuó ɲgwə,  
 ma mì li mən̄jɔ̃gɔ ma wò kuó ɲgwə  
 if I stomach morning if you die NEG.
- 775 leyili saa wò kuó baá.  
 leyili saa wò kuó baá  
 evening that you die PRES.
- 776 Ne də̃gɔr mò də.(6)  
 ne də̃gɔr mò də  
 is də̃gɔr mine that



- 777 Ki! wòŋ! () Wòŋ bə́é baá njai. Oi(4)  
 ki! wòŋ wòŋ bə́é baá njai oi  
 Ki! world world harm PRES. thing
- 778 Bu bɔ́ɔ́ chɔ́ baá hən, (1) əə mena ne ki wa?  
 bu bɔ́ɔ́ chɔ́ baá hən (1) əə mena ne ki wa  
 he do chop PRES. this thus is what QN.
- 779 Ni; Wòŋ bə́é baá njə. Mən ne kə:  
 wòŋ bə́é baá njə mən ne kə  
 world harm PRES. thing thus is what
- 780 Bə́ kulu bu ten am ŋgwə.  
 bə́ kulu bu ten am ŋgwə  
 we bless him there-is NEG. NEG.
- 781 Ch; Kuŋ à ne de sen san də hi wa?  
 Kuŋ à ne de sen san də hi wa  
 Kuŋ he is of his refuse here where QN.
- 782 Nj; Mì kɔ́ nji wa? Naa munjɔ́ɔ́ hən mì naa mə Mvulu tue  
 mì kɔ́ nji wa naa munjɔ́ɔ́ hən mì naa mə Mvulu tue  
 I know thing QN. PAST morning this I PAST with Mvulu say
- 783 Bt?; ama mì mə nji fela ŋgwə, mì ŋgue ne lu.  
 ama mì mə nji fela ŋgwə mì ŋgue ne lu  
 but I with thing like NEG. I understand is VB.EMP.
- 784 xx; Bí bɔ́ɔ́ ne nan wa? (1)  
 bí bɔ́ɔ́ ne nan wa  
 you do is how QN.
- 785 Nj; Bí, bə́ bɔ́ɔ́ də nan wa?  
 bí bə́ bɔ́ɔ́ də nan wa  
 you we do of how QN.
- 786 Bí njai jula, bí ŋene və nuar jula chu,  
 bí njai jula bí ŋene və nuar jula chu  
 you thing flee you see woman person flee return
- 787 njai nuar jula chu ki! ki! ki!, ki! ki! ki!.( )  
 njai nuar jula chu ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ( )  
 thing person flee return Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! ( )
- 788 Wò tue nde ne nan.( )  
 wò tue nde ne nan  
 you say go is how
- 789 Ny; Kalɔ́n ne dua, bə́ wa.( )  
 kalɔ́n ne dua bə́ wa  
 money is there we say
- 790 Nj; Wò tue nde ne nan  
 wò tue nde ne nan  
 you say go is how
- 791 Ny; Chu heli kalɔ́n ne dua, bə́ wa.  
 chu heli kalɔ́n ne dua bə́ wa  
 time-period when money is there we say
- 792 Ni; Chu ha nji à mə kalɔ́n tə wa  
 chu ha nji à mə kalɔ́n tə wa

- time-period give thing he with money NEG. speak
- 793 Mb; Kɔ ləm...  
kɔ ləm  
even only
- 794 Ni; À kɔ ləm bɔ̄ lu mba wanyu  
À kɔ ləm bɔ̄ lu mba wanyu  
he know only Pl. day freely else
- 795 tə mə à mumu ɲgwə yə də jə: kalɔn nde nde ne ten saa,  
tə mə à munu ɲgwə yə də jə kalɔn nde nde ne ten  
saa  
so with he think NEG. NEG. of say money go go is there-is  
that
- 796 Mì yuo kela.  
mì yuo kela  
I leave pass
- 797 Chu mə bɛ́ bɔ́ mɔ́gɔ su ama  
chu mə bɛ́ bɔ́ mɔ́gɔ su ama  
time-period with we do group again but
- 798 Nj; ndée nuar kan, dim nuar di  
ndée nuar kan, dim nuar di  
come person any y.-same-sex-sib person some
- 799 Ni; Ama sela naa məna, bɔ́ ler cher wa?  
ama sela naa məna bɔ́ ler cher wa  
but pass PAST thus they loose road QN.
- 800 Nj; Mì jə: mì tue Bt ma, le tɛ́jɔ́gɔ kup,  
mì jə mì tue Bt ma le tɛ́jɔ́gɔ kup  
I say I say Bt then PAST first all
- 801 À baá də vɛ́ də guom, go duom yə.  
À baá də vɛ́ də guom go duom yə  
he PRES. of woman of pay walk start yours
- 802 () À baá vɛ́ go duom  
À baá vɛ́ go duom  
he PRES. woman walk start
- 803 Ch; tue kadi, see baá mə sama  
tue kadi see baá mə 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 ne wulu ne ɲgwə yə  
badi à ne wulu ne ɲgwə yə  
approach he is enough is NEG. NEG.
- 806 Nj; Yɔ́gɔ bɛ́  
yɔ́gɔ bɛ́  
surpass us
- 807 Ni; Hən baá man də, mì kwa bí mə see bí,  
hən baá man də mì kwa bí mə see bí  
this PRES. how-many of I find you with work yours

- 808 Bó nē mē togo, bó bɔ́ ɔ́ xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx  
 bó nē mē togo bó bɔ́ ɔ́ xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx  
 they is with quarrel they do
- 809 Wb; [ xxxxx xxxx
- 810 Nj; [ Kɔ mbə kə, mī yɔgɔ bó.  
 kɔ mbə kə mī yɔgɔ bó  
 even length what I surpass them
- 811 Ni; Mī tue ne mən kum,  
 mī tue ne mən kum  
 I say is thus just
- 812 Ne ve bɔ́ baá mən dua, bó nde=  
 ne ve bɔ́ baá mən dua bó nde  
 is woman do PRES. thus there they go
- 813 Nj; bɔ́ və die nde, bɔ́ sep die nde.  
 bɔ́ və die nde bɔ́ sep die nde  
 Pl. woman fall go Pl. male fall go
- 814 Bɔ́ və baá nde, bɔ́ sep sua nde  
 bɔ́ və baá nde bɔ́ sep sua nde  
 Pl. woman PRES go Pl. male descend go
- 815 MS; Kalɔn dɛlaman də bɔ́ və ɲene ɲgwə dɔ́ɔ́ɲ  
 kalɔn dɛlaman də bɔ́ və ɲene ɲgwə dɔ́ɔ́ɲ  
 money pay of Pl. woman see NEG all
- 816 Nj; Bí nde nde ya te nde yɔgɔ sen.  
 bí nde nde ya te nde yɔgɔ sen  
 you go go girl so go surpass hers
- 817 Xx; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
- 818 MS; xxxxxxxxxxx
- 819 Xx; xxxxxxxxxxx
- 820 Nj; Aa mī su nde nde ma? bie də bie ma.  
 aa mī su nde nde ma? bie də bie ma  
 aaa I again go go then ask of ask then
- 821 Ma bó jɔgɔ ju yə: guo mī wa? naa su wa2,  
 ma bó jɔgɔ ju yə guo mī wa naa su wa2  
 if they carry talk yours house me QN. PAST again QN.
- 822 À kwa kwa bó kə chiə?  
 À kwa kwa bó kə chiə  
 she find find them at outside
- 823 xx; À kwa bó kə chiə.  
 À kwa bó kə chiə  
 she find them at outside
- 824 Ny; Bó tue naa: mavə mavə, ne be, ne ka njai nuar ka ju.  
 bó tue naa mavə mavə ne be ne ka njai nuar ka ju  
 they say PAST woman woman is hand is at thing person at  
 case
- 825 Wɔ́ bɔ́ nji sɔgɔ bɔ́-

- wò bɔ̃ nji sɔ̃gɔ bɔ̃ɔ  
 you Pl. thing only do
- 826 Nj; Ama mavə saa à ne ka de sen <=laughter  
 ama mavə saa à ne ka de sen  
 but woman that he is at of hers
- 827 Ny; Wò nji sɔ̃gɔ bɔ̃ɔ.() Mavə kum, wò kɔ̃ ɲgwə kələhən.  
 wò nji sɔ̃gɔ bɔ̃ɔ mavə kum wò kɔ̃ ɲgwə kələhən  
 you thing only do woman just you know NEG. now
- 828 Kela mī, ma kuo, wò chu: lane kələhən  
 kela mī ma kuo wò chu lane kələhən  
 pass I if reciprocally you return today now
- 829 À kwa huan ne mba.()  
 À kwa huan ne mba  
 she find child is freely
- 830 Nj; Ma və də=  
 ma və də  
 if woman of
- 831 Ny; =Wò huan sep wò jula kɔ̃ɔ, saye  
 wò huan sep wò jula kɔ̃ɔ saye  
 you child male you flee SUB.EMP.
- 832 Nj; [ Ne mənə bɔ̃ jə:  
 ne mənə bɔ̃ jə  
 is thus they say
- 833 bɔ̃ yə bɔ̃ və kələhən bɔ̃ huan mənə bɔ̃ bɔ̃ɔ vən ne tə, bɔ̃ɔ...  
 bɔ̃ yə bɔ̃ və kələhən bɔ̃ huan mənə bɔ̃ bɔ̃ɔ vən ne  
 tə bɔ̃ɔ  
 they say Pl. woman now Pl. child small they do evil is  
 there-is do
- 834 À kə bɔ̃  
 À kə bɔ̃  
 he permit them
- Short break in recording: change of tapes (T207a/T207b)
- 835 Nj; Ne wò yula, ju gi aa  
 ne wò yula ju gi aa  
 is you ill talk end PAST
- 836 NG; [ À nji bɔ̃ɔ ne hən ndo  
 À nji bɔ̃ɔ ne hən ndo  
 he thing do is this also
- 837 MS; Hən də bɔ̃ və bɔ̃ bɔ̃ɔ ne chi, də bɔ̃ gwom ɲgwə.  
 hən də bɔ̃ və bɔ̃ bɔ̃ɔ ne chi də bɔ̃ gwom ɲgwə  
 this of Pl. woman they do is that of they pay NEG.
- 838 Nj; [ Hən də  
 hən də  
 this of
- 839 MS; Ma bɔ̃ le naa bɔ̃ɔ gwom-e, kwə lu heli  
 ma bɔ̃ le naa bɔ̃ɔ gwom-e kwə lu heli  
 if they PAST PAST do pay tomorrow day when

- 840 huan sep la sie məna bu nan wa  
 huan sep la sie məna bu nan wa  
 child male PAST take thus her how QN.
- 841 À sela gwan ɲgwə.  
 À sela gwan ɲgwə  
 he only?? want NEG.
- 842 Nj; Də hən, bə njiba la ju də baán.  
 də hən bə njiba la ju də baán  
 of this we stop PAST talk of illness
- 843 Ne Bt nde ne wò, à ha nde ne chuar.  
 ne Bt nde ne wò à ha nde ne chuar  
 is Bt go is you he give go is chicken
- 844 Wò Bt bó tue bu: bó wula sum wò.  
 wò Bt bó tue bu bó wula sum wò  
 you Bt they say him they kill remove you
- 845 Nde mə chuar, nde na, nde na wə (3)  
 nde mə chuar nde na nde na wə  
 go with chicken go PAST go PAST take
- 846 Də mò kum, mì kulu baá sua, ju mò gi aa.(3) <= Claps hands  
 three times  
 də mò kum mì kulu baá sua ju mò gi aa  
 of me just I bless PRES. sua talk mine end PAST
- 847 XXX; Qu'est ce qu'il faut encore bien parler?
- 848 Nj; Də mò kum, mì sua mò ne Luwa chum.(4)  
 də mò kum mì sua mò ne luwa chum.(4)  
 of mine just I sua mine is law old (4)
- 849 Ma bí naa də tue. Ma bí njai nuar jula ɲgwə (8).  
 ma bí naa də tue ma bí njai nuar jula ɲgwə (8)  
 if you PAST of say if you thing person flee NEG. (8)
- 850 Ny; Njai chiə chén (1) gi aa, keləhən liya ??də mò kum?? <=  
 Laughter  
 njai chiə (1) chén gi aa keləhən liya ??də mò  
 kum  
 thing outside one (1) end PAST now remains of me  
 just
- 851 Nj; Bə chiə fà wa? Di yə Nyakati  
 bə chiə fà wa di yə Nyakati  
 we day two QN. of yours Nyakati
- 852 Ni; Wò jə: kwə kwə tə tue də. Wa chiə chén  
 wò jə kwə kwə tə tue də wa chiə chén  
 you say tomorrow tomorrow to say of say day one
- 853 mə bó mgbaj mgbaj mgbaj mgbaj mgbaj mgbaj ha  
 mə bó mgbaj mgbaj mgbaj mgbaj mgbaj mgbaj ha  
 with one mill? mill? mill? mill? mill? mill? until
- 854 Nj; eeee  
 eeee
- 855 Ni; Njə chiə chén nan ma.(2)  
 njə chiə chén nan ma.(2)

- thing day one how "really" (2)
- 856 WB; Njai, Jərə yə, ne bí yə suú tuar kuú-si di  
 Njai jərə yə ne bí yə suú tuar kuú-si  
 di  
 Njai sua-enclosure yours is yours yours ginger roast big  
 some
- 857 Nj; aaa?  
 aaa
- 858 WB; Jərə bí yə ne suú terep mbə mbole wa?  
 jərə bí yə ne suú terep mbə mbole wa  
 sua-enclosure you yours is ginger strength pop pop QN.
- 859 Nj; Jərə yi Beya wa?  
 jərə yi Beya wa  
 sua-enclosure to Beya QN.
- 860 WB; Yi Beya <=laughter  
 yi Beya  
 at Beya
- 861 Mb; À ne mə bə njia, à nde mə-  
 À ne mə bə njia à nde mə  
 he is with Pl. thing he go with
- 862 Nj; Aa bí bu fuo chək ɲgwə,  
 aa bí bu fuo chək ɲgwə  
 aaa you him blow cloth NEG.
- 863 fuo chok bade baá, à fuo chok ne nan, njai ne nan.<=  
 Laughter  
 fuo chok bade baá à fuo chok ne nan njai ne nan  
 blow cloth approach PRES. he blow cloth is how thing is how
- 864 WB; ase  
 ase
- 865 Nj; À ne chok fuo ne ɲgwə yə  
 À ne chok fuo ne ɲgwə yə  
 he is cloth blow is NEG. NEG.
- 866 WB; Ma fuo yɔɔɔ?  
 ma fuo yɔɔɔ  
 if blow surpass
- 867 Mb; Kə wa? Ma baá wòɲ mò, kələhən mì ne mə vu mən  
 kə wa ma baá wòɲ mò kələhən mì ne mə vu mən  
 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; Hə?  
 hə
- 870 Nj; Bó naa fuo chok nde (  
 bó naa fuo chok nde  
 they PAST blow cloth go
- 871 Ch; Le tu bó ne fuo mən wa? (  
 Le tu bó ne fuo mən wa? (  
 you PAST blow cloth wife

le tu bɔ ne fuo mən wa  
in before they is blow thus QN.

872 Mb; Le tu bɔ fuo chok yə,  
le tu bɔ fuo chok yə  
in before they blow cloth yours

873 gə jemu mani, ma baá habaru ɲene ɲgwə.  
gə jemu mani ma baá habaru ɲene ɲgwə  
at after thus if PRES. news see NEG.

874 Bɔ gwan ne puɲ wə ma, puɲ kan puɲ kan puɲ kan.  
bɔ gwan ne puɲ wə ma puɲ kan puɲ kan  
puɲ 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 bí yə, bí bɔ Kuɲ hən, (3) ne ju də le gəchén kum  
ju bí yə bí bɔ kuɲ hən, 3 ne ju də le gəchén kum  
talk you yours you Pl. Kung this is talk of in at true  
just

877 bí nji mə akilo (3)  
bí nji mə akilo (3)  
you thing with intelligence (3)

878 parce que den ɲgwə ju wuwaga safi bí munu kənehən.()  
parce que den ɲgwə ju wuwaga safi bí munu  
kənehən  
stay NEG. talk very-fast tradition you think now

879 Bí ɲene ne lane, ju manji fe-fela, fela ɲgwə.  
bí ɲene ne lane ju manji fe-fela fela ɲgwə  
you see is today talk small like like NEG.

880 əhə bə nde kə chiə,  
əhə bə nde kə chiə  
yes we go at outside

881 kwə fe-fela fela ɲgwə, bí nde kə chiə. (3)  
kwə fe-fela fela ɲgwə bí nde kə chiə. (3)  
tomorrow like like NEG. you go at outside (3)

882 əə Dans la generalite bə ne bi dossiers parceque,  
əə dans la generalite bə ne bi dossiers parceque  
əə dans la generalite we is thing dossiers parceque

883 bə dɔɔɲ kela nji mə ɲomnati bɔɔ ne dɔɔɲ.  
bə dɔɔɲ kela nji mə ɲomnati bɔɔ ne dɔɔɲ  
we all pass thing with officials do is all

884 ɲomnati ke dossiers, à ke bə ma.  
ɲomnati ke dossiers à ke bə ma  
officials look he look us then

885 Bə kita ne bə wa tam dɔɔɲ,  
bə kita ne bə wa tam dɔɔɲ  
we case is us arrive time all

- 886 Bó ne kwa wa: ki! bò hən bò,  
 bó ne kwa wa ki! bò hən bò  
 they is put say Ki! Pl. this Pl.
- 887 bó gwan ne kə ne bó bɔ́ ju kela.  
 bó gwan ne kə ne bó bɔ́ ju kela  
 they want is at is they do talk pass
- 888 Le lɔ́ man bò nuar bó gwan ne ju wani,  
 le lɔ́ man bò nuar bó gwan ne ju wani  
 in village thus Pl. person they want is case much
- 889 Bó ha ne gi ten.  
 bó ha ne gi ten  
 they until is end there-is
- 890 To ne ɲgàm chi wò ɲene mì hən mì den bɔ́,  
 to ne ɲgàm chi wò ɲene mì hən mì den bɔ́  
 To is because that you see me this I stay do
- 891 ɲene kɔ njai də wò ɲene wa:  
 ɲene kɔ njai də wò ɲene wa  
 see know thing of you see QN.
- 892 lane bii kita bɔ́ ne mì njulo kə turum ()  
 lane bii kita bɔ́ ne mì njulo kə turum  
 today thing case do is I accompany at down
- 893 Le nyima, ma hapdi, ma maga kɔ mə kita chén kɔ fà,  
 le nyima ma hapdi ma maga kɔ mə kita chén kɔ fà  
 in year if hurry if many even with case one or two
- 894 saa maga yogo.  
 saa maga yogo  
 that very surpass
- 895 Bé mə bɔ́ pat ne mì gwan ne kita wula lɔ́.  
 bé mə bɔ́ pat ne mì gwan ne kita wula lɔ́  
 we that do all is I want is cases kill village
- 896 XX; əəəəə  
 əəəəə
- 897 Ch; Usukɔ. To, ju problem bí yə, bí bò Kuɲ hən də.  
 usukɔ to ju problem bí yə bí bò Kuɲ hən də  
 thank-you To talk you yours you Pl. Kung this of
- 898 Mì le tue wa, mì le tue a Kuɲ.  
 mì le tue wa mì le tue a Kuɲ  
 I PAST say say I PAST say to Kung
- 899 Mì jə Kuɲ a: à fona kalɔn.(1)  
 mì jə kuɲ a à fona kalɔn  
 I say Kung to he search money
- 900 Ngam mì le ɲene bi facture,  
 ɲgam mì le ɲene bi facture  
 because I PAST see thing
- 901 bó le nyara facture kə, () bó naa ha mì.  
 bó le nyara facture kə bó naa ha mì  
 they PAST write at they PAST give me



- 902 Ne b́, b́ nyaa facture, b́ le ha m̀,  
ne b́ b́ nyaa facture b́ le ha m̀  
is them they write they PAST give me
- 903 t̄ m̀ gene nji b́, b́ ha naa b́ ha naa.()  
t̄ m̀ gene nji b́ b́ ha naa b́ ha naa  
so I see thing theirs they give PAST them give PAST
- 904 B́ le nyaa facture, b́ ha m̀.()  
b́ le nyaa facture b́ ha m̀  
they PAST write they give me
- 905 M̀ tue baá Kuṅ mbo. () Kuṅ j̄ m̀ a: əhə.  
m̀ tue baá Kuṅ mbo Kuṅ j̄ m̀ a əhə  
I say PRES. Kuṅ himself Kuṅ say me to no
- 906 B̀ njai də b́ nyaa bili, b́ nyaa bili  
b̀ njai də b́ nyaa bili b́ nyaa bili  
Pl. thing of they write together they write together
- 907 b̀ nji də nyí kɔ ɲgwə.()  
b̀ nji də nyí kɔ ɲgwə  
Pl. thing of speaker know NEG.
- 908 To b́ di nyí ne kɔ, nyí ne kɔ, () bu mbo à kwa di ya.(1)  
to b́ di nyí ne kɔ nyí ne kɔ bu mbo  
à kwa di ya  
To they other speaker is know speaker is know him himself  
he put of yours
- 909 À tue a si v̄ mbo, mə kalɔn a fona.  
À tue a si v̄ mbo, mə kalɔn a fona  
he say to husband woman himself with money to search
- 910 À le naa w̄ le w̄é də hi wa?  
À le naa w̄ le w̄é də hi wa  
he PAST PAST take PAST month of where QN.
- 911 Mom w̄é də hi wa? Mom w̄é də hi wa? ()  
mom w̄é də hi wa mom w̄é də hi wa  
wait month of where QN. wait month of where QN.
- 912 Bi bu h̄n də, m̀ tue ẁ ḡchén,  
bi bu h̄n də m̀ tue ẁ ḡchén  
thing it this of I say you true
- 913 Di ya də ɲgaa sam ɲgwə.  
di ya də ɲgaa sam ɲgwə  
of yours then clear not NEG.
- 914 B́ bu yila ɲgwə, bu nde də ɲgaa.  
b́ bu yila ɲgwə bu nde də ɲgaa  
they him call NEG. her go of clear
- 915 Parceque () marriage () ne mə bi luwa ten.(1)  
parceque marriage ne mə bi luwa ten  
is with thing law there-is
- 916 Lane ẁ jɔɔ v̄, ẁ ke charactor mav̄.  
lane ẁ jɔɔ v̄ ẁ ke charactor mav̄  
today you marry woman you look woman
- 917 Ẁ homo ɲgwə, ẁ j̄ Non,

- wò homo ɲgwə wò jə non  
you tired NEG. you say Non
- 918 () character yə hən m̀i homo ɲgwə.  
character yə hən m̀i homo ɲgwə  
character yours this I tired NEG.
- 919 Dede nji mə wò bɔ́ su, m̀i homo ha ɲgwə.  
dede nji mə wò bɔ́ su m̀i homo ha ɲgwə  
small thing which you do again I tired until NEG.
- 920 Ndée nji a. () Gua de ne hiun.  
ndée nji a gua de ne hiun  
come thing to home stay is different
- 921 Lane wò jɔ́ɔ və. () Bí yə və ne guo.  
lane wò jɔ́ɔ və bí yə və ne guo  
today you marry woman you yours woman is house
- 922 Lane wò ɲene mavə torter mbi a  
lane wò ɲene mavə torter mbi a  
today you see woman transgress occasion at
- 923 Ehe, və m̀ò a: chúu.  
ehe və m̀ò a chúu  
woman mine to return-here
- 924 Wò hapdi, mavə jə: sam, nyí wò sam ɲgwə.  
wò hapdi mavə jə sam nyí wò sam ɲgwə  
you hurry woman say not speaker you not NEG.
- 925 Wò hapdi, mavə jə: sam nyí wò sam ɲgwə.  
wò hapdi mavə jə sam nyí wò sam ɲgwə  
you hurry woman say not speaker you not NEG.
- 926 B̀ɔ́ɲ bu saa ne su de hiun.(2)  
b̀ɔ́ɲ bu saa ne su de hiun.2  
group her that is again of different
- 927 Bé foti ɲgwə kə kələhən, bé melanger pedales.  
bé foti ɲgwə kə kələhən bé melanger pedales  
we can NEG. at now we
- 928 Bon, lane su mavə à ne mə huan be ne ten,  
bon lane su mavə à ne mə huan be ne ten  
bon today again woman she is with child hand is there-is
- 929 sum mavə à ne mə huan be sam ɲgwə, pat ne ten.  
sum mavə à ne mə huan be sam ɲgwə pat ne 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 all
- 932 Ne le cher də hi wa? ne le cher bu hən wa?  
ne le cher də hi wa ne le cher bu hən wa  
is in road of where QN. is in road him this QN.

- 933 Ne le cher bu hən wa? Ne le cher bu hən wa?  
 ne le cher bu hən wa ne le cher bu hən wa  
 is in road him this QN. is in road him this QN.
- 934 Ne le cher bu hən wa? (  
 ne le cher bu hən wa  
 is in road him this QN.
- 935 Ma wò ɲene cher də wò bili nde ne ten,  
 ma wò ɲene cher də wò bili nde ne ten  
 if you see road of you together go is there-is
- 936 Wò tue kələhən bí wə də biyə en gros.  
 wò tue kələhən bí wə də biyə en gros  
 you say now you take of you-yours
- 937 Le see3 ɲgaa naa mə... Gaŋfi bò Li dua.  
 le see3 ɲgaa naa mə Gaŋfi bò Li dua  
 in work clear PAST which Gaŋfi and Li there
- 938 Ju bí yə nde nde: Bí tə wə ju mə sembe.  
 ju bí yə nde nde bí tə wə ju mə sembe  
 case you yours go go you NEG. take talk with strength
- 939 Gaŋfi nuar, bu bu ne bé chén.  
 Gaŋfi nuar bu bu ne bé chén  
 Gaŋfi person he he is place one
- 940 Ma bí buo den a fà, à nde wò tue kə chaque fois  
 ma bí buo den a fà à nde wò tue kə chaque fois  
 if you you-two stay to two he go you say to
- 941 mì ne bu yila: Gaŋfi e, kə wa?,  
 mì ne bu yila Gaŋfi e kə wa  
 I is him call Gaŋfi e what QN.
- 942 ma bí ɲene, ɲuna bí yə ne be bò nuar.()  
 ma bí ɲene ɲuna bí yə ne be bò nuar  
 if you see child you yours is hand Pl. person
- 943 Ne və bí yə, () lane tam chu mə mì ne tue jə:  
 ne və bí yə lane tam chu mə mì ne tue jə  
 is woman you yours today time time-period with I is say  
 say
- 944 aha bò nuar ne bu kulu, bò nuar ne bu kulu  
 aha bò nuar ne bu kulu bò nuar ne bu kulu  
 mmhmmmm Pl. person is her bless Pl. person is her bless
- 945 parce que bí bé guo dua yoŋ nde bé.()  
 parce que bí bé guo dua yoŋ nde bé  
 you never house there stroll go never
- 946 Lane ma, kə kwə, le nyima, wò wə mənə sɔɔɔ ɲgwagam chén,  
 lane ma kə kwə le nyima wò wə mənə sɔɔɔ ɲgwagam  
 chén  
 today if or tomorrow in year you take thus even maize  
 one
- 947 və mò wə ɲgwagam, nde huan. Yɔɔɔ kənəhən nə kə kə?  
 və mò wə ɲgwagam nde huan yɔɔɔ kənəhən nə kə  
 kə

- woman mine take maize go child surpass now is  
 SUB.EMP. what
- 948 Savalon chén jə və mò wə, bí yə nyí kulu huan mə nji,  
 savalon chén jə və mò wə bí yə nyí kulu  
 huan mə nji  
 one say woman mine take you yours speaker bless  
 child with thing
- 949 yɔɔ kənəhən nə kɔ́ kə?  
 yɔɔ kənəhən nə kɔ́ kə  
 surpass now is SUB.EMP. what
- 950 To bí kwa ləm cher mba njərədi ten am ɲgwə.  
 to bí kwa ləm cher mba njərədi ten am  
 ɲgwə  
 To you find sleep sleep freely something there-is NEG.  
 NEG.
- 951 Kələhən kita tue nde wò: huan ne bí yə wa? Ne də mì.  
 kələhən kita tue nde wò huan ne bí yə wa ne də mì  
 now case say go you child is you yours QN. is of me
- 952 ()To, chén, fà, ne renvoir.  
 ()to chén fà ne renvoir  
 ()To one two is
- 953 Wò, sum naa mavə kɔ́, ma ne kita tue ne jə  
 wò sum naa mavə kɔ́ ma ne kita tue ne jə  
 you remove PAST woman SUB.EMP. if is case say is say
- 954 ma wò sum baá mavə, () wò njərədi bie ɲgwə  
 ma wò sum baá mavə wò njərədi bie ɲgwə  
 if you remove PRES. woman you something ask NEG.
- 955 Jb?;  
 ni ma  
 who then  
 [ ]  
 Də nyí ma, nyí jɔɔ ni ma  
 də nyí ma nyí jɔɔ  
 of speaker then speaker marry
- 956 Ch; Saa ne dua bi marriage.  
 saa ne dua bi marriage  
 that is there thing
- 957 Ma wò sum ne kɔ́, wò njərədi bie ɲgwə.  
 ma wò sum ne kɔ́ wò njərədi bie ɲgwə  
 if you remove is SUB.EMP. you something ask NEG.
- 958 Mais, ma mavə torter ne kɔ́,  
 mais ma mavə torter ne kɔ́  
 if woman transgress is SUB.EMP.
- 959 kɔ́ kɔ́rota be sen liye ne ɲgwə, Də yə wò nde ne bie.()  
 kɔ́ kɔ́rota be sen liye ne ɲgwə də yə wò nde ne  
 bie  
 even needle hand hers remain is NEG. of yours you go is  
 ask
- 960 To, mì bɔ́ a bu hən də, ne condition.  
 to mì bɔ́ a bu hən də ne condition  
 To I do to her this of is

- 961 Condition sen, ne ki wa?  
condition sen ne ki wa  
hers is what QN.
- 962 Bě ke ne yə: ne baán. Baán də puis que  
bě ke ne yə ne baán baán də puis que  
we look is yours is illness illness that
- 963 mə à ne nuar baán, Kuɲ a, le bi,  
mə à ne nuar baán Kuɲ a le bi  
with he is person ill Kuɲ to in thing
- 964 le kalɔn də mə bɔ́ ha ne də ()  
le kalɔn də mə bɔ́ ha ne də  
in money of with they give is of
- 965 wò fona ma wò kwa njərədi, ()  
wò fona ma wò kwa njərədi  
you search if you find something
- 966 wò nde nji le fada bě ke dede wò bɔ́ ha Taillu dɔ́ɔŋ,  
wò nde nji le fada bě ke dede wò bɔ́ ha taillu  
dɔ́ɔŋ  
you go thing in like we look properly you do give  
all
- 967 ɲgam yɔr sen mə nji.()  
ɲgam yɔr sen mə nji  
because body hers with thing
- 968 Də yə ɲgam bě nyəgə ne leteni lɔ́.  
də yə ɲgam bě nyəgə ne leteni lɔ́  
of yours because we repair is between compound
- 969 XX; Ne mən  
ne mən  
is thus
- 970 Ch; Mhm, ɲgɔ̀r bí yə hən də,  
mhm ɲgɔ̀r bí yə hən də  
speech you yours this of
- 971 den ɲgwə mbo tə bě nde mə sembe.  
den ɲgwə mbo tə bě nde mə sembe  
stay NEG. only so we go with strength
- 972 Bě nde mə wə mə akilo.(1)  
bě nde mə wə mə akilo  
we go with take with intelligence
- 973 Kɔp di tema tə yula, kɔp di mbo tema tə yula.  
kɔp di tema tə yula kɔp di mbo tema tə yula  
side other liver at ill side other divine liver so ill
- 974 Tj; Naa baá cher mban, bě kɔ ɲgwə bě si.  
naa baá cher mban bě kɔ ɲgwə bě si  
PAST PRES. road palace we know NEG. we husband
- 975 Ch; əhə saa bu hən m̀i tue ne ni mə ni? Wò nde mə akilo.  
<=laughter  
əhə saa bu hən m̀i tue ne ni mə ni wò nde mə akilo  
yes that he this me say is who with who you go with  
intelligence



you at say speaker want to marry her really

- 993 Tj; Mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə nan  
 mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə nan  
 I marry NEG. how  
 [ ]
- 994 Jb; À jɔɔɔ baá və ma, tue bu mane  
 À jɔɔɔ baá və ma tue bu mane  
 he marry PRES. woman then say her thus
- 995 Tj; Mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə yə nan wa?  
 mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə yə nan wa  
 I marry NEG. NEG. how QN.
- 996 Mì huan sep sam ɲgwə?  
 mì huan sep sam ɲgwə  
 I child male not NEG.
- 997 Jb; (1) Kələhən Mose  
 (1) kələhən mose  
 (1) now  
 [ ]
- 998 Tj; (1) Mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə nan?  
 (1) mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə nan  
 (1) I marry NEG. how
- 999 Jb; Ma bí nyəgə chu fone wò bɔ́ ndo  
 ma bí nyəgə chu fone wò bɔ́ ndo  
 if you repair return search you do also
- 1000 Ju mò ne kə?  
 ju mò ne kə  
 talk mine is what
- 1001 Naa bí fale tu, bí fale ɲgwə.  
 naa bí fale tu bí fale ɲgwə  
 PAST you upset before you upset NEG.  
 [ ]
- 1002 Tj; Bí jə mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə. Mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə bu nan  
 bí jə mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə bu nan  
 you say I marry NEG. I marry NEG. her how
- 1003 Jb; Ke nuar hən, mə tuɲ bí  
 ke nuar hən mə tuɲ bí  
 look person this that organise you
- 1004 yuo dua. Baá nyima mun wa?  
 yuo dua baá nyima mun wa  
 leave there PRES. year how-many QN.  
 [ ]
- 1005 Tj; Duɔm, duɔm naa yə yɔr mò .  
 duɔm duɔm naa yə yɔr mò  
 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; B̀ nuar jə wò jɔɔɔ xxx xxx  
 b̀ nuar jə wò jɔɔɔ xxx xxx  
 Pl. person say you marry

- 1008 ne də bɔ̃ nuar, bɔ̃ huan ne bɔ̃ kə? (1)  
 ne də bɔ̃ nuar bɔ̃ huan ne bɔ̃ kə 1  
 is of Pl. person Pl. child is PL. what
- 1009 Nj; Bɪ ju jula=  
 bɪ ju jula  
 you talk flee  
 you talk flee
- 1010 Jb; =Ne ləm ka yə < ju ka ləm yə, ne sɔ̃n mɔ̃ sam.  
 ne ləm ka yə ju ka ləm yə ne sɔ̃n mɔ̃  
 sam  
 is only at yours talk at only yours is mouth  
 mine not
- 1011 Ngor yə njulu chi am Hən ne jor.  
 ɲgɔ̃r yə njulu chi am hən ne jor  
 speech yours eyes that NEG. this is good?
- 1012 Tj; Ju hən gi aa? Mì bu hən, ma jɔ̃gɔ̃ bu, huan jɔ̃gɔ̃ bu,  
 ju hən gi aa mì bu hən ma jɔ̃gɔ̃ bu huan jɔ̃gɔ̃ 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; Kələhən ne mavə, ma à si gwan ɲgwə kɔ̃  
 kələhən ne mavə ma à si gwan ɲgwə kɔ̃  
 now is woman if she husband want NEG. SUB.EMP.
- 1015 Kp; Bɪ sere njai bɪ yə. Bɔ̃ mgbe tue ne kul, de nyí tam ɲgwə.  
 bɪ sere njai bɪ yə bɔ̃ mgbe tue ne kul de  
 nyí tam ɲgwə  
 you separate thing yours yours PL. chief say is whisper of  
 speaker none NEG.
- 1016 Kələhən ne də mì kɔ̃, ne...  
 kələhən ne də mì kɔ̃ ne  
 now is of I know is
- 1017 Tj; Wò wa am: də mì, mì nde jɔ̃gɔ̃.  
 wò wa am də mì mì nde jɔ̃gɔ̃  
 you say NEG. of me I go marry
- 1018 Nj; ()To, Mgbe ha baá cher.(3)  
 to mgbe ha baá cher  
 To chief give PRES. road
- 1019 Ny; À ha bó cher nan?  
 À ha bó cher nan  
 he give them road how
- 1020 Kp; À ha bó cher kə? (2.5)  
 À ha bó 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 ne njai sen.  
 À bie ne njai sen  
 he ask is thing his  
 [
- 1024 XX; xxxxx  
 [
- 1025 Ni; də və sɔ́ ɲgwə, nde və mgbe sɔ́ ɲgwə,  
 də və sɔ́ ɲgwə nde və mgbe sɔ́ ɲgwə  
 of woman live NEG. go woman chief live NEG.  
 [
- 1026 Nj; Am ɲgwə nji manji ma  
 am ɲgwə nji manji ma  
 NEG. NEG. thing small then
- 1027 Ng?; Ne və də be sen am ɲgwə  
 ne və də be sen am ɲgwə  
 is woman of hand his NEG. NEG.
- 1028 Ng?; Də m̀ m̀ chɔ́gɔ hən=  
 də m̀ m̀ chɔ́gɔ hən  
 of mine I stick this
- 1029 Mb; =Bí ɲgue yə  
 bí ɲgue yə  
 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 kən B́ ɲue baá kən.  
 mgbe tue gi aa kən b́ ɲue baá  
 kən  
 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 ne ləm nə m̀na vi allah, ona.#31  
 À ne ləm nə m̀na vi allah, ona  
 he is only is thus say allah his
- 1034 TA; Allah yaafi, ẁ li yiri bu,  
 Allah yaafi, ẁ li yiri bu,  
 Allah forgive you PAST help him
- 1035 ɔ́dɔn nɔ́nɔn allah yaafi kum dən bana nina  
 ɔ́dɔn nɔ́nɔn allah yaafi kum dən bana nina  
 he is thus allah forgive then stay like that
- 1036 Də mə hotimi bana ni, da hallah debbo on na  
 Də mə hotimi bana ni, da hallah debbo on na  
 will-go like this story woman his like
- 1037 Ni; Mií m̀ tue dene m̀ xxx  
 mií m̀ tue dene m̀ xxx  
 mother mine say here I  
 [
- 1038 Nj; Mgbe tue gi aa kən. M̀ tue gi aa.  
 mgbe tue gi aa kən m̀ tue gi aa  
 chief say end PAST already I say end

PAST

- 1039 Mì furu Kuṅ. Kuṅ à ne hi?  
mì furu Kuṅ Kuṅ à ne hi  
I bury Kuṅ Kuṅ he is where
- 1040 Bó Kuṅ dubu ??????  
bó Kuṅ dubu  
we Kuṅ plant
- 1041 () Ngwə à ne kə do ki yə ma.  
ngwə à ne kə do ki yə ma  
NEG. he is at here at yours then
- 1042 À ka denə kela bó ke wa?  
À ka denə kela bó ke wa  
he at here pass we what QN.
- 1043 À sela denə, nyí kela nde kə lóó Kuṅ,  
À sela denə nyí kela nde kə lóó kuṅ  
he cross here speaker pass go at compound Kung
- 1044 am ngwə Kuṅ sela ha nji bu ma.  
am ngwə kuṅ sela ha nji bu ma  
NEG. NEG. Kung cross give thing her then
- 1045 À sela li be Kuṅ, ha bu. ()  
À sela li be Kuṅ ha bu  
she cross PAST hand Kung give him
- 1046 Wò ha nji də yə ne kə  
wò ha nji də yə ne kə  
you give thing of yours is what  
[
- 1047 TA; Mawòdebu hawti debbo dopti sarena. () To Allah ()  
Mawòdebu hawti debbo dopti sare na. () To Allah ()  
Notable gather woman accompany house this () So Allah
- 1048 Ne yaafi allah le ndugu bu hən  
ne yaafi allah le ndugu hən  
is forgive allah in area it this
- 1049 Ni; Mií mò tue naa mì kò ne nji wa  
mií mò tue naa mì kò ne nji wa  
mother mine say PAST me SUB.EMP. is thing QN.
- 1050 Nj; ama nji ka tu mgbe nde bó ke wa  
ama nji ka tu mgbe nde bó ke wa  
but thing at before chief go we look QN.
- 1051 À nde nji ka tu mgbe, tə mgbe tue su bu kə wa?  
À nde nji ka tu mgbe tə mgbe tue su bu kə wa  
she go thing at before chief so chief say again her at QN.
- 1052 À nde kə yór Kuṅ, À wa kə lóó Kuṅ,  
À nde kə yór kuṅ À wa kə lóó Kuṅ  
she go at body Kung he arrive at compound Kung
- 1053 À li be tutulu Kuṅ, ha nji bu.  
À li be tutulu kuṅ ha nji bu  
she PAST hand verandah Kung give thing him
- 1054 À yuo mgbe də ki yə. ()

- À yuo mgbe də ki yə  
she leave chief of at yours
- 1055 Mb; Ne ju mə, nuar mə hən, tue bé kwə kɔ.  
ne ju mə nuar mə hən tue bé kwə kɔɔ  
is talk with person with this say we change SUB.EMP.
- 1056 () Də hən də, wò le ju də sɔn mgbe yuo aa,  
də hən də wò le ju də sɔn mgbe yuo aa  
of this here you in talk of mouth chief leave PAST
- 1057 Nye ne ju də yə mə bé chu nde?  
ngue ne ju də yə mə bé chu nde  
listen is talk of yours with we return go
- 1058 Tj; aha, də mò nde jaa, jam tam.  
aha də mò nde jaa jam tam  
mmhmmmm of me go laugh good none
- 1059 Nj; À nde a tutulu Kuɲ,  
À nde a tutulu kuɲ  
he go to verandah Kung
- 1060 À li yi be baá Kuɲ, ha bu.  
À li yi be baá kuɲ ha bu  
he PAST there hand PRES. Kung until him
- 1061 Tj; aaaaa.() Duɔm ne be yə sɔɔ ngwə  
aaaaa duɔm ne be yə sɔɔ ngwə  
start is hand yours live NEG.
- 1062 Nj; Nde kə tə tutulu Kuɲ, li fada nde bé kə wa?  
nde kə tə tutulu Kuɲ li fada nde bé kə wa  
go at at verandah Kuɲ PAST like go place what QN.
- 1063 Ny; [  
Ki! vulu ki!  
ki! vulu ki!  
Ki! leave Ki!
- 1064 Nj; Ju fada man nde tə yila. Nde tue Kuɲ,  
ju fada man nde tə yila nde tue Kuɲ  
talk like thus go to call go say Kuɲ
- 1065 Tue Kuɲ a, ha nji nyí.  
Tue Kuɲ a, ha nji nyí  
say Kuɲ to give thing speaker
- 1066 Kuɲ ha wò. Wò mə nji fada Nde ki yə?  
Kuɲ ha wò wò mə nji fada nde ki yə  
Kuɲ give you you with thing like Nde at there
- 1067 Fada fada ma ju wa fada nuar nde ne ten kpel.(5)  
fada fada ma ju wa fada nuar nde ne ten kpel.5  
like like if talk arrive like person go is there-is  
quickly
- 1068 Ny; Mgbe jə: muyni, mən am ngwə,  
mgbe jə muyni mən am ngwə  
chief say patience thus NEG. NEG.
- 1069 mə à nde a gi aa kən no.  
mə à nde a gi aa kən no  
with he go to end PAST already also

- 1070 Nj; [ Ì bɛ̀ fə̀ gi a kən.  
Ì bɛ̀ fə̀ gi a kən  
aaa we head end to already
- 1071 Bɛ̀ tɛ̀ jaa wa?  
bɛ̀ tɛ̀ jaa wa  
we at laugh QN.
- 1072 Bɛ̀ tɛ̀ sɔ̀n kumu su ndo.(9)  
bɛ̀ tɛ̀ sɔ̀n kumu su ndo  
we at mouth open again-NEG also
- 1073 aaa, jaa nde ne ka wa.  
aaa jaa nde ne ka wa  
aaa laugh go is at QN.
- Break in recording for a few minutes
- 1074 Mb; Huna la kə tu ne ɲuna Njai.  
huna la kə tu ne ɲuna Njai  
child PAST at before is child
- 1075 Mə tue də ɲuna Kuɲ də, ne ɲuna Njai  
mə tue də ɲuna Kuɲ də ne ɲuna Njai  
with say of child Kuɲ of is child thing
- 1076 Nj; [ Nyima netun Nyima netun=  
nyima netun nyima netun  
year twenty year twenty
- 1077 =Kuɲ nji də gwom de ɲgwə.  
Kuɲ nji də gwom de ɲgwə  
Kuɲ thing of pay of NEG.
- 1078 Mb; Ì ne ɲuna Njai fada ɲuna nuar sua  
Ì ne ɲuna njai fada ɲuna nuar sua  
he is child thing like child person sua
- 1079 Nj; Kɔ nyima netun Kuɲ bu nji də gwon de ɲgwə.(1)  
kɔ nyima netun Kuɲ bu nji də gwon de ɲgwə  
even year twenty Kuɲ he thing of pay of NEG.
- 1080 ɲgue m̀ì, ẁò sua. Ẁò sua ẁò ɲaga,  
ɲgue m̀ì ẁò sua ẁò sua ẁò ɲaga  
listen me you descend you descend you climb
- 1081 ẁò sua, ẁò ɲaga (3) <= Laughter  
ẁò sua ẁò ɲaga  
you descend you climb
- 1082 Mb; ɲgue m̀ì  
ɲgue m̀ì  
listen me
- 1083 Ẁò temə tɛ̀ nji ɲgwə, to kware baá.  
ẁò temə tɛ̀ nji ɲgwə to kware baá  
you send so thing NEG. To beside PRES.
- 1084 ɲue m̀ì, Və̀ju ne ɲuna ni wa?  
ɲgue m̀ì Və̀ju ne ɲuna ni wa  
listen me Və̀ju is child who QN.

- 1085 Kələhən mə wò jula ten. <  
 kələhən mə wò jula ten  
 now with you flee there-is
- 1086 Xx; Bó tue mə akilo akilo  
 bó tue mə akilo akilo  
 they say with intelligence intelligence
- 1087 Nj; (2) Aa? Nue mì, mgbe tue gi də sen yiə: fiuŋ!  
 (2) aa ŋgue mì mgbe tue gi də sen yiə fiuŋ  
 (2) aaa listen me chief say end of his overthere all
- 1088 Wò den jemu, wò nde də yə bé hiuni.  
 wò den jemu wò nde də yə bé hiuni  
 you stay after you go of yours place different
- 1089 Baán bɔ́ naa kɔ́, bé naa baán bɔ́n baán.  
 baán bɔ́ naa kɔ́ bé naa baán bɔ́n baán  
 illness do PAST SUB.EMP. we PAST ill theirs ill
- 1090 To ju baán də, bé jə: əhə bé bɔ́ nan wa?  
 to ju baán də bé jə əhə bé bɔ́ nan wa  
 To talk illness of we say yes we do how QN.
- 1091 (1) Ma huan saa də den ka guo,  
 1 ma huan saa də den ka guo  
 if child that of stay at house
- 1092 À ne die lom tare wa?  
 À ne die lom tare wa  
 he is fall sleep hard QN.
- 1093 Ga; À ne die lom tare hən  
 À ne die lom tare hən  
 he is fall sleep hard this
- 1094 Nj; əə?  
 əə
- 1095 Ga; À ka fo ŋgwə wa? <= Laughter  
 À ka fo ŋgwə wa  
 he at brush NEG. QN.
- 1096 Nj; Ma wò ne gwan və də, wò nde ne le akilo akilo ne.  
 ma wò ne gwan və də wò nde ne le akilo akilo  
 ne  
 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 mə à le cher lom ne kə guo də,  
 À sie mə à le cher lom ne kə  
 guo də  
 he take with she in sleep sleep is at  
 house of
- 1099 À lɔ na hi wa?  
 À lɔ na hi wa  
 she flies PAST where QN.

- 1100 (1) Ma à yə baá guo nuar. Bó baá see bu jə: à ma su və.  
 (1) ma à yə baá guo nuar bó baá see bu jə à  
 ma su və  
 (1) if she at PRES. house person they PRES. do her say she  
 then again-NEG woman
- 1101 Nj; Də saa à nde denə ma à nde vulu tu tu tulu tu baá ki chén.  
 də saa à nde denə 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 nuar tu naa nuar, njai nde naa bu,  
 ma nuar tu naa nuar njai nde naa bu  
 if person before PAST person thing go PAST her
- 1103 bó wə nji ne ha wò no.  
 bó wə nji ne ha wò no  
 they take thing is give you also
- 1104 Ga; To  
 to  
 To
- 1105 Nj; Wò nde ne wə kadi, wò wò wò wə nji mə akilo akilo de.  
 wò nde ne wə kadi wò wò wò wə nji mə akilo  
 akilo de  
 you go is take really you you you take thing with  
 intelligence intelligence of
- 1106 Nwa; [   
 xxxxxxxxxxxx
- 1107 Ga; Ha ne kə  
 ha ne kə  
 give is what
- 1108 Ny; Bó kiye ɲgwə sam.  
 bó kiye ɲgwə sam  
 they overthere NEG. not
- 1109 Nɲwa; dɔ́ɔ́ɲ ne ɲgwə ne kɔ bí-  
 dɔ́ɔ́ɲ ne ɲgwə ne kɔ bí  
 all is NEG. is know you
- 1110 Ny; Ma bó, bó jula ɲgwə yelili wa, yelili wa baá  
 ma bó bó jula ɲgwə yelili wa yelili wa baá  
 if they they flee NEG. evening QN. evening arrive PRES.
- Break in recording for some minutes
- 1111 Nj; (8) To də kelehən kum, ju də bé gi aa.  
 8 to də kelehən kum ju də bé gi aa  
 To of now just talk of us end PAST
- 1112 Ny; Də saa m̀i tue- m̀i tue ne ɲgwə dənə.  
 də saa m̀i tue m̀i tue ne ɲgwə dənə  
 of that I say I say is NEG. here
- 1113 À den kware m̀eni, à sie nji s̀on sen "papap."  
 À den kware m̀eni à sie nji s̀on sen "papap."  
 he stay beside thus he take thing mouth his
- 1114 Ga; Bí ɲene bu mə nji wa?

bí ɲene bu mə ɲji wa  
 you see him with thing QN.

1115 Ny; Bí ɲene ɲale foni mani, mə bí kwa naa mən aal.  
 bí ɲene ɲale foni mani mə bí kwa naa mən aal  
 you see scrape search thus with you find PAST thus PAST.

1116 Ma dap ne be be nyən yə.  
 ma dap ne be be nyən yə  
 if long is hand hand lies yours

1117 Ch; < Mì kwogo() kwogo su ha yə loó Jabule <= Laughter  
 mì kwogo kwogo su ha yə loó Jabule  
 I chase chase again until at compound Jabule

1118 Ny; (2) Mì naa ɲue naa  
 mì naa ɲue naa  
 I PAST understand PAST

1119 Ch; (1) Nuar ne be yə, vraitment.  
 nuar ne be yə vraitment  
 person is hand yours

1120 Ma ɲjai sap baa də  
 ma ɲjai sap baa də  
 if thing mistake PAST of

1121 Nde mì yila moptere wò nde ɲgwə, to  
 nde mì yila moptere wò nde ɲgwə to  
 go I call meeting you go NEG. so

1122 Ama go ɲgwə nde jə: mì ɲue naa ɲgwə  
 ama go ɲgwə nde jə mì ɲue naa ɲgwə  
 but walk NEG. go say I listen PAST NEG.

1123 Ga; To  
 To  
 so

1124 TT; xxxxx

End of recording. The Chief continued with his recurrent complaint of the poor attendance at meetings.