Mambila Traditional Religion:

Sua in Somié.

David Zeitlyn

Trinity College, Cambridge

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.

David Zeitlyn
Wolfson College, Oxford.
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 Rehfisch, Mona Perrin, John Hare and Roger Blench who have allowed me access to unpublished material.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>IPA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/ə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/ = /j/</td>
<td>voiced alveopalatal semi-vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ch/ = unvoiced alveopalatal fricative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ny/ = voiced alveopalatal nasal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/ /n/ /nd/ /nj/ /m/ /mb/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gb/ /h/ /f/ /j/ /p/ /s/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ /u/ /v/ /w/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/g/: Medial /g/ is a voiced post-velar fricative, notably in [-əgə] which is often very close to [-əʁə], 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, bó) 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 Bò 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\textsuperscript{1} 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.

\textsuperscript{1}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” gàné lọọ.

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\(^2\). These have had little effect: I know of only one man (a catechist) who refuses to use divination because of his Christian belief.

\(^2\)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 be 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\(^3\). It is

\(^3\)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 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.

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

Theory

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

The system (if it warrants the label) consists of a set of actions and activities, together with an associated vocabulary. These are paradigms which define what they call their

---

4 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.

5 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.

6 Cf Wieder 1974.
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

---

7Boyer (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), Sonkolong8 (Mbɔr) and Somié (Ndeba). There are also some in the North-West Province along the Nigerian border, for example, in the villages of Sabongari (Ngɔm) and Ly.

In Cameroon Mambila (Bɔ̀ Bà) speak Jù Bà (The language of the Bà.) 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.

8Sonkolong 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. 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.

9Full 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\(^{10}\), 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-Zambezian and Guinea-Sudanian zones (Letouzey 1985).

\(^{10}\)200-3000 mm/yr (Letouzey 1985).
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 źgɔm), 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.
Divination

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

As border populations they figure fleetingly in the historical work on the FulBe, most notably in connection with the death of an early Lamido of Banyo at Ribao on his return from a raid against the Mambila in 1893 (opinions differ as to whether it was Usmanu or Hamma Gabdo). Jean Hurault has used aerial 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 three waves of immigration into the Somié area. These successively pushed back Tikar inhabitants from the foot of the cliff further southwards into the Tikar Plain and conquering earlier immigrants, the last wave achieving this with the aid of FulBe slave raiders. The first immigrants were called the Liap and came from the area around Guessimi. Little is now known of them. One informant related them to the Wawa

11I have adopted the convention of indicating the implosive b as occurs in the word FulBe by using a capital.
13It 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.
14This version of events is discussed below.
15There 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. 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 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 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

16The 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.

17The 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.

18Bankim 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 chieflyancy (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. Rehfisch has published (1972) a description of the social structure of Warwar in 1952/3 (the period of his fieldwork). The social structure of present-day Somié strongly resembles his account.

KINSHIP

Cameroonian Mambila have no lineages, and also lack descent groups. Rehfisch (1960) provides a reconstruction of the system of bilateral descent which existed when exchange marriage was practised by Nigerian Mambilla. According to his account each individual was a member of two groups recruited on a basis of kinship and residence: the memin, a descent group in which the affiliation of children depended on whether they were born from an exchange or bridewealth marriage, 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

---

19 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.

20 This is discussed in Rehfisch 1972 and Percival 1938.
Divination

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\textsuperscript{21}. A group of coresident kin is not named in Jù Bà, although, the French “famille” is occasionally used to refer to those kin co-resident with the speaker. There are also two phrases which refer to kin: bò nùàr mò: all the speaker’s kin, and bò lòp mò: the matrilateral 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\textsuperscript{22}. 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\textsuperscript{23}. 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\textsuperscript{24}. The word lòö means “compound” or “village” depending on context. This results in the residence pattern in Somié being very similar to that described by Rehfisch.

\textsuperscript{21}Verdon (1981) argues that only groups recruited by cognition 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.”

\textsuperscript{22}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.

\textsuperscript{23}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.

\textsuperscript{24}This is similar to the Gonja q.v. Goody 1973:260.
Authority within a household is largely gerontocratic. Disputes are first referred to father or elder brother, then to a Notable before going to the Chief’s Palace. Three parts of Somié centre were sometimes referred to as “quartier X”, X being the name of the most prominent man resident in each. However, this phrase is used only occasionally and is prompted by the civil administration’s use of the French word “quartier”.

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

*Marriage and Bridewealth*

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

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

Historically both bridewealth and exchange marriages coexisted, the different marriage types leading to different affiliation of children (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

---

25If 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.

26Goody 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 Rehfisch, Izard (1926) nor Percival (1938) mention any such complications beyond the general precept that if a full sister was not available to participate in an exchange a man could expect his 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 Yakô (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 Yakô 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. Yakô 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 Yakô 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 French27. 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.

27However 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 3/4 to the wife’s father and only 1/4 to the wife’s mother. It was stressed that both parents would distribute the money among their kin bilaterally, although continuing the patrilateral bias.

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

Once the couple are co-resident the bride’s father will tell an agent of the groom (usually an elder brother) how much bridewealth he wants. In theory this is not negotiable; the amount is stated, and the groom must provide it. However, it is acknowledged that the representative sometimes argues for a reduction of demands perceived to be exorbitant, and this may be agreed in order to obtain speedy payment. The rate of payment depends upon ability to pay; it may be settled quickly, in one or two instalments over a couple of years, or it may extend over a much longer period. If no cash can be raised a daughter may be pledged; as a young girl (approx. 8 - 10 years) she will be given28

---

28This 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 uxorilocal marriages, entering their wife’s families in a lowly position, which is likened to slavery.

The increasing availability of cash, both from the sale of coffee and from those villagers in paid employment in cities, has led to bridewealth inflation. The Chief is concerned to limit this. He made a public statement at a Palace meeting in 1986 suggesting an upper limit of 100,000 CFA\(^{29}\) (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

\(^{29}\)The CFA is tied to the French Franc. The exchange rates prevailing during fieldwork gave approximately 500 CFA for £1.
Divination

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 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)

30I documented only one case during my fieldwork in Somié.
all other non-affinal kin are “siblings\textsuperscript{31}”. 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\textsuperscript{32}). There remains a problem about mother’s brother since there is a term for sister’s son but no reciprocal (see below). The terminology is as Rehfisch recorded with the exception of the increasing use of Fulfulde loan \textit{masi} to distinguish the sex of same-generation affines.

\textbf{DIAGRAM 1.2 Kinship terminology: summary}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics{kinship_diagram}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Sibling Terms:}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c c}
\textbf{Other sex:} & \textbf{Same sex; elder, younger:} \\
\textit{tie} & \textit{bi} \\
\textit{dim} & \textit{ego}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{31}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.

\textsuperscript{32}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, ŋuna. Sex terms can be added.
F = Father, tèlè
M = Mother, míf

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: “elder brother” becomes “father” after the death of the father, since the elder brother becomes the family head and should treat his younger brothers as his sons. I have no data on sibling quarrels clearly linked to this. With the deaths of the first major coffee planters likely to occur in the next 10-20 years the inheritance of their fields is likely to give rise to disputes. In the past the inheritance of a field saved some labour, but in the absence of land shortage failure to inherit a field would not have been a very serious matter. However, to inherit a mature coffee field gives one an immediate cash income, avoiding a five-year delay between planting a coffee field and its first crop. A youth at secondary school in Banyo or Foumban may justifiably fear that an elder brother with his own family may not support his studies as his own father would have done.

The word lap (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 nùràr 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.

33It 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.
Divination

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. 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 bɔ̀ nyu (the sister’s sons) or bɔ̀ 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 ŋgwun 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 ŋgwun rites

---

34The 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.

35Ọgwun 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,
Divination

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 čoŋ (sister’s son (of) peace). Such a distinction is not made among other families.

Affinal Terminology

The affinal terminology differs from that recorded by Rehfisch (1956:122) chiefly in the terms labeled “n/m” which “correctly” are nyan, but are now often split between nyon and masi in order to distinguish sex. Nyan 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.
nyon. 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 Mambila36: 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, Gaŋfi or Gantap (according to the wishes of the parents) and female twins Dan or Ngeya. The parents of twins are also given special names, in addition to their other names (Ga or Ge for F of twins; Moŋ 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.

36Edwards (1984:82) includes a brief discussion of Tiv naming.
Divination

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. 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 (mbalim), 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 ngunj are chiefs of hamlets and mgbe lo are those with important named rôles in the biennial ñgwun 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 Mvɔr, was himself a chief.

37Cf 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\(^\text{38}\). 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\(^\text{39}\) are not used by closed, ranked associations which fill this rôle as occurs elsewhere in Cameroon. The authority of the

\(^{38}\)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).

\(^{39}\)The term masquerade is discussed below Chapter Two, section: “Sua: an overview”.

34
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\(^40\); this is held to prevent witches attacking the litigants. Witches may otherwise use the publicity of the dispute to camouflage their own activity\(^41\).

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.**

![Diagram showing the layout of the Chief's Palace](image-url)

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

\(^{40}\)This is fully explained below.

\(^{41}\)Rehfisch (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 Bɔ̀ Kuku bɔ̀ (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)\(^42\) to assess the degree of unanimity of opinion in an acephalous society.

The Bɔ̀ Kuku bɔ̀ 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.

\textit{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

\(^42\)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.  

Witchcraft diagnosed by divination as a cause of illness.

*The skull cult of The Chief*

*Djgwen* and men’s *sua* are danced following the death of a chief. Chiefs are buried sitting upright in a circular shaft grave. Approximately a month after the burial the head is removed and washed. The skull is placed in a small four-handled Mambila basket (*sogo bà*) in the skull house (*gua fo*) 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.

---

43See chapter 8 *Kulu sua*, below.  
44Other burials are considered below.
The selection of The Chief

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

---

45 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.

46 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.

47 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.”

48 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/Chakmo
(4) Nyura: First contact with Germans (Hurault)
(5) Menandi: 8 wives recorded (1WW). c.10 years chief
(7) Ndi Etienne. Chief: 1950-c1953*
(8) Mago 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):

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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regent</th>
<th>Regent’s mother (father)</th>
<th>Mother’s Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nua (Nura?)</td>
<td>Jeba</td>
<td>Nde (Jokɔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menandi</td>
<td>Tuú</td>
<td>Dan (Kue/Kuŋbili)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuú</td>
<td>Nɔnbe (Kuŋbili)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolaka</td>
<td>Jɔba/Juba</td>
<td>Ndehi (Jogɔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyimakɔ</td>
<td>Bɔŋdίɔ (Kɔŋbe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nimakɔ</td>
<td>Bɔŋdίɔ (Kuŋbe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nimakɔ</td>
<td>Bɔŋjiɔ (Kuŋbe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nimakɔ</td>
<td>Bɔŋdie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndi</td>
<td>Nyimakɔ</td>
<td>Bɔŋdi (Guŋbe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyimakɔ</td>
<td>Bɔŋdie (Kuŋbe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juba</td>
<td>Nde (Gi-joɡɔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jeba</td>
<td>Nyǝgɔcho (Joɡɔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mọgo Michel</td>
<td>Kung (Nafa Jeremy)</td>
<td>Nurome (Suawe)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Chief list of Atta"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hurault</th>
<th>Menandi (via DZ)</th>
<th>DZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mvuwanum</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fumbok/Fumbonaga (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na</td>
<td></td>
<td>Londam (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fomsuawe</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gia (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fomjuwe</td>
<td>Fomjuwe</td>
<td>Fomjuwe (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>Timi (December 56)</td>
<td>Timi (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mere</td>
<td>Merep</td>
<td>Merep (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>Geya Gaston</td>
<td>Geya Gaston (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geya Gaston</td>
<td>Geya Gaston (8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.)
Chief list of Sonkolong

Menandi’s list (via DZ).

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

Notes on the Sonkolong Chiefs (dz 1988).
Moisell’s map of Kamerun (published in 1913) describes the village of Songolong (sic) as “Kémès”. (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.

DIAGRAM 1.9. Chiefs of Sonkolong

Nafa

Yagaji

Gwaga Yaga Kelami Bawur

Gwale 1961
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

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

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

The staple crops are maize, cassava, yam, 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. 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 (Kerbelliec 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.

\[49\] I know of it being grown once during the three growing seasons which I spent in Somié.

\[50\] 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 *ŋgondom* 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. 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.

---

51These are called called *dashi, djaΔgi* or *møge* (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\(^52\). 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\(^53\) 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.

\(^{52}\)A series of transcripts of such speeches has been made.

\(^{53}\)Usually *koro*.  

50
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. 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 years.

54Relative 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 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 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.

55Villagers, however, assert that this is the case.

56References in Zeitlyn 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, 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

---

57Confirmed in conversations with Professor Warnier and E.M. Chilver.
replaced. Twenty years ago most houses were made of wattle and daud, and were roofed with grass thatch\textsuperscript{58}, 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.

\textit{Change in Social and Political Institutions}

The Mambila were reported as being acephalous in Nigeria\textsuperscript{59} 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\textsuperscript{60} 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.

\textsuperscript{58}This observation is based on study of photographs of Atta taken by Mona Perrin in the late 1960’s.

\textsuperscript{59}See the section on the Chief.

\textsuperscript{60}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\(^{61}\)) 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 *Ngwun* 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

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 Ba’àm\(^{62}\).

**Table: The Mambila ten day week**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Mbor</th>
<th>Cuàár doòb sèb daàr yà jùlù mvuâgàr trè manòg baàm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Atta</td>
<td>Cuàár doòb sèb daàr yàgàr jùlù mvuâgàr tròre manòg baàm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somie</td>
<td>Cuàár doòb sèb mvàn yà jùlù mvuâgà tròre manòg baàm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

\(^{62}\)I have heard it suggested that people with **sua be** (sua hands) should also practise these prohoibitions on Ba’àm. However, since every initiated member can describe themselves as having **sua be** gthis canot 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\textsuperscript{63} 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 \textit{tetaga} fish (\textit{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.

\textit{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 and the circling of the house with \textit{fer} (\textit{Solanum} sp (\textit{macrocarpum}?)) by the father and a senior man, the latter spraying the \textit{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 out side 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.

\textsuperscript{63}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).

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 **fuo ya 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.

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

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 Rehfisch 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

---

64For 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 (jùrà jùm) on the jùrà mbo 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. 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).

---

65 That is: it is usable in the field.
In principle all illness is held to be caused either by Chàŋ (the remote creator and supreme god) or by people (i.e. witches). To attribute the cause to Chàŋ is to say that it is “natural,” 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 caused by crossing the path of, or treading in the spittle of, the cho snake. The sight of this snake is held to cause death, and no witness could be found to disprove this belief.

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

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

Prior to divination a variety of different la (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 la but are regarded as highly potent la.

The most significant aspect of the aetiology of illness outlined above is that no reference is made to ancestors nor to any subsidiary spirit, or “refraction” of Chàŋ. Spirits are wholly absent in Mambila cosmology, and the ancestors play a nugatory rôle. Edwards (1984) has recently sought to explain the “non-existence of an ancestor cult among the Tiv” by two factors of Tiv society: the absence of legitimated offices and the alliance orientation of the kinship institutions. The ambiguity with which authority is regarded is due to the ambiguity of the Tiv concept of tsav, 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

---

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

67Leprosy can also be caused by human intervention.

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” (lọ) is universally ascribed to Chàŋ; no mention was made to me of ancestors or other spirits⁶⁹. 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.

⁶⁹However one informant BT described sua as being “before” all lọ. The rôle of sua is discussed further below.
Divination

Witchcraft

The vocabulary of witchcraft is summarized in the following diagram:

**DIAGRAM 2.1**

**The vocabulary of witchcraft**

- **lɔp**
  - witchcraft
  - Active
  - Passive: detect witches
  - **fum** = shape-changing
  - **sar** = shooting invisible spears
  - **mgbati/mgbatele** = using buried charms

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

Knowledge & Confessions

It should be noted that lɔp is used to describe matrilateral 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 dũ, a divination performed with spiders or crabs, is the most important form of divination. Only the verdict of this type of divination is acceptable evidence to convict a witch. Diviners may be called to give evidence at court in Banyo, as in the case cited above.

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

THE LI ORDEAL

The drinking of a liquid made from the powdered bark of the li tree 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

---

70Unidentified, but not camwood which is used only as decoration.
guilty of witchcraft. I was told that \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{li} ordeal was once more commonplace than now then its abolition has served to lend \textit{sua} greater prominence on a local level, since there is no longer any alternative to it. The abolition of \textit{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 \textit{li} ordeal.

CHÀŊ

Now to consider \textit{Chàŋ} in more detail. \textit{Chàŋ} is seen as the creator of the world and everything in it. (The word generally used for creation (meë) is the verb for house building and potting). It is commonly held that \textit{Chàŋ} decides what will happen, and that people cannot avoid this\footnote{The extent to which this is an adaptation in response to Christian and Islamic teachings is extremely moot.}. For example, the standard response on hearing of a death is to say \textit{Chàŋ né ten} (\textit{Chàŋ} PRES. exists). The word “\textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Chàŋ} but have adopted world religions. This is consistent with Horton’s Conversion Hypothesis\footnote{This has already been discussed p1 above.}: that a high god cult develops as a result of closer involvement with the wider world (Horton 1971, 1975).

The other focus of \textit{Chàŋ} is as personal spirit, usually occurring in the expression \textit{Chàŋ mò} (\textit{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\footnote{Some examples are described by de Surgy 1983, Buhan & Kange Essiben 1986 and Onwuejeogwu 1981.} 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 \textit{chúchuí} (breath) has been altered by assimilation from Christian and Muslim doctrine, at the expense of, for
example, chɔchemə (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chemo / chɔchemə</td>
<td>A) shadow, reflection (e.g. in a mirror)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B) life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chúchuí</td>
<td>A) breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B) life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temə</td>
<td>A) liver; sternum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B) 1) idiomatic usages of “heart” in English(^{74})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E.g. notions of centrality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) Place of intentional thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yɔr</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumú</td>
<td>corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chàŋ</td>
<td>spirit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^{74}\)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 Chàŋ of a dead person, or during funeral rites in which the Chàŋ 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 + Chàŋ since the corpse includes all the organs.

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

On death the spirit (Chàŋ) leaves the body and is then banished from the house into the bush. In the bush is Chàŋ 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 curently 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 (lọ) 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”. He agrees with Reay (1988:1) that “We should not broaden the notion of sacrifice, but limit it strictly to practices that exhibit these particular elements[which comprise the definition of sacrifice].” Ruel is fully in accord with Hubert and Mauss’s second definition of sacrifice as a “procedure [which] consists in establishing a means of communication between the sacred and the profane through the mediation of a victim, that is of a thing that in the course of the ceremony is destroyed” (Hubert & Mauss 1964:97). He emphasizes that to deserve the appellation a sacrifice must be directed to a deity rather than requiring, more vaguely, a mere “concern with powers”, be they personalized spirits or diffuse forces (Beattie 1980). **Sua** is not directed at a deity, unlike other African sacrificial types described in five volumes of Systèmes de Pensée en Afrique Noire. Yet the main **sua** ritual performed at the Chief’s Palace conforms exactly to Westermarck’s (1908:618) description of sacrifice. For “they are offered for the purposes of transferring curses. ... The Moorish ‘âr ...implies the transference of a conditional curse...” He continues (p. 620-622) to trace similar sacrificial oath-taking (bloody or not), both in space and in time. To some extent the choice of term is unimportant at this level of analysis. “**Sua**-oath” has been chosen as the more appropriate blanket term covering a range of related rites. But the term “sacrificer” is retained to denote the actor who kills the chicken during those oaths accompanied by a ritual killing.

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

---

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

76On 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.

77Volumes 2-6, 1976-1983.
Sua-oaths are very similar in form to the wo 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. Entry into the masquerade is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for learning to officiate at an oath-taking.

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

Sua stomach (li sua) is the action which any initiant into the masquerade can take to invoke the power of sua, for example in response to theft. One states publicly, patting one’s stomach, that unless X happens the agent concerned will suffer (by implication: fall ill). This is now rare. I witnessed two occurrences, both at funeral feasts, where the organizers had been warned by divination of the possibility of witchcraft. It was feared that poison would be introduced into the beer which is liberally drunk on such occasions. Sua stomach was used to

78I am an initiant into the masquerade but have not learnt to officiate at the oaths. I am assured that the two sets of leaves used are distinct.
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 *nduŋgu* or *deŋɔr 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 *nduŋgu 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 *nduŋgu sua* is scraped over their outstretched palms. The adulterous woman is sometimes treated separately in her house although the *nduŋgu 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 *nduŋgu 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 chief’s stool 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* 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

79Mambila 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\(^{80}\). 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 kogo bajji (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

\(^{80}\) 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 damọ
spoken by Sapka in Somié (on 8/12/85 before the sua sacrifice transcribed below) contains
eamples 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 some lexical differences, for example, in the botanical vocabularies so in some cases
each village has its own name for the same tree81.

\textit{Damo and Sua}

Damo differs from the other sua rites in its brevity and irregularity of performance82. 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 order83” 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) damọ was never elicited as an example. Hence, damọ is not considered here in great detail since, as I have said, I believe it to be only
weakly connected to sua.84 From the perspective of the Mambila audience damọ does not
give as much information about sua as do the sua-oath addresses. Sua figures in damọ 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.

\footnote{Another case which I have documented is the nomenclature of frogs.}
\footnote{Mbe ChàΔ is no longer performed in Somié, so there is no routine occurrence of
dam\textbackslash.}
\footnote{To use Malcolm Ruel’s phrase.}
\footnote{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*. *Dama* 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 rigourous (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
*dama*, 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Masquerade</th>
<th>Oath</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

80
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 mentioned85 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.

85 As occurs in the transcribed sua kare oath Zeitlyn 1990: 165ff esp. 173.
The strand of monotheism exemplified by Chàŋ, the remote creator-god, has been accentuated. Other elements of the religion, though, especially those not well integrated with Chàŋ or sua, have tended to fall into disuse. This results in the concepts of Chàŋ and sua attaining a prominence which they may well not have had previously. Chàŋ 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 (Chàŋ 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). 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 dama 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.

86Details 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, Chàŋ is the ultimate cause and reason, sua the ultimate means of action.

Chapter Three

Mambila Divination

INTRODUCTION

Mambila divination\(^{87}\) 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

\(^{87}\)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.
Divination

object. Its practice has been widely reported in societies both throughout the world and going back to the distant past. 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 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

88Such 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.


90Fortes 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 since where divinatory techniques are associated with possession they are only preliminaries necessary to attain possession. The truth is guaranteed by the possessed state of the diviner, and as such cannot be questioned in the same way as can mechanical divination. The other pole, by contrast, seems to contain much cool ratiocination which can be questioned in a quite different way, and it is this which is the subject of the following classification. Although practitioners of both types can be accused of deceit and charlatanism possession is an either/or attribute, only mechanical divination can be done “incorrectly”. Yet it must be remembered that emotive divination represents an alternative to the solutions considered below. The focus on ratiocination does not imply that it is the sole means to the end.

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

91It is treated in more depth by Lewis 1971.
92This 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.\textsuperscript{93}

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),

\textsuperscript{93}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 rôle94 is to choose by sortilege which set of verses to chant “blindly” to

94According 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 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 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 “Ifà” (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\(^{95}\), 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

\(^{95}\)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\textsuperscript{96} 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.

\textsuperscript{96}Parkin 1979, Shaw 1985 and Werbner (1989).
The distinctions under discussion can be represented by the following diagram:

**Diagram 3.1 Divination types**

- **Moundang**
- **Known**
- **Interpretation**
- **Not Known**
- **Free**
- **Constrained**

**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), Akiaso (1983), Bascom (1969, 1980).
- 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 “Ife” (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 (ŋgam) this writer does not endorse a stronger diffusion hypothesis which would seek to link ŋgam 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...
Divination (1970:187-190) seem as close to the (surely unrelated) Dogon “fox” divination (Griaule 1937) as to those of ŋgam-type systems.

To sum up: while it is plausible to explain the wide distribution of ŋgam-type divination systems by dispersion, it does not seem to have extended onto the Adamawa Plateau proper. Groups on the edges of Adamawa, for example, the Mambila and Vute, use crabs instead of spiders (or vice versa) but they do not seem to have passed the divination on. The linguistic homonymity of crab, spider and divination (ŋgam) 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 ŋgam-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 ŋgam 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. Ịngam 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) Ịngam is clearly closely related to the words listed as “spider” (p211) and “native-doctor” (p192). Ịngam 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-ɔ́k-) and for “spider” (*-bɔ́bè) 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 batons98 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 (1982:1.161ff) 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

98A 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1) Spider</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayom</td>
<td>Guillemin 1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamiléké</td>
<td>Pradelles 1986; Labouret 1935; Masson 1939/40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamoun</td>
<td>Dellenbach 1932; Nicod 1950; Paré 1956.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandoun</td>
<td>Maillard 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banen</td>
<td>Dugast 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangwa</td>
<td>Pradelles 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassa</td>
<td>Hegba 1979; Matip n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekpak (Bafia)</td>
<td>Leiderer 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beti</td>
<td>Hegba 1979; Towo-Atanga 1966;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laburthe-Tolra 1984; Mallart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guimera 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewondo</td>
<td>Cournaire 1936; Towo-Atanga, 1966;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tsalla 1958.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konja</td>
<td>Gebauer 1964</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Divination

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
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 dù (divination earth i.e. spider divination). The verb “to divine” is “mbò,” 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 dù 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. Əgam kəl: (divination straw) throwing straws and reading their fall. Not taken seriously at all.

ŋgam ŋgofọgo: (divination snail). A snail⁹⁹ 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

---

⁹⁹ *Achatina* sp.
string between his toes, the other in his hand. 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.

\footnote{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\textsuperscript{101} 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 \textit{ŋgam dü} (see below). He seems to use it instead of \textit{ŋgam tubu} as a quick means to test hunches before resorting to \textit{ŋgam dü}. In locating buried objects it may well work like European water-divining, although it is clearly open to manipulation.

The palms are lubricated with spittle after chewing some ginger seeds. Then the question (which has two alternative answers) is muttered while a ball made from two leaves and a chip of \textit{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”.

\textit{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.

\textbf{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.

\textsuperscript{101}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 ŋgam tubu and ŋgam 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\(^\text{102}\).

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

*ŋgam dù* initiation is more complex than that of *ŋgam 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 *ŋgam tubu* a single meal is enough. For *ŋgam dù* the process should be repeated after a few days, but the second time instead of a chicken either a tetam (Vieillot’s Black

\(^\text{102}\)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\(^{103}\) 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 *ŋgam tubu*, if not *ŋgam 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.

### ṮGAM 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 *ŋgam dù*. (Thus

\(^{103}\text{In 1986/7 this was 2000 -3000 CFA.}\)
it occupies a very similar position to Zande rubbing-board divination\textsuperscript{104}). Men tend to learn ngam tubu before learning ngam dù and become proficient at it while still lacking confidence in the practice of ngam dù. 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\textsuperscript{105} 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.

\textsuperscript{104}Q.v. Evans-Pritchard 1937.

\textsuperscript{105}Unidentified.
DIVIGATION 3.2 Igam Tubu patterns

An alternative pattern:
The chips can fall with the bark either up or down, 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”. 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.

---

106 bark-up: kibi, bark-down: Δaa (lit. clear) or maplim (lit. upside-down).
107 They are thus similar in form to Agam dù 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. 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, 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 (*Sudanonautes (convexonautes) aubryi*) although spiders (*Hysterocrates robustus Pocock, 1899*) are also used. Both can be referred to as ŋgamọ.

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

---

108 See above for discussion of its distribution.
110 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 *Hysterocrates* sp. and Laburthe-Tolra (1981:469) gives *Hysterocrates* sp. for Agam.
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 ŋgam 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 ŋgam 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 ŋgam dù, although neighbouring chiefs are known as diviners. However, when I repeated Rehfisch’s “opinion poll” asking who are the elders of Somié, all those named (apart from the Chief) know ŋgam dù even if they are not regular practitioners\textsuperscript{111}.

\textsuperscript{111}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 dù 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\textsuperscript{112}). 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 dù, 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

\textsuperscript{112}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 Dù”*

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\(^{113}\) are neatly stacked, pointing at the hole.

\(^{113}\)Gebauer 1954:35 calls them “leaf-cards”, or “cards”: a usage I adopt here.
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\textsuperscript{114} put a stone on the stack in the early stages of divination so that only the two cards over the hole can be moved. This stone is only removed when further details are needed. These are then obtained by allowing the crab to disturb the stack. However, the stack is often undisturbed even when unweighted.

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

\textsuperscript{114}Ôgeyea 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 / YYYYY / divine further, then take/bite the stone, my divination.

Mambila text:

ŋgam mò, wò fum, wò sar XXXXX, wò sie tuú, ŋgam mò.
Sam ŋgwə, “NOT XXXXX” / “YYYYY” / mbɔ mbɔ, wò sie/numa ta, ŋgam mò.

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

Commonly the vague alternative mbɔ mbɔ, (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 ŋgam)**

The divination leaf-cards used are obtained from a shrub\(^1\), leaves of which are doubled over
and pressed flat while being stored over the fire. A template is used to cut the outline shape
which is common to all the cards, and similar to that illustrated by Gebauer. Ideograms are
then incised with a razor. The cards are all of the same form\(^2\), 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 ŋgə̀ə, 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\(^3\).

Cards are kept in holders (kup ŋgam) 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

---

\(^1\)The shrub is called mvu ∆gam, (*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.).

\(^2\)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.

\(^3\)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 ŋgam (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 shape118:
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.

118See diagrams.
Thus far we have considered the four following possibilities:

**DIAGRAM 3.4. Ngam du 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
Divination

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.
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. Ñgam 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 ŋgam tubu in a direct manner unlike ŋgam dù. Hence the operator can be blamed whenever the divination is proved wrong. The suspicion of manipulation prompted sarcastic comments at a demonstration of ŋgam ŋgofo. On the other hand, a variety of tests and techniques is employed to ensure the truthfulness of ŋgam 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 ŋgam (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?”

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

\[119\]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\textsuperscript{120} which has been scraped onto an old-style Mambila hoe-blade\textsuperscript{121}. 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 \textit{ŋgam dù} use this technique, but certainly all use \textit{sér ŋgam}. 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 \textit{sér ŋgam} 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.

\textsuperscript{120} \textbf{Bop}: Albizia zygia (DZ).

\textsuperscript{121} 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). 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

\[\text{\footnotesize 122Fortes 1983.}\]
Divination

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 ŋgam 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:
INERENCE 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 Wọ́ŋ 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 Wọ́ŋ 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 Wọ́ŋ 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.
Q: Will DZ’s money be waiting in Yaoundé or not?

(a) Yes: DZ will find money at Yaoundé

(b) No: DZ will not find money at Yaoundé

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

(a) Yes: Njetie’s birth is alright

(b) No: Njetie’s birth is not alright

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

(a) Yes: Illness of others

(b) No: Problem of Njetie

Return to DZ’s journey to Yaoundé, q15

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

(a) Yes: Nothing being said

(b) No: Divine evil

Q: Is it the death of an animal, or of a person?

(a) Yes: Death of an animal

(b) No: Death of some one

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.
TABLE 3.2 Divination Questions. Do treatment (kare)

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
Q 32:
Sua will end it
vs.
*sua will not end it*
Q 36:
Affair in house, 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
vs.
Not that, look outside
NB Ambiguous response
Q 40:
*cut sua* [5]
vs.

POT 2 [Started late]

Q 25:
Wokọ return to Nyangi
vs.
*divine further. Not return*
Q 27:
Wokọ return to Nyangi
vs.
*divine further. Not return*
Q 28:
Problems for Wọkọ if she returns [6]
vs.
*search outside*
Q 29:
*Problems at Wọj’s* [7]
vs.
Problems at Lọbọn’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:
ilness not serious

vs.

*divine further*

Q 24:
sua will end it

vs.

*divine further*

Q 28:
Problems at Wọ́nj’s

vs.

Problems at Lọbọ́n’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 (Wàkà, 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 Gàmìà 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] Wàkà is the (full) sister of Wɔŋ who had left her third husband Nyaŋgi 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 Nyàngì.

Wɔŋ asked divination whether Wàkà could return without hazard to Nyaŋgi’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.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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

[7] Lobon 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. 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.124

123That is to say: if the sua-oath taking has discernible results.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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 Wọŋ’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? 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

124A 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).

125e.g. buried treatments.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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.
The Kulu Sua blessing
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 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.” Those who take the pessimistic and subversive line which holds that its very situation and contextuality makes anthropology impossible can be shown to be wrong by our very existence as social beings. In order to be able to argue an abstruse philosophical point with one of my peers and to be able to change the way I argue the same point with my professor I employ just the sorts of interpretations which anthropology makes explicit. The acknowledgement of such skills and their systematic deployment is sufficient to establish the possibility of anthropology (and justifies my refusal to throw away any Wittgensteinian ladder).

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

126The 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.

127This 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\textsuperscript{128}”. 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\textsuperscript{129}, 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\textsuperscript{130} but the lack of interest among scientists of what non-scientists have to say about them verges on the point of dismissal).

\textit{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.

\textsuperscript{128}Bourdieu is further discussed in the conclusion.

\textsuperscript{129}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.

\textsuperscript{130}See Garfinkel, Lynch and Livingston 1981 or Gilbert & Mulkay 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\textsuperscript{131}.

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”\textsuperscript{132} (which implies no metaphysical commitment) for metaphysical assertion. However, he does not doubt the possibility of translation but simply advocates caution and sensitivity. Recent papers by Robert Feleppa discuss this issue (Feleppa 1986, 1982) latterly as part of the “emic/etic” debate. Feleppa argues that a translation should not been seen as a set of descriptive hypotheses, hence that it is not susceptible to Quine’s underdetermination-by-evidence argument. Instead Feleppa argues that translations have more in common with rules, especially in the way that both are “violable” without being refutable. Hence Feleppa is able to agree with Quine that translations lack truth values but he maintains that “they still 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\textsuperscript{133}. Bilinguals can and do discuss the adequacy of translations, and thereby confute the radical translation problem. Indeed Quine allows for this

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Indeed, this is Quine’s motive in advancing the argument.
\item 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.
\item 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).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
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 multilingualism 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 exist134 (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.

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, Finnegian, 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...
The Kulu Sua blessing

1976, Akinaso 1983 and Bascom 1969\textsuperscript{135}. 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.

\textsuperscript{135}But see the comments of Barber 1988 on the dangers of taking Ifa’s claims about itself at face value.
The Kulu Sua blessing

“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 problem136” or the “hermeneutic circle137.” Such discussion may be illuminating and occasionally entertaining but it has surprisingly little application138 when one actually faces the task of translating a text.

137See Kepnes 1986 for citations of Ricoeur.
138Needham’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\textsuperscript{139} at the very least, no matter to what end.

\textit{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

\textsuperscript{139}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\textsuperscript{140}.  

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.

\textsuperscript{140} The literature on repairs (when the turn-taking sequence has broken down, or has faltered) is discussed by Levinson 1983 especially p 360.
Ethnographic enquiry proceeds as a series of conversations\textsuperscript{141} 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\textsuperscript{142}. 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).

\textsuperscript{141}This is in accord with the “dialogic” or dynamic, interactive approach as advocated by Dwyer 1977, Tedlock 1983: 321-338 and Fabian 1974, 1985.

\textsuperscript{142}Especially the use of the “contrast set” to understand a word.
Those who translate the Bible aim to communicate “the” message attributed to the writers of the Gospels. The intention is that the translation should be “transparent.” The translated text should read as though it were written by a native speaker, as though that Apostle had lived next door, rather than in Galilee, although an accurate translation must preserve “the message” as its first priority (Nida & Taber 1969). Conversely an “anthropological translation” must not only be a good translation in the sense that a Bible translation may be judged good, but it must also be open.

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

As examples we may cite, in addition to Malinowski’s pioneer work, Goldman’s analysis of Huli disputes (Goldman 1983), Sherzer’s work on the Kuna (Sherzer 1983), 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. 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.

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

144 The increasing use of computers with “hypertext” may soon enable us to attach the comments and explanations to the text more intuitively than does the current practice of the liberal use of footnotes.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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.
The Kulu Sua blessing

Stage one: transcript plus English glosses

1 Bí; Mì chọ sua hən. (1) Mì chọ hən, mgbe.
mì chọ sua hən (1) mì chọ hən mgbe
I chop sua this (1) I chop this chief

2 Ch; Aha
aha
aha

3 Bí; Mì yuo sar, mì yuo chibi,
mì yuo sar mì yuo chibi
I leave witchcraft I leave night

4 mì nde bie Mallam\textsuperscript{145} di
mì nde bie Mallam di
I go ask Mallam some

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

6 Mì siri nuar mə Mallam -e
mì siri nuar mə Mallam -e
I witchcraft person with Mallam

7 mì yila le bu hən,
mì yila le bu hən
I enter in knife this

\textsuperscript{145}Mallam, an Islamic scholar and proselytiser.
The Kulu Sua blessing

8  mì sɔ chɛn wanyu, mì fa sɔ sɔ.
   mì sɔ chɛn 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 denɔ baá kita fe, à kiye yap sen.
    nuar denɔ baá kita fe à kiye yap sen
    person here PRES. case new he farm-work food his

11  Ama- fii baá mani, à mì haŋgwə dɔ ki wa?
    ama fii baá mani à mì haŋgwə dɔ ki wa
    but bush PRES. thus he I give NEG. of what QN.

12  Mì bɔ nyam, mì bɔ göŋ, mì bɔ laɔ.
    mì bɔ nyam mì bɔ göŋ mì bɔ laɔ
    I  harm animal I  harm hunt I  harm compound

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

14  mì sɔ chɛn wanyu, mì fa sɔ sɔ.
    mì sɔ chɛn wanyu mì fa sɔ sɔ
    I  live one else  I two live live

15  Ma mì koŋgwə, mì ke njulu baa
    ma mì koŋgwə mì ke njulu baa
    if I  know NEG. I  look eyes East
The Kulu Sua blessing

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
The Kulu Sua blessing

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
The Kulu Sua blessing

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
The Kulu Sua blessing

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$^{146}$ 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

$^{146}$The terms Mask, mask and masquerade have been defined in Chapter 2 above.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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 initiand are some evidence that the rites were not altered or partial as a result of my presence. On Sunday 29 May the Sua enclosure (jere) was repaired\textsuperscript{147}.

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\textsuperscript{148} (two of which are also used in constructing the bogo (Chief’s Palace fence)). Some were fetched from the forest, others cut from trees which have developed from previous poles which have rooted. Dried elephant grass was tied in three horizontal bands either side of the stakes and then palm fronds were inserted inbetween. It was stressed to me that they were inserted "back to front". The side of the frond which faced outwards on the palm was placed facing into the jere. It should be noted that the general principles of construction are those sometimes used to enclose pit latrines. However, in the latter there is no special concern as to the direction in which the palm fronds face, although the clean inner side usually faces inwards.

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

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

\textsuperscript{147}Schneider 1955:117 writing of Warwar mentions repairing the enclosure of the “sacred grove (njir)”.

\textsuperscript{148}I refrain from naming any of the plants or trees involved as great emphasis was placed on their secrecy by my initiators, as also was the case for my initiation into divination.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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\textsuperscript{149} 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 initiate 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

\textsuperscript{149}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. Once picked, the leaves were placed on two banana leaves held by the second-year initiand. The top-growth of a single two-year old plant of elephant grass was also cut. This was subsequently knotted by the Chief to prevent rain.

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

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

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

The Chief was then given the arrow used earlier to point out the leaves to the initiands. With it he opened a pod of ginger seeds and scattered them over the fireplace and the bundle of leaves. Everyone looked westwards and touched right shoulders while the Chief “buried the village”. Everyone faced westwards, and extended their hands behind their back to touch

---

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

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

152 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.

153 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).
The Kulu Sua blessing

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:  \textit{Bó mbaru ne kaga dole loó mbo nyám bàgà ndeè loó nyám von nden yaga tong bàgà ndeè loó, tong von nde yaga fuò von kela ter, njai bàgà ndeè ka loó.}

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

plants.

While everyone formed a chain the fallen firestone which had been left untouched during the work on the \textit{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 \textit{sua} is called \textit{sua mbo}. \textit{Mbo} are the worm-casts of riverine worms (\textit{kap}). Towards the end of women’s \textit{sua} the women administer \textit{lab mbo} which is said to explain its metonymic name of \textit{labbe}\textsuperscript{154}. Whilst the women treat both sexes, men administer \textit{lab mbo} only to other males. What followed was the \textit{lab mbo} of men’s \textit{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 \textit{sua}, you speak with your mother’s vagina” (Mambila text: \textit{wò tue sua, wò tue}

\textsuperscript{154}\textit{lab} (\textit{labbe} for repeated action) is the verb used for plastering with mud.
nguru mif ya), which the other man repeated. This was explained as being an oath with an elided “if.”

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

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

It is of note that although great emphasis was laid on the initiands being shown and learning the “sua leaves” relatively little use was made of them in the rites which followed, and no explanations were given to justify the selection of any one leaf, apart from one case which is reported below. A response\(^{155}\) 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

\(^{155}\)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
The Kulu Sua blessing

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 Chàŋ 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 openedlengthwise, 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\textsuperscript{156}\textsuperscript{156}" 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.

\textsuperscript{156}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 Kulu Sua blessing

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 ŋgwun 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 .localizedDescription(ŋgu) Mark, who had also been active in organizing the rites. 族自治州 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. 族自治州 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 (logo) 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 Ñgu 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 ndogo. (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 Ñgu 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 spiting 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 ñgwun, which are followed by youths dancing tadup, no other dance marks the end of men’s sua.

The sua described above is sua mbɔ, 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 nduŋgu 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 mbɔ 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 mbɔ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ritual Title (name)</th>
<th>Hamlet</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fəniaga (Spakə)</td>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>d of Chief Menandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fəwani (Kərəbən)</td>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>d of Chief Kolaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fəachen (Ləə)</td>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>sd of Chief Menandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fəəme (Ni)</td>
<td>Gumbe</td>
<td>d of head of Gumbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbəgəm (Njiə)</td>
<td>Njerup</td>
<td>d of head of Njerup</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Spakə) heads Sua də bə Bàgə

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 Ngwun 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

157 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 damo rite). On request the senior Marenjo (Sapka) performs a variant of this rite to protect a new house, in return for a gift of oil (some of which is used in the rite).

The next Bam is called “the digging of 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 Sapka’s house before going to Gumbe and Êgwe158 hamlets. Later the initiands are inducted through eating tetaga159 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 trousers160, and one (in 1988) tied some tin cans between her legs representing swollen testicles. Clay penises are fleeting revealed to the men during the main dance. The men are particularly shocked by mock rapes which are enacted sporadically throughout the time of women’s sua. Some men literally curl up in shame at the sight. A woman is flung to the ground, often from behind so she is taken quite by surprise, and her attacker, usually abetted by several other women, mimes intercourse with her. While doing this, the assailant herself may be “raped” from behind in a hectic and short-lived orgy. Afterwards the participants salute each other with the 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 Mask161 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

158This is where Kørøbøn lives.
159a type of catfish: Synodontis sp.
160Meek 1931:553 mentions female ritual transvestism.
161The women’s Mask is an amorphous mass of vegetation.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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, Sapko 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-strap 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 (kogō bajì) 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 Sapko 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 Bàgà, 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 song162. 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.

162This song is also sung by the women while men dance men’s sua.
The next day the other group, the sua da bɔ̀ Mvɔp, 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\(^{163}\) 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 accidently 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 da bɔ̀ Mvɔp “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.

\(^{163}\)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\textsuperscript{164} 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

\textsuperscript{164}Sporobolus pyramidalis. This appears to be the jiro grass discussed by Meek (1931:552).
to the Palace. The area thus defined is called mo sua and only those actively participating in
the oath may enter. Since all parties to the dispute can make an address during the oath this
restriction does not exclude people without sua be (see below).
The sacrificer squats down with his back to the Palace, facing East, the chicken on top of the
bundle of leaves, often over a piece of wood which acts as a chopping block. If it is a chick it
is held still with his left hand; his right hand holds a knife or machete which is rested on the
chicken’s neck during the addresses. If it is a bigger bird, one of the other participants will
squat opposite the sacrificer and help keep the chicken still by looping a couple of the grasses
of the leaf bundle around its head. One blade of julu grass is placed beside the bundle (and is
not cut), while the other is held against the knife.

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

The sua addresses employ a slightly modified form of everyday speech. There are
clearly defined refrains marking the ends of paragraphs, and formulaic paragraph introductions.
Lines are defined rhythmically as short phrases each marked by a short pause. These features
can be seen in the appended transcripts (although it should be noted that the line definition of
the transcripts is a compromise between phrase length, the constraints of the page size, and
lines as suprasegmentally defined)\(^{165}\).

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.

\(^{165}\)The tapes are available for further analysis in the Cambridge Department of Social
Anthropology.
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\textsuperscript{166}, 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\textsuperscript{167} 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

\textsuperscript{166}Contra Meek 1931:552.

\textsuperscript{167}As occurred on the occasion considered below q.v. line 480.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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\(^\text{168}\). 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\(^\text{169}\). 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.

\(^{168}\)A similar action occurs in divination when a chain of questioning is to be terminated and before a new set of questions is posed.

\(^{169}\)Compared to entering men’s sua the “acquisition” of the oaths (i.e. the ability to officiate at the taking of the oaths) is far more like the “purchase” of divination or a treatment. One is shown the leaves and their preparation in a ritually circumscribed way involving commensality with the teachers. But there is a further restriction on palace sua: it cannot be cut (i.e. an individual cannot act as sacrificer) while either parent is alive else the parent(s) will die.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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 “সু সু সু সু...” (“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`ɔ nùràr do`zione pat! Bí 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 decorticising plants, not among the villagers. (This is discussed above in the section on Economics.)

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

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

3) Moonshine (argi).
The civil authorities look to the Chief to enforce the prohibition of argi (which the Chief supports). Moreover, the poor turn-out for work on the road had angered the Chief. A long discussion ensued, particularly between two Notables, one for and one against the prohibition. After some time the Chief began to sum up but was interrupted by another senior Notable who emphasised the gravity of the problem. At that point 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 kọgo baji (the stool of the chief). This was in anticipation of damọ.

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 damọ 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 damọ address which followed Sapkə referred to the problems of road maintenance: “cars will come, if they don’t come it’s bad.”

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

*su**a*-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\(^{170}\).

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”\(^{171}\) women.

\(^{170}\)“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.

\(^{171}\)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\textsuperscript{172}
We find the thing in ground, may \textbf{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\textsuperscript{173}.
You see a person, you say kill a person
Maize in this plain I eat never, ever, ever\textsuperscript{174}
If I don’t know, I live with an open heart.
We, my friends will stop quarreling thus.

15 Village of Ndeba\textsuperscript{175}, 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.

\textbf{The Kulu Sua} blessing

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

\textbf{Perrin}).

\textsuperscript{172}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.

\textsuperscript{173}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.

\textsuperscript{174}The refrain has been discussed in the section “The \textbf{sua}-oath”.

\textsuperscript{175}Ndeba is another name for Somié village.
The Kulu Sua blessing

You refuse maize, you refuse sorghum.
The head Chief which is here, your Chiefs
25 Now they () say to the Chief, speaking with open hearts
They shake his intelligence, his wives, his children.
All the Ndeba women, men
You say you saw a woman, you intended evil,
you intended evil of man, of woman.
30 Stopping in the form of snake, tree\textsuperscript{176}
You’ll die, thus you won’t eat this maize never, ever, ever.
If you have one mouth\textsuperscript{177} your heads\textsuperscript{178} will be strong.
Come do this sua. $\leq$ to Tam
Ta; I, this person say;
35 Yesterday when Chief Møgø died\textsuperscript{179} 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\textsuperscript{180} here, you here,

\textsuperscript{176}This refers to the transformations discussed above ( note to L 3).

\textsuperscript{177}A “shared” mouth is a conventional metaphor for agreement.

\textsuperscript{178}“head”: as metonym for person. “A strong head” means to be in good health and to be resilient, hence a “bad” head means to be ill, although it can also have the additional meaning of being a bad person, i.e. a witch of some sort.

\textsuperscript{179}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.
The Kulu Sua blessing

I had called him already.
Nj; We two were right up\textsuperscript{181}, right over there.

45 Tam; So, I called the ṝgeya, the ṝgon, the Tabə\textsuperscript{182}
The Nyimadonŋ and the Nia\textsuperscript{183} this one,
I called them all. These which are here,
you saw that a suitable Chief was up over there,
You saw with your eyes. How was it suitable?

Did you divine for us, or didn’t you divine?
I sorted it out with an open heart\textsuperscript{184},
Did I see with my eyes?
Divination was at another place.
I was with my things at Atta, touring.

50 I was there, I saw earth divination.
Divination went too hot\textsuperscript{185} at Atta.
I came to this village.
I took Njai and Jumvop\textsuperscript{186} who was there

\textsuperscript{180}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.

\textsuperscript{181}“Up” at Mayo Darlé, at the top of the escarpment to the East of Somié.

\textsuperscript{182}A list of the names of some senior men. Nia is another name for Guanam, the sacrificer.

\textsuperscript{183}Nia = Guanam.

\textsuperscript{184}lit. “one heart”. This relates to sən chén the one “shared” mouth of agreement, and is a
conventional metaphor for honest and open action, without secret motives.

\textsuperscript{185}“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.
The Kulu Sua blessing

We sorted it out, organized till we saw
divination was too much for us.
I sent for Bi\(^{187}\),
Bi had said, Go up, talk with that woman\(^{188}\).
He returned, the Chief didn’t return to the village.
Was it proper for the Chief to stay up there?

They went to fetch him

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

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

He must return to the village so we can do again the traditional thing.
They said “hoi”. They said we haven’t finished the treatment yet.
But I sorted it out with an open heart
Yesterday he died thus.
They took and they chopped\(^{189}\), searching there () we sorted it out.

\(^{186}\)Jumvøp a senior man (now dead) of Gumbe hamlet.

\(^{187}\)A puzzle which remains unresolved. Bi is as senior as Njaibi (the two of them name the Chief) so it is strange that he was not called in as soon as Njaibi. Possibly he was too far away at the time to hear the news. Since the village was at that time administered from Banyo this is possible.

\(^{188}\)The woman was the healer in Mayo Darlé to whom Møgø had been sent.

\(^{189}\)i.e. they cut sua.
The *Kulu Sua* blessing

80  We are tired with hunger, don’t be tired, tired, tired.
Children of the Chief, they say seized and took
Dega\(^1\) 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.\(^1\)

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\(^2\)
   I harvested my father’s palm trees, and my mother’s palm trees.\(^3\)

\(^1\)Dega is the current Chief of Somié.

\(^2\)“The thing borrowed” refers to the palm trees discussed below.
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
The Kulu Sua blessing

different generations. However, it is sufficient to make sense of the text. It also by its very uncertainties serves to illustrate the extremely short range of Mambila genealogies.

DIAGRAM 6.1

Tam Umaru: Paternal Genealogy

Key to Individuals in the above genealogy:
1 Ôgeya; 2 T\teya; 3 Jagami;
4 Ju Merup; 5 Buk\ Martha; 6 Nyaya;

Tam Umaru: Maternal Genealogy

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

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\textsuperscript{194} said are in me here,

the things which Ti said are in me here,

the things which Kwe said are in me here.

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.

Njítabo entered there.

Njítabo died, Dódia came, she died already.

Njítabo 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

\textsuperscript{194}Kwa = Chief Kolaka d. 1949.
The Kulu Sua blessing

the child takes it, you don’t take it

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

So Kwa stayed, Njitabo cut this palm.
This is, this is, is is is
is the palm that Toó cut and treated.

Those of Kwe we we all stole their palms. ()
Chief Menandi gave to them
the palms that Gamgbe cuts now at the Makobo195 over there. (2)
Chief Menandi gave those palms to him.
Over there even if they intend something evil of me

I will not plant my foot in it.
Even if palm-nuts tumble and fall to the earth
if I take, and I pick-up and eat from the ground.
When I return I will pay at the Makobo over there.
Were I to cut the palms Chàŋ would refuse me (1)
I pass the place, I pass the place where my father’s palms are
and those of my mother.
We two children have no motive to do something evil. (3)
The Chief dies we sort it out
This one he didn’t stay. We fixed him196.

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

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

195Makobo a river in the plain nearby.

196A passing reference to the initial reluctance of the current Chief when selected for office.
The *Kulu Sua* blessing

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.\(^1^9^7\).
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\(^1^9^8\)
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 thus?

175 It’s bad. I flee because of this (1)
Only if the Chief opens his mouth to say cut it\(^1^9^9\).
If you have already paid we are fine.

---

\(^{1^9^7}\)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...

\(^{1^9^8}\)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.

\(^{1^9^9}\)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 mouths200.

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 you201.
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 there202.

200“find their mouths” i.e. come to agreement.

201What is being given is life (L 201) in contrast to the actions of witches.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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 is bad
     This year I will not climb.
     I do not harm the things of this person.
     They the children will leave there in a bit.

202 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.

203 “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.

204 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.
It’s the end, my younger brothers, we two, will leave in the case of the field. They will say clearly to us: we do chop this sua right to the end. They leave the things already, the odd things of before. They leave the things already, the odd things of before.

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”

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 xxxxx
    xxx xxx
    ]

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.

Ga; It’s the work of Chàŋ.

205By 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.
The Kulu Sua blessing

Ta; If it’s the wind from the East\textsuperscript{206}, sorting it out alright. If its a thing of treatment\textsuperscript{207}, 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\textsuperscript{208}, 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

\textsuperscript{206}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 fuo means both wind and breath so fuo ChàΔ could be translated as the breath of god (ChàΔ) rather than the wind of god (ChàΔ).

\textsuperscript{207}Treatment (I\textsubscript{1}) is a neutral and wide-ranging expression, here used in a negative sense i.e. referring to poisons et cetera.

\textsuperscript{208}As do intestinal worms
The Kulu Sua blessing

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\textsuperscript{209}.

[ ]

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 Chàŋ 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

\textsuperscript{209}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).
Ta; You cut out the bricks?

So the shape-changers remove the Palace from the ground

Why is that a good thing?

Person you enter into the sua knife

You live one day, surely but, you don’t live two days never, ever, ever.

[                        ]

Ga; You live one day

Ta; If you take the Chief with one heart among the whole village.

Ga; Here is maize, here is sorghum.

That’s good if you take this.

Ta; We see good things with my eyes.

Jb; The lorry\textsuperscript{210} was stuck in the road

xxxx all there on the open road.

[                        ]

Ga; They dug, water didn’t come.

Ta; We pushed the thing with our hands, we took chicken and gave them.

We took other things and gave them. We left things here
to do things, things worth 10,000 CFA.

We gave them all to the people who dug the thing

this water hole.

They dug a well. They didn’t see anything in it.

They went to the open road, they pulled the lorry, pulled

the lorry didn’t go, there at the Mabon over there,

the road just there

there it is bad. This water

now water by-passes the square.

\textsuperscript{210}The lorry referred to was a drilling rig for installing a foot pump well in the village. It got

stuck in a notoriously bad bit of road where it crosses the Mabon stream 2 km from the village.

The site originally chosen for the well (beside the Chiefs Palace) did not produce water so the

pump was finally installed near the state dispensary. The question is whether this occurred as a

result of witchcraft or as an “act of god”.

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\(^{211}\).
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.

\(^{211}\)Were the Chief to be vanquished by witchcraft then even chickens will be too frightened (of
poison) to drink beer.
The Kulu Sua blessing

[                          ]
Ta; They harm divination.
You the people who divine at the divination place
you look. Njai here, his head\(^\text{212}\) 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\(^\text{213}\) 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.

\(^{212}\)“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.

\(^{213}\)“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 Tatiya wasn’t in the village. Patience.
Ga; They pull things214 here, our sua won’t see it.
Jb; So, Tatiya wasn’t in the village
He looked at his compound. I said: its bad. ()
So, () and Miya215 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 herself216.
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 her217
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?

214“Pull things” the speaker objects that different issues are being confused.

215She has been ill for a long time.

216Possibly implying she’s been caught by anti-witchcraft medicine, or by sua karup, hence is
a witch herself.

217Suggesting 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
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\textsuperscript{218}.

If she gave with an open heart,
person, palm person, you take the palms,
you return with palm-oil\textsuperscript{219} you give her, she licks it.
If the work isn’t straight,
she removes you and gives to another person.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{218}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.

\textsuperscript{219}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) .
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

[Jb; This is hard work for people
You don’t do this that is to say: Chi’s child\(^{220}\)
goes to that house,
entered there. You measure\(^{221}\) the woman \(< = \) laughter
My wife, my children you die the death,
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.
Ga; You die, die.
Jb; You die. I’ll split and eat\(^{222}\) 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.

\(^{220}\)Chi’s child is Mønday, and Chi is the wife of Nø Mark.

\(^{221}\)To measure or to try out someone, is to “try something on them” i.e. to attempt some evil of
them.

\(^{222}\)“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\(^{223}\); may snakes bite him,  
may things look\(^{224}\) 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\(^{225}\), 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\(^{226}\) people did it.  
440 You man, woman  
you will enter there.

\(^{223}\)“Gia” Guanam makes a play on two of his own names to make a third: Guanam + Nia (q.v. line 46) = Gia.

\(^{224}\)“look”: Rather than an implication of evil eye the idea is that (bad) things search out the person concerned and plague them.

\(^{225}\)Tarchimi was a FeB of Guanam, and affine(??) of Jacob; he stands as a paradigm senior to both of them.

\(^{226}\)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 Kulu Sua blessing

The hearts are ill so they say its Sarki\textsuperscript{227} 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\textsuperscript{228} 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\textsuperscript{229} has children, and a mother.
His younger brothers have children,
they have wives.
If they go and enter\textsuperscript{230} 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\textsuperscript{231}, things are bad in Ndeba.

\textsuperscript{227}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.

\textbf{Sua} will kill him if and only if he is guilty.

\textsuperscript{228}The use of poisoned needles is attributed to witches especially those called sar.

\textsuperscript{229}Yøgøten is a son of Njaibi at Gumbe hamlet. I do not know why he was singled out here.

\textsuperscript{230}“enter there” that is to say into the affair of the Palace roof.
The **Kulu Sua** blessing

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

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.

---

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

232 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\textsuperscript{233}.

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 \(??\)\textsuperscript{ngungun}\textsuperscript{234}?? \(<=\) laughter

495 Nj; Nia, you stay there as if you seen such a person.
Ga; I said it clearly when I cut my \textit{sua}.
I cut my \textit{sua} “kup kup kup”.
Buyør Vincent; I’ll find my money\textsuperscript{235}
so I can cut my \textit{sua} with it.

500 Nj; Give a pipe\textsuperscript{236}.
pause: 1 minute
Ga; cut through thus, cut through his back\textsuperscript{237},
carry it outside. I said carry \textit{sua} outside.
You’ll thus not eat this maize never, ever, ever.

\textsuperscript{233}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.

\textsuperscript{71}Unknown word.

\textsuperscript{235}The money is the \textit{lag\text{a} sua} needed so a \textit{sua}-oath could be taken for a different case to which Buyør Vincent was a party.

\textsuperscript{236}This is the pipe referred to in the note to line 486.

\textsuperscript{237}Guanam is saying this while treating himself and the others who have addressed \textit{sua}. (q.v. L508 \& 509).
The Kulu Sua blessing

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,
The Kulu Sua blessing

and if so then to kill them. The sua addresses consist of many “If...then...” clauses. Yet sua is not addressed in the same way as divination. It is not asked whether a certain event occurred, or whether human agents were involved. Such questions are put to the divination, especially to ŋgam ðù. 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\textsuperscript{238}. 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\textsuperscript{239}. It must be noted that the village sits against a low hill to its Western edge.

\textsuperscript{238}There are two different verbs which the informant in question used: chø (chop) and ∆uøp (cut), usually used to describe the action of slitting a chicken’s throat.

\textsuperscript{239}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
The Kulu Sua blessing

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 la\textsuperscript{240}) 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.

\textbf{A CASE STUDY: SUA KARE 26/11/86}

\textit{Reasons for taking the oath}

The background to the following example\textsuperscript{241} 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\textsuperscript{242} when one of her children died

\textsuperscript{240}Lit. fire-stone treatment.

\textsuperscript{241}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.

\textsuperscript{242}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 Ñgu/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; Nuaga243, whose lap will he sit on?

5  Give him to whoever will hold him.
   MA; Kusum244, a person with magic spears, with witchcraft, with poison; even I, should I be that person, which treats them. I leave as witchcraft,245 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 them246. <= Chicken squawks, being gripped firmly in the hand.

243“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.

244ideophone for blessing with spittle.

245This 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].
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 Ògu don’t look again.

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

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)

Come and sit here.
(3) Thus with Mbiti. (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.

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.

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)

---

A possible reading is that the malefactors cannot remain hidden, that Muy will come to know them.

Ògu is an abbreviation of Nuaga who was not looking at the ground as he was told.

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.
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 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  

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, over my wives, over my children.  

Only if they have some kind of motive, let them tell me and I will freely pay them.  
Freely, openly!  
They slander me.  

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 Chàŋ, fine.  
But be it () in someone’s hands. They say: I do this  

Why should I get help?

---

249See note L 7.

250“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.

251Note 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
ey 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

Only if it’s the wind of Chàŋ
85 leaving people’s things...
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 Chàŋ, alright.
If it isn’t the wind of Chàŋ ()
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

---

252 “Stomach”: a common idiom for pregnancy. SS’s wife had had a miscarriage some months previously.

253 Implicitly, the “things” have been left in disarray.
Only if it is just illnesses which stay with them
If it is the hand of Chàŋ, 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
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 Chàŋ.
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 JJ255
If I here am something which annoys them.
Only if it is the wind of Chàŋ alright.
If it is not the wind of Chàŋ

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.

254Those in the open bush = all those not in the village.
255JJ - 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 Chàŋ

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 father²⁵⁶
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 ()²⁵⁷
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,

²⁵⁶Evil 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).
²⁵⁷These 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 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 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 Ìgu.

200 MA; This child is too much, she is too fat {big}.

---

258Mallams 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
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 house
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, alright.
215 That person do no harm!
You threaten the child,
you threaten and say:
You say “Jak”! If you say “Jak”! She will not find a husband to marry.
Person you enter into the sua knife.
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, this one here,

---

259 Seven months after this she married and her first child was born in May 1988.
260 SS is still speaking to Nuaga who had been looking up to see what MA was doing.
261 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.
262 Ideophone.
263 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
The Kulu Sua blessing

only if it is wind of Chàŋ, 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 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!

235 Simon; Yuaga - sit down on the ground, Ki! (7)
SS; Take hold! (5) Nuaga close your eyes!
MA; Anyone coming over his children,
I myself, I the person doing the treatment,
if I leave as a witch, if I leave as the night,

240 people’s houses, people’s children, harm people.
If I harm (1) with witchcraft spears, night, & witchcraft,
let it return over me, may I enter into the sua knife,
may I live for one day only
and I will not turn my eyes up to the East, never ever ever.

245 If I have an open heart
to sort it out well, we are good, people are good,
may I turn my eyes to the East.
You witch person, you night person
you go to swear.

250 If it is what kind of treatment?
may I enter into the sua knife,

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.

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

265 Yuaga is another name for Nuaga.

266 One of SS’s sons.
The Kulu Sua blessing

you live for one day only, not live to eat two, not not ever.
SS; The coffee hasn’t arrived.²⁶⁸
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.²⁶⁹
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,²⁶⁵
if you know about this consider, even if you are Paul Biya²⁷⁰,
that person if they harm a compound
²⁶⁴ 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 house²⁷¹.

²⁶⁷ 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.
²⁶⁸ 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.
²⁶⁹ A rare usage of mgbe ChàΔ (chief god), which is here synonymous with the usual
fuo ChàΔ (wind of god).
²⁷⁰ 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\textsuperscript{272}. The house isn’t happy.

270 Even if it is () money.
If the earth is bad\textsuperscript{273} 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 Chàŋ 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)\textsuperscript{274} So, bring fire.

\textsuperscript{271} SS doesn’t expect to get paid before the Chief himself gets paid.

\textsuperscript{272} “Dites donc” This is an emphatic which MA has learnt in isolation. He does not otherwise speak French.

\textsuperscript{273} This is a variation on the idea of natural causes (usually expressed by fuo Chàŋ) 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, Đgu don’t look with your eyes.

295 MA; He can look.
SS; You can look.
(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.

274Some 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.

275Said 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 Mb276 twelve times! The Chief said this should not go to Bankim but must be sorted out in the village.

__________

276Mb is not the mother of Dd but mother of the headman of Yokasalla, and FZ of Dd
3.45 pm I returned to the Chief’s Palace to find the headmen of Nassaro and of Yokasalla (Jiji) having a long discussion with the Chief about the virtues of the chief as institution, and how he’s paid - qua government employee by virtue of his previous job\textsuperscript{277} 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:

\textsuperscript{277}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. The supposition is that sua made her ill because she had not admitted her adultery.

278 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 CHIEF279:

“Le jour 23-11-86 la nommé AAA reconnait avoir commis l’adultère avec BT et KG tous deux du quartiere Gumbe.

Question aux accusés:
Reconnaisez-vous les faits qui vous sont reprochés?
BT: Je reconnais avoir parlé à AAA mais jamais on a dormi sur un même lit.

279 The Chief very kindly made these notes on my behalf.
KG: je ne connais rien.

Les notables doivent vérifier les situations selon la coutoume et la prochaine audience aura lieu après résultat des notables car pour l'heure tout parait 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 reconnait le fait; d’après la tradition il paye trois poulets plus une amende de 20 000 CFA (vingt mille franc)”
The **Kulu Sua** blessing

**First hearing 22 November 1986**

speakers:
Bb: Bɔbɔ
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\(^{280}\) 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)

\(^{280}\)The Chief is referring to the fight and the slandering of his name which has been discussed in the introduction to this section.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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)
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,
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
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)
to sort out the argument. Everyone walked from the task (4)
from the tongues, from all the people who made tongues.
Whoever walked from the task,
because all of you are in my notebook.
If I wasn’t outside here
perhaps you thought to yourself,
perhaps I didn’t see
and don’t know about it.
Me, I was outside here. I stopped
outside here by the thing that happened, until they all came.
I passed down there so as to see and understand clearly.
To look and see and now people say, say of me
I climbed up from the palace.
They think I did it because
I wanted to go to the fight.()
It starts here the work that sees the start of the thing
until we reach the end of it.()
Because if I go thus,
to say 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\(^{281}\).
You said Party Police\(^{282}\) 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\(^{283}\). (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.

---

\(^{281}\)Lit. “planting stones”: the idiom for quarreling; the imagery is of stamping feet on the ground.

\(^{282}\)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.

\(^{283}\)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. Some people don’t go, they sit around. The road is of everyone, all who use it. I think to say 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. Today I am in the village, 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, it’s your hand that was raised, if you touched his body? 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. 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, they’ll stop the hearings. For me that’s the end of it. I have only this day today. 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.

So, like they do the talk of work. This is the work which is sent, 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. Now it’s fallen in, how can I say to start it again? You of this wall; this wall.

---

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.

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 moonshine287 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,

286The 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.
287Locally 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 Ga²⁸⁸, you. The chief said it was bad but from your hand
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.

Ga; Ñàŋ 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.
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)
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 given²⁸⁹
so the Chief doesn’t have to return to it to again.
xx; xxx xxx xxx

Nj; Divination, go and divine your divination.
It was at Bankim but the thing they gave to the Chief²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸Ga used as a nickname of the speaker Ga.
²⁸⁹A possible reading of an otherwise obscure phase: Jiji hadn’t given his accord or acknowledged the Chief’s authority either by first sending people to the work on the road, then second by not appearing 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.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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$^{291}$ 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$^{292}$, () you all the sisters’ sons’ of the palace here
I put the talk to you.

$^{290}$The official ban on the manufacture and consumption of moonshine came from Bankim i.e. the seat of local government.
$^{291}$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.

   $^{292}$“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.
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,
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?
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 Bam’s three Bam’s, five Bam’s come
For us one, two Bam’s ago we heard they’d washed the skulls
Someone who stays there, they wash their bodies in the place.

Lebôn 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 Sonkolong²⁹³, they were here.
(2) They came here. (1) Old war was done between people
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.
Many many Bam’s ago they came here (1)

²⁹³The Chief refers to the first of a pair of sua-oaths (one in each village) taken to heal the rift between Somié and Sonkolong which followed the imprisonment of several people from Somié often being accused before the authorities of causing by witchcraft the death of a man from Sonkolong. Eventually the charges were dropped and the accused released after they had spent a long time on remand in prison.
The Kulu Sua blessing

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\(^{294}\).
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 Nǝ’s house over there, in the house of Nǝ Mark. (1)
I’d returned from Atta when night fell,
when I arrived I slept there. (1)

\(^{294}\)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\(^{295}\), 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; xxxxxxx
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.
If they do lick it. He will say again he walks freely to the coffee field.

Ch; xx 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
I knew you
don’t you hide it. Our \textbf{sua} is a venerable thing.
Ga; It’s an old thing
Kj; For me, I didn’t see anything\(^{296}\)
so for me I don’t know anything.

300 Taillu; Not good
Here they chase after you until they catch you up.

\(^{295}\)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.

\(^{296}\)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.

Kg; They put it\textsuperscript{297} 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

Now the hearing is in my hands
I heard BT now looking at the divination
() Because of this thing it must be said:
\textbf{sua} is an old thing,
it’s not something new.

Its something traditional. Its traditional that
we take \textbf{sua} outside.
That \textbf{sua} is something traditional.
We here we will only die in \textbf{sua}.
You heard of the arbitrary death of someone

You talked a hearing in the palace square
there the talk catches a person not a piece of wood\textsuperscript{298}.
But if you know already,
you say it so we know.
But here I say

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.

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()

\textsuperscript{297}“it” the Chief’s stool for oath taking.
\textsuperscript{298}The point is that \textbf{sua} will kill the guilty parties. Cases heard in public at Palace affect people not bits of wood.
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.

[  
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.

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

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)
Yiăngi²⁹⁹; () Let me say my piece³⁰⁰.

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

I go I look at you so that
I walk again - he looks at me
during the funeral of my in-law at Ñgwe³⁰¹.
I found it like war there.
Ch; Have a little patience

Whilst I do cut through to this thing then.

²⁹⁹Yia̠di is the husband of Yi, Sondue’s “grandmother”. They live in Dar hamlet.
³⁰⁰Yia̠di was acting for a younger “brother” who had never been paid the
compensation after he had been knifed three months before the meeting.
³⁰¹Funeral of Yia̠di’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 problem302.

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.

302 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[^303] I see if you don’t speak openly
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
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

[^303] 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
   Ñgenedonŋ; Aaa you go to where?
   XX; You go outside, the chief removes them.
   Bb; Does the chief remove them?
But he said to you, you come, you come here.
Till they came then.
XX; They come where?
Yiąŋi; You wait patiently.
Nj; The Chief didn’t come, until you, you left afterwards.

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.

GW; Don’t do it, I don’t ask. If I’d asked already
Sua wouldn’t have seized me.304
For me I arrived amongst this, if I asked
it would be over for me just like that.
Yiąŋi; So BT

Gw; He wanted to, to cool the thing that didn’t end,
the thing that they didn’t see, never.
Ga; For that, it’s not a new thing
that’s a traditional thing.
Yiąŋi; So for now they ask you the thing.

BT yesterday was at hand when the notables were quiet,
that they talked of the thing with these here,
here on the ground. The only ones to know are the serious notables.
Here if I call BT, that’s to say it’s our ancestors.
Bb; What he wants to say,

Yiąŋi says it is the ancestors that call.
Yiąŋi; So now for that thing it is good to say
You must summon some serious person,
afterwards you say to him you know about it.
Why is that? The person that was put onto the stool here.

They say he is a small child but now he is a senior person.
That’s to say if you don’t know xxxx the end. If you say
you don’t know then you don’t know about it.
I stay asking if you don’t know. You say you don’t know.

304A 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
you say to him, you say to him, you know about it.
Because in GW’s group we’re the head, we who remain.
If you know about it, if you touched her with your hand
then you want it.
That’s to say you can call someone.

You tell them to come that you know
you touched her with your hand.
You call someone, you tell them that you are seized by shame.
This is the thing that you did. Go and tell it.
But when he’s done so. This is what we want to say.

They know to say: it is a kind like so.
It doesn’t start with you: it’s an old thing.
Ch; Bɔbɔ go and have a look see.
Nj; It’s an old thing. Your shame doesn’t just begin.
So surely they understand ()

for us, we of the hearing.
That’s to say cool, we don’t want it to leave off as it is.
They do want that today.
You say “no” I said, you said “yes”
then it doesn’t leave off.

For the hearing then, if someone comes and gives you something for a hearing.
No you don’t do it, you’ll think on it.
If they give something to a hearing, the hearing sorts it out.
For you they give the hearing parce que it’s too much.
Ga; xxx

Ch; You arrive amidst a hearing. For a hearing,
please if someone arrives in a hearing
You leave off sending it so if someone comes with something
You say I’m talking about something else.

For you 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,

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

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: Bọbọ
Bt: One of the accused.
Ch: The Chief
Ga: Gamia
Gw: Ng’s Father
   Jb: Jacob
Kp: Kọtap 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?
Conclusions

[  
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 come305.

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 father306?

305Only 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.
306AAA’s Father is dead. Gw talks of “the fathers” but in L29 he accepts that Møgø, 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  

Ngaundere\textsuperscript{307}  

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\textsuperscript{308}.  
If that woman will take them,  
her fathers would send for her.  

\textsuperscript{307}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.  

\textsuperscript{308}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?
Conclusions

45  Gw; The talk of sex leads to evil. () Leave it.
    Ga?; The Chief isn’t involved?
    XX; xxxxxxx We don’t lick

49  Nj; If we didn’t lick.

50  Êgu; The Chief up there says be quiet.

52  Gw; Sua isn’t blessed.
    Êgu; Now the affair is in their hands. () The cloths 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.

58  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.

63  Nj; I say until you’ve said to the Chief
    Gw; Father will sort it out.

---

309 ‘Lick” i.e. lick the ndu Agu 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.

310 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.\footnote{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.}
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 \textit{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\footnote{Lines 83-85 This passage remains obscure.}.
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
Conclusions

90 Gw; People go where? are you not Chief-Chàŋ?

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.

[ 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

[ 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; xxxx the chicken is afterwards

115 Gw; Lucas ki!
Jb; Lucas...I want to say Here and now
It’s not sorted out. It’s not small

He isn’t here at all, what’s that then? He asks for **sua**.

Nj; It’s I, It is I, Njaibi

120 Gw; He asks for **sua**
Nj; I avoid **sua**? =
Jb;  = Voila!
Nj; Old **sua**, can I flee from that?
Jb; So, we say just that. If he attacked the household, who are they any more?

and who else is there? () They go to the compound,
arriving there they say: expel him?

That is what GW said here

[  

Gw; How so anyone else? As for me, I know only the fathers.
The fathers that said: the child is in my hands.
Ve; xxxxx x xxxx xxxxx xxxxx[^313]  

130 Gw; If you make such a speech they must bless {**sua**} and end it
I myself will take the child and go to Ngaundere=
Ga;  = Xxx

Gw; He said to me
But how can you say this? They did look there

135 he asked you but what came of it? He said
Nj;  xxxx xxxx

[  ]

Gw; Them, they said go to this palace
They bless **sua** for you. I say this to you.

[  ]

Jb; xxxxxxx xxxx

140 Gw; My speech is that of divination money[^314].

[^313]: Ve is very deaf, and speaks very indistinctly. Few can understand him.
Ni; It isn’t an affair in which to say they say that =

Gw; =they didn’t say that Nggu

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

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.

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 where it is.

Since they don’t give only a small amount

[ ]

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

Gw; < Be quiet >

For me illness is on top of me.

---

314 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 (lagam, and lagasua respectively).

315 Ôgu an abbreviation of Ni’s name. NB Honorific abbreviation in naming.

316 That is to say he, Gw, did not accuse those under Njai’s authority.

317 The treatment referred to is blessing sua, and the theft, of course, alludes to the adultery.

318 “Place:” I read this as referring to the place where the real culprits are.

319 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.

320 The illness referred to is that of Gw’s wife.
Nj; For me, they go and bless sua, for me I know only treatments[^21].

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[^22] 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 Lɔvɔ[^23] over there

[__________]
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

170 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.

175 Nj; The Chief has no interest in this hearing.

[^21]“treatments” often used to contrast with sua but here including it; qv L253.

[^22]Wife of Ge Gaston at Gumbe, daughter of Ve.

[^23]Wife of Kanuo, a Marenjo.
Conclusions

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\textsuperscript{324}.

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... They’re not free agents,

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

\textsuperscript{324}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\textsuperscript{325}?
Mb; But GW, we said only the lovers of that woman.
Just as they say
if they were in the dispensary\textsuperscript{326}, the thing they say to GA
it would be the end of it.

215  Jb; Mmmh 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 eee ? No, that’s the end of it.
Ny: GW says that because tomorrow we will know xxx xxx

\[  

\textsuperscript{325}\text{If their penises are dead they can’t be accused of adultery therefore the trouble must be somewhere else (qv 209).}
\textsuperscript{326}\text{If there were medical evidence...}
Conclusions

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\(^{327}\).

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

---

\(^{327}\)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).
Jb; Thus, So it is more than eleven\textsuperscript{328} it’s thus thus thus then.

255 If they themselves want

\[\text{[ ]}\]

Nj; themselves

Jb; If they want to with their mouths

Those of GA, yes they’ve not paid.

They pay for the treatment here =

Ga; = So =

260 Jb; = They paid my divination well

So they see the things that passed

pass to \textit{sua} and chop it. They, they, they

the people who know about it, just as they know to do.

\[\text{[ ]}\]

Gw; name the names

265 Ga; of this \textit{xxxx xxxxxxxxx} completely

Jb; But nothing

Gw; Till I have changed tune, he goes with his mouth.

Mb; Till they change

Gw; because young men \textit{xxxxxxx}

\[\text{[ ]}\]

270 Ga; this child doesn’t hurry =.

Kuŋ; = We have said it before, we said the truth.

Mb; People now say here what I have said.

If I...I say here, I am one with his talk

\[\text{[ ]}\]

Nj; I, I say here that we have paid for this treatment

275 Go and pay afterwards to the heads =

Ga; = Come afterwards so they can see

\textsuperscript{328}\textit{Lit. “and one” implying eleven, twenty-one, &c.}
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.329
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
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,

_________________________

329Nj threatens people with exile for not responding to summons from the Chief’s palace.
to speak with Gambia so we end our troubles.

Ch; ǝǝǝǝ toujours la patience.

Mb; We will wait for just that.

Ga; This discussion is one with

[  

Ny; It is thus

Mb; We wait for that

[  

Ny; The discussion has said as much, that I asked of them.
If they lie freely it will reappear.

310 It won’t calm quickly.

Mb; It goes into quarrels.

Ny; Quarrels come from this.

Ga; Here, what are you are going to say?

This is a discussion such as that which I asked.

I ask that. He harms thing there, we understand clearly.

() It’s only in the group here.

Nj; GW I’ve always said the thing is up to the Chief. I say the thing is up to

Mb; GW, I have spoken with the Chief, I have spoken with GA

[  

Nj; GA did ask you, you you you womanizers

320 if I will harm their things will you give me money?

So that I will treat & sort out this child once more?

You have damaged the village.

Mb; They discuss the thing with him.

Ga; It is thus, you go with your mouths.

Nj; The chicken talks with it’s mouth.

[  

Ga; If you say to me, you will take it, you will treat it.

For this I will give money so so I hurry the thing along.

This is only a small thing.

Ch; () Yes, if the business goes outside it is good to talk. (2)
Because it’s hard this one.
The hard 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.

Njai asked nothing there. All unseen.
Now Moses has spoken well In that group
that is to say in that group he is not there.
So, if it’s my decision there is big GA.
he hasn’t spoken. Then for me, because I don’t want to talk
but this will leave me behind. I can speak in this space.
This one says it is small. Moses says it’s a woman bon.
For the woman, she looks: “mystique” is done
“Mystique” is done, she will give the thing somewhere else.
For you, you stay over there.

Them over there, they do not have big mouths =
Gw; =Thus
Ch; We will go to the dispensary
We will do it, we will do it. We shall act.
For you is compulsory, because the women are in our hands,

if it is clear this evening.
They, those who harmed her, they must be sorted out.
For you in Moses’ case there is nothing, they will have a small talk with him thus.
XX; yes
Ch; yes

Ny; You 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 with the cost, with all the costs

Moses is Gw’s Christian (lit.) name.
“Dispensary” That is to say they will treat the illness as a “natural” illness (caused by ChàΔa) and hence effectively treatable with western medicine.
You come and say I have a bill, this small thing.

XXXX; əəə əəə < = 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\(^{333}\) 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\(^{334}\)?
       How can you do that to him?

370 So you will see suffering then
   Allah till two times are xxxx I xxxxx < = laughter
   Ch; I do not put the hearing on you group by group. < = laughter
   Truly it is like that. < = laughter
   Nj; xxxxxxx

375 Jb; They measure them with laughter?
   Nj; They measure them in kilos < = laughter
   Jb; If 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

---

\(^{332}\)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.

\(^{333}\)“Eat:” this implies witchcraft, who paradigmatically resort to secret cannibalism to wreak revenge.

\(^{334}\)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

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 xxxxxxx xxxxxxx xxx xxx

Gw; They don’t bless him. Go with your Chief,

go with Gamia and say again that this isn’t a new thing

Ny; xxx our father is for xxxxxxx

Kp; no more hearings from you

Nj; the Chief says of ()

Kp; Now there is no hearing for you there.

Gw; Any woman that has reason leave the palace quickly.

Any woman if that has reason leave the palace because we of the palace

we are stupid people.

For me I think to say that the village is one ()

You see thus they push.

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. They will go

Chàŋ gave things to those of the past

---

335“Reason:” guilty knowledge is the reason he has in mind.

336“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.

337Ideophone spoken at the act of blessing.
There is suffering today in the body of the village\textsuperscript{338}.

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\textsuperscript{339}, they 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\textsuperscript{340}

\textsuperscript{338}Village. Note that village and compound are different senses of the same word, and moreover that “strictly” there are no compounds in Cameroonian Mambila villages. Kin (especially patrilateral) tend to live close to one another, (in a manner similar to that described by Rehfisch (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.

\textsuperscript{339}the body which is being attacked (“killed”) is that of Gw’s wife.

\textsuperscript{340}
Conclusions

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

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.

Gw; How can they kill? 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

340 “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.

341 “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.

342 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).
Nj; aaaa If he left

440 He puts a treatment into the woman’s hand and tells her.  
Jb; She kills, she kills him,  
Nj; To the women, he will give. He takes a treatment he puts it into her hands,  
the woman goes and kills off her husband.  
It’s because of them, they quarrel heatedly.

445 Of that we know it all.  
If someone blesses your wife, then if he has poison  
he will go and kill you.  
If they will come to accord to fix things,  
if someone blesses your wife, how can you do that?

450 They will kill you.  
Ga; They they who heat their tongues, be cool.  
Jb; They will thus just kill.  
Ga; There’s no mouth there. There’s no refusal there  
Nj; If a woman does for you, then from the beginning, for you it is  
not good. Therefore you stay  
But because it’s not thus, go and go from before it as if  
he killed off completely.  
If you gather them, if you gather them together,  
he kills you off now.

460 Then he will not live.  
Ga; This person does for your wife, they heat their tongues, 344 then they do thus so as to kill you.  
Nj; Now of that, they don’t live  
If a woman does that to you, you divine, you do it to her then!  
If you quarrel with her, she kills you off,  
you won’t stay alive.

---

343 This passage is heated, impassioned rhetoric against adultery. Although, of course, a possible course of events it does not relate to the “normal” course of adultery in the village!  
344 “Heat tongues:” idiom for quarreling.
She kills you off, your days were those before.

Gw; You’re talking nonsense.

Jb; You’re talking nonsense, what we we talking?

Nj; That’s to say they talk clearly.

Gw; Everyone babbles away.

Don’t babble away. Don’t babble away.

Thus talks Kg, you too don’t talk.

Until all the children are dead and all the adults also

because who knew how to speak of it?

But you listen, you, those of Gumbe

[ 

Nj; It’s not us, do we know about it?

Till the talk is clear

[ 

Gw; I am ill with the talk

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.

Gw; Chàŋ exists. He has spoken his voice.

[ 

Nj; Chàŋ 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.
Gw; Now NG the thing this thing, you’ve removed it already. The talk already includes the healers, they’ve already removed it (1)\textsuperscript{345} Him here, he has a wife. No one must harm her. If you desire his territory, speak up (1) For him\textsuperscript{346}, you speak up, don’t walk and say it elsewhere, he has open eyes\textsuperscript{347}. The woman has said, for her it is thus. She wants what he wants\textsuperscript{348}. \textless{} = laughter xxx; Listen everyone xxx Gw; Like when Ve was himself a young man, they entered such a house those who wounded him, they are where? Ch; The meeting\textsuperscript{349} is tomorrow \textless{} = to Joseph Gw; If it wasn’t bad it isn’t you and today it’s not your sister, only if I, I know will I act so that there is suffering, suffering for him here. Nj; Perhaps it is the place of the Luo, how is it?\textsuperscript{350} I pass there to find what is mine

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{345}“safi” Fulfulde for tradition. \textit{<Nùàr safi>} lit. traditional person, meaning people with treatments, that is, healers.
\item \textsuperscript{346} The doctor/nurse.
\item \textsuperscript{347}“Open eyes” passing inherited witchcraft gives one the ability to detect witches; the bearer of such power has “open eyes”.
\item \textsuperscript{348}Lit. this line is “of yours is of mine then,” which I take to mean that his interests are hers.
\item \textsuperscript{349}The Chief is answering a question about a meeting to be held in Bankim.
\item \textsuperscript{350}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 \textit{sua} oaths can be taken and it is to this that Nj refers.
\end{itemize}
The place of the Luo but will I thus find it,

find my thing?

Ch; Patience is too much, too much.

Everything in the house is patience.

Chàŋ doesn’t do it, you must be patient, and your mouth too with that they will know him.

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; Chàŋ Chàŋ 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?

How can someone do that?

Chàŋ knows we will pay with our patience. (4)

Nj; aaaha. It’s thus. We, we from there, we there are just like that.

Say to BT: Come and take your chicken then.

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 Chàŋ.

Chàŋ knows they will pay.

Ga; cool (4)

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.
Gw; It’s not some child that walks fast now < = laughter
Is it centipedes?\textsuperscript{351} < = laughter
Has she a stomach, like as not she’s not xxxxx got a swelling stomach.

[            ]

Nj; Look for yourself.

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.

If a person puts their mouth in there.
No one should approach\textsuperscript{352}.
At that point no one should get close.
If someone - if they put grasses\textsuperscript{353}, the belt breaks,\textsuperscript{354} the world breaks.
It’s that that they do here.

WB; She is always at market. < = laughter\textsuperscript{355}
Ga; So, the time approaches, people don’t get upset\textsuperscript{356}.
Nj; That’s to say illness, the child is ill. But if not ill\textsuperscript{357} then I say: it is lies.
They “married” her in what bed, where?

If I haven’t struck there at Njere < laughter\textsuperscript{358}

\textsuperscript{351}“Having centipedes” in the stomach is an idiomatic excuse for walking slowly or in discomfort.
\textsuperscript{352}End of tape T210A Start tape T210B.
\textsuperscript{353}“Put grasses” that is to say put evil treatments into something, the targets house or their food.
\textsuperscript{354}The “belt breaks” idiom for great disaster.
\textsuperscript{355}Loitering in the market can be represented as looking for trouble, looking for sexual partners.
\textsuperscript{356}“Approaches” The day is drawing on.
\textsuperscript{357}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
    Ïgombi 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
    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 Chàŋ 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 hear359 it up?

358Obscure.
359Ideophone, imitating the sound of fast high pitched speech?
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

[ ]

Nj; xxx xx
Jb; Others will not search afterwards

[ ]
Nj; xxx xx
Jb; Others who are evil

[ ]
Nj; xxx xx

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.

They have other kin. () So

NG can go for a walk

I walk, and I have a mother also.

Nj; So it is

Gw; I have said

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

---

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

[ ]

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\textsuperscript{361}.

[ ]

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

[ ]

625 Mb; It’s divination... It’s old divination
it doesn’t sit on good things.

630 Gw; This is a cool thing =

\textsuperscript{361}“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\textsuperscript{362} 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\textsuperscript{363}

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

---

\textsuperscript{362}Okra used as an example of an unfree good.

\textsuperscript{363}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.
Conclusions

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?³⁶⁴ Who will do it?

660 Ni; Njaibi takes it again?

Ni; Give it to Ningga³⁶⁵ 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 Njomni he’s got sua hands.³⁶⁶

675 Nj; You go {outside} you scrape.

³⁶⁴The first steps have been made before deciding who will actually officiate “the blessing”.
³⁶⁵Another nickname for Jb.
³⁶⁶The 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.
瓊omni he knows how to scrape.
If I’ve been scraped onto my body, I don’t leave my house. ()
Take it, take this thing and go outside.
Ni; You have said stay amongst your own?

680  Nj; eee
Ni; Chàŋ give the thing to the small children, the children roast it367.
You give it to him, he will roast it.
Nj; They scrape outside. You put it in your hands thus.
Bt you go outside.

685  You two, both of you, you put your hands thus.
They bless outside.
Nggu; I know that.
Nj; (4) Scrape outside. (2)
Ni; Once they’ve scraped they will roast and eat.

690  Ny; You put out hands up, put out your hands. <=laughter
Ny; You go and find some fire wood. <=to Merup
Nj; Pass outside first. I will scrape into the hands.
() Into the hands () don’t scrape it all.
Gw; aaa it ends here with me.

695  Till someone, someone injures the bodies of my children.
Jb; () stay there NG.
Nj; (1) You put your hands thus, in one place, together.
You put them together, right together.
Jb; You two together are friends.

700  Gw; This one of mine here, if I find him afterwards.
If I find him afterwards, Allah, I’ll sort him out.
Nj; (4) You scrape, you scrape the thing on one side and then on the other.
Ny; He scrapes both sides.

367The 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

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.

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).

368 Nj is directing the actions from inside the Chief’s palace.
369 “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\textsuperscript{370}.

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.\textsuperscript{371}
We can’t stay...

[  

Ny; Only if they’ve finished blessing.
Nj; Once they’ve finished blessing everyone, they can chop properly.

740 Ny; For that that remains, they pass to chopping.
Nj; They look at her stomach.
Ny; aaa We - When they’ve blessed both of them, they chop, then they’ll chop the thing, then they’ll chop the thing.
Mb; The day the other one comes, if the other one comes

745 they () they () they will chop properly then.
Ny; aaa
Mb; Once they’ve blessed both of them.
Ny; Both. That’s proper, they chop properly then.
(5) Nggu you go and look for fire wood. (2)

750 Ni; 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

\textsuperscript{370} “They” the alleged adulterers.

\textsuperscript{371} “Chopped” Nj still wants a \textit{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. ()
Nj; We wait here, till it’s already roasted.
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 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; \(ŋ\)gene\(ŋ\)372 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 \(deŋor\) \(sua\)?373

770 Wb; Have you?
Nj; A \(deŋor\) \(sua\)?
Gw; He laughs there.
Ny; xxxxx
Nj; If I do \(sua\)’s stomach374, if you don’t die in the morning
then when the evening comes you will die.
It’s my \(deŋor\) (6)
Ki! world. () The world harms things \(Oi\)! (4)
They chop this (1) How can it be done?

372Son of Njaibi, husband of Kørøbøn.
373The baton (also called \(nduΔgu\)) scraped into the palms of the adulterer(s) and
cuckold during \(kulu\) \(sua\).
374A 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,
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 out375.
() 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 376< = laughter

805 that’s not enough.
Nj; It’s too much for us.
Ni; How much it is, I find you with your work.

375He starts walking out (with women).
376Original 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 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

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

   [ 
   Nggu; 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?378
   Nj; Aaaa?

---

378 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\textsuperscript{379} \textless = laughter

Mb; He’s got things, he goes with -

Nj; aaaa you don’t blow the cloth\textsuperscript{380}

Blow the cloth soon, how can he blow the cloth, how is it. \textless = 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; Ha?

870  Nj; Will they blow cloth?

Ch; Before did they blow like this?

Mb; Before, they blew your cloth\textsuperscript{381}

afterwards thus, if no news\textsuperscript{382} 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)

\textsuperscript{379}This sua enclosure has fallen down.

\textsuperscript{380}“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.

\textsuperscript{381}i.e. accompanied the new bride to the bride-groom’s house.

\textsuperscript{382}“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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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? ()

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\textsuperscript{383}.

Your hearing will go: you mustn’t make a fierce case

Gangfi’s people ... You have one place

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

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

\textsuperscript{383}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.

\textbf{DIAGRAM 8.3 The return of Gangfi and Li’s Bridewealth}

NB this also explains why B\textbackslash b\ can call Kung’s daughter “masi” (Z in L) since Kung is guna (P in L) to B\textbackslash b\.
Is that too much now?

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.

[                ]

Jb;                   For her then          who did she “marry”?
Ch; That’s the thing of marriage.
If you divorce you don’t ask a thing.
But if a woman transgresses
not even a needle stays in her hand. You, you go and ask.()

So for this I will make a condition..
The condition what is it?
You look: illness. Illness puis que
she is an ill person. To Kg for the, the,
the money that they give. ()

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

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.

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.

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.

_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)

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.

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.

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?

[            ]
Conclusions

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 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\textsuperscript{384}

\textsuperscript{384}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\(^{385}\) 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.

\(^{385}\)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, Vaju is whose child?386

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.

386Njaibi stands in an authority relationship comparable to a father over any of Kg’s children since Vjju’s mother is Bake, Njaibi’s sister. Vjju is Kg’s wife.
Conclusions

Nj; (8) So now then our hearing is finished.

Break in recording for some minutes

Ny; Of that I say I don’t say anything here.
He stays here at the side, he shuts his mouth “patap”.
Ga; Did you see him with anything?
1115 Ny; You saw the eager search, then you put it thus.
Your lying hands are deep.
Ch; I’ll chase, chase you right to Jabule’s compound
Ny; (2) I understand.
Ch; (1) The person is in your hands, vraiment.

1120 If something’s the matter.
I go and call a meeting, you don’t come, So
but don’t walk around and say I didn’t know.
Ga; So
xx; xxx

End of recording. The Chief continued to launch his recurrent complaint of the poor attendance at meetings.

Fieldnotes Relevant to the second hearing

GW presented the case rather than his elder brother (or NG himself for that matter) as a result of divination about the case.

Before recording started GW was talking about all the expenses NG had incurred buying presents for his wife and in building their house.

Kɔtap fetched the nduŋgu 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 nduŋgu sua and knife were given to Tabo Paul who rose, showed them to the Chief then went outside the verandah onto the square. NG and BT joined him and crouched

387A Distance of four kilometres.
Conclusions

down before him cupping their hands before their chests. The *ndungu sua* was scraped onto
their heads and hands while Njaibi directed.

Jacob took the money which had been laid on the dais at the Chief’s feet.

Merup lit a fire beside the Palace and roasted the chicken - alive as are all “ritual”
chickens.

Distribution of the meat:
First leaf-wrapped parcel of meat given to Tabə Paul.
Second parcel taken by Ktap 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, Ktap...

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\(^{388}\) 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.

\(^{388}\)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

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 does not exist. The theoretical arguments serve to define the attitude with which the ethnography is to be read. Surprisingly there is common ground with the degree of elaboration to be found in the political (let alone economic) concepts held by people in Britain. Words can be powerful, moving forces without being well developed concepts. Words equally well understood can be referentially void.

If this is correct then there are major problems in giving any account of “the cosmological system”. I will now present a short summary of Mambila religion. This is,

---

389 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.

390 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.
Conclusions

My evidence for Mambila Cosmology can be summarized by the following schemas:

\{ : who made you? Chàŋ did.
\{
\{Cause of (natural) illness

Chàŋ \{
\{Cause of (natural) events (e.g. as used in sua speeches)
\{
\{God in Christian discourse
\{
\{Personal spirit
\{
\{Spirits in the bush

\{masquerades

sua \{
\{oaths

Men: power of the oaths coming from masquerade? i.e. the masquerade makes visible that which “seizes” (in oath) and detects evil (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
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 *dama*.

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 mi* (*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 da. This is not to say that sua is an agent; rather: it provides a means of talking about the domain of agency.

The summary of “Mambila cosmology” with which this section began is below represented in a manner which highlights some of the contrasts which articulate the “cosmological structure”.

**Diagram 9.1: Cosmological structure**

Chàŋ Tandalu is definitely “of the bush” but there is no contrasting element in the village, as first structuralist principles might lead one to expect. As Sperber suggests (1974:59) structuralism is a useful game to play, and within the sua masquerades it is revealing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>men’s sua</th>
<th>women’s sua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>costume</td>
<td>human form</td>
<td>inchoate (bush?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(village)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>enclosure in village</td>
<td>enclosure in bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>clockwise(^{391})</td>
<td>anti-clockwise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\(^{391}\)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 Chàŋ) 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
Conclusions

(Wittgenstein 1958). However, realism entails going beyond usage to meaning, despite Wittgenstein’s arguments against such a step\(^{392}\). The dilemma thus occasioned is discussed below.

In this work I have outlined the different ways in which the words *sua* and *Chàŋ* 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\(^{393}\).” 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

\(^{392}\)Or those of Needham (1972) which have served as warnings of dangers inherent in, rather than guides to, this analysis.

\(^{393}\)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 under-valuation of the reasons why multi-vocal utterances are produced. In particular these reasons may be the micro-political factors which are clearly involved in structuring verbal interaction, as has been demonstrated by Brown & Levinson (1978). It is this area which I want to explore further.

Discussing Quine’s radical translation problem it was argued above that translation manifestly is possible since we live in the real world and could not survive if the problem were as insuperable as it is claimed. Pragmatic reality obtrudes and this is sufficient to “establish a bridgehead.” [While one can debate elegantly whether gavagi is rabbit or rabbit-stage, it is a lot harder to construct a convincing argument about basic body functions. It is not necessary to have one’s nose rubbed in it to know what mber means].

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.

394Hallen & 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.
Conclusions

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 \textit{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\footnote{Boyer 1989:9 cites Keil on this point; see also Keesing 1985, and Lakoff & Koveceses 1987} then we can see how the Somić 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\footnote{Nigel Barley's "Symbolic Structures" (1983) may be a first step in that direction for the Dowayo.}. 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\footnote{Gödel’s theorem notwithstanding, which establishes that the converse does not hold: i.e. there are theorems which are not finitely provable.}. 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\footnote{Finnegan’s criticism (1988) of such strong claims are considered briefly in the Preface to this work.}. 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.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
    \item \footnote{395}{Boyer 1989:9 cites Keil on this point; see also Keesing 1985, and Lakoff & Koveceses 1987}
    \item \footnote{396}{Nigel Barley's "Symbolic Structures" (1983) may be a first step in that direction for the Dowayo.}
    \item \footnote{397}{Gödel’s theorem notwithstanding, which establishes that the converse does not hold: i.e. there are theorems which are not finitely provable.}
    \item \footnote{398}{Finnegan’s criticism (1988) of such strong claims are considered briefly in the Preface to this work.}
\end{itemize}
In any society, literate or not, the uses of vagueness are manifold. Evasive speech is a pervasive feature of Western politics. Speech which says little while sounding definitive is accomplished by the use of “hedges” and “weasel words” (Strecker, Levinson) and they are made to sound authoritative by the use of rhetorical devices (as described by Max Atkinson 1984). Where the key concepts are vague then “grammatically” precise speech remains open to the multiplicity of interpretation which is an explicit possibility in clearly hedged or multi-vocal utterances. So, to say of someone “sua has seized them”, or of an event simply “it is sua” is to leave much open for debate. So too in western politics with words which are themselves “essentially contested;” Sperber’s examples of “words with fuzzy meanings” include ‘love’, ‘faith’, ‘leftism’ ‘sport’ (Sperber 1982:160).

If this correctly identifies a fundamental element of West African traditional religion, then it raises new questions. Why are existing accounts as structured as they are? Is this a result of the concerns of the ethnographer or do other societies have reflective traditions which Mambila lack? Probably both. Now we must ask: given that a society which has a reflective tradition, why does it have it? The obvious way to address this question is with reference to political structure. The connection between political structure and religion has been central to anthropology since Durkheim. It may be suggested that theology is absent or at least is not disseminated in mechanical (i.e. more homogeneous) societies. Counter-examples exist of course, that of the Ndembu being particularly apposite here. So the idea must be further refined. Equally we must pause to consider whether there is less to Ndembu religion than has been described. Or rather: whether what there is, is less precise.

The relationship of religion to power is complicated and multi-factoral. I shall consider here one aspect alone, namely the effects and corollaries of having a more or a less formulated theology, and one that is more or less disseminated. If a word is not well understood, or, more importantly for my argument, if a word is only loosely defined then it can be readily affirmed with little cognitive commitment. As Sperber puts it, there can be “a strong commitment to a very weak claim” (Sperber 1982:173). This has a clear political use: everyone can feel as though they are in agreement. A single unifying discourse can be constructed such that everyone will agree with it, agree to be bound by it. Agreement is made far easier if some of the terms are vague and loosely defined, for this enables the facile agreement of people while obscuring their different opinions and interests.

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 Gnau ritual healing: “they are absorbed by the practical details of doing it more than by questions about the assumptions entailed by their actions. A man doing magic or a doctor is possibly quite like a cook or a carpenter in this respect: he does not necessarily think out again each time he acts what could be the logic of
Conclusions

what he is doing, the assumptions behind it. He has a skill, knows the routine, gets on with it and does it. Habit and routine make it familiar. ... Habit is unthinking.” (Lewis 1986:426). This stands as a further development of the argument of “The Day of Shining Red” (1980) in which Lewis considered the problems of interpreting Gnau puberty rites which receive, like the Mambila sua, no indigenous commentary. Interpretations are possible, and may help anthropologists “understand” Gnau ritual. But Gnau are skilled practitioners, as are Mambila, and they act in the (possibly misplaced) confidence that their ritual actions can be explained and justified. The rituals are seen to work, as does Western medicine. Lewis considers someone who goes to a witch to be healed because of their success in healing other people. Would, he asks “action done in that pragmatic spirit be evidence of a belief in magic, or just empiricism? People often learn a technique without bothering at all about the principles or any other theory behind it.” (1986:422 following Keith Thomas). Doctors do not, I am told, know how aspirin works.

Kopytoff discusses an African group (the Suku) who make a firm distinction between the fruits of speculation and knowledge (Kopytoff 1981). The first cannot lead to the second. For example, Suku divination is retrospective, revealing previously unknown causes of events, but it does not speculate about the future. Kopytoff continues to say that “speculation is idle because the matter is clearly knowable in principle but too important to speculate about. In the latter case speculation begins to border on the irresponsible: the more serious the matter, the more important the truth about it and the less justified idle conjecturing.” (Kopytoff 1981:716). Mambila would concur with this, although they do not explicitly make such a rigid distinction between knowledge and opinion.

The greatest perplexity arising from Sperber is why the difference between propositions and semi-propositional representations should be so arcane. If this distinction is so pervasive then why is it not recognized? Why do we behave (talk) as if every thing were propositional? One answer may be that it is insupportable and therefore impossible to live in the world while making such a distinction. In ordinary discourse it is impossible to admit to talking nonsense, using words which are weakly understood, even if no one understands them better. Such talk gets nowhere if the usual hedges et cetera are employed. (Hedges such as (in English): “I think”, “possibly”, “it may be”, “I don’t know but...” or (in jù bà): tame, merre di...). Sperber’s explanation of why Filate did not recount the story of the dragon to other Dorze assumes comprehension of this.

In order to explain more clearly what occurs in the Mambila case I will outline the way in which sua and power in Somié are connected.

At one level of analysis sua is among the most fundamental ways in which male domination is achieved and perpetuated. Women have their own masquerade which is powerful in its own right but they cannot take sua-oaths. When oaths are taken women are
encouraged to hear the addresses but they can neither watch directly nor make addresses themselves. Nonetheless, women are bound by the oaths.

As stated above, the institution of the Chief seems to have been adopted from the Tikar after the arrival of Mambila on the Tikar Plain. The support of Colonial and Independent administrations has helped turn a loan into an active institution at the centre of many village affairs. The acephalous system described in Nigeria by Farnham 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.
Conclusions

Bibliography


Conclusions


Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Conclusions

*Man (N.S.)* **21**: 50-64.


___. 1987. The Stuff Traditions are made of: On the implicit Ontology of an Ethnographic Category. 


Conclusions


Conclusions


Conclusions


Conclusions


Conclusions


Conclusions


Conclusions


Conclusions


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.


Little of interest about Councils.
Includes Jangali report from 1942 giving cattle numbers and names of some leaders.


Changes in headships 30’s and 40’s.


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


Mainly concentrating on areas closer to Banyo, but some interesting pages about the Mambila.


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


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

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

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

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

[Mambila text in Gembu dialect.]


[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

[Mambila text. Primer in Gembu dialect.]

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Conclusions

[Highly unreliable.]

(n.d.). Chang eh vu a (Abridged Christmas Story). [Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]


[Highly unreliable.]

(n.d.). Derua a June.

[Highly unreliable.]


[Mainly concentrating on areas closer to Banyo, but some interesting pages about the Mambila. Population general: 1949 Mambila p4.]

(n.d.). Mambila together with Bungu (Kamkam) and Magu. copy in I.A.I. library in 1950's. Not known if now in Manchester. Copy in the personal collection of F. Rehfisch.

[Summary based on reports of Glasson, Izard, and Percival. Also citing Meyer so post 2WW? No new material, but some hand written comments.]


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


[Brief notes for a paper given by a Mambila historian. Intriguing information but, for example, the etymology given for Mambila seems suspect.]

Conclusions


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


[Mainly of ornithological interest.]


[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.]


[The Wuli (Mfumte) in the village of Lus are near neighbours of the Mambila, but have secret societies typical of NW Province.]


[The Wuli (Mfumte) in the village of Lus are near neighbours of the Mambila, but have secret societies typical of NW Province. Details of witchcraft beliefs relating to conception and childbirth.]


[Linguistic textbook including Mambila examples pp 12, 126.]


[Some Mambila examples from Gebauer's collection.]

Conclusions

Little of direct relevance to anthropologists.


Little of direct relevance to anthropologists.


Notes that cases of wife battery have been recently reported.


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

Village head of Jeke died.


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


In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.


Exchange marriage problems again.


Problems with exchange marriage.
[See below.]

[Seeks to explain the different pattern of farmer-grazier relations between the Samba on the Shebshi Mountains and the Mambila on the Mambila plateau in the differing histories of FulBe incursion and immigration. This should be read in conjunction with Blench 1983.]

[Though focusing on the Fulbe it includes much useful information.]

Blench, R. M. (n.d.). *Notes: Peoples & Languages of SouthWestern Adamawa.*
[Mainly linguistic in orientation.]

[Of purely ornithological interest.]

[Reappearance of Makka is noted p 4. Locusts have been a problem 1938/39.]

[Mambila refs p6, 76-77, 132, 152 but from secondary sources only.]

[Not Yet Traced.]

Conclusions


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


[p131 Mbem includes a small Mambila population.]


[Nothing of interest. The fish farming project she started, lapsed as soon as she left. The report explains that part of the reason for this was the irregular supply of fish.]


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


[Changes to villages headships noted.]


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

[General description but mentions Mambila ownership of cattle.]

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


[Notes on land tenure made by touring officer about the same time that Rehfisch was there, but not wholly consistent with his account of land tenure.]

[Nothing of ethnological interest.]

[Not consulted: Of purely ornithological interest.]

[Not consulted: Of purely ornithological interest.]

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

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


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


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


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

   [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.]

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

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

   [Tantalisingly sparse.]

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

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

   [Some Mambila examples illustrated in colour.]

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

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


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


[Covers some Mambila villages including some population figures.]


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


[Village Heads of Warawr and Barrup have died. Exodus of cattle 1931-32 noted from 21,000 (1930) to 4700 (1932).]


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


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!]
[Includes the first published population estimate (20,000), but little else relevant to the Mambila.]


[Of purely ornithological interest.]

[Page 10 records Kuma as the principle Mambila town Page 10/11 is possible the first record of the use of yom (Tephrosia vogelli).]


[Mambila is one of the languages studied with an accompanying word list. The conclusions are that Mambila is not very similar to Vute as has been often suggested.]

[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]


Of purely ornithological interest.

Hamman, M. *BA & PhD Dissertations*. Zaria: History Dept. A.B.U.
[Not consulted, Reference from Frantz.]


[A useful summary.]

[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.]

[Mambila p 107 Volcanic stones carved by Mambila, 322 326 337.]

[nothing of great interest.]

[Passing reference to Songolong (p195) but only comments are about the landscape.]

[Not yet consulted.]

[Arrest of men for administering ordeals.]


[Includes some descriptions of building, of the sua enclosure at Tep, and an otherwise undescribed piece of ritual which Hepper also photographed.]


[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]


[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]


[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]


[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

Conclusions


[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.]

[See below.]
Conclusions


[These papers contain much of the little information published about the Mambila in Cameroun.]


[Complements and concludes the work of Hurault 1975. It is relevant to the Mambila even when not about them directly.]


[An intriguing argument relying on the evidence presented in Hurault 1979 for the decimation of the indigenous population since the Fulani invasion. It also provides a summary history of the lamidat.]


[Focuses on the geological and ecological effects of over-grazing. Some details from Mambila.]


[ Presents aerial photographic evidence for the pre-FulBe population of Adamaua. An intriguing and perplexing paper. Although some questions must be raised about his contemporary demography the historical reconstruction of population densities have yet to be seriously considered by others working in the area.]


[Hoe types mentioned fleetingly.]


[Mainly about Tikar.]

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).*


[Early population figures.]


[Local politics. The “affair of Hamman Joda” - his accusation and deposition.]


[Includes identification of Jiru grass (qv Meek 1931) as Sporobolus pyramidalis Beauv.

Census details from March/April 1927 also included in this file.]

[Mambila planting Ganjigaga variety of Cola. ???.]


[Local politics. Repercussions of the “affair of Hamman Joda”. Cattle droving - A Frenchman taking cattle across the border to Cameroun.]


[p 3 para 11 “Giman and Ndimbe, both Mambilas, were tired and found guilty of slave dealing.”.]


[Details of house construction, and some notes on disputes types, also census details.]


[Details of house construction, and some notes on disputes types, also census details.]


[Little of interest.]


[includes general population figures.]

[General livestock figures.]


[Gebana = Arnado of Titon, his nephew is Yerima Titon.]


[Population figures for Kentu.]


[Origin of Ndoro on Mambila Plateau?]


[Dispute between two D.O.s over the probity of Hamman Joda the Sarkin of Gashaka. Paul their superior attempted to mediate.]


[Includes Map, and some interesting pages about the Mambila. Includes population figures.]


[Strictly not Mambila, but close neighbours.]


[Includes Mambila twin names. Not corroborated.]

Conclusions


[Reference to the Makka witch-craft expulsion cult.]


[Though suspect because of the linguistic and political context in which this was taken this is a very important text giving information about numerous topics documented no where else, in particular the Makka cult which gains the scarcest mention in published sources.]


[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]


[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]


[P 50/51 describes Mambila oaths from (unspecified) secondary sources. These are: swearing on jiru grass, or on the double bell, ordeal to chickens and cutting shoa although this is described as an ordeal in which the fall of the chicken determines the result.]


[Some scattered references to Mambila. Appendix E reprints material from Kirk-Green 1955. The diary records troubles in Mambila in 1952.]


[Mambila figure taken from Percival 1938.]
[Mambila text, Gembu dialect.]

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

[Mainly working from secondary sources but includes some interesting farm budgets. Otherwise it reads somewhat confusingly.]

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.]


[Ghee making scheme active in Tamnya.]

[Changes to villages headships noted. A land dispute between Barr and Bang villages is current.]

[Murder of a Fulani Trader by youths from Barup.]
Conclusions


   [In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]


   [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.]


   [This would be an important historical survey and summary but uncertainty over the sources make it untrustworthy.]


   [Christmas 1918 influenza epidemic.]


   [A novella written by a Mambila man!]


   [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 abandonning plans to tour Mambila.]


Samaru, Zaria: Savanna Forestry Research Station, Research Leaflet No. 2.

   [In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

[The early version of Meek’s report on Mambila, substantially identical with the published version.]


[Nothing in addition to the version published in 1931.]


[Nothing in addition to the version published in 1931.]


[Spider divination mentioned briefly (328/9), but only to give yes no answers - no mention of a set of cards is made. Meek suggests this may be a Chamba borrowing.]


[Chapter 9 “Mambila” pp532-582 is the earliest published account of the Mambila by an anthropologist, and it remains the only source of information about the religion (but see Kabri above). Meek worked through interpreters and had to leave precipitously due to illness, so this cannot be wholly trusted. The autograph manuscript of this is in Rhodes House library but it is verbatim with the published version.]


[Mambila are used as an example but nothing is added to the account in Meek 1931b.]


[This is the only published grammar of Mambila, of Warwar and Mbanga dialects.]


[ p. 247 has one paragraph about Mambila the only interesting thing of which is that Lt Thiel made some unpublished linguistic notes in 1909.]


[Two page summary of Mambila p 643/4 based on Meek and Meyer's own work.]


Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna.

[Groom (D.O. Muri) estimated Southern Mambila population (excluding Titon/Kuma) at 5,500 in 1916.]


[Figure 64 Seated mother & Child is ascribed to Mambila but this is an uncertain attribution which D.Z. doubts.]


[The Mambila figure only in passing.]


[The Mambila figure only in passing.]

[The Mambila figure only in passing.]


[Mambila raid 1893 p 242 & 244; other raids 1820-40 against Kam and Tigong.]


[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.]


[Information about early German exploration. An invaluable source of references.]


[Reference from Hepper 1966. In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]


[The sociological section seems incomplete and based on some easily available sources (mainly on the Tiv). Population figures are based on the 1952 Census, and the Mambila are not referred to at all!]


[Reference on p.91ff, based on Meek and Percival. No original contribution.]

[Mambila mentioned p 223 based on articles in Abbia.]


[Mambila text, Somie dialect, non-standard orthography.]


[Mambila text, Somie dialect, non-standard orthography.]


[Mambila examples p 190-194.]


[Administrative details only.]

Conclusions

[Compiled from notes made by Major Freemantle & T.H. Haughton. Includes map of the battle of Gashaka.]


[Rumours of cannibalism are noted p5 but not substantiated.]


[Re-examines Meeks groupings on basis of alliances and dialects. Also some population figures.]


[Some material about the Mambila.]


[Mention of Tikar anti-witchcraft cult (Nggu) and some appendices which detail kin terms, rates of marriage between hamlets as well as some details about religion.]


[Notes long history of links with Yamba, and that some Bororo were already on the Plateau. Largely superseded by his subsequent reports.]


[Mysterious disappearances (of an old man and a Hausa trader) in Mambila!]


[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, Administrational 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. Rehfisch. This, however, is part3 only, being a summary of his Intelligence report, including some population figures.


[Questionable deaths, ordeal suspected.
Courtcases about legacies of exchange marriage.]


[Notes the arrest of those suspect of administering ordeals at RO village.]


[135 cows have been killed by lions on the Mambila Plateau.]
Conclusions

[Long and most detailed of the Intelligence reports. The village lists, which were compiled Dec 34- June 35, contain much detailed demographic information, as well as some religious information. One of the most comprehensive reports available, more trustworthy than Meek on many points.]


[Subsequently published as “Notes on the Count of a Primitive Tribe.”]


[Details of the 1936 census among the Mambila.]


[Report on the Makka anti witchcraft-cult p 3. Some moslem settlers also noted.]


[Mainly an English translation of the Tone chapter of Perrin & Hill 1969, but also includes comparative material on the Gembu tone system which differs from that of Atta.]


[Written of the Gembu dialect.]


[Also written of Gembu dialect - equally interesting.]
Conclusions


[Includes some revisions to the Atta phonology as an appendix. These include the recognition of a central vowel.]


[Mambila text, Atta dialect.]


[Mambila text, Atta dialect.]


[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.]


Another copy is in Rhodes House: MSS Afr s 797.

[Includes detailed description of Spider divination.]

[Nothing of interest, only passing references to Mambila.]


[Some Mambila examples, and illustrations from Gebauer's photographs.]


[Published verbatim as Rehfisch 1972.]


[A chapter from the thesis (1956 & 1972).]


Description of competitive beer giving, mobilising village wide production.]


[Again a published part-chapter from the Thesis.]


[Interesting account of dreams, illness and witchcraft are connected, and attitudes to imported cloth are discussed.]


[The published MA thesis (1956), a detailed account of Warwar village, with most information relating to Ndiel hamlet where Rehfisch resided. It covers agriculture residence and marriage patterns, land tenure political structure]
and kinship. Religion is conspicuously absent. An excellent piece of work which is still relevant to contemporary Mambila.]


[Arnado Kuma died in 1928, replaced by his nephew Bappa but this is opposed locally.]

[Two Mambila examples are used.]


[Strictly Kwadja is a Kaka village. The description is not very informative.]

[Superseded by Rehfisch's work it does contain some fascinating photographs. Schneider was in Warwar in the late 1940's.]

[Both this and Tong 1976 (which virtually reduplicates this book, but with some different illustrations) is based on Schneider's collection made whilst working as a missionary in Warwar (and Gembu?). The quality of the collection is stupendous and it contains both masks and masquerade suits with names, thus providing a good starting point for further enquiry.]

[p151 Birthing stool from Kate White colln.]

[78rpm record of two small bible passages. Somié Dialect]


[Early vocabulary lists of many Northern tribes, and as such an invaluable resource. The Mambila are only mentioned, in that Lt. Thiel had taken a word-list (which remains untraced).]


[Typed English notes, mainly dealing with relations with Banyo. The translator is unknown.]


[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]


[p131 has following entry: MABILAJO, Mabila'en, a pagan tribe in the French part of Adamawa; the Mambilas.]


[See notes to Schwartz 1972, above.]


[Contains two pages on Mambila, based on Meyer only.]
Conclusions


[This contains a summary of Glasson’s “Ethnological Notes on the Mambila Tribe” as an appendix.]


[Mambila 123, 132, 145: (Trade routes).]


[Two photographs of Mambila p 49, shrine objects and an old man treating a woman. Colour slides from c 1939. Small pot (to6?) and four-handled basket.]


[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 km². Mambila (Cam) + Konja 976 in 18 villages.]


[FulBes had penetrated most of Plateau. Only Mbamga succeeded in resisting.]


[Locusts in Mambila Jan 1936.]


[Linguistic classification only.]


[Linguistic classification only. Mambila 143/4.]


[Linguistic classification only.]


[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.]


[See above, Williamson & Shimizu 1968.]


[Preliminary version of chapter 3 of this work. Subsequent fieldwork has corrected the linguistic speculation about the divinatory invocation.]


[Bibliography based on research in UK and Cameroun until early 1988. Nigerian sources are the major omission which has been remedied here.]


[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 Chàŋ or caused by people (nùàr)) are summarized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAUSE:</th>
<th>MA 302/78</th>
<th>KUNG 303/15</th>
<th>BI 303/10</th>
<th>TAM 302/84</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chàŋ</td>
<td>lọ</td>
<td>lọ</td>
<td>lọ*</td>
<td>lọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nùàr</td>
<td>lọ to drive off witch by its smell</td>
<td>divn then sua or lọ.</td>
<td>cho sua or warning off: (ta Lọ to aid nduan) recovery</td>
<td>Lọ to aid recovery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NB he classed dulu (fever) & cough separately as just illness, not work of Chàŋ!
Appendix 2.

Documented Mambila Masks

The table below is based on documentary sources pertaining to Nigerian Mambilla. Since no intensive enquiry has been done on Mambila religion in Nigeria identifications such as the much cited “kike” raffia-pith sculptures as being “ancestral figures” are questionable. In the absence of any means to corroborate the documentary sources I list the recorded names for different varieties of sua and for other ritual objects without further comment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>object name</th>
<th>commentary</th>
<th>source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>showa/sur/sowi</td>
<td>general name for masks, hidden from women; used at fertility rites and at important burials.</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah bvur</td>
<td>mask: dog, owl, ‘tear’?</td>
<td>Schwartz 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah bur</td>
<td>dancing mask of the first rank</td>
<td>Tong 1967:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bur</td>
<td>‘dog’ mask from Mbamnga</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah dua</td>
<td>mask: crow</td>
<td>Schwartz 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah dua</td>
<td>Sacred bird, mutual aid soc.</td>
<td>Gebauer 1979:154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah dua</td>
<td>dancing mask of the second rank</td>
<td>Tong 1967:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duwa</td>
<td>Main Suwa masks</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah mben</td>
<td>fibre suit for young boys</td>
<td>Anon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>play - said to be remnant of N-E cult (Torbi group) dropped in favour of Suwa cult from Warwar &amp; Southern villages.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suah ndeng</td>
<td>fibre suits; sexual jokes</td>
<td>Schwartz 1972</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

399 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.
**suah ndeng** the dancing suit  
_Tong 1967:8_

**suah ndang** black suits used to discipline children, in conjunction with the main Suwa rites  
_Anon_

**mafe** ‘wind’ mask from Tep Kwar  
_Anon_

**mahir** ‘storm’ mask from Mbamunga  
_Anon_

**nsua ndua** Bird, annual dance of Kurum mutual aid society  
_Gebauer 1979:299_

**swaba** fibre dancing suit, Atta  
_Hurault (1954)_

**gomvɔ** black fibre dancing suit, Atta  
_Hurault (1954)_

**mbom** fibre dancing suit, Atta  
_Hurault (1954)_

**kike** raffia pith figurine  
_Tong 1967:8_

**tadep** wood figurine  
_Tong 1967:8_

**tawong** 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; mì nde sua cho. Mì cho. Ngue mì
mì nde sua cho. Mì cho. Ngue mì
I go sua cut I cut Listen me

1 Jb; Ngue ye bò və le < Heh heh > <= Banging on the chefferie
doors for attention
Ngue ye bò və le heh heh
listen you PL. woman in

2 Heh heh, Bí fela sua boò séé.
heh heh bí fela sua boò séé
you listen sua do work

3 Ga; Wò sar yə, wò fum yə, Tam tue ju lane gi na´á
wò sar yə wò fum yə Tam tue ju
lane gi naá
you spearers yours you shape-changer yours Tam say talk
today end PAST

4 Wò nuar sar, wò nuar fəm,
wò nuar sar wò nuar fəm
you person spearer you person shape-changer

5 wò mgbati loò ni, wò mgbati yuop.
wò mgbati loò ni wò mgbati yuop
you witch compound who you witch theft?

6 Te bə́(te wò və baá kulu.ku kulu
tε bə́(te wò və baǎ kulu ku kulu
NEG harm NEG you woman PRES. bless bless bless

7 Nuar mə wò furu mə nə gi chuar,
uuar mə wò furu mə nə gi chuar
person that you bury with is egg chicken

8 bə́ kwa njì kə du, sua sie bu sie.
bə́ kwa njì kə du sua sie bu sie
we find thing at ground sua take it take

9 Mave, huan sep (1) wò nyugə mə loò bì yə,
mave huan sep wò nyugə mə loò bì yə
woman child male you repair with compound yours yours

10 wò fum yə, () bó tue ju loò gi naá
wò fum yə bó tue ju loò gi naá
you witch yours they say talk compound end PAST

11 Wò nuar ĝene, wò jə: wula kə nuar ().
wò nuar ĝene wò jə wula kə nuar
you person see you say kill at person

12 Ngwagam kə van han mì yə yə yə (1)
Ngwagam kə van han mì yə yə yə
maize at plain this I eat eat eat

13 Ma mì ko ngwe mì so tema chén
ma mì ko ngwe mì so tema chén
if I know NEG. I live liver one

14 Bé mbi mò nde tə̀go gi mun.
Conclusions

bá mbi mò nde togo gi mun
we friend mine go quarrel end thus

15 Lọó Ndeba, bọ Taa jé: wula nuar kẹ du.
compound PL. Atta say kill person at ground

16 Mì -ngwagam yẹ yẹ yẹ.
mì ngwagam yẹ yẹ yẹ
I maize eat eat eat

17 Mì han den dé,
mì han den dé
I this stay of

18 vẹ mò suaga kẹ ter njulu chugu,
vẹ mò suaga kẹ ter njulu chugu
woman mine descend at up eyes blind

19 bọ wula bu lu,
bọ wula bu lu
they kill her SUB.EMP.

20 bí jẹ: bí gwom wula bu lu. Bí xxx,
bí ja bí gwom wula bu lu bí xxx
you say you pay kill her SUB.EMP. you xxx

21 wọ nuar gwom te gwom.
wọ nuar gwom te gwom
you person pay NEG pay

22 Wọ γene yẹ yẹ yẹ.
wọ γene yẹ yẹ yẹ
you see eat eat eat

23 Wọ jena -ngwagam, () wọ jena yulu.
wọ jena ngwagam wọ jena yulu
you refuse maize you refuse millet

24 Fé mgbe mə dan dé, bọ mgbe yẹ.
fé mgbe mə dan dé bọ mgbe yẹ
head chief that here of PL. chief yours

25 (1) Kenəhən bọ tue mgbe, tue tema chén.
kenəhən bọ tue mgbe tue tema chén
now they say chief say liver one

26 Bọ jibi bu akili, bọ jibi bọ vo, bọ jibi bọ ɲuna,
bọ jibi bu akili bọ jibi bọ vo bọ jibi
bọ ɲuna
they shake her intelligence they shake PL. wife they shake
PL. child

27 Bọ Ndeba dọọg, bọ vẹ, bọ sep,
bọ Ndeba dọọg bọ vẹ bọ sep
PL. Ndeba all PL. woman PL. male

28 wọ jà nyí γene mavə wa, nyí siri,
wọ jà nyí γene 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
Conclusions

30 Njibu le sap, njibu le tu.
njibu le sap njibu le tu
stop in snake stop in tree

31 Wò kuó, wò mə ngwagam han ya ye ye
wò kuó wò mana ngwagam han ya ye ye
you die you thus maize this eat eat eat

32 Ma bí sòn bí ye chén, fe bí ye tare().
ma bí sòn bí ye chén fe bí ye 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, mi nuar tue dene hən,
mí mi nuar tue dene hən
I I person say here this

35 Leli mə mgbe Məgo kuó mə mì né dene.
leli mə mgbe Məgo kuó mə mì né dene
yesterday with chief Məgo 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 bə kuku bə loo dene dəg pat.
bə kuku bə loo dene dəg pat
PL. elder PL. village here all all

38 Mì bili bə bə chene mbə bu mbə().
mì bili bə bə chene mbə bu mbə
I together them place one divine it divine

39 Bí ke nji ma mgbe né gəchén ga giye.
bí ke nji mə mgbe né gəchén ga giye
you look thing with chief is true there over-there

40 Bí ke né njulu bí ye bí. (1)
bí ke né njulu bí ye bí 1
you look is eyes you yours yours

41 Bí əgene né () dən né nan wa?
bí əgene né dən né nan wa
you see is here is how QN.

42 Kə la mənə Njai hən, wə hən,
kə la mənə njai hən wə hən
even PAST thus Njai this you this

43 mə yila baá wə kən.
mə yila baá wə kən
I call PRES. you already

44 Nj; Buwo naa ha ma ə ter ha ma
buwo naa ha ma ə ter ha ma
we-two PAST until then at up until then

45 Ta; To. Mị boš bọ Ngheya, bọ Nghon, bọ Tabə,
Conclusions

to mi bò bò Ñgeya bò Ñgon bò Tabè
To I do PL. Ñgeya PL. Ñgon PL. Tabè

46 bò Nyimadòn, bò Nia hèn.
bò Nyimadòn bò Nia hèn
PL. Nyimadòn PL. Nia this

47 Mì yila gi bò. Bò hàn bí né dànè,
mì yila gi bó bó hàn bí né dànè
I call end them they this you is here

48 bí ke né mgbè dàdè nè kè ter giyè nì
bí ke né mgbè dàdè nè kè ter giyè nì
you look is chief suitable is at up overthere who

49 Bí ṣènè njulu bí yè, bí dèdè, né nan wa? ()
bí ṣènè njulu bí yè bí dèdè né nan wa
you see eyes you yours you properly is how QN.

50 Bí mbò nè bè mbò wa, bí mbò mbò ngwè wa?
bí mbò nè bè mbò wa bí mbò mbò ngwè wa
you divine is we divine QN. you divine divine NEG. QN.

51 Mì nyègè nè ka tema chèn.(1)
mì nyègè nè ka tema chèn
I repair is at liver one

52 Mì ṣènè njulu mó wa?
mì ṣènè njulu mó wa
I see eyes mine QN.

53 Ñgam nde nè bè hiun.
Ñgam nde nè bè hiun
divination go is place different

54 Mì le nàa njài mó kè Taà yòn mó .
mì le nàa njài mó kè taa yòn mó
I PAST PAST thing mine at Atta stroll mine

55 Mì nde yè dua, mì ṣènè ñgam du.() 57
mì nde yè dua mì ṣènè ñgam du
I go at there I see divination ground

56 Ñgam je bogo yogo mè gè Taà
Ñgam je bogo yogo mè gè taa
divination say boiling surpass that at Atta

57 Mì wà kè lò sènè,
mì wà kè lò sènè
I arrive at village this

58 mì wè nè Njài mà Jumvòp nè ten
mì wè nè Njài mà Jumvòp nè ten
I take is Njài then Jumvòp is there-is

59 Bè tuŋ nè te tuŋ hà bè ke
bè tuŋ nè te tuŋ hà bè ke
we organise is so organise until we look

60 Ñgam yogo nè bè mè terrup.()
Ñgam yogo nè bè mè terrup
divination surpass is us with force
Conclusions

61  Mì tema na Bí.
    mì tema na Bí
    I send is Bí

62  Bí han jë: nde ke ter, tue ke ma de.
    Bí han jë nde ke ter tue ke ma de
    Bí this say go at up say at woman some

63  A chu chu, mgbe chu chu ka lọọ han ọgwe.
    a chu chu mgbe chu chu ka lọọ han ọgwe
    she return return chief return return at compound this NEG.

64  Mgbe né ke ter giye ìdè den wa? 58
    mgbe né ke ter giye ìdè den wa 58
    chief is at up over-there small stay QN.

65  Kwe mgbe nde né kuó, le nde ke ter giye
    kwe mgbe nde né kuó le nde ke ter giye
    tomorrow chief go is die in go at up over-there

66  Bò nde nde, bu wa.
    bò nde nde bu wa
    they go go he arrive

67  Nj;
    xxxxxxxxxxxx

68  Ta;  Saa mì jula né ọgulị mì jë:
    saa mì jula né ọgulị mì jë
    that I flee is shame I say

69  Bí nde nde yor bọ nuar semta=
    bí nde nde yor bọ nuar semta
    you go go body PL. person shame

70  Ga;  =Mun
    Mun
    thus

71  Ta;  Ma chie sen gi naá ken ndeka a waa, a kuwa ke lọọ.(1)
    ma chie sen gi naá ken ndeka a waa a kuwa ke lọọ
    if day his end PAST already must he arrive he die at
    village

72  Bí nè den, nuar chema. (1) Bí han nde nè ke ter de
    Bí nè den nuar chema. Bí han nde nè ke ter de
    Bí is here person living Bí this go is at up of

73  bọọ nè de ma de saa bu hen nde ve liya kẹn
    bọọ nè de ma de saa bu hen nde ve liya kẹn
    do is of if of that he this go bad remains already

74  Mì jë bọ: mgbe bọọ yẹ, bi le lo suú
    mì jë bọ mgbe bọọ yẹ bi le lo suú
    I say them chief do yours thing treatment treat again-
    NEG

75  Ndekà de a chu ka lọọ, bẹ bọọ su safí
    ndeka de a chu ka lọọ bẹ bọọ su safí
    must of he return at village we do again with treatments

76  Wa: Hoi! () Yẹ: nyí nè le lo ọgwe yẹ
    wa hoi ya nyí nè le lo ọgwe yẹ
    say say speaker is treatment treat end NEG. NEG.
Mì nyəgə ka tema chén.(2)  
Mì nyəgə ka tema chén.1  
I repair at liver one

Leli ma a kuó né mani.  
leli ma a kuó né mani  
yesterday if he die is thus

Bò we, bé fon cho né kaa () bé mbéri mbéri  
bò we bé fon cho né kaa bé mbéri mbéri  
they take we search chop is at we sort-out sort-out

Bé homo né chue tê homo homo homo  
bé homo né chue tê homo homo homo  
we tired is hunger NEG. tired tired tired

B huan mgbe de, bé je: bé sie we nè  
bó huan mgbe de bé je bé sie we nè  
PL. child chief of we say we take take is

Dega man, tê sam ŋgwə. 60  
Dega man tê sam ŋgwə 60  
Dega thus NEG. not NEG.

Bé gi né lu, tê sam ŋgwə.  
bé gi né lu tê sam ŋgwə  
we end is SUB.EMP. NEG. not NEG.

Mgte bó mbó né bó lu.()  
mgte bó mbó né bó lu  
chief they divine is we freely

Bó je ye: mgbe sie ye.(.) Bí bar mì lè wa?  
bó je ye mgbe sie ye bí bar mì lè wa  
we say say chief take you you jealous me in QN.

 pérdi Nuar kan je:() ma..ma mì sela sam ŋgwə wa  
pérci Nuar kan je ma ma mì sela sam ŋgwə wa  
pérci person anyone say if if I cross not NEG. QN.

Nyí la den baá la kogo.  
nyí la den baá la kogo  
speaker PAST stay PRES. PAST stool

Nuar kan je: ma mì sela sam ŋgwə wa  
nuar kan je ma mì sela sam ŋgwə wa  
person anyone say if if I cross not NEG. QN.

Nyí la de baá la kogo,  
nyí la de baá la kogo  
speaker PAST stay PRES. PAST stool

Mì tue nyaaga né nyəgə né tê bí ŋgue nyəgə baa si.  
mì tue nyaaga né nyəgə né tê bí ŋgue nyəgə baa si  
I say clear is repair is at you listen repair good -ness

(1) Tê bí ŋgue nyəgə baa si,  
l tê bí ŋgue nyəgə baa si  
at you Listen repair good -ness

mì tue, tê bí ŋgue baa si.  
mì tue tê bí ŋgue baa si
I say so you understand good-ness

93 Ma bí vu ngue. () Chíe né lọ́, 61
ma bí vu ngue chíe né lọ́ 61
if you leave NEG. death is space

94 mgbe a wò nde homo kuó go jàmu, boó sam ngwe.
mgbe a wò nde homo kuó go jàmu, boó sam ngwe.
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 ngwe lanen
mì gwan ngwe lanen
I want NEG. today

97 bè wë wò, bè kwa ke loó.
bè wë wò bè kwa ke loó
we take you we put at village

98 Një van wa lane. Wò wò gu kuó gu,
një van wa lane wò wò gu kuó gu
thing evil arrive today you walk die walk

99 kwë wò gu kuó gu ò. kwë wò gu kuó gu ò
tomorrow you walk die walk of

100 Lóó bè më njí- Ma mun nde bè.()
lóó bè më njí ma mun nde bè
village ours with thing if thus go ours

101 Ma lóó den, lóó bí ye den dana,
ma lóó den lóó bí ye den dana
if village here village 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 Lóó bí ye né lóó baa sam ngwe.
lóó bí ye né lóó baa sam ngwe
village you yours is village good not NEG.

104 Chíe bè bare né den ne njai ò bare ò.
chìe bè bare né den ne njai ò bare ò
day we hide is stay is thing of hide of

105 Bè bare na ògàm chi.
bè bare na ògàm ò chi
we hide is because that

106 Buo huan mgbe di,
buo huan mgbe di
you-two child chief some

107 bu hua njì, bu hua njèrèdì sam.
bu hua njì bu hua njèrèdì sam
it borrow thing it borrow something not

108 Ter mì kò ne ter tele mò, né ter mií mò .
Conclusions

ter mì ko na ter tele mò né ter mií mò
palm I cut is palm father mine is palm mother mine

109  Ndeka bò bò mií mò kuó
ndeka bè bò mií mò kuó
from place PL. mother mine die

110  bó seé kwa nè bò gor chie
bó seé kwa nè bò gor chie
they work put is PL. speech outside

111  Bò bí mò kuó nè bò seé kwa nè bò gor chie
bò bí mò kuó nè bò seé kwa nè bò gor chie
Pl. e.-same-sex-sib. mine die is they do put is PL. speech outside

112  Nji mè Kwa tue nè, né le mò hən
nji mè Kwa tue nè né le mò hən
thing that Kwa say is is in mine this

113  Nji mè Ti tue nè, né le mò hən.
nji mè Ti tue nè né le mò hən
thing that Ti say is is in mine this

114  Nji mè Kwe tue nè, né le mò hən.
nji mè Kwe tue nè né le mò hən
thing that Kwe say is is in mine this

115  Mì huan mani, tele sam ngwə.
mì huan mani tele sam ngwə
I child small father not NEG.

116  Mì leteni bò, Toó hàn le kuó yuo kən.
mì leteni bò Toó hàn le kuó yuo kən
I between them Toó this PAST die leave already

117  Ter ya yìë le naa bó be Toó
ter ya yìë le naa bó be Toó
palm there overthere in PAST ours hand Toó

118  Toó kuó naá kən.
Toó kuó naá kən
Toó die PAST already

119  Njitabè yìla yì ten.
Njitabè yìla yì ten
Njitabè enter at there-is

120  Njitabè kuó, nde Dëdia. A kuó kən.
Njitabè kuó nde Dëdia a kuó kən
Njitabè die go Dëdia he die already

121  Njitabè liya mè hwun sen. Kwa wə,
Njitabè liya mè hwun sen kwa wə
Njitabè remains with alone his Kwa take

122  a nde, a kwa Kwa.
a nde a kwa Kwa
he go he find Kwa

123  Bò Kwa cher né koó. 64
bò Kwa cher né koó. 64
PL. Kwa sleep is SUB.EMP.

A kú né ụnụ ụm. Nkwa hụm ọma ụm ọma...
a kú né ụnụ ụm kwa hụm ọma ụma ọma
he orphan is child sister now if sister yours

ma... ma... huan ọhụ ọma, ma huan ọma
n ọma ka kwa ọma ọma
if if child yours is remains SUB.EMP. take

huan ọma, ọma huan ọma ọma
child take you take NEG.

Ta; Wó kú nụnụ ọma bu ọma:
you orphan repair is it say

De Kwa a den ọma, ọma a hụm ọma ọma
of Kwa he stay is so he fat of palm freely

Njita ọma mmụ mmụ ọma mmụ ọma ọma
Njita ọma mmụ mmụ ọma mmụ ọma Kwa
Njita ọma at Chefferie this go is hand Kwa

A le cher ọhụ ọhụ ọma ọma ọma ọma ọma ọma
she PAST sleep is because orphan surpass is him SUB.EMP. he
orphan repair is him

Ta Kwa a den te Njita ọma ọma ọma ọma ọma ọma ọma
so Kwa he here so Njita cut of is palm this is

họn ọhụ... (1) ọhọn ọhụ... ọhọn ọhụ (1)
this is this is is

né ter ọma Toó ọma lo ọma.
is palm that Toó cut treat is

Bọ Kwe bọ bọ ??Ngooro?? doog pat ter bọn. ()
bọ kwe bọ bọ Ngooro doog pat ter b'ọn
PL. Kwe we we Ngooro all all palm theirs

Mgbe Menandi le ha né bọ,
mgbe Menandi le ha né bọ
chief Menandi PAST give is them

Ter ọma Gambe ọma dene ọma Makobo ka ki ọma.(2)
ter ọma Gambe ọma dene ọma Makobo ka kiy.
2 palm that Gambe cut here at Makobo at there

Mgbe Menandi le ha né bọ ter de a ()
mgbe Menandi le ha né bọ ter de a
chief Menandi PAST give is PL. palm stay to
Conclusions

139  Ka ki ya ko bò mè na mÌ siri njèrdi
ka ki ya ko bò mè na mÌ siri njèrdi
at at there know them with is I harm something

140  mÌ guli mò ke ten dubu ñgwe.
mÌ guli mò ke ten dubu ñgwe
I foot mine at there-is plant NEG.

141  ko komboro chue diè te tabè 66
ko komboro chue diè te tabè 66
even palmnuts fall fall at earth

142  Ma mÌ wè mÌ doma yè te tabè ñgàm
ma mÌ wè mÌ doma yè te tabè ñgàm
if I take I pick-up eat at earth because

143  ma mÌ chu mÌ gwom nde ke ( ) ke Makòbo ki yÌe
ma mÌ chu mÌ gwom nde ke ke Makòbo ki yÌe
if I return I pay go at at Makòbo at overthere

144  mÌ kÌter Chaŋ à yèn mÌ.(1)
mÌ kÌter chaŋ à yèn mÌ.1
I cut palm chaŋ it refuse me

145  bè mÌ kÌla né de mÌ kÌla le ter nÌe teÌle mò,
bè mÌ kÌla né de mÌ kÌla le ter nÌe teÌle mò
place I pass is of I pass PAST palm thing father mine

146  le nÌe mÌfì mò.
le nÌe mÌfì mò
PAST thing mother mine

147  Buò bò huan mà daleda njèrdì sam ñgwe. (3)
buò bò huan mà daleda njèrdì sam ñgwe 3
you-two PL. child that motive something not NEG.

148  Mgbè kuò bè se ñyÌge 67
mgbè kuò bè se ñyÌge 67
chief die we take repair

149  nè dè hèn, den su, bè ñyÌge nè
nè dè hèn den su bè ñyÌge nè
is of this stay again we repair is

150  A tue jè: bè bò kam kam bò,
a tue jè: bè bò kam kam bò
he say say we PL. old old PL.

151  bè loò se ñyÌge ñgwe wa?
bè loò se ñyÌge ñgwe wa
we village take repair NEG. QN.

152  bè loò se ñgwe. Loò bè se nè bè ke?
bè loò se ñgwe loò bè se nè bè ke
we village take NEG. village we take is place what

153  ñgwe bè tue ñyÌge nÌe wa?
ñgwe bè tue ñyÌge nÌe wa
NEG. we say repair thing QN.

154  Nuar wò bar nuar nè mÌ ten ha
nuar wò bar nuar nè mÌ ten ha
Conclusions

person you jealous person is I there-is until

Wò de né ja: ma mì den bè né dë ki wa?
Wò de né ja ma mì den bè né dë ki wa
you of is say if I stay place is of where QN.

Të nyí chuaa sum mì wa, de më le wa?
Të nyí chuaa sum mì wa de më le wa
so speaker remove remove me QN. of with remains QN.

Mì le sòn kumu naa mì je: ter ya yiè,
Mì le sòn kumu naa mì je ter ya yiè
I PAST mouth open PAST I say palm there overthere

bó né ter mò 68
bó né ter mò 68
they is palm mine

Mì sòn kumu dë ki wa?
Mì sòn kumu dë ki wa
I mouth open of what QN.

Të bó wula sum dë më mì leteni saa (1)
Të bó wula sum dë më mì leteni saa 1
so they kill remove that with me beside that

Bí né ggue ngaga baa si
Bí né ggue ngaga baa si
you is listen clear good-ness

b| duóm ggam mò ndele
b| duóm ggam mò ndele
we start divination mine shake

baán kwa bí na ga ge lọs gi yiè.
baán kwa bí na ga ge lọs gi yiè
illness find you is there at compound end overthere

Nyima chén mì furu baá nuar ge lọs gi yiè baá taar.
Nyima chén mì furu baá nuar ge lọs gi yiè baá taar
baá taar
year one I bury PRES. person at compound there overthere
PRES. three

Bẹ nde furu wò fà dí
Bẹ nde furu wò fà dí
we go bury you two other

Ma mì kuó kǝn, mǝ̀v nde nde chu a
Ma mì kuó kǝn, mǝ̀v nde nde chu a
if I die already woman go go return to

kǝ lọs mò, kuó chu ndo (2)
kǝ lọs mò kuó chu ndo
at compound mine die return then

Mì ǝ̀nǝ̀n gi naá mgbe ha ba mì nuar,
Mì ǝ̀nǝ̀n gi naá mgbe ha baá mì nuar
I see end PAST chief give PRES. me person

mì vraa baá mgbe wani. () 69
mì vraa baá mgbe wani 69
I thank PRES. chief much
Conclusions

170 Bọ ọgene baá ọgám njulu.
   bọ ọgene baá ọgám  njulu
   they see  PRES. divination eyes

171 Mì kuru de nə de kuru mì je:
   mì kuru  de nə de kuru  mì je
   I close of is of close I say

172 mgbe hẹn: bẹ sie kwa naa bu
   mgbe hẹn  bẹ sie kwa naa bu
   chief this we take put  PAST him

173 à né hì, mẹ maŋgu sam ọgwẹ
   à né hì  mẹ maŋgu sam ọgwẹ
   he is where with glory not NEG.

174 Ma lane à guọ ọgụ de te ter ter ter mun wa?
   ma lane  à guọ ọgụ  de te ter ter ter mun  wa
   if today he house fly-aloft of at up up up thus QN.

175 Né ve. Mì jula né ọgàm chi (1)
   né ve  mì jula né ọgàm  chi 1
   is bad I flee is because that

176 Mẹ mgbe kumu ya ??te tena ??
   mẹ  mgbe  kumu  ya  ??te tena
   that chief open there  at cut

177 Ma bí gwom kẹn bẹ bó jam. ()
   ma bí  gwom kẹn  bẹ bó jam
   if you pay  already we we good

178 Ma bí mì vuwọ ọgwẹ ndọ, tap nde ndeè 70
   ma bí  mì vuwọ ọgwẹ ndọ  tap nde ndeè 70
   if you me release NEG. also war go come

179 Mì tue je né mì je: tap nde bọ ụnụa mọ. ()
   mì tue  je né mì je  tap nde bọ ụnụa  mọ
   I say say is I say war go  PL. child mine

180 Ma mì kuọ kẹn,() bọ ụnụa mọ
   ma mì kuọ kẹn  bọ ụnụa  mọ
   if I die already  PL. child mine

181 bọ mgbe nde jẹmu nare né ọgwẹ (),
   bọ  mgbe nde jẹmu nare  ọgwẹ
   PL. chief go  after agree is NEG

182 Ọgàm mị mẹ ọŋki sam ọgwẹ
   Ọgàm  mị  mẹ ọŋki  sam ọgwẹ
   because I with life  not NEG.

183 Bọ nde dẹnẹ je () mgbe, bọ bó dim sen,
   bọ nde dẹnẹ je  mgbe  bọ bó dim  sen
   they go  here say chief PL. PL. y-same-sex-sib. his

184 bọ bóọ bí sen, kwa naá sọn koọ.
   bọ bóọ  bí  sen  kwa naá  sọn  koọ
   PL. do  e.-same-sex-sib. his find PRES mouth SUB.EMP.

185 Bọ bóọ nde jẹmu nare ọgwẹ de
   bọ bóọ nde jẹmu  nare  ọgwẹ  de
they do go after agree NEG. of

133

Mì die gwan ñgwə. (1)
I fall want NEG.

Bọ né gi yia jaŋdi man, nji bọ kwa
they is end there school thus thing they find

187

Ma nji yọgo bu kẹn 71
if thing surpass them already

188

À tema nji yaa due, bọ boó gam nyí
they send thing bush open they do help speaker

190

Bọ gam nde né bu doʊŋ ()
ey help go is them all

191

Saa né gi bọ gwa tap sen,
that is end PL. spear war his

192

né gi bọ gulí sen, né gi bọ chọgo 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,
So person you jealous is me

195

ma né ka huan di, nde kwa mgbe,
if is at child some go find chief

196

nde tue mè mgbe. Je mgbe a
go say with chief say chief to

197

nji hæ mì boó na man, mì boó naa man.
thing this that I do PAST thus I do PAST thus

198

Tema nyí le gwan ñgwə 72
liver speaker in want NEG.

199

Tena mì kalon, mì gwom ha wò nji a. (2)
take me money I pay give you thing to

200

Ma nè muna nuar saa mì chemè ha wò
if is thus person that I health give you

201

Ndeka mè mì ha wò chema.
Conclusions

you take of that you rise you

he do give you of that I you go is give

of today one disappears? tomorrow one two disappears?

person one disappears? I of it want NEG.

I dig PRES. divination until I see end to divination all

I go ordeal-tree drink-ordeal

I go go at before chief Kimi

PL. official at Kimi I go I drink-ordeal go at there

I climb go to at village this that

person go to PL. person of different

I do this suffer is you PL. child chief QN.

so I do harm PL. thing I enter in knife sua
Conclusions

217  mì so chén, am ŋgwə mì fà so so so.
     mì so chén am ŋgwə mì fà so so so
     I live one NEG. NEG. I two live live live

218  Nji bar né mì ten hə də, 74
     Nji bar né mì ten hə də 74
     thing jealous is me there-is this of

219  ko bò tue ŋaga mì gi naá.
     ko bò tue ŋaga mì gi naá
even they say clear I end PAST

220  Ga;  Kie kie
     kie
     Expletive Expletive

221  Ta;  Gə loō mò ŋgam je fə mò né ve.
     ge loō mò ŋgam je fə mò né ve
     at village mine divination say head mine is bad

222  Nyima hən mì ŋaga né ŋgwə.
     nyima hən mì ŋaga né ŋgwə
     year this I climb is NEG.

223  Mì njərədi nuar hən bə́ ŋgwə.
     mì njərədi nuar hən bə’é ŋgwə
     I something person this harm NEG.

224  Bọ bò huan nde yuo kə dua ga giyə manji
     bó bò huan nde yuo kə dua ga giyə manji
     they PL. child go leave at there there over-there small

225  né gi bò dim mə, buo nde yuo né le ju mwa
     né gi bó dim mò buo nde yuo né le ju
     mwa
     is end PL. y-same-sex-sib. mine you-two go leave is in
     talk field

226  Bọ bọt huo ŋgər bəé,
     bó bó tue ŋgər bəé
     they do say speech ours

227  bə bọt le sua cho gi naá kən gi naá.
     bə bó tue sua cho gi naá kən gi naá
     we do PAST sua chop end PAST already end PAST

228  Bọ yuo nje kən bọ kən njì tu 75
     bó yuo nje kən bó kən njì tu 75
     they leave thing already they already thing before

229  Bọ yuo nje kən bọ kən njì tu,
     bó yuo nje kən bó kən njì tu
     they leave thing already they odd thing before

230  tə bò bill jəmu wa?
     te bó bill jəmu wa
     so they together after QN.

231  Bọ kwe də mì guli ten wa? tə bó sum mì wa
     bó kwe də mì guli ten wa te bó sum mì wa
     they dig of I foot there-is QN. to they remove me QN.

232  Te kə ( ) ma nuar nde tugu mə tue:
Conclusions

te kwa    ma nuar nde tugu  ma tue
so tomorrow if person go  quarrel with say

233  Ma né tu hàn ni wa? ()
ma né tu  hàn ni wa
if is before this who QN.

234  Bí bar mì, bí bar ṣaga ka mì lè njè kop kop kop
bí bar  mì bí bar  ṣaga ka mì lè  njè kop kop
kop kop
you jealous me you jealous climb at me treatment thing
IDEO. IDEO. IDEO.

235  Bí yila le bu sua,
bí yila le bu  sua
you enter in knife sua

236  bí so chén wa ṣgwe, bí fà so so so so
bí so chén wa ṣgwe bí fà so so so so
you live one  arrive NEG. you two live live live live

237  Ma bí ye mì tue nyen bí yuo ter, bí séé sua.
ma bí  ye mì tue nyen bí yuo ter bí séé sua
if you say I  say lies you leave up you work sua
[ ]

238  Ga; xxxxxxx xxxxx xxxxxx xxx xxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx

239  xxxx xxxx<=laughter
[ ]

240  Ta; Baán baán ndée
baán  baán ndée
illness illness come

241  Jb; Bí ṣgue dọọŋ
bí ṣgue  dọọŋ
you listen all

242  Ta; Kwa ma me ma tugu. Tugu nde ne loó dana (2)
kwa ma  me  ma tugu  tugu nde ne loó  dana
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 Chaŋ
né seé chaŋ
is work chaŋ

246  Ta; Ko na ka fuo gé Baa, nyugu né koş, ça y est.
kò  naad  ka fuo  gé  baa  nyugu né koş  ça y est
even PAST at blow at East repair is SUB.EMP. ça y est

247  Ko né ka njai le, bê loó bée bê lo ṣgwe.
kò né ka njai le  bê loó  bée  bê  lo ṣgwe
even is at thing treatment we village ours never treat NEG.

248  Bọ ma né me fa bó nde va nyugu bé jẹmu.
bọ ma né me  fa bó  nde va nyugu  bé jẹmu
Conclusions

they if is with like they go wash repair we after

249  Kwe loó dole. () Huan mani de kan "ii",
       kwe loó dole huan mani de kan "ii"
tomorrow compound cool child small of anyone

250  nuar kuó "ii".
       nuar kuó "ii"
person die

251  Nema li o, bò nje kan o, bò nje kan o () 77
       nema li o bò nje kan o bò nje kan o 77
bite stomach o PL. thing odd o PL. thing odd o

252  Dë saa huom ñgwë. Nuar wò tue vën
       dë saa huom ñgwë nuar wò tue vën
of that good NEG. person you say evil

253  wò yi nji ka loó
       wò yi nji ka loó
you enter thing at compound

254  tè boó huan më mani kuó chili gi,
       tè boó huan më mani kuó chili gi
so do child that small die close? end

255  tè tè bò nuar kuku bò kuó chili gi.
       tè tè bò nuar kuku bò kuó chili gi
so so PL. person elder PL. die close? end

256  Loó wa nde nde ke jemu
       loó wa nde nde ke jemu
village arrive go go at second

257  wò yila ka le bu sua,
       wò yila ka le bu sua
you enter at in knife sua

258  wò so chën wa ñgwë, wò fà so so.
       wò so chën wa ñgwë wò fà so so
you live one arrive NEG. you two live
       [                           ]

259  Ga; xxx xxxxx xxx xxx xxx

260  Ta;   Ma bé ka ko ñgwë,() bé ke nji njulu ke baa (.)
       ma bé ka ko ñgwë bé ke nji njulu ke 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;   Ñgue ye.(1) Bí kwe ka mun.
       Ñgue ye.l bí kwe ka mun
       Listen you you dig at thus

269  Bí kwa mun ye. Fuo leli wa sé gua hên
       bí kwa mun ye fuo leli wa sé gua hên
you put thus yours blow yesterday arrive his home this  

270 Ga; Ah ha. Yowa  

271 Ta; nde ma nji. Wa se gua hun nde me nji  
nde ma nji wa se gua hun nde me nji  
go with thing arrive NEG. home this go with thing  

272 Bẹ ke bili baá jemu, ke ke ke dóŋ.  
bẹ ke bili baá jemu ke ke ke dóŋ  
we look together PRES. after look look look all  

273 Bí yẹ bé dẹnẹ, dẹ bẹ, bẹ dẹn né mba,  
bí yẹ bé dẹnẹ dẹ bẹ dẹn né mba  
yours place here of us we here is freely  

274 bẹ bẹ mba den ñgwọ. Bẹ né sàa bẹ ke. (1)  
bẹ bẹ mba den ñgwọ bẹ né sàa bẹ ke  
we freely stay NEG. we is that we look  

275 Wa () fuo mẹ wa né hẹn, Chaŋ boş né ọ, wa ñgwọ.  
wa fuo mẹ wa né hẹn chaŋ boş né ọ wa ñgwọ  
say blow that arrive is this chaŋ do is SUB.EMP. QN. NEG.  

276 Kẹ loọ Mgbe ma sela die naá, ke ter gua sen.() 79  
ke loọ mgbe ma sela die naá ke ter gua sen 79  
at compound chief if cross fall PAST at up home his  

277 Nuar di sela kuwa ke ten ha. (1)  
nuar di sela kuwa ke ten ha  
person some cross die at there-is until  

278 Ma Mgbe sela noni né ñgwọ,  
ma mgbe sela noni né ñgwọ  
if chief cross injure is NEG.  

279 huan di yẹ, né vẹ, né huan di yẹ sela kuwa,  
huan di yẹ né vẹ né huan di yẹ sela kuwa  
child some yours is woman is child some yours cross die  

280 nuar fà sela kuó, yuo ke mbam o.  
nuar fà sela kuó yuo ke mbam o  
person two cross die leave at Chefferie oh  

281 Saa né bẹ bẹ ọgene naá le ñgam  
saa né bẹ bẹ ọgene naá le ñgam  
that is we we see PAST in divination  

282 Mì mẹ sọn tue ñgwọ, ñgam tue naá mena koọ.  
mì mẹ sọn tue ñgwọ ñgam tue naá mena koọ  
I with mouth say NEG. divination say PAST thus SUB.EMP.  

283 Ga; Yuo mena,  
yuo mena  
leave thus  

284 Jb; Mun  
mun  
thus  

285 Ta; Kọ né ka se nji me Chaŋ fuo ge sua naá je  
kọ né ka se nji me chaŋ fuo ge sua naá je  
even is at his thing that chaŋ blow at descend PAST say
Conclusions

286  gə Baa mba nuar sen ko ngwa, ça y est. 80
gə baa mba nuar sen ko ngwa ça y est 80
at East freely person his know NEG. ça y est

287  Nuar saa wò yila məna jemu nuar Kaka,
uuar saa wò yila məna jemu 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  Bô né boô mə () gua tap be,
bô né boô mə gua tap be
they is do with spear war hand

290  bô né boô mə mbôk tap be,
bô né boô mə mbôk tap be
they is do with axe war hand

291  bô nde wa, bô ko rə sum bî, ()
bô nde wa bô ko rə sum bî
they go arrive they cut again remove thing

292  bô yila gua dəni.
bô yila gua dəni
they enter home here

293  Ga; xxxxx

294  Ta; Wò ko rə sum brik wa?
wò ko rə sum brik wa
you cut again remove brick QN.

295  Te bö Fum sum jolori ka tābə dəni,
tə bö fum sum jolori kə tābə dəni
so Pl. witch remove chefferie at earth here

296  ma huom bə də ki wa?
ma huom bə də ki wa
if good place of what QN.

297  Nuar wò yila ka le bu sua,
uuar wò yila ka le bu sua
person you enter at in knife sua

298  wò so chén, wayu wò fà so so. 81
wò so chén wayu wò fà so so 81
you live one else you two live live

299  Ga; Wô so chén
wô so chén
you live one

300  Ta; Ma bí sie né ke mgbe tema chén loş dọсь,
ma bí sie né ke mgbe tema chén loş dọсь
if you take is at chief liver one village all

301  Ga; Dene ngwagam dene yulu,
dene ngwagam dene yulu
here maize here millet
Conclusions

302 saa baá huɔm wɔ sie né han xxxxxxxx
saa baá huɔm wɔ sie né han xxxxxxxx
that PRES. good you take is this xxxxxxxx

303 Ta; bó njulu bé ke nji baa
bó njulu bé ke nji baa
we eyes we look thing East

304 Bi; Matwa nde ɔgale le cher due
matwa nde ɔgale le cher due
car go itchy in road open

305 xxxx doɔŋ pat cher due né ten
xxxx doɔŋ pat cher due né ten
xxxx all all road open is there-is

306 Ga; Bɔ kwe nemu yuo ɔgwe
bɔ kwe nemu yuo ɔgwe
they dig water leave NEG.

307 Ta; Bɔ ɔgale nji be, bè wè chuar, bè ha,
bɔ ɔgale nji be bè wè chuar bè ha
we stick thing hand we take chicken we give

308 bè wè, bè nje kan bè ha. Bè vu né njai dɛnɛ,
bè wè bè nje kan bè ha bè vu né njai dɛnɛ
we take PL. thing odd we give we leave is thing here

309 boɔ né nji, njai bogo yula.
boɔ né nji njai bogo yula
do is thing thing thousand ten

310 Mɔ bè ha gi na bè nuar bo kwe na bi, ()
ma bè ha gi na bo nuar bo kwe na bi
that we give end is PL. person they dig is thing

311 lɔgo nemu han. 82
lɔgo nemu han 82
hole water this

312 Bɔ kwe loro nemu. Bɔ njẽrõdi tɛ ɛnɛ,
bɔ kwe loro nemu bɔ njẽrõdi tɛ ɛnɛ
they dig hole water they something NEG. see

313 bó nde kɛ cher due, bó tulu né matwa, tɛ tulu
bɔ nde kɛ cher due bó tulu né matwa tɛ tulu
they go at road open they pull is car at pull

314 Matwa go su ga kɛ Mabon ka kiye,
matwa go su ga ke Mabon ka kiye
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 giye ve le.() Nemu hɛn
wa ga giye ve le nemu hɛn
say there over-there bad in water this

317 kɛnɛhnɛ nemu sela naa kɛ mbartogɔ hɛn
kenɛhnɛ nemu sela naa ke mbartogɔ hɛn
now water cross PAST at chefferie-square this
Conclusions

318 Ni doŋ, nua sie wò, 
ni doŋ 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 kɔ né ka kandun, bɔ kwa né ta ke du, 
kɔ né ka kandun bɔ kwa né ta ke du  
even is at they find is stone at ground

323 taa yogo né ka bɔ kɔɔ ça y est. 
taa yogo né ka bɔ kɔɔ ça y est  
stone surpass is at them SUB.EMP. ça y est

324 Nuar wò nde, wò fum yə, fum yə, 
unar 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; Mgbati yə mgbati vən 
mgbati yə mgbati  
witchcraft yours witchcraft evil

327 Ta; sar yə, chibi yə, wò yə bə́ nyuge 
sar yə chibi yə wò ya bə́ nyuge  
spearer yours night yours you eat harm repair

328 kan njai mba den bə́ ke mbartogo 
kan njai mba den bə́ ke mbartogo  
odd thing freely stay harm at chefferie-square

329 mə den bè de ki wa? 
mə den bè de ki wa  
that stay place of what QN.

330 Wò mave, huan sep, () kwə lɔɔ bı yə 
wò mave huan sep kwə lɔɔ bı yə  
you woman child male tomorrow village you yours

331 mgbə né ten sam ŋgwə 84 
mgbə né ten sam ŋgwə 84  
chief is there-is not NEG.

332 Kwə bə bɔɔ lɔɔ guo mbe chuar ko sie mwe ŋgwə, 
kwə bə bɔɔ lɔɔ guo mbe chuar ko sie mwe ŋgwə  
tomorrow we do compound house beer chicken even take drink
Conclusions

NEG.

333 tele ye mwe ngwe, mií ye mwe ngwe ça y est.
tele ye mwe ngwe mií ye mwe ngwe ça y est
father yours drink NEG. mother yours drink NEG. ça y est

334 Mbe te mi ko mwe ngwe ça y est.
mbe te mi ko mwe ngwe ça y est
beer so I even drink NEG. ça y est

335 Mií ye mwe ngwe ça y est.
mií ye mwe ngwe ça y est
mother yours drink NEG. ça y est

336 Sua bé chum han ko tele ye loó tena
sua bé chum han ko tele ye loó tena
sua ours old this even father yours village amongst

337 sam ngwe ça y est.
sam ngwe ça y est
not NEG. ça y est

338 Tele ye le naa baá tena.
tele ye le naa baá tena
father yours PAST PAST PRES. amongst

339 Wò jë: nyí ñeli ñaga ka, wò ten,
wò je nyí ñeli ñaga ka wò ten,
you say speaker disturb clear at you there-is

340 nyí nde te nyí bë́ ñam
nyí nde te nyí bë́ ñam
speaker go so speaker harm remove

341 Bí jolori wa bò nde ko nyí wa?
bí jolori wa bò nde ko 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 so chén wò ña so so
wò so chén wò ña so so
you live one you two live live

344 Ga; xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx

345 Jb; Nyí bë́ ñam
nyí bë́ ñam
speaker harm divination

346 Nyí bë́ ñam
nyí bë́ ñam
speaker harm divination

347 Ta; Nyí bë́ ñam wa
nyí bë́ ñam wa
speaker harm divination QN.

348 Bí né bò nuar bí mbò su bò ñam
bí né bò nuar bí mbò su bò ñam
you is PL. person you divine again place divination
Conclusions

349  Wò ke yə. () Ḥen Njai fe sen né ve
     wò ke yə Ḥen Njai fe sen né ve
you look yours this Njai head his is bad

350  Muyna, fe sen né ve.
     Muyna fe sen né ve
     Muyna head his is bad

351  Ma mì kuó kən jemu báá nde a Njai,
     ma mì kuó kən jemu báá nde a Njai
     if I die already second PRES. go to Njai

352  jemu báá nde a Muyna,
     jemu báá nde a Muyna
     second PRES. go to Muyna

353  jemu báá nde a Bi.
     jemu báá nde a Bi
     second PRES. go to Bi

354  Bu bò kuku bò bò kuó gi naá 86
     bu bò kuku bò bò 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 ko. Tap sie né bò fi wa
     ni le tue né mə ko. tap sie né bò fi wa
     who in say is with SUB.EMP. war take is us bush QN.

357  Né bí sar chibi, bí bò sum nde nuar ka lọs, (1)
     né bí sar chibi bí bò sum nde nuar ka lọs
     1
     is you spearer night you do remove go person at village

358  Haa? (2) Nuar wò munu ka de saa,
     haa 2 nuar wò munu ka de saa
     person you think at of that

359  wò yila le bu sua,
     wò yila le bu sua
     you enter in knife sua

360  wò so chèn wa Ꙁgwę wò fà so so
     wò so chèn wa Ꙁgwę wò fà so so
     you live one arrive NEG. you two live live

361  Ga; Mì den né Ꙁgwagam. Mì den né yulo,
     Mì den né Ꙁgwagam Mì den né yulo
     I stay is maize I stay is millet

362  Yuo sapə bò́ mì nemə sie mbò,
     yuo sapə bò́ mì nemə sie mbò
     leave snake do me bite take freely

363  kɔ bè, tue sie bè 87
     kɔ bè tue sie bè 87
     even us say take us

364  Saa mì cho sua Ḥen mbò
Conclusions

saa ml cọ sua hên mbò
that I chop sua this myself

365 Ta; Ma bí hên ja: ml tue né nyən
ma bí hên ja ml tue né nyən
if you this say I say is lies

366 bí nde séé sua hên
bí nde séé sua hên
you go work sua this

367 Ga; Bó séé cho. Bí né séé < Bí né séé <= laughter
bó séé cho bí né séé bí né séé
they do chop you is do you is do

368 Ta; Bí nde séé sua hên <= laughter
bí nde séé sua hên
you go do sua this

369 Ga; Seé bó pat, bí sua hên séé séé <= laughter
seé bó pat bí sua hên séé séé
do PL. all you sua this do do

370 Nj; Seé sua nde né wò jula
seé sua nde né wò jula
work sua go is you flee

371 Ga; Seé séé sua dì
dé séé sua dì
do do sua some

372 à bí nde yila yila yuop yor. nde a yuop séé.
à bí nde yila yila yuop yor nde a yuop séé
he you go enter enter public-affairs bòdy go to public-affairs do

373 Mí Guanam hän kənəhən 88 Bí séé séé
mí Guanam hän kənəhən 88 bí séé séé
I Guanam this now you do do

374 Jb; Bí ḋgwe a lu de, mə bó boó ke muna ná
dí ḋgwe a lu de mə bó boó ke muna ná
you understand to day that that they do look thus PAST

375 Tətiya kə lọ́ səm Ḇgwə. Də Muyna
Tətiya kə lọ́ səm Ḇgwə də muyna
Tətiya at village not NEG. of patience

376 Ga; Bó tulu njì dənə sua bə Ṇene Ḇgwə
bó tulu njì dənə sua bə Ṇene Ḇgwə
they pull thing here sua we see NEG.

377 Jb; To, à kə lọ́ səm Ḇgwə
to à kə lọ́ səm Ḇgwə
So he at village not NEG.

378 à ke nə kə lọ́ sən, wa: né ve.()
à ke nə kə lọ́ sən wa né ve
he look is at village his say is bad

379 To () mə ve sen Meya, () fə sen hwom nde Ḇgwə
Conclusions

to ma va sen Meya fa sen hwom nde ngwe
So with woman his Meya head hers good go NEG.

380 Bọ ke dana ma né ??bi hên?? ke jumu 89
bọ ke dana ma né ??bi hên ke jumu 89
they look here if is thing this at after

381 Bọ ko dua né mave, à die naà ma hwun sen.
bọ ko dua né mave à die naà mè hwun sen
they know there is woman she fall PAST with alone hers

382 Huan sep dì ten am
huan sep dì ten am
child male some there-is NEG.

383 Wò ko bọ vè né mè njulu gap gap
wò ko bọ vè né mè njulu gap gap
you know PL. woman is with eyes unfinished unfinished

384 Dè yè né man, dè yè man, dè yè man,
dè yè né man dè yè man dè yè man
of yours is thus of yours thus of yours thus

385 wa: bê tug fè sen tena tug
wa bê tug fè sen tena tug
say we organise head hers amongst organise

386 Ter sen a né ten, bọ ŋgan bọ naa né ten
ter sen a né ten bọ ŋgan bọ naa né ten
palm hers to is there-is PL. cola they PAST is there-is

387 Gi sen kere ma bọ bọ ne tug ma bọ ne ter koś
gi sen kere ma bọ bọ ne tug ma bọ ne ter
koś
end hers split with they do is organise with they is palm
SUB.EMP.

388 Ne gi mèna, bọ ŋgan mèna
Ne gi mèna, bọ ŋgan mèna
is end thus PL. cola thus

389 Wò nuar mè wò nde, wò ka ŋuop
Wò nuar mè wò nde, wò ka ŋuop
you person with you go you at cut

390 mèna ŋgan, wò chu, wò ha bu ten
mèna ŋgan, wò chu, wò ha bu ten
thus cola you return you give him some

391 Wa: bó mbo baá ke ka
Wa: bó mbo baá ke ka
Say they divine PRES at at

392 wa ten baá ŋgam () félí ve
wa ten baá ŋgam félí ve
say there-is PRES divination threaten bad

393 ko sen nyan, ŋgam tue se vùrù ça y est.
ko sen nyan, ŋgam tue se vùrù ça y est.
even his lies divination says NEG. hidden ça y est.

394 Ma né ka nuar bon, wò jè: nyí bar bu
Ma né ka nuar bon, wò jè: nyí bar bu

If is at person theirs you say speaker jealous him

A liya sen da, leteni. Ni boó man wa?
A liya sen da, leteni. Ni boó man wa?
He remains his of, between Who do thus QN

Ma ndeka de ten a kuó yor
Ma ndeka de ten a kuó yor
If since of there-is he die body

Ma né mëna nan wa te bó ñaga
Ma né mëna nan wa te bó ñaga
if is thus how QN so they give-birth

Ne mëna wò mave, wò huan sep a
Ne mëna wò mave, wò huan sep a
is thus you woman you child man to,

wò yila le bu hën de wanyu
wò yila le bu hën de wanyu
you enter in knife this of else

wò ya chis ya ya ya
wò ya chis ya ya ya
you eat eat eat

Gâ; Sap a guaga bu e
Sap a guaga bu e
snake at bite him e

tu e sie bu e
tu e sie bu e
tree e take him e

ne mëna njai ven a ke bu e
ne mëna njai ven a ke bu e
is thus thing evil at look him e

Jb; Le ju ter ma, à ha né ka bó nuar
le ju ter ma à ha né ka bó nuar
in talk palm then she give is at PL. person

Ma à ha naâ bó ka mé tema chên
ma à ha naâ bó ka mé tema chên
if she give PAST them at with liver one

Nuar nuar ter, mé wë né ter
nuar nuar ter mé wë né ter
person person palm that take is palm

wò wë chu ke komo wò ha nji bu, à naga 91
wò wë chu ke komo wò ha nji bu à naga 91
you take return at palm-oil you give thing her she lick ()

Ma séé dili ñgwe
ma séé dili ñgwe
if do straight NEG.

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

Jumu mave wò yila kela ten le një tele sen
Conclusions

jumu mava wò yila kela ten la nje tele sen
after woman you enter pass there-is in thing father hers

411 wa nyí wula su bu tena,
wa nyí wula su bu tena
say speaker kill again her amongst

412 wò kuku kuwa, wò chiè ye ye ye.
wò kuku kuwa wò chiè ye ye ye
you many die you day eat eat eat

413 Ma wò ko ɡgwè wò ke Baa ()
ma wò ko ɡgwè wò ke baa
if you know NEG. you look East

414 Ga; xxxxxx xxxxx
[
415 Jb; Bò nuar séé tare nè hên.
bò nuar séé tare nè hên
PL. person work hard is this

416 Wa bò ɡgue nji hên, wa; ɡuna Chi la,
wa bò ɡgue nji hên ɡuna 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 mave, <= laughter
à yila naá ten wò me bò mave
he enter PAST there-is you measure PL. woman

419 va mò, ɡuna mò, wò kuó ka kuó.
va mò ɡuna mò wò kuó ka kuó
woman mine child mine you die at die

420 wa ɡgwè, wa ɡgwè, wa ɡgwè.
wa ɡgwè wa ɡgwè wa ɡgwè
arrive NEG. arrive NEG. arrive NEG.

421 Ga; Sap a gua we nji sie bu we
sapr a gua we nji sie bu we
snake to home fire thing take him fire
[
422 Jb; Afte me bò chiè gua yila ten
Afte me bò chiè gua yila ten
with they death house enter there-is

423 wò me ne mave, me bò ɡuna mò
wò me ne mave, me bò ɡuna mò
you measure is woman, with PL. child mine

424 wò me ne mave, huan sep, bò ɡuna mò
wò me ne mave, huan sep, bò ɡuna 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 ye loro sarega ye
Wò kuó ka. Mì kare ye loro sarega ye
Conclusions

you die at  I split eat only funeral yours

427 Ga; Wò kuó ka wò ŋgwagam hən də yə ye yə
Wò kuó ka wò ŋgwagam hən də yə ye yə
you die at you maize this of eat eat

428 Jb; Wò kuó ka, mì kare yə sarega yə
Wò kuó ka, mì kare yə sarega yə
you die at I split eat funeral yours

429 mì kare yə lorc ọgan yə wanyu wanyu wanyu
mì kare yə lorc ọgan yə wanyu wanyu wanyu
I split eat funeral cola yours else else else

430 Ga; Wò mì Gia sap baá guaga bu-e
Wò mì 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 Kì, sap guaga bu-e Pal! Yi lè hwa ŋgu
Kì, sap guaga bu-e Pal! Yi lè hwa ŋgu
Kì, snake bite him e Pal! At in hole fish

434 Nj; Buo bɔ̀ Tarchimi, buo bɔ̀ Tarchimi
Buo bɔ̀ Tarchimi, buo bɔ̀ Tarchimi
you-two PL Tarchimi, you-two PL Tarchimi

435 bi né bɔ̀ huan manji mba.
bi né bɔ̀ huan manji mba.
you is PL child small just

436 Dë ju, ju kum, bɔ̀ bə sen mənə. ()
Dë ju, ju kum, bɔ̀ bə sen mənə.()
of case case old do we ours thus ()

437 B| bɔ̀ nuar hən də, bə né də b| fa njəgə,
b| bɔ̀ nuar hən də bə né b| də b| fa njəgə
we PL. person this of we is we of us like flies

438 bə bə nje kan ŋgue tena bə.
bə bə nje nuar ŋgue tena bə
we never thing person understand cut-through never

439 Huan bɔ̀ bɔ̀ Sarki né boɔ̀ də.
huan bɔ̀ bɔ̀ Sarki né boɔ̀ də
child they PL. Sarki is do of

440 Wò huan sep, wò məvə 93
wò huan sep wò məvə 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 boɔ̀ yula tə bɔ̀ ye: né Sarki,
Conclusions

tema bóó yula te bóó ye né Sarki
liver do illness so they say is Sarki

443  bóó da né koó no,
bóó da né koó 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 só chén, wò fà só só
wò só chén wò fà só só
you live one you two live live

446  Mè yè Sarki bóó naá kə, () lelí
mè yè Sarki bóó naá kə lelí
that say Sarki do PAST at yesterday

447  à nde a yoŋ, ke briŋ ke təbə.
à nde a yoŋ ke briŋ ke təbə.
he go to stroll look brick at earth

448  Ko à nde go sen nyí nde nyí wə ka njərdi,
ko à nde go sen nyí nde nyí wə ka njərdi
even he go walk his speaker go speaker take at something

449  nyí kwa le briŋ,
nyí kwa le briŋ
speaker found in brick

450  à bóó ware nde war-, te mə tema kəro be wa? 94
à bóó ware nde war te mə tema kəro be wa 94
he do uncover go uncover so with send needle hand QN.

451  Bò yila, bò tema ku-kuó.
bò yila bò tema ku-kuó
they enter they send die die

452  à yila le bu, à chén so, à fà só só.
à yila le bu à chén so à fà só só
he enter in knife he one live he two live live

453  Ma à ka ko ngwə, .
ma bò ka ko ngwə à ke njulu kə bə
if he at know NEG. he look eyes at East

454  Bè, bó nuar sep, wə, () wò nuar
bè bó nuar sep wə wò nuar
we PL. person male woman you person

455  wò yila kela ten te bóó ye: Sarki bóó né njì koó.
wò yila kela ten te bóó ye: Sarki bóó né njì koó.
you enter pass there-is so they say do is thing
SUB.EMP.

456  Yogoten né mə bóó huan ten, mií né ten,
Yogoten né mə bóó huan ten mií né ten
Yogoten is with PL. child there-is mother is there-is

457  bóó dim né mə bóó huan ten,
bóó dim né mə bóó huan ten
PL. y-same-sex-sib. is with PL. child there-is
Conclusions

458 bò və né ten. 95
   bò 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 ke le bu,
   nuar Teba nuar yila ke le bu
   person fulbe person enter at in knife

461 wò so chèn wò fà so so.
   wò so chèn wò fà so so
   you live one you two live live

462 Nuar ka kə ngwe ke njulu baa. (4)
   nuar ka kə ngwe ke njulu baa 4
   person at know NEG. look eyes East

463 Ga; Fuo ke ke yi ŋgam, ve ke Ndebaa,
   fuo ke ke yi ŋgam ve ke Ndebaa
   blow look look to divination bad at Ndebaa

464 â bɔ̄ nde lɔ̄ nuar, lane lɔ̄ nuar, kwe lɔ̄ nuar
   â bɔ̄ nde lɔ̄ nuar lane lɔ̄ nuar kwe
   lɔ̄ nuar
   he do go compound person today compound person tomorrow
   compound person

465 Wò mava kə lɔ̄ sire ka ŋgam,
   wò mava kə lɔ̄ sire kə ŋgam
   you woman at compound witchcraft at divination

466 wò huan sep wò nde loro ŋgam 96
   wò huan sep wò nde loro ŋgam 96
   you child male you go hole divination

467 wò hwu nde chu vən ten, ha ŋgam tə mbɔ.
   wò hwu nde chu vən ten ha ŋgam tə mbɔ
   you tunnel go return evil there-is until divination so
   divine

468 Mì Guanam mì cho kə mbartogo,
   mì Guanam mì cho 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 bɔ mbam bɔ bí né bɔ mə jərə kela.
   bí bɔ mbam bɔ bí né bɔ mə jərə kela
   you PL. Chefferie PL. you is place with sua-enclosure pass

471 Bí mom baá mì mì cho sua mə akilo, mì kwa nji sam.
   bí mom baá mì mì cho sua mə akilo mì kwa nji sam
   you wait PRES. I I chop sua with intelligence I put
   thing not
Conclusions

Kwa nji sap, kwa nji lɔp, kwa nji sap kwa nji lɔp, put thing snake put thing witchcraft

wɔ nuar sar, wɔ njɛrɛ nji fɛlî m Guanam 97
wɔ nuar sar wɔ njɛrɛ nji fɛlî m Guanam
you person spearer you surmount thing threaten me Guanam

Bì nɛ mɛ yɛp, bí wɛ ka ɠwagam di,
bì nɛ mɛ yɛp bí wɛ ka ɠwagam di you is with theft you take at maize some

bì fɛlî mgbɛ, bí bɔ Ndeba doŋ,
bì fɛlî mgbɛ bí bɔ Ndeba doŋ you threaten chief you PL. Ndeba all

bɔ vɛ, bí sɔn chɛn, fɛ bí yɛ tare.
bɔ vɛ bí sɔn chɛn fɛ bí yɛ tare
PL. woman you mouth one head you yours hard

Wɔ nuar, wɔ nde ka fɛlî nuar,
wɔ nuar wɔ nde ka fɛlî nuar you person you go at threaten person

wɔ yɛ: lɔɔ ve ve. Wɔ kuό,
wɔ yɛ lɔɔ ve ve wɔ kuό you say compound bad bad you die

wɔ ɠwagam nyima hen yɛ yɛ yɛ < Ooo! Ooo!
<= Cut Bundle. Laughter, and talk
wɔ ɠwagam nyima hen yɛ yɛ yɛ 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.

Be ga kela ter. Cho rɛ gi doŋ (20) 98
be ga kela ter cho rɛ gi doŋ 20 98
hand right pass up chop again end all

Wɔ nuar fɛlî mì,
wɔ nuar fɛlî mì you person threaten me

sua sie à wɔ (28) yɛ yɛ yɛ
sua sie à wɔ (28) yɛ yɛ yɛ
sua take to you eat eat eat

Nj; Wɔ nɛ nuar ɠene njulu wa? <= Laughter
Wɔ nɛ nuar ɠene njulu wa? you is person see eyes

Gw; Bɔ vɛ te ka to nde
bɔ vɛ te ka to nde
PL. woman NEG. at before go

Ta; Bɔ te ke
bɔ te ke
they NEG look

we?? nyuri nɛmɛ baá
Conclusions

wa nyuri nama baà
take grass dry PRES.

487 Ga; Bò di, bó fon nde né de bò fə nuar
Bò di, bó fon nde né de bò fə nuar
Pl. some they search go is of PL. head person

488 Bò nde kwa lô
Bò nde kwa lô
they go put put.

489 Jè: nuar te cher due kela,
Jè: nuar te cher due kela,
say person NEG road wide pass

490 yə njai baga lêm kô fə nuar
yə njai baga l’êm kô fə nuar
say thing good avoid precisely head person

491 Êgwagam de mò, gërè hen wò yi ma yə yə yə
ggwagam de mò, gërè hen wò yi ma yə yə yə
maize of mine farm this you enter EMP eat-NEG eat-NEG

eat-NEG

492 Nj; Wò de yə saa, wò naâ nuar saa de gëne njì wa? <= laughter
Wò de yə saa, wò naâ nuar saa de gëne njì wa?
you of yours that, you PAST person that of see thing QN

493 Ga; Wò nuar bu saa, wò kô mə li yə.
wò nuar bu saa, wò kô mə li yə.
you person them that, you know with stomach yours

494 A kema mana də ka n ma ngungun <=laughter
A kema mana də ka n ma ngungun <=laughter
They touch thus of odd ??????

495 NJ; Nea, ma wò den fada wò ne nuar bu saa ñëne njulu
Nea, ma wò den fada wò ne nuar bu saa ñëne njulu
Nea if you stay like you is person them that see eye

496 Ga; Bu mì tue də baa jə mì chô suà mò.
bu mì tue də baa jə mì chô suà mò.
them I say of good say I chop suà mine

497 Mì chô mə suà mò kup kup hën.
mì chô mə suà mò kup kup hën.
I chop with suà mine kup kup this

498 Buyor Vincent; Mì fon kalon mò
Buyor Vincent; Mì fon kalon mò
I search money mine

499 tə mì chô suà mò mə nji
tə mì chô suà mò mə nji
so I chip suà mine with thing

500 Nj; Ha nji tətəbə
ha nji tətəbə
give thing pipe

pause 1 minute

501 Ga; Tena bu mena, tena bu ñgoro, jọgo sum chie
Conclusions

Tena bu mena, tena bu ḥgoro, cut-through them thus cut-through them. back

502 joyo sum chiə, tue sùm sua chiə
joyo sum chiə, tue sùm sua chiə
carry remove outside say remove sua outside

503 Wò mana ḥgwagam hən yə yə yə
gwagam hun 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 loš be naá mə wò tue sum chiə
Yi loš 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 ḥgoro, sua vula bu
Sua vula bu ḥgoro, sua vula bu
leave them back sua leave them

509 tena bu ḥgoro, a tue sum chiə
tena bu ḥgoro, a tue sum chiə
cut-through them back they say remove outside

510 Nj; Ne mana bu, bó vula si nji a yi dū,
Ne mana bu, bó vula si nji a yi dū,
is thus them they leave injure thing they enter ground

511 Sùn sen kuó ḥgwə yə, sùn né sen kuó ḥgwə yə
mouth theirs die NEG NEG is mouth theirs die NEG

512 Je: ndée yia yia, a se wə baá kən
Je: ndée yia yia, 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 Bò né nyima yə ḥgwə yə, saa bó furu baá bu kən
They is year eat NEG NEG that they bury PAST them already

515 Jb; De bó, bó bóó nyima hən de yə ne ḥgwə.
of them they do year this of eat is NEG

516 Bò bóó njerədi ḥuə nde ḥgwə.
Bò bóó njerədi ḥuə nde ḥgwə.
they do something hear go NEG
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; Huɔm né kwa baά chuar de
   huɔm né kwa baά chuar de
   good is put PRES. chicken that

2 Nde kwa felí bó, felí bó, felí bó, dòό̄g.
   nde kwa felí bó felí bó felí bó dòό̄g
   go put threaten them threaten them threaten them all

3 MA; mhm Nuar jé gi aa sen (1)
   mhm nuar jé gi aa sen
   person say end PAST his

4 SS; Nuaga, å de- å den te felí bó ni.
   nuaga à de à den te felí bó ni
   he stay he stay at threaten PL. who

5 Ha bu mè den ka mè den hèn.
   ha bu mè den ka mè den hèn
   give him with stay at with stay this

6 MA; Kusum. Nuar mè sar, mè lòp, mè lè.
   kusum nuar mè sar mè lòp mè lè
   spittle person with witch-spears with witchcraft with
   treatment

7 Mì nuar nje, mè mì lò né. Mì yuo sar,
   mì nuar nje mè mì lò né mì yuo sar
   I person that-one with I treat is I leave witch-spears

8 mì yuo chibi. ñgwagam nuar, chuar nuar.
   mì yuo chibi ñgwagam nuar chuar nuar
   I leave night maize person chicken person

9 Bò nuar, ma mì bée.(1) Wò nde wula nuar,
   bò nuar ma mì bée wò nde wula nuar
   PL. person if I harm you go kill person

10 chu chu felí mò.
   chu chu felí mò
   return return threaten me

11 Mì kò ñgwə, mì nji ke kè baa.
   mì kò ñgwə mì nji ke kè baa
   I know NEG. I thing look at East

12 Wò nuar sar, wò nuar chibi, wò jè:
   wò nuar sar wò nuar chibi wò jè
   you person witchcraft you person night you say

13 oo, nyí wè nyuri kwa?
   oo nyí wè nyuri kwa
   speaker take grass put

14 Nyí wè nyuri vèn, nyí bée lòό̄ mò,
   nyí wè nyuri vèn nyí bée lòό̄ mò
   speaker take grass evil speaker harm compound mine
Conclusions

15  bɔ̀ ʋa, bɔ̀ ʋụna mò.
bɔ̀ ʋa bɔ̀ ʋụna mò
PL. woman PL. child mine

16  mị ɲue né bu <= Chicken squawks, being gripped firmly in the hand
    mị ɲue né bu
    I understand is them-S.

17  (18) Dẹ ʋa dẹ mị ɲwen baá nyuri,
(18) dẹ ʋa dẹ mị ɲwen 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 hẹn
    à den sen ke si mò hẹn
    she stay hers look husband mine this

19  SS;  Eee Ǹgu, tẹ njulu ke suú
     eee Ǹgu tẹ njulu ke suú
     NEG. eyes look again-NEG

20  MA;  Nuaga tẹ njulu ke suú (7)
       nuaga tẹ 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 tẹ tẹ ke wa (3)
       njulu tẹ tẹ ke wa (3)
       eyes NEG. NEG. look SUB.EMP.

23  MA;  Njị njulu tẹ tabé (16)
       njị njulu tẹ tabé (16)
       thing eyes at earth

24  < Nde né dẹ ʋa see ndo? (1) <= To DZ
    nde né dẹ ʋa 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 tẹ ke.<= To Nuaga
       aha tẹ ke
       mmhhmm NEG. look

27  SS;  Te ke wa! Am ɲgwẹ
tẹ ke wa am ɲgwẹ
       NEG look SUB.EMP. NEG. NEG.

28  MA;
       Sam ɲgwẹ
       sam ɲgwẹ
       not NEG.

29  SS;  Tẹ ki. (4)
       tẹ ki 4
       NEG. annoy
30 Nde de baá dena.
nde de baá dena
go stay PRES. here

31 (3) Né mana më Mbiti dòòg (2)
(3) né mana më Mbiti dòòg (2)
is thus with Mbiti all

32 MA; Hên, mì, mì yuo sar, mì yuo chibi.
hên mì mì yuo sar mì yuo chibi
this me I leave witch-spears I leave night

33 Ma nuar je: mì gam nyí.
ma nuar je mì gam nyí
if person say I help speaker

34 Mì gam ka bu, temë chên.
mì gam ka bu temë chên
I help at him liver one

35 Mì we nyuri vən, mì kwa ten.
mì we nyuri vən mì kwa ten
I take grass evil I put there-is

36 Mì ge le vən, mì kwa ten
mì ge le vən mì kwa ten
I divide treatment evil I put there-is

37 Dë të mì wula bu. (.)
dë të mì wula bu
so so I kill him

38 Te mì bëë ləô sen, chu chu fęlí mò
të mì bëë ləô sen chu chu fęlí mò
so I harm compound his return return threaten mine

39 Mì ko ngwə njulu ke ke baa.
mì ko ngwə njulu ke ke baa
I know NEG. eyes look at East

40 Wò nuar huan sep, wò mave, wò je:
wò nuar huan sep wò mave wò je
you person child male you woman you say

41 Oho. Wò nuar gam, wò nuar de ke wa?
oho wò nuar gam wò nuar de ke wa
you person help you person of at QN.

42 Nyí gërë fęlí mò.
nyí gërë fęlí mò
speaker slander threaten me

43 Nyí gërë fęlí bò vë mò,
nyí gërë fęlí bò vë mò
speaker slander threaten PL. woman mine

44 nyí gërë fęlí bò juna mò. (1)
nyí gërë fęlí bò juna mò 1
speaker slander threaten PL. child mine

45 Gatenyare ke wò, maŋare ke wò
gatenyare ke wò maŋare ke wò
Conclusions

buried-poison look you ordeal look you

46
mi tena ṣuna ye kup
mi tena ṣuna ye kup
I cut-through child yours all

47
Wọ sua bè lu wanyu,
wọ sua bè lu wanyu
you descend harm SUB.EMP. else

48
wọ njulu ke ke ke ke
wọ njulu ke ke ke ke
you eyes look look look look

49
Nuar di fala ka mọ tema
nuar di fala ka mọ tema
person some listen at with liver

50
chén chén chén dọọg.
chén chén chén dọọg
one true true all

51
Bu dọọg njulu ke kẹ baa.(2)
bu dọọg njulu ke kẹ baa.2
them-S. all eyes look at East

52
< To, see baá fẹ loọ ye kadi >= To SS
  to see baá fẹ loọ ye kadi
  To work PRES. head compound yours really

53
SS; (1) Mị, mị jẹ mẹ mị dẹ hẹn dẹ.()
(1) mị mị jẹ mẹ mị dẹ hẹn dẹ
(1) I I say that I of this of

54
Mị yuo sar, Mị yuo...(1) Mị yuo sar,
Mị yuo sar   (1) mị yuo sar
I leave witch-spears (1) I leave witchcraft

55
mị yuo () tambani.
mị yuo () tambani
I leave () ant

56
Mị jim loọ nuar, dẹ mị bèẹ njai nuar di,
mị jim loọ nuar dẹ mị bèẹ njai nuar di
I tunnel-into compound person that I harm thing person
some

57
mị yila le bu sua,
mị yila le bu sua
I enter in knife sua

58
mị ka ko ṣgwẹ fẹ mọ tare.
mị ka ko ṣgwẹ fẹ mọ tare
I at know NEG. head mine hard

59
Le bọ félí huna mọ dọọg pat,
le bọ félí huna mọ dọọg pat
in PL. threaten child mine all all

60
félí ve mọ, félí ṣuna mọ,
félí ve mọ félí ṣuna mọ
threaten woman mine threaten child mine
Conclusions

61 sogo bó na ka mè dalela njarèdi
sogo bó na ka mè dalela njarèdi
only they is at with motive something

62 bó tue mì, mì gwom bó lu
bó tue mì mì gwom bó lu
they say me I pay them freely

63 Né ka mba mba
né ka mba mba
is at freely freely

64 bó ìgìeri ka félí mò
bó ìgìeri ka félí mò
they slander at threaten me

65 bó jë: mì dë be’è de ke wa?
bó je mì de be’è de ke wa
they say I of harm of where QN.

66 be’è see mò mè chu bili né jemu ndo,
be’è see mò mè chu bili né jemu ndo
harm work mine which return together is second also

67 hëm dòóg pat
hëm dòóg pat
this all all

68 Sogo nè ka fuo chaq ca y est.
sogo nè ka fuo chaq ca y est
only is at blow chaq ca y est

69 Né ka () be nuar. Nuar jë: mì bo’s man (Tape at 90)
né ka be nuar nuar je mì bo’s man
is at hand person person say I do thus

70 mi gam nde nà de ke wa?
mi gam nde nà de ke wa
I help go is of what QN.

71 Sogo cher më mì to ka,
sogo cher më mì to ka
only road that I cut at

72 nuar ka tè kela ìgwe.
nuar ka tè kela ìgwe
person at NEG. pass NEG.

73 Nuar à kela te kela.
nuar à kela te kela
person he pass so pass

74 Mì ìguè ka më bó,
mì ìguè ka më bó
I understand at with them

75 yila ka le bu hën wanyu
yila ka le bu hën wanyu
enter at in knife this else

76 bó chè yà yà
bö chè yà yà
they day eat eat
Conclusions

bó ko ɲgua, fe bó tare.(1)
bó ko ɲgua fe bó tare.1
they know NEG. head theirs hard

78 Hen, den né hên.
hen den né hên
this stay is this

79 Lëge fona, ko né dë te chë kwë, ()
lëge fona ko né dë te chë kwë
fight search even is of at day tomorrow

80 te mì () yila sum bó huan me nji.
të mì yila sum bó huan me nji
so I call remove PL. child with thing

81 Bò baán me kwo ka kwo,
bô baán me kwo ka kwo
PL. illness that chase at chase

82 ka guo hên de.
ka guo hên de
at house this of

83 Ve mò lì me yuo ve ka hên de.
ve mò lì me yuo ve ka hên de
woman mine stomach that leave bad at this of

84 Sogo né ka fuo chaŋ
sogo né ka fuo chaŋ
only is at blow chaŋ

85 Yuo ka njai nuar,
yuo ka njai nuar
leave at thing person

86 né ka bó nuar, bó yi né be ten. (tape at 100)
né ka bó nuar bó yi né be ten
is at PL. person they enter is hand there-is

87 bó je: aa mì wa?
bô je aa mì wa
they say aaa me QN.

88 Mì de mò, mì... ()
mì de mò mì
I of mine I

89 huan hên maga kela kuku, né de kə wa?
huan hên maga kela kuku né de kə wa
child this many pass many is of why QN.

90 Sogo bu né me njërèđi,
sogo bu né me njërèđi
only them-S. is with something

91 bó tue mì, mì gwom bó.
bô tue mì mì gwom bó
they say me I pay them

92 Ma mì ka ko ɲgwə, fe mò nde ter.
ma mì ka ko ɲgwə fe mò nde ter
if I at know NEG. head mine go up

Ma mò ma den hàn de,
ma mò ma den hàn de
if mine that stay this of

ma à sep gwan ngwe hàn de,
ma à sep gwan ngwe hàn de
if she male want NEG. this of

sogo né ka fuo chaŋ ça y est.
sogo né ka fuo chaŋ ça y est
only is at blow ça y est

Ma ka fuo chaŋ sam ngwe ()
Ma ka fuo chaŋ sam ngwe
if at blow chaŋ not NEG.

bō yila le bu,
bō yila le bu
they enter in knife

ma bó ko ngwe mbɔ,
ma bó ko ngwe mbɔ
if they know NEG. itself

fə bó tame.(2)
fə bó tame.2
head theirs hard

MA; Wò yə lane
wò yə lane
you say today

[ ]

SS; Fəlî, fəlî baá mií mò,
fəlî fəlî baá mií mò
threaten threaten PRES. mother mine

Yuo den nè bili yaa due hàn de.
yuo den nè bili yaa due hàn de
leave here is together bush open this of

Sogo né ka, bó baán nde bili né ka bó.
sogo né ka bó baán nde bili né ka bó
only is at PL. illness go group is at them

Né ka be chaŋ, ça y est.
Né ka be chaŋ ça y est
is at hand chaŋ ça y est

Né ke ka nuar, wò nuar di,
Né ke ka nuar, wò nuar di
is look at person, you person some

wò əŋər re di.
wò əŋər re di
you slander again some

Wò jə: əhə nyí boó wò mənə no kum.
wò jə əhə nyí boó wò mənə no kum
you say yes speaker do you thus also just

Nguəm à nde yila de bé, de bé ke jemu
Ngam à nde yila de bé de bé ka jemu
because they go call of we of we at second

109 bò nde Oui nde de, () ké wa?
bò nde oui nde de () ké wa
we go yes go stay () what QN
110 Ko 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 ãgwè
ma wò le dalela sam ãgwè
if you in motive not ãgwè.
112 bò yila le bu wanyu,
bò yila le bu wanyu
they enter in knife else
113 ma bò ko ãgwè, fe bò tare.
ma bò ko ãgwè fe bò tare
if they know NEG. head theirs hard
114 Bò dim mò, mè den né bili hèn,
bò dim mò mè den né bili hèn
PL. y-same-sex-sib mine with stay is together this
115 mè bò tie mò ve mò, mè den né yè dé,
mè bò tie mò ve mò mè den né yè dé
with PL. opp-sex-sib mine woman mine with stay is yours of
116 bò mare de ãgwè hàn dé. ()
bò mare de ãgwè hàn dé
they own of NEG. this here
117 Sogo né ka ba´ś- Sogo né ka see chaŋ.
sogo né ka ba´ś sogo né ka see chaŋ
only is at harm only is at work chaŋ
118 Ma né ka be nuar, (1) né mèna huan di ya,
ma né ka be nuar 1 né mèna huan di yaa
if is at hand person is thus child some girl
119 à tue, bé gwom lu.
à tue bé gwom lu
she say we pay freely
120 Ma ka huan di sam ãgwè,
ma ka huan di sam ãgwè
if at child some not ãgwè.
121 wò Joseph doong pat,
wò joseph doong pat
you all all
122 ma né ka le njì né ki bò.
ma né ka le njì né ki bò
if is at in thing is annoy them
123 Sogo né ka fuo chaŋ ça y est
sogo né ka fuo chaŋ ça y est
only is at blow chaŋ 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 bó yila le bu hən wanyu,
bó yila le bu hən wanyu
they enter in knife this else

126 ma bó ko ŋgwə, fə bó tare.
ma bó ko ŋgwə fə bó tare
if they know NEG. head theirs hard

127 MA; Kwa nyí nuar nje, SS, nyí nuar nje
kwa nyí nuar nje SS nyí nuar nje
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 le wən wula nuar
nyí ge le wən 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 ko ŋgwə njulu ke kə baa
ma nyí ko ŋgwə njulu ke kə baa
if speaker know NEG. eyes look at East

132 Nuar saa ndo, nuar məvə. huan sep,
uar saa ndo nuar məvə huan sep
person that also person woman child male

133 wò ŋgərĩ fəlǐ nyí,
wò ŋgərĩ fəlǐ nyí
you slander threaten speaker

134 Wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ bó və nyí,
wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ bó və nyí
you slander threaten PL. woman speaker

135 wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ bó ɣuna nyí
wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ bó ɣuna nyí
you slander threaten PL. child speaker

136 wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ bó dim nyí
wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ bó dim nyí
you slander threaten PL. y-same-sex-sib. speaker

137 wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ bó tie nyí
wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ bó tie nyí
you slander threaten PL. opp-sex-sib speaker

138 wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ mĩ nyĩ
wò ŋgərĩ fəlĩ mĩ nyĩ
you slander threaten mother speaker

139 Ko wò né le darela le ve, ça y est.
ko wò né le darela le ve ça y est
even you is in motive in bad ça y est
Conclusions

140 Wò ko ngwa, le be am ngwa,
wò ko ngwa le be am ngwa
you know NEG. in hand NEG. NEG.

141 ḃẹ ḃẹ ḃẹ ḃẹ ḃẹ
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 () baǎn mè kwa né ka bó,
Ma né ka baǎn mè kwa né ka bó
if is at illness that find is at them

144 ma né fuo lu chaŋ,
ma né fuo lu chaŋ
if is blow freely chaŋ

145 Gi né ga gə baa koš.
Gi né ga gə baa koš
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 Ko le jəmu mií jəmu tele,
Even treatment after mother after father
ko le jəmu mií jəmu tele

148 ko siè né bó koš,
Even take is them SUB.EMP.
ko siè né bó koš

149 bó né kwəre nyí kwəre
they is beside speaker beside
bó né kwəre nyí kwəre

150 Ko le jəmu mií jəmu tele siè bó saa le.
Even treatment after mother after father take them that in
ko le jəmu mií jəmu tele siè bó saa le

151 Kaa né kaa nuar,
tie is tie person
kaa né kaa nuar

152 wò məə he wò huan sep.
you woman you child male
wò məə he wò huan sep

153 Wò jə: nyí ḃẹ ḃẹ loš ni wa?
you say speaker slander threaten compound who QN.
wò je nyí ḃẹ ḃẹ loš ni wa

154 Te nyí beš loš
tie speaker harm compound
so speaker harm compound

155 Nuar yila le bu
Nuar yila le bu
person enter in knife

Ngwagam ??ngoró ngwe?? wanyu ya ye ye.
Ngwagam ngoró ngwe wanyu ya ye ye
maize moment NEG. else eat eat eat

Ma wò ko ngwe njulu ke kə baa. (

Ma wò ko ngwe njulu ke kə baa
if you know NEG. eyes look at East

Nguar à sie né fe løó nyí ()

nuar à sie né fe løó nyí
person he take is head compound speaker

Mì nuar njè.() Ma nuar mə togo te le am ngwe
mì nuar njè ma nuar mə togo te le am

Ngwe

I person that-one if person with quarrel so treatment NEG.

NEG.

Hèn nuar nde nde te yila ngwe
hèn nuar nde nde te yila ngwe
this person go go NEG enter NEG.

Hèn nuar nde tabé bə́́ re, te yila ngwe
hèn nuar nde tabé bə́́ re te yila ngwe
this person go earth harm again NEG enter NEG.

Ni sie né koó né ka, (

ni sie né koó né ka
who take is SUB.EMP. is at

sap, chibi, lɔp, yuui le
sap chibi lɔp yuui le
snake night witchcraft leaf treatment

MA;

Ma nyí kə baá kən,

ma nyí kə baá kən
if speaker know PRES. already

nyí me løó nuar yila le bu
nyí me løó nuar yila le bu
speaker measure compound person enter in knife

Ma nyí kə ngwe njulu ke kə baa
ma nyí kə ngwe njulu ke kə baa
if speaker know NEG. eyes look at East

Nuar sar nuar chibi, .green felí nyí,

nuar sar nuar chibi .green felí nyí
person witch-spears person night slander threaten speaker

.green felí ɲuna nyí.
.
.green felí ɲuna nyí
slander threaten child speaker

Njeba né ??njeba?? den baá de kə wa?

Njeba né ??njeba den baá de kə wa
stop is stop stay PRES. of why QN.

Nuar saa wò nuar njè ter ke ke ke

Nuar saa wò nuar njè ter ke ke ke
person that you person thing up look look look
Conclusions

171 Ma wò ko ngwe,
ma wò ko ngwe
if you know NEG.
[ ]

172 SS; Jaq-
jaq-
scho-

173 ko né ma teme chén, bó njulu ke kə baa, doóng. ()
kọ né ma teme chén bó njulu ke ke baa doóng
even is with liver one they eyes look at East all

174 SS; jaŋdi né felí bọ ụnụ mọ,
jaŋdi né felí bọ ụnụ mọ
school is threaten PL. child mine

175 yila bu hən də.
yila bu hən də
enter knife this of

176 Sọgo né gi né ka () né see chaŋ ça y est.
sọgo né gi né ka né see chaŋ ça ye
only is end is at is work chaŋ ça ye

177 Né ka nuar lu mba, wò je
né ka nuar lu mba wò je
is at person SUB.EMP. freely you say

178 nyí nde nde ma,
yí nde nde ma
speaker go go that

179 ma nyí bọọ mani, nyí njere mani.
ma nyí bọọ mani nyí njere mani
if speaker do thus speaker slander thus

180 Chię kwọ mì nde nde a te yili.
chię kwọ mì nde nde a te yili
day tomorrow I go go to so call

181 Ma bu bóọ né mọ dalela, bó tue mì,
ma bu bóọ né mọ dalela bó tue mì
if them-S. do is with motive they say I

182 mì gwom lu.
mì gwom lu
I pay freely

183 Ma bu bóọ le njeredi sam ngwe.
ma bu bóọ le njeredi sam ngwe
if them-S. do in something not NEG.

184 bó ngeri ka felí bẹ də lu kọọ kọọ kọọ mba man.
bọ ngeri ka felí bẹ də lu kọọ kọọ
kọọ mba man
they slander at threaten we of freely SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP.
freely thus

185 bó yila ka le bu hən wanyu,
bọ yila ka le bu hən wanyu
they enter at in knife this else
Conclusions

186 ma bó ko ŋgwə fa bó tare.
if they know NEG. head theirs hard

187 MA; Lane bó pat ma nyí sie fa ŋuna nyí
today they all if speaker take head child speaker

188 Me bó jaŋdi jaŋ, bó go ŋgwə
that they school school they walk NEG.

189 Ma né ka njəra ??dalela
if is at thing motive

190 yogo né ka bó ko, ça y est
surpass is at them SUB.EMP. ça y est

191 Wò nuar wò yuo sar, wò yuo chibi.
you person you leave witch-spears you leave night

192 Wò yila le gua mallam
you enter in home mallam

193 wò te sie bó, te nyí ba´ó bó.
you so take them so speaker harm them

194 Ma mallam ko né koó
if mallam know is SUB.EMP.

195 Nuar yila le bu sua
person enter in knife sua

196 wò so chén wanyu, wò fa ye ye so
you live one else you two eat eat live

197 Ma dede yogo ŋgwə wò koó
if properly surpass NEG. you SUB.EMP.

198 doog pat bu njulu ke ke baa.
all it eyes look at East

199 SS; (5) Bare re njulu Ḉgu
(5) close again eyes Ḉgu

200 MA; Baá yogo né ŋuna hên, à ha nan,
FRES. surpass is child this she fat how

201 à si joko ŋgwə, lane doog pat,
she husband marry NEG. today all all
Conclusions

202  bò nuar bò nda kulu bu
      bò nuar bò nda kulu bu
      PL. person PL. young men bless her

203  SS;  Né julu
       né julu
       is forbidden

204  MA;  Bò nda bu gwan, bò nda kulu bu.
       bò nda bu gwan bò nda kulu bu
       PL. young men her want they young men bless her

205  Bò nda kulu bu. Bò nda kulu bu,
      bò nda kulu bu bò nda kulu bu
      PL. young men bless her PL. young men bless her

206  à si jogo ṣggwa.
      à si jogo ṣggwa
      she husband marry NEG.

207  Ma né ka geda si né wa ṣggwa yə, ça y est
      ma né ka geda si né wa ṣggwa yə ça y est
      if is at fate husband is arrive NEG. NEG. ça y est

208  Nuar di, wò nde, wò bəe bu,
      nuar di wò nde wò bəe 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 bəe wa tare: à te si jogo.
      wò tue nyí bəe wa tare à te si jogo
      you say speaker harm arrive hard she NEG. husband marry

213  Ko () ko, SS, bò və, bò bəe naa.
       ko ko SS bò və bò bəe naa
       even even SS PL. woman they harm PAST

214  Gua di nuar, ça y est.
      gua di nuar ça y est
      home some person ça y est

215  Nuar bə́é ṣggwa,
      nuar bə́é ṣggwa
      person harm NEG.

216  wò ụgụri felí ụnua,
      wò ụgụri felí ụnua
      you slander threaten child

217  wò ụgụri mə felí jə:
      wò ụgụri mə felí jə
you slander with threaten say

à je: Jê! Ma je: jék! à nde si joko kwa
à je jék ma je jék à nde si joko kwa
it say if say she go husband marry find

Nuar, à yila le bu sua,
nuar à yila le bu sua
person it enter in knife sua

à so chén wanyu, à fa ye ye ye
à so chén wanyu à fa ye ye ye
it live one else it two eat eat eat

Ma nuar geda si né wa ñgwe ye,
ma nuar geda si né wa ñgwe ye
if person husband is arrive NEG. NEG.

saa bu hén njulu kee ke baa.
saa bu hén njulu kee ke baa
that she this eyes look at East

SS; Huan mè guli kuò ka bu hén de.
huan mè guli kuò ka bu hén de
child with foot die at him this of

Sogo né ka fuo chaŋ, ça y est.
sogo né ka fuo chaŋ ça y est
only is at blow chaŋ ça y est

Né ka bò nuar wò yuo wò je;
né ka bò nuar wò yuo wò je
is at PL. person you leave you say

aha huan hên nde nde bê de ka wa?
aha huan hên nde nde bê de ka wa
mmhmmm child this go go place of why QN.

Sogo bu hân le dalela bó tue mî, mî gwom.
sogo bu hân le dalela bó tue mî mî gwom
only him this in motive they say me I pay

Ma ka le njérédi sam ñgwe,
ma ka le njérédi sam ñgwe
if at in something not NEG.

bó yila ka le bu hên wanyu,
bó yila ka le bu hên wanyu
they enter at in knife this else

ma bó ko ñgwe fê bó tare.
ma bó ko ñgwe fê bó tare
if they know NEG. head theirs hard

Mî tene nde né fêlí sen hên de.
mî tene nde né fêlí sen hên de
I break go is threaten his this of

Mî tene nde né fêlí sen hên
mî tene nde né fêlí sen hên
I break go is threaten his this

< Den të tabe të sie chuar <= To MS
Conclusions

den te tabe te sie chuar
stay at earth so take chicken

234 SS; Yuaga den te tabé man!
Yuaga den te tabé man
Yuaga stay at earth thus

235 Simon; Yuaga den te tabé, kie! (7)
Yuaga den te tabé kie 7
Yuaga stay at earth Expletive

236 SS; Sie tak! (5) Nuaga bare njulu man wa
sie tak (5) Nuaga bare njulu man wa
take IDEO. Nuage close eye thus EMP

237 MA; Huan lu félí guna nyí nan.
huan lu félí guna nyí nan
child freely threaten child speaker how

238 Mi nuar nje, mi nuar mè mi lo nè
mè nuar nje mè nuar mè mè lo nè
I person that-one I person that I treat is

239 Mi yuo sar mi yuo chibi,
mi yuo sar mi yuo chibi
I leave witch-spears I leave night

240 gwa nuar, chuar nuar, bèè nuar.
gwa nuar chuar nuar bèè nuar
house person chicken person harm person

241 Ma mè bèé (1) ma sar mè chibi mè lop.
ma mè bèé 1 mè sar mè chibi mè lop
if I harm with witch-spears with night with witchcraft

242 Chu chu félí bó, mi yila le bu sua
chu chu félí bó mi yila le bu sua
return return threaten them I enter in knife sua

243 mi so chén wanyu,
mi so chén wanyu
I live one else

244 mi njulu kè baa ke ke ke, ke.
mè njulu kè baa ke ke ke ke
I eyes at East look look look

245 Ma mè né ka ka temè chén,
ma mè né ka ka temè chén
if I is at at liver one

246 te chuèm huèm, bè huèm, nuar huèm.
te chuèm huèm bè huèm nuar huèm
so sort-out good we good person good

247 Mi njulu ke kè baa.
mè njulu ke kè 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
Conclusions

249   wò nde ma né jægə
wò nde mə né jægə
you go with is swear??

250   ma né le 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 ye ye ye so
wò so chén wanyu fa ye ye ye so
you live one else two eat eat eat live

253   SS; Café né wa ŋgwə ye
café né wa ŋgwə ye
coffee is arrive NEG. NEG.

254   MA; Loó ye me gərə hən də.
loó ye me gərə hən də
compound yours with field this of

255   Wò baán lane ka né ??lem kwa le??
wò baán lane ka né ??lem 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   Ko né ka baán mgbe chaŋ ha naa bu baá koó, ça y est
ko né ka baán mgbe chaŋ ha naa bu baá koó
cà y est
even is at illness chief chaŋ give PAST it PRES. SUB.EMP.

cà y est

258   Wò sar, wò chibi, nuar məvé huan sep.
wò sar wò chibi nuar məvé huan sep
you witch-spears you night person woman child male

259   Də loó ye tə nyí bə́é baá
də loó ye tə nyí bə́é baá
of compound yours so speaker harm PRES.

260   Wò né jægə wò nde bə́é koó
wò né jægə wò nde bə́é koó
you is swear?? you go harm SUB.EMP.

261   Fela dõŋ pat, loó ye huom ŋgwə
fela dõŋ pat loó ye huom ŋgwə
listen all all compound yours good NEG.

262   Ko né ka (1) chie re lu cher chum cher sua
ko né ka 1 chie re lu cher chum cher sua
even is at day again day road old road sua

263   bu le ko hən də, tame ma wò wa Paul Biya
bu le ko hən de tame ma wò wa Paul Biya
it PAST know this of consider even you arrive Paul Biya

264   Ka nuar, nyí bə́é baá loó ye
ka nuar nyí bə́é baá loó ye
Conclusions

at person speaker harm PRES. compound yours

265 wò yila le bu
wò yila le bu
you enter in knife

266 wò so wanyu wò fa ye ye ye so
wò so wanyu wò fa ye ye ye so
you live else you two eat eat eat live

267 < Café ye wa ọgwe <= To MS
café ye wa ọgwe
coffee yours arrive NEG.

268 SS; Sogo bó wa gua mgbe
sogo bó wa gua mgbe
only they arrive home chief

269 MA; Dites donc. Gua huom ọgwe
dites donc gua huom ọgwe
dites donc home good NEG.

270 Ko né ka () kalon
ko né ka kalon
even is at money

271 Tabé ve né koọ ça y est
tabé ve né koọ ça y est
earth bad is SUB.EMP. ça y est

272 Ko né ka be nuar, te nyí béé
ko né ka be nuar te nyí béé
even is at hand person so speaker harm

273 Nyí baẹ ụna ụna ye wa
nyí baẹ ụna ụna ye wa
speaker harm child yours SUB.EMP.

274 Ma né chia kwọ wọ wọ nde koọ
ma né chia kwọ wọ wọ nde koọ
if is day tomorrow you you go SUB.EMP.

275 huan de ki wa?
huan de ki wa
child of what QN.

276 Ọgọri felì ụna ye, li huan yuo ve
Ọgọri felì ụna ye li huan yuo ve
slander threaten child yours stomach child leave bad

277 Ko né ka () kalon li, chaŋ ha né koọ
ko né ka kalon li chaŋ ha né koọ
even is at money stomach chaŋ give is SUB.EMP.

278 Usur ça y est. Ko né ka be nuar
usur ça y est ko né ka be nuar
truly ça y est even is at hand person

279 SS; bó wa wa gua mbe bó fela né ka nuar
bó wa wa gua mbe bó fela
né ka nuar
they arrive arrive home beer they listen

is at person
Conclusions

bô fala de baa ça y est.
bô fala de baa ça y est
they listen of good ça y est

MA;
Mə bəé li kɔ̀
mə bəé li kɔ̀
that harm stomach SUB.EMP.

Ma né jəgə ni,
ma né jəgə ni
if is swear?? who

ma né kwa bəé ve də ki wa?
ma né kwa bəé ve də ki wa
if is put harm woman of what QN.

Wɔ̀ kwa ngwę də ki wa?
wɔ̀ kwa ngwę də ki wa
you put NEG. of what QN.

Wɔ̀ yila le bu sua
wɔ̀ yila le bu sua
you enter in knife sua

wɔ̀ so chén wanyu wɔ̀ fa ye so
wɔ̀ so chén wanyu wɔ̀ fa ye so
you live one else you two eat live

Ko ɡuna hua nuar tema ngwę
ko ɡuna hua nuar tema ngwę
even child breath person send NEG.

Chia hua nuar teba te kela ngwę.
chia hua nuar teba te kela ngwę
outside breath person fulbe NEG pass NEG.

Bí hua nuar ya ngwę ye ya
bí hua nuar ya ngwę ye ya
you breath person eat NEG. eat eat

Yila le bu sua
yila le bu sua
you enter in knife sua

wɔ̀ so chén wanyu wɔ̀ fa ye ye so (1)
wɔ̀ so chén wanyu wɔ̀ fa ye ye so (1)
you live one else you two eat eat

The chicken was beheaded (10)

< 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

(50) To, wa we (3)
(50) to wa we (3)
(50) To arrive fire

SS; To ñgu tə njulu ke wa
to ñgu tə njulu ke wa
To ñgu NEG. eyes look SUB.EMP.
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.
Conclusions

Transcript with Glosses of Sua Kulu text discussed in main text

First Hearing

speakers:
Bb: Bbô
Bt: One of the accused.
Ch: Chief
Ga: Gamiia
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;  edekọ ma mì duọm mọ njì mọ, ()
edekọ ma mì duọm mọ njì mọ
if I start with thing that

2  mì yila bili nọ mọ bí lane
mì yila bili nọ mọ bí lane
I call together is with you today

3  hẹn mì tue kwa bí nji mọ manji mọ kela naá lili. (4)
hen mì tue kwa bí nji mọ manji mọ kela naá lili
this I say put you thing with small with pass PAST

yesterday

4  Mì tue kwa né chiọ ọgàm (1) naá njọ man be mò kum.(.)
mì tue kwa né chiọ ọgàm naá njọ 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 mì ke: à degwe fada njai man.(7)
mais jemu saá mì ke à den né degwe fada njai man
after that I look he stay is NEG. like thing small

7  Ngàm mì ṣẹne bọ sembe bọ
Ngàm mì ṣẹne bọ sembe bọ
because I see Pl. strength Pl.

8  yila kwa báa tena mbọñ.(4)
yila kwa báa tena mbọñ
enter enter PRES. amongst many

9  Bọ ko ọgwe nji mọ kela naá,
Bọ ko ọgwe nji mọ kela naá
they know NEG. thing with pass PAST

10  Ṣaga baá seé bọ nuar nuar.(4)
ṣaga baá seé bọ nuar nuar
clear PRES. work Pl. person person
mì njiba hən, njiba ter mì ke kə4?
I stop this stop up I look what

fabé bə və né dubu tap lum də tap mba.(6)
like Pl. woman is plant war only of war freely

Ko né huna yə, ko né mií yə
even is child yours even is mother yours

ko né dim yə, ko né bí yə, ()
even is y-same-sex-sib yours even is e-same-sex-sib. yours

ma né lè gechén kam,
if is in true just

ma wò wa bê-ra-di wò kwa bó baá bu lebu
if you arrive some-place you find they PRES. him hit

aha né lè lægu. Nji mə wò
aha né lè lægu nji mə wò
mmhmmm is in fight thing with you

boó nde nə chén.
do go is one

wò sie nde né lægə də tal. Saá gia.
you take go is fight of SUB.EMP. that end

Ma wò né nuar gəchén kum, wò sie nde lægə ma,
if you is person true just you take go fight then

Ma wò né nuar yə ma, wò wə nuar yə, wò yuo mə nji.(1)
if is person yours then you take person yours you leave

Jemu rə wò bie nji saá lu.(2)
after again you ask thing that freely

Mais ma wò nji saá kə gə,
if you thing that know NEG.

wò wa, wò yila kə mba. (1)
you arrive you enter at freely

saá tue né yə: saá nji ndeka
that say is say that thing from
Conclusions

26 to wò naá ko wò mba yila ngə. (6)
before you PAST know you freely enter NEG.

27 Alors, bí bó ve mè mì ñene naá bí pat, ()
you PAST woman which I I I PAST see you all

28 bí né lè carnet mò
you is in carnet mine

29 Dé mò, ndeka lili.
of me from yesterday

30 Den mò, ndeka lili
here with we say is here I I I say is with mouth say

31 Saá tal bó tue ju henh gia, non () ngəm né yaware. ()
That IDEO. they say talk this end non because is scorn

32 et mì foti ngwe mì bóó mè mì kwa yaware
et I can NEG. I do with I find scorn

33 yohr mò lan(e) ko kwə ko kula. (6)
body mine today or tomorrow or day-after-tomorrow

34 Ko bó kuku bó de baá mana vii baá.
even Pl. elder Pl. of PRES. thus grey PRES.

35 Bó foti ngwe de bó wa baá,
they can NEG. of them arrive PRES.

36 bó yila kwa mì ha ka jolori.
they enter find me until at Palace

37 Bó sií ləm ma tema bon gwan-e.
they injure? only if liver theirs want

38 Ko bó baá mana vii naá bó foti ngwe.(1)
even they PRES. thus grey PAST they can NEG.

39 To, () nde jemu naá nyogo sòn, (2)
to go second PAST organise mouth

40 nde naá nyogo sòn, () ni dõg wò tasque gu, kadi (4)
who all you task walk? really

41 Ndeka leba, ndeka bó nuar leba naá bu pat.
from tongue from Pl. person tongue PAST them-S. all
Conclusions

42  Ni dọọg wọ́ tasque gu,
    ni dọọg wọ́ tasque gu
who all you task walk

43  ñgam pat bí né gi lè carnet mò,
    ñgam pat bí né gi lè carnet mò
because all you is end in notebook mine

44  Ma dë mì là chiè hên sam naá ñgwë,
    ma dë mì là chiè hên sam naá ñgwë
if of I PAST outside this not PAST NEG.

45  mere bí la munu ye aá
    mere bí la munu ye aá
perhaps you PAST thought yours PAST

46  mere à mì ñene ñgë
    mere à mì ñene ñgë
perhaps he me see NEG.

47  àa nji sa kò ñgwë.
    àa nji sa kò ñgwë.
they-S. thing that know NEG.

48  Mì, mì naá chiè hên, mì njiba lè?
    mì mì naá chiè hên mì njiba lè
I PAST outside this I stop in

49  chiè hên nji më kela hên, ha mè bó nde à mè pat,
    chiè hên nji më kela hên ha mè bó nde à mè pat
outside this thing which pass this until with they go to with all

50  mì sua kela han ñgàm tê mì ke nyàśe baá si
    mì sua kela han ñgàm tê mì ke nyàśe baá si
I descend pass this because so I look repair good -ness

51  ke mè mì ke dé, bó nuar jë a a dé mò a
    ke mè mì ke dé bó nuar jë a a dé mò a
look with I look of Pl. person say to to of mine to

52  mì ñaga nde diyë ke jolorì.
    mì ñaga nde diyë ke jolorì
I climb go of-yours at Palace

53  bó munu né mì boó nè ñgàm
    bó munu né mì boó nè ñgàm
they think is me do is because

54  mì gwan tê legé nde no, ()
    mì gwan tê legé nde no
I want to fight go also

55  duom né dénë, see mè ñene nji mè duom naá
    duom n'ë dénë see mè ñene nji mè duom naá
start is here work which see thing with start PAST

56  ha bó nji aá chere di
    ha bó nji aá chere di
until we thing PAST stop some
Conclusions

57 | ñgàm ma mì nde né mena
   | ñgàm ma mì nde né mena
   | because if I go is thus

58 | to tue nde mì kwa mena bè me bò njì mì
to tue nde mì kwa mena bè me bò njì mì
before say go I put thus place with Pl. thing which

59 | mì tue kanšan dëna (2)
mì tue kanšan dëna
I say now here

60 | nuar yuo ha wa lè kwa mì jolorì, yila mì mber.
nuar yuo ha wa lè kwa mì jolorì yila mì mber
person leave until arrive in find me Palace call me shit

61 | Bí bò ve bí yuo, jemu bí dubu tar,
  | Bí bò ve bí yuo jemu bí dubu tar
  | you Pl. woman you leave after you plant stone

62 | bí yə: Police Party te bu sie.
  | bí yə Police Party te 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 gəchën tue le gò?? bu hən (3)
  | ama bí nde gəchën tue le gò?? bu hən
  | but you go true say PAST walk him this

65 | ñgam pat bí né gi le carnët mò.
  | ñgam pat bí né gi le carnët mò
  | because all you is end in notebook mine

66 | Kela nuar ma wò ko nyí kema bàá bò Police Party be yòr
  | kela nuar mə wò ko nyí kema baá bò police
  | party be yòr
  | pass person with you know speaker touch PRES. Pl.
  | hand body

67 | ma wò kema naá bu də mə wò sie naá bu də sie mba
  | ma wò kema naá bu də mə wò sie naá bu də sie mba
  | if you touch PAST him of with you take PAST him of take
  | freely

68 | ñəahə, diye kam mì njərdi tue ŋə (1)
  | ñəahə diye kam mì njərdi tue ŋə
  | of-yours just I something say NEG.

69 | mais ma wò kema naá bu də saá, () wò né lë carnët mò ()
  | mais ma wò kema naá bu də saá wò né lë carnët mò
  | if you touch PAST him of ignite you is in mine

70 | diye kam, ha kwə, ha kula () ma bí je ŋgor nde né gi,
  | diye kam ha kwə ha kula ma bí
  | je ŋgor nde né gi
  | of-yours just until tomorrow until day-after-tomorrow if
  | you say declaration go is end

71 | 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 ḅgor hënu bu, ma më tue né bì hën,
    ḅgor hënu bu ma më tue né bì hën
declaration this his if me say is you this

73 den né ḅgor mò () ma mì se den né bì hën.
    den né ḅgor mò ma mì se den né bì hën
stay is NEG. declaration mine which I explain here is you this

74 Dë mò bó si dëne mì mba.(3)
    dë mò bó si dëne mì mba
of mine they insult here I freely

75 Mì, mì kwe ndë né chëfèlë bì yë.
    mì mì kwe ndë né chëfèlë bì yë
I tomorrow go is outside like you yours freely

76 Bí goh, bí yuo su tè bì nyëgë su më mì.(2)
    bí goh bí yuo su tè bì nyëgë su më mì
you walk you leave again so you repair again that I

77 Lëli dëne bó tue nàá ju tabë. (1)
    lëli dëne bó tue nàá ju tabë
yesterday here they say PAST talk earth

78 Ju lè, lè ma nàá ten ângwë.
    ju lè lè ma nàá ten ângwë
talk fish-dam fish-dam if PAST there-is NEG.

79 Bó tue nàá ju ñgu kula. Ñgu kula fëla né dë bó va.(1)
    bó tue nàá ju ñgu kula ñgu kula fëla né dë bó va
they say PAST talk fish bail fish bail like is of Pl. woman

80 Ju see. () tè bó nuar ndë né bë chën ndë,
    ju see tè bó nuar ndë né bë chën ndë
talk work so Pl. person go is place one go

81 bó nuar bó më bë chën ndë ñgwë.
    bó nuar bó më bë chën ndë ñgwë
Pl. person they with place one go NEG.

82 Lane mì munu né jë ma bó nuar ndë bó chën cher,
    lane mì munu né jë ma bó nuar ndë bó chën cher
today I think is say if they person go do road

83 bó nuar bó chën ndë ñgwë, bó né dën.
    bó nuar bó chën ndë ñgwë bó né den
Pl. person do go NEG. they is stay

84 Cher ndë bó par, ma bó kela né ten, mì munu yë:
    cher ndë bó par ma bó kela né ten mì munu yë
road go they all with they pass is there-is I think say

85 Bí bó nuar, bó tema bó, bí ndë né ha bí yëgor suú.
    bí bó nuar bó tema bó bí ndë né ha bí yëgor
suú you Pl. person they send them you go is until you surpass again-NEG.
Conclusions

86 ŋgàm né sam sòn mba see mbo mə tema nə bí (11)

ŋgàm né sam sòn mba see mbo mə tema nə bí
because is only mouth freely work himself with send is you

87 Lane mì né ka loś, () chibi bu lane kum, mì né ka loś.

lane mì né ka loś chibi bu lane kum mì né ka loś
today I is at village night it today just I is at village

88 Né wò huan sep a, () né wò mava a, ()

né wò huan sep a né wò mava a
is you child male to is you woman to

89 ma wò kə de ni naá Police Party be yor kema.

ma wò kə da ni naá police party be yor kema
if you know of who PAST hand body touch

90 Né be nyí yuo baá ter mani, ma nyí kema baá yor sen (4)

né be nyí yuo baá ter mani nyí kema baá
yor sen
is hand speaker leave PRES. up thus speaker touch PRES.

91 Bí la ma wò kwa mì, ou wò nde kwa nuar kuú dí,

bí la ma wò kwa mì ou wò nde kwa nuar kuú dí
you PAST if you find me ou you go find person big some

92 wò wa, wò tue ndika mə mì Bankim sua ŋgue yə.(3)

wò wa wò tue ndika mə mì Bankim suaga ŋgue yə
you arrive you say from with I Bankim descend NEG.
yours

93 ma muna am ŋə, ma mì suaga, da to bë ten amŋə

ma muna am ŋə ma mì suaga da to bë ten amŋə
if thus NEG. NEG. if I descend of before us there-is

NEGATIVE

94 Ma bí né kə, bó boś njiba bó kita,

ma bí né kə bó boś njiba bó kita
if you is know they do stop Pl. cases

95 bó boś njiba le kita.(() Də mò kum, gi né man.

bó boś njiba le kita de mò kum gi né man
we do stop PAST case of me just end is thus

96 Mì ha lam né journéee lane, (1)

mì ha lam né journéee lane
I give only is today

97 ko mì né mena ka loś kwə... koś mì né mena ka loś

ko mì né mena ka loś kwə koś mì né mena ka loś
even I is thus at village tomorrow even I is thus at
village

98 ma ŋgaá kwə nuar te nde su ()

ma ŋgaá kwə nuar te nde su
if clear tomorrow person so go again-NEG

99 ma ŋgaá kwə mə nuar te nde

ma ŋgaá kwə mə nuar te nde
if clear tomorrow with person NEG. go

Gap, general throat clearing followed by a Fulfulde translation
of the discussion of road work. (Approx 4 minutes)

100 To, fam bò jù see. (2) See mè bò tèma nè hèn, to fam bò jù see see mè bò tèma nè hèn, So like do talk work work which do send is this

101 see dègwe dè nuar yè, mì tèma kwa dè nuar di. (2) see dègwe dè nuar yè mì tèma kwa dè nuar di work stay-NEG. of person yours I send put of person some

102 Non, see bè tèma nè hèn dè, Non see bè tèma nè hèn dè work ours send is this of

103 bè tèma nè see dè nuar njà, dègwe dè nuar.() bè tèma nè see dè nuar njà den né ñggwe dè nuar we send is work of person that-one stay is NEG. of person

104 Fèla lu bè nde ya yè, yì cher duà yè, ni (2) fèla lu bè nde ya yè yì cher duà yè ni like day we go there at at road there at who

105 Kè kelènèn suaga bè, mè mì là tue duóm nan?, (2) kè kelènèn suaga bè mà mì là tue duóm nan at now descend? ours with I PAST say start how

106 bi bògò hèn ma, bògò hèn bi bògò hèn ma bògò hèn thing wall this then wall this

107 Ndeka bò munù ñggwe: bò nde né ñgàà. Ndeka bò munù ñggwe bò nde né ñgàà from they think NEG. they go is climb

108 Bogo hàn nè ten.() Bogo hàn nè ten wall this is there-is

109 Ndeka bò munù ñggwe: bò nde né ñgàà Ndeka bò munù ñggwe bò nde né ñgàà must they think NEG. they go is clear

110 Bogo hàn nè ten. Ha nè bò nde nyèn njì, Bogo hàn nè ten ha nè bò nde nyèn njì wall this is there-is until is they go forget thing

111 yìlì mò lè nàà màn, ha bò nde nyèn njì mà. yìlì mò lè nàà màn ha bò nde nyèn njì mà name mine in PAST thus until they go forget thing then

112 Bogo hàn dè à nè le ten.(2) Bogo hàn dè à nè le ten wall this of it is in there-is

113 Dede né fada bì no, kèla nàà màn: Dede né fada bì no kèla nàà màn properly is like you also pass PAST thus

114 ma nuar wà tò yè, tè bò ñggèr wà: ma nuar wà tò yè tè bò ñggèr wà if person arrive before you so do insult EMP.

115 òhè, lane bò òhè kwè wà nè su mì wà.
Conclusions

ahə lane bò ahə kwa wa né su mì wa
no today Pl. no tomorrow arrive is again I say

116
ahə wò nyəgə kwa. (5)
ahə wò nyəgə kwa
no you repair put

117
to de ngə ke le bogo ki yə, mə temə ngə.
() to de ngə ke le bogo ki yə mə temə ngə
before stay NEG. look in wall at there with liver insult

118
Dé mò mì je: nji par huom.
dé mò mì je nji par huom
of mine I say thing all good

119
Lane mì naá hapdi, dede mò kum, dede mò kum né hapdi.(1)
lane mì 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 mì tema boò yula, (1)
mais bí né mì tema boò yula
you is me liver do ill

121
bí bò loò bò bí né mì tema boò yula,
bí bò loò bò bí né mì tema boò yula
you Pl. village Pl. you is me liver do ill

122
ŋam ma tam di mba mì su muṣu, mì jə:
ŋam ma tam di mba mì su muṣu mì jə
because if time some freely I again think I say

123
kie (bóe,mbé) rə né tam mò mba. () tam
kie (bóe, mbé) rə né tam mò mba tam
Expletive (insult, shit) again is time mine freely time

124
tam di, mì tema boò yula (4)
tam di mì tema boò yula
time some I liver do ill

125
Tue né nji né mì boò nde na han par,
tue né nji né mì boò nde na han par
say is thing is I do go is this all

126
pat bí ḟgene ṣgua. (2) Dede bó gwan à boò,
pat bí ḟgene ṣgua dede bó gwan à boò
all you see NEG. properly they want to do

127
pat bí ḟgene be bí yə né gi ve. (3)
pat bí ḟgene be bí yə né gi ve.<
all you see hand you yours is end bad

128
Ma mì kema ??yor le ju de argi han manji man,
ma mì kema ??yor le ju de argi han manji man
if I touch body in talk of moonshine this small thus

129
le naá chie di hi? wa ka leteni han,
le naá chie di nì ma ka leteni han
PAST PAST outside some where arrive at between this

130
Mì nde yila bíi bëŋo ka centre hən, bó naá tue mba (2)
Mì nde yila bíi bëŋo ka centre hən bó naá tue mba
Conclusions

I go call together PL. at centre this they PAST say freely

131 kuare kuare bó naá tue je: mì tue ju argi kuare kuare bó naá tue je 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 ŋgwé, mì nde sie nde né kuare wa? ama ma sie ŋgwé mì nde sie nde né kuare wa but if take NEG. I go take go is beside QN.

134 bò və de ka centre hən, bò və de 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 bó kuare kuare bó ŋgue naá ŋgue bó bó kuare kuare bó ŋgue naá ŋgue they Pl. beside beside Pl. understand PAST they

137 Hən, lane mì tue sòn né chi. Leli Jauro hən lane mì tue sòn 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, wọ. Mgbe jə né ve, ama de be yə, Ga to you chief say is bad but of hand yours

140 mì tue né wọ ma bóó ŋgue tue bę. mì tue né wọ ma bóó ŋgue tue bę 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 0, wọ né mə argi ma o wọ né mə argi ma o you is with moonshine then

143 bó bó vraá né chi ma, ma bì ha sam ŋgue bó bó vraá né chi ma ma bì ha sam ŋgue we we thank is that then if you give not NEG.

144 bó bó vraá sam ŋgwə, ama bó sie báá. bó bó vraá sam ŋgwə ama bó sie báá we thank not NEG. but they take PRES.

145 Ga; Chaŋ à sie bó sie. chaŋ à sie bó sie
Conclusions

146 Nj; Ni bie naá bó ye ma, ni yə yen wa?
    ni bie naá bó ye ma ni yə yen wa
    who ask PAST us yours then who say forbid QN.

147 kə ni tə yen wa?
kə ni tə yen wa
    or who NEG. forbid QN.

148 ma bó la ha nji baá kup,
    ma bó la ha nji baá kup
    if they PAST give thing PAST all

149 wò sela sie baá bó ma.
    wò sela sie baá bó ma
    you cross take PRES. us then

150 Ma bɛ la tue né jɛ kup, argi ama,
    ma bɛ la tue né jɛ kup argi ama
    if we PAST say is say all moonshine but

151 njə bɛ́ɛ lɔɔ bɔɔ naá
    njə bɛ́ɛ lɔɔ bɔɔ naá
    thing harm village theirs PAST

152 à nji bu hɛn se yuo su naá ni wa?
    à nji bu hɛn se yuo su naá ni wa
    he thing it this NEG. leave again PAST who QN.

153 Wò le bie ka naá bó, wò le né fɛ ye yen ãɡwɛ.
    wò le bie ka naá bó wò le né fɛ ye yen ãɡwɛ
    you PAST ask at PAST us you PAST is head yours NEG.

154 Bɛ jɛ wa: yɛ yen. De ãɡwɛ jɛ: né wɔ. (3)
    bɛ jɛ wa yɛ yen de ãɡwɛ jɛ né wɔ
    we say say yours stay NEG. say is you

155 Ma nuar ma bó kwa baá guo nuar bu saá,
    ma nuar ma bó kwa baá guo nuar bu saá
    if person with they find PRES. house person him that

156 nuar bu saá bó ha bu ha ama de ju tabɛ,
    nuar bu saá bó ha bu ha ama de ju tabɛ
    person him that we give him give but of talk earth

157 de saá chî sam ãɡuɛ, nuar bu saá à ha haá
    de saá chî sam ãɡuɛ nuar bu saá à ha haá
    of that this not NEG. person him that he give give-NEG.

158 Le mun mgbe jemu chu ãɡuɛ.
    le mun mgbe jemu chu ãɡuɛ
    PAST thus chief second return NEG.

159 ga; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

160 xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

161 Nj; Ñamazon, mbo ãgam ye,
    Ñamazon mbo ãgam ye
    because divine divination yours

162 le né kɛ Kimi ama nji mɛ bó ha bé mɛ mgbe,
Conclusions

le né ke Kimi ama nji me bó ha bé ma mgbe
PAST is at Kimi but thing with they give us with chief

186

wò né ko jé ya Fakat
wò né ko jé ye fakat
you is know say say truly

163

Njì ma mgbe né ten yè
nji ma mgbe né ten yè
thing which chief is there-is say

164

nuar ma wò wa ma nji wò ha ma mgbe.
nuar ma wò wa ma nji wò ha ma mgbe
person if you arrive with thing you give with chief

165

Nuar ma wò bòô ñgwë ma, ju gi
nuar ma wò boô ñgwe ma ju gi
person if you do NEG. then talk end

166

nuar ma wò kwa manji, wò ha mgbe.
nuar ma wò kwa manji wò ha mgbe
person if you find small you give chief

167

Bé kwa né bu koš. Yar, saá ni,
bé kwa né bu koš yar saá ni
we put is it SUB.EMP. buffalo fate who

168

Ton saá ni, ni né ha nde né bu koš wa: cher nde.
ton saá ni ni né ha nde né bu koš wa cher
elephant fate who who is give go is him SUB.EMP. say road go

169

à cher nde saá ni. To à bò nyam, saá né hi wa?
à cher nde saá ni to à bò nyam saá né hi wa
he road go that who To he Pl. animal that is where QN.

170

Yar han, né hi? Ton saá né hi?
yar han né hi ton saá né hi
buffalo this is where elephant that is where

171

Ŋgui saá né hi? Mbe saá, de sen kela le tu,
ŋgui saá né hi mbe de sen kela le
tu
leopard that is where chiefly-animals that of his pass in before

172

kø kalañan bó bó yar di wula,
kø kalañan bó bó yar di wula
at now they Pl. buffalo some kill

173

bó bó nje kan wulaå
bó bó nje kan wulaå
they Pl. thing any kill-NEG

Break in recording: change of tape

174

ch; ma ju di ya gi aá, bé we su fè di.
ma ju di ya gi aá bé we su fè di
if talk of yours end PAST.we take again head some

175

Nj; Duom le ñgame, le ñgam me nde ke to saá.
Duom le ñgame le ñgam me nde ke to saá
Conclusions

start in divination in divination which go at before that

177 To, bí bọ, bí bọ, bí ọgá,
to bí bọ bí bọ bí ọgá
So you Pl. you Pl. you clear

178 To, bí bọ nyu, bí bọ nyu mbam hen, chak.
to bí bọ nyu bí bọ nyu mbam
hen chak
So you Pl. sister's-sons you Pl. sister's-sons Palace this all

179 Mì tue kwa bí də saá koń
mì tue kwa bí de saá koń
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 bọ dua ku bọ, né ni wa?
me à bọ dua ku bọ né ni wa
with he we ask big we is who QN.

182 Ke kəlehən, bí akili ju fə də de.
ke kəlehən bí akili ju fə də de
at now you intelligence talk head of sing

183 Né bí fə waá ọgue dʃə.
né bí fə waá ọgue dʃə
is you head wash NEG. then

184 Kəlehən, bí bọ nyu ka mbam hən dọŋ,
kəlehən bí bọ nyu ka mbam hən dọŋ
now you Pl. sister's-sons at Palace this all

185 le naá bọ Bam fa Bam taár bó ọgue,
le naá bọ Bam fa Bam taár bó ọgue
PAST PAST we Bam two Bam three they understand

186 bọ jə: baá su Bam fa Bam taár
bọ jə baá su Bam fa Bam taár
they say PRES. again Bam two Bam three

187 bọ ọgue bọ wa baá fə. baá su...
bọ ọgue bọ wa baá fə baá su
they understand they wash PRES. again

188 Ke kəlehən jor ọgwe bie ye gia de bí nde a.
ke kəlehən jor ọgwe bie ye gia de bí nde a bí
at now expletive NEG. ask yours end of you go to you

189 Bí boń né nan,
bí boń né nan
you do is how

190 bí fə wa ọgwe ɣə. Né baá mən oh?
nan bí fə wa ọgwe ɣə né baá mən oh
how you head wash NEG. NEG. is good thus QN.

191 Ga; Ndema, bọ ko bọ ndema bọ fam fə mə nji.
Conclusions

Lobon Zebedee gives a fulfulde summary of some of this discussion, then, after prompting (by Nj) continues to give Fulfulde resumé of the proposed road building programmes: the road linking Somié to Sambalambo and Banyo as well as the new road to Bankim via Nyamboya.

196 ch; To jemu saá ju... wò kô né le...
   To after that talk you know is in...

197 le chië yula chop chén,
   le chië yula chop chén
   in day ten and-numeral one

198 le wë më kelahan da, bô Mbor bô, bô le naâ dëna.
   le wë më kelahan da bô Mbor bô bô le naâ dëna
   in moon which now of Pl. Mbor Pl. they PAST PAST here

199 (2) Bô le wa baá dëna, (1) tap kum né bôô leteni nuar.
   bô le wa baá dëna tap kum né bôô leteni nuar
   they PAST arrive PAST here war old is do between person

200 Jemu saá ma bí () bí chulu baá sôn, bí nyën njì tap da. (3)
   jemu saá ma bí bí chulu baá sôn bí nyën njì
   after that if you you close PRES. mouth you forget thing

201 Bô le wa baá dëna, edeiku më bí wa chili né ju,
   bô le wa baá dëna edeiku më bí wa chili né ju
   they PAST arrive PRES. here begin with you arrive close? is talk

202 bí né kô ndeka ka tu:  
   bí né kô ndeka ka tu
   you is know from at before

203 ma bô le wa baá dëna baá mbi mbôô mba.()  
   ma bô le wa baá dëna baá mbi mbôô mba
   if they PAST arrive PRES. here PRES. occasion many freely

204 Derua naá, bô më fë bon ma.
Conclusions

derua naá bó mə fa bon ma
paper PAST they with head theirs then

205 Bam mbiliŋ mbọŋ bó naá dönë nde.(1)
bam mbiliŋ mbọŋ bó naá dönë nde
Bam times many they PAST here go

206 To lu hän bó le cho baá sua dönë, (3)
to lu hän bó le cho baá sua dönë
before day this we PAST chop PRES. sua here

207 bí əgene əgor mə kela mana jemu hän
bí əgene əgor mə kela mana jemu hän
you see declaration with pass thus after this

208 mə dönë maá hän pat, (2)
mə dönë maá hän pat
which go very this all

209 né əgor bó ye.
né əgor bó ye
is speech they yours

210 Wa ka to yə, yuo yə əgor gəchén ()
wa ka to yə yuo yə əgor gəchén
say at before you leave yours declaration true

211 Nuar kan yuo dönë nde nde Mbor.
nuar kan yuo dönë nde nde Mbor
person anyone leave here go go Mbor

212 Aáa bó yə man: aá bó yə Bò Ndeba,
aáá bó yə man aá bó yə bó Ndeba
aáá 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 dönë, bó tue mena:
yuo gə Mbor nde dönë bó tue mena
leave at Mbor go here they say thus

215 Yuo dönë nde nde gə
yuo dönë nde nde gə
leave here go go at

216 Mbor bó tue mena.(2)
Mbor bó tue mena
Mbor they say thus

217 To, () dönë bó le cho baá sua le lọg bu saá
to dönë bó le cho baá sua le lọg bu saá
To here we PAST chop PRES. sua in gap her that

218 Nuar njí mə wò nde né tue, wò wa Mbor,
nuar njí mə wò nde né tue wò wa mbor
person thing which you go is say you arrive

219 mə wò lọc hən njí mə wò nde né tue.
mə wò lọc hən njí mə wò nde né tue
with you village this thing with you go is say
Conclusions

220 Nji saá faket wò naá ŋgue mə tie yə, 
nji saá faket wò naá ŋgue mə tie yə 
thing that true you PAST listen with ears yours

221 mə chié ko mə ma bó bie wò, 
mə chié ko 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 dé wò munu wò né mba, 
ça y est ma jə dé wò munu wò né mba 
ça y est if say of you think you is freely

224 allah wò wa dəné wò tue, () ma wò yuo dəné, 
allah wò wa dəné wò tue ma wò yuo dəné 
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 bó Mbor, 
baá kə bó sie kwa naá wò fada nyən ma wò né bó mbor 
PRES. at they take find PAST you like lies if you is Pl.

229 wò né kop Mbor ma, le main 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 dəné ma le main yə né boro yula ndo. 
ma wò né kop dəné 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 bó ve kən ma, 
mgbe Mbor yila mə bó ve kən ma 
chief Mbor call with Pl. woman already then

232 à le dəné, à yila bó ve. 
à le dəné à yila bó ve 
he PAST here he call Pl. woman

233 bó yə: sam 
bó yə sam 
they say not

Section not transcribed: Lōbon Zebedee gives Fulfulde summary. Sarki then added a bit more (also in Fulfulde). This was followed by an exchange between Ga and Nj about the importance of informing the women of the implications of the reconciliation with Sonkolong. The chief then talked about the arrangements for the return visit to
Sonkolong. He read from a piece of paper a list of senior men who should go. There was then discussion of how money for the taxi fare could be raised. Sarki added to this in Fulfulde. Finally the chief told everyone to wash their clothes in anticipation of the forthcoming official visit.

234 Ch;  \(\text{de hen sogo bo su nga\aa su ngam d\=a\=n bi...}\)
\(\text{de hen sogo bo su nga\aa su ngam d\=a\=n bi}\)
of this only they again clear again because here thing

235 \(\text{nji ma w\=o tue m\=i ba\=a ngaue na\=a ngaue.}\)
\(\text{nji ma w\=o tue m\=i ba\=a ngaue na\=a ngaue}\)
thing with you say me good understand PAST NEG.

236 \(\text{Bo su bo kwa bo nuar usti\=ar??}\)
\(\text{bo su bo kwa bo nuar usti\=ar}\)
they again they find Pl. person few

237 Bb; \(\text{Ndeka be duom hen, ndeka be duom hen de,}\)
\(\text{ndeka be duom hen ndeka be duom hen de}\)
must we start this must we start this of

238 \(\text{ge\=chen pat me ndeka be duom hen,}\)
\(\text{ge\=chen pat me ndeka be duom hen}\)
true all with must we start this

239 \(\text{ma nde bo gasi ba\=a de, Usur usur Allah de,}\)
\(\text{ma nde bo gasi ba\=a de usur usur Allah de}\)
if go they succinct PRES. of truly truly allah of

240 \(\text{jemu sa\=a, sa\=a nga sa\=a ba\=a see ku}\)
\(\text{jemu sa\=a sa\=a nga ba\=a see ku}\)
after that that climb that PRES. work big

241 \(\text{sa\=a ba\=a dua ma w\=o nde ye yue yue ye}\)
\(\text{sa\=a ba\=a dua ma w\=o nde ye yue yue ya}\)
that PRES. there with you go say cry cry yours

242 Nj; \(\text{Sua kum ne njai chum,}\)
\(\text{sua kum ne njai chum}\)
sua just is thing old

243 \(\text{de ngaue ya njai de fe di, ne su dua ten.}\)
\(\text{de ngaue ya njai de fe di ne su dua ten}\)
stay NEG. say thing of new some is again there there-is

244 \(\text{Nji chum chum.}\)
\(\text{nji chum chum}\)
thing old old

245 bb; \(\text{Dua ba\=a see ku\=u kum.}\)
\(\text{dua ba\=a see ku\=u kum}\)
there PRES. work big just

246 \(\text{Ma w\=o wa ba\=a see ku\=u ma w\=o kwa nji yor ye}\)
\(\text{ma w\=o wa ba\=a see ku\=u ma w\=o kwa nji yor ye}\)
if you arrive PRES. work big if you find thing body yours

247 Nj; \(\text{bo bo\=o ten: bo bo\=o mani te huane ee ee,}\)
\(\text{bo bo\=o ten bo bo\=o mani te huane ee ee}\)
they do there-is they do thus so child

248 \(\text{bo bo\=o mani te huan je: ee ee. ??}\)
Conclusions

bó bó mani tä huan ja ee ee
yeyo thus so child say

249 Bó yuo bó kwa né sua
bó yuo bé kwa né sua
we leave we put is sua

250 ha mô bu kuó nde sua ndo lu.
ha mô bu kuó nde sua ndo lu
until with he die go sua also freely

251 sua né su ten bí wé cho
sua né su ten bí wé cho
sua is again there-is you take chop

252 KG; Dê mô mô tue mê Njai hên, tue né bí:
dê mô mô tue mê Njai hên tue né bí
of me i say with Njai this say is you

253 kogo, ko mena sua,
kogo ko mena sua
stool or thus sua

254 Mave den te tabé, bu naga: Ma mì naá bu cher.<= Laughter
mave den te tabé bu naga ma mì naá bu cher.
woman stays at earth she lick if I lick it road

255 Nj; BT de ye
BT de ye
BT of yours

256 Bt; Dê mô mô tue sôn je né ke wa?
dê mô mô tue sôn je né ke wa
of me i say mouth say is what QN.

257 Gî né ka fada bó mê tue naá hên
gî né ka fada bó mê tue naá hên
end is at like place i say PAST this

258 Kp; ham ñgwe ye bó bu cher na baá bó chên-e wa?
ham ñgwe ye bó bu cher na baá bó chên-e wa
fat NEG. NEG. you her sleep PAST PRES. place one QN.

259 Bu bu cher né hi? <= Laughter
bu bu cher né hi
him her sleep is where

260 Bt; Bu cher nan
bu cher nan
her sleep how

261 Kp; Den ñgwe je à kwa nyí guo mê bó cher na kòô
den ñgwe je à kwa nyí guo mê bó cher na
kòô
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; mê tue ñgwe de jemu bu bu cher de,
 mê tue ñgwe de jemu bu bu cher de
Conclusions

I say NEG. of after her her sleep stay

264 mi tue ŋguə mə bu cher né naá koʃ
di tue ŋguə mə bu cher né naá koʃ
I say NEG. that her sleep is PAST SUB.EMP.

265 Kp; à kwa naá wò hi
à kwa naá wò hi
she find PAST you where

266 Bt; A kwa mi ke guo No kiye, ke guo No Mark, (1)
à kwa mi ke guo No kiye ke guo No Mark
she find me at house No overthere at house No Mark

267 mi le chu naá Ta, ma chibi yili baá,
mi le chu naá Ta ma chibi yili baá
I PAST return PAST Atta then night darken PAST

268 mə mi wa, mə cher ka kə dua. (1)
mə mi wa mə cher ka kə dua
with I arrive I sleep at at there

269 Kj; ha wò kulu bu kə dua kadi?
ha wò kulu bu kə dua kadi
until you bless her at there really

270 Ch; Ha à ko naá mə ke de ye wò né kə dua ma. x x x x x x x x <=
Laughter
ha à ko naá mə ke de ye wò né kə dua ma
until she know PAST with at of yours you is at there then

271 Ga; à ko naá mə ka
à ko naá mə ka
she know PAST with what

272 Bt; ama danə à tue né je nyí cher naá bu lu.
ama danə à tue né je nyí cher naá bu lu
but here she say is say who sleep PAST her anyway

273 Den ŋgwə ma. Den ŋgwə ko né mɪ.
den ŋgwə ma den ŋgwə ko né mɪ
stay NEG. then stay NEG. know is me

274 Mi, mi ne mə mwa cafe mə, mi ge sum,
mi mə ne mə mwa cafe mə mə ge sum
I I is with field coffee mine I divide remove I give
thing her

275 Mi ha nji bu kalon <= Laughter
mi ha nji bu kalon
I give thing him money

276 Nj; Degwə mwa cafe. Degwə
den né ŋgwə mwa cafe degwə
stay is NEG. field coffee stay-NEG.

277 Bt; mi tue mena nje de kan, mì je mi naá ten,
mì tue mena nje de kan mì je mi naá ten
I say thus thing of anyone I say I PAST there-is

278 ndeka luli leluli
ndeka luli leluli
Conclusions

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 mē cafe cafe tue,
amà à baá mē cafe cafe tue
but he PRES. with coffee coffee say

281 saá à né kō də yə né gəchén
saá à né kō də yə né gəchén
that he is know of say is true

282 xx; xxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxx

283 Nj; ama wō baá ju cafe tue, saá kō jə né gəchén,
amà wō baá ju cafe tue saá kō 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; xxxxxxx
xxxxxxx

286 Nj; wō baá ju cafe tue, saá kō jə né gəchén,
wō baá ju cafe tue saá kō 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 kō nan. Mì ha nje rē dī kō ŋwə
mì kō nan mì ha nje rē dī kō ŋwə
I know how I give thing again some know NEG.

289 Nj; də nyi kō ŋwə, tue kum manji ma nji naga,
də nyi kō ŋwə tue kum manji ma nji naga
of speaker know NEG. say just small if thing lick

290 bó boś naga wanyu, à tue su a nyi go mba mwe cafe
bó boś naga wanyu à tue su a nyi go mba mwe cafe
they do lick else he say again to speaker walk freely
field coffee

291 Ch; xxxxxxxx kadi
xxxxxxx kadi
xxxxxxx really

292 Bt; Ma njai naga bó... bó né koś
ma njai naga bó... bó né koś
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
Conclusions

294 Dè mò kum, mì tue naá bí, fà dön bí ye,
dè mò kum mì tue naá bí fà dön bí ye
of me just I say PAST you two all you yours

295 mì bí ko la bu,
mì bí ko la bu
I you know PAST her

296 bí te chum. Sua bon njai tale bò
bí te chum sua bon njai tale bò
you NEG. refuse sua theirs thing tradition? theirs

297 Ga; Chum de né njai mba
chum de né njai mba
refuse of is thing freely

298 KG; Dè mò kum, mì njulu nje ko ŋgwe
de mò kum mì njulu nje ko ŋgwe
of me just I eyes thing know NEG.

299 de mò mì njara di ko ŋgwe
de mò mì njara di ko ŋgwe
of me I something know NEG.

300 Ta; huom ŋgwe.
huom ŋgwe
good NEG.

301 Denè bó kwogó baá kwogó kwogó ha bó sie baá wò nde né.
dene bó kwogó baá kwogó kwogó ha bó sie baá wò
nde né here they chase PRES. chase chase until they take PRES. you
go is

302 Mèn, huom ŋgwe.
mèn huom ŋgwe
thus good NEG.

303 Ga; wò see de mè (dade,dada?) baá de saá baá see
wò see de mè (dade,dada) baá de saá baá see
you work of with exceed PRES. of that PRES. work

304 Nj; To bì ŋgwe ye, bì ma yila baá bu, ma à wa baá dané
to bì ŋgwe ye bì ma yila baá bu ma à wa
baá dané To you listen yours you "really" call PRES. her if she
arrive PRES. here

305 KG; bó kwa nji te tabe, bó bu naga.
bó kwa nji te tabe bó bu naga
they put thing at earth we it lick

306 Oui, bó kwa nji te tabe, bó bu naga.
ouï bó kwa nji te tabe bó bu naga
ouï they put thing at earth we it lick

307 Bt?; Ndeka mè à wa baá tu, ndeka bó șene
ndeka mè à wa baá tu ndeka bó șene
must with she arrive PRES. before must we see

308 Ga; bó le naga naá le jemu wa kò de bó naga nde șelóhen wa?
( )
bó le naga naá le jemu wa kò de bó naga nde
șelóhen wa

195
Conclusions

they PAST lick PAST in after QN. or of they lick go now QN.

309 Nj; bí ŋue njì mì gwan à tue kə kalahən.
bí ŋue njì mì gwan à tue kə kalahən
you listen thing I want to say at now

310 Kənə ju baá be mò.
kənə ju baá be mò
now talk PRES. hand mine

311 mì ŋgue né BT kənahən na ke sum ???ge yə hen nan
mì ŋgue né BT kənahən na ke sum ge yə
hen nan
I understand is BT now PAST look remove divide yours
this how

312 () Ņgam tue né njì wa:
ŋgam tue né njì wa
because say is thing say

313 Sua hən né njai chum,
sua hən né njai chum
sua this is thing old

314 den ŋgwə njì fe di.
den ŋgwə njì fe di
stay NEG. thing new some

315 Né njai tal bò, de tal bò rə,
né njai tal bò de tal bò rə
is thing old they of old they again

316 bɔ wa kwa naá Sua chia.
bɔ wa kwa naá sua chie
we arrive put PAST sua outside

317 Sua rə né njai tal bò,
sua rə né njai tal bò
sua again is thing old them

318 Bọ hən də, bənde kuó gi ləm sua.
bọ hən də bənde kuó gi ləm sua
we this of we go die end only sua

319 Wọ ŋgue na mba le kuó naá nuar
wọ ŋgue na mba le kuó naá nuar
you understand PAST freely PAST die PAST person

320 wọ naá ju mbar togo tue,
wọ naá ju mbar togo tue
you PAST talk square square say

321 à saá ju sie né nuar deggwə tu dọọg
à saá ju sie né nuar den né əŋgwə tu dọọg
he that talk take is person NEG. tree all

320 Kuŋ 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
Conclusions

322 Ama bí kọ baá kẹn,
ama bí kọ baá kẹn
but you know PRES. already

323 bí tue je bọ kọ baá.
bí tue je bọ kọ baá
you say say we know PRES

324 Aa mú tue naá dẹn je,
aa mú tue naá dẹn je
aa I say PAST here say

325 ama bó yila wuli baá re bu kẹn,
amá bó yila wuli baá re bu kẹn
but they call bring PRES. again him already

326 ama à jẹ:
amá à jẹ
but he say

327 øwẹ nyí te tema bí.
øwẹ 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 ndeká tu, mẹ bó né ya bu yila ọgwe ye de,
ndeká tu me bó né ya bu yila ọgwe ye de
from before with they is say him call NEG. NEG. of

330 bí gwan, bí gwan ka den jẹ: nyí à.
bí gwan bí gwan ka den jẹ nyí à
you want you want at here say speaker to

331 Huru Kum baá dẹ, né nji nyẹn.
huru kum baá dẹ né nji nyẹn
shrink-away just PRES. of is thing lies

332 Mọ wọ bóọ ọ-he dẹ, gwan né bó sadum.
mọ wọ bóọ ọ-he de gwan né bó sadum
with you do yes of want is Pl. hard

333 (3) To bí né kọ dẹ mì nde à lane dẹn,
to bí né kọ dẹ mì nde à lane dẹn
So you is know of me go to today here

334 ma chiẹ fada ???gwan-e mì nde suú () ke baá bu.()
ma chiẹ fada ???gwan-e mì nde suú ke baá bu
if day like want I go again-NEG look PRES. him

335 Kogo baji jaá wa? (2)
kogo baji jaá wa
stool laugh QN.

336 KG; aa nji né dẹ mì sọ ko ọgwe,
aa nji né dẹ mì sọ ko ọgwe
aa thing is of me NEG. know NEG.

337 mì gwan we ka, øọ mì jẹ mì ko baá wa?
mì gwan we ka øọ mì jẹ mì ko baá wa
I want take at I say I know PRES. QN.
Conclusions

338 Nj; M₁ bie né ka dₑ bie ni.(4)
I ask is at of ask very??

339 KG; Ndeka m₁ tue je fade mₑ m₁ ko naá ndo
must I say say like with I know PAST also

340 Nj; Ama() ha mₑ mgbe tema naá dₑ,
but until with chief sends PAST of

341 tₑ tue m₁ ko de saa tₑ bé gué.
so say I know of that so we understand

342 Bí na ke Mbam hën, bí yila hapdi wa dua.
you PAST at Palace this you call fight arrive there

343 Bó wa, bó tue m₁ oho nyí ko ŋgwₑ.
they arrive they say me oho speaker know NEG.

344 Ko mena BT tue na mena, koósBT tue na men.
or thus BT say PAST thus even BT say PAST thus

345 BT dₑ sen, à tue nₑ m₁ nyí ko né koós,
BT of his he say NEG. me speaker know is SUB.EMP.

346 à tue ñɡa nyí ko né koós,
he say NEG. speaker know is SUB.EMP.

347 dₑ hën né ngàm nyí ??njerẹdi ko ŋguₑ.
of this is because speaker something know NEG.

348 Ma bó gwan né baá nji ke, bó boş.
if they want is PRES. thing look they do

349 XX; Sebatu yᵉ
sebatu yᵉ
goodbye yours

350 ch; To (1)
to

351 Nj; Bí gwan de bó yₑ, bó nde je wa: bé kulu né sua nyën.
you want of they say they go say say we bless is sua lies

352 M₁ gwan né ŋguₑ.(2) Bé, bé tue né m₁ je bí chu cham ndo,
I want is NEG. we we say is I say you return refuse then

353 ama dₑ bí gwan né ŋguₑ ndo.(3)
ama de bí gwan né ŋguₑ 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 ðe mò né ka kiye bè dape.
tue ðe mò né ka kiye bè dape
say of me is at overthere place far

356 Né chi såa hën mì nde naá.
né chi såa hën mì nde naá
is that that this I go PAST

357 Mì mbo, mì ??mberi mba dè njè: lu ??geri baá manji
mì mbo mì ??mberi mba dè njè lu geri baá manji
I myself I consider freely of say day lean PRES. small

358 ??mì se mun su nda se chu??
??mì se mun su nda se chu
I NEG. thus again young men NEG. return

359 lu mbo geri su à manji mani ðe mberi na njè:
lu mbo geri su à manji mani ðe mberi naá njè
day itself lean again he small thus consider PAST thing

360 mì nde mì gene baá wò, saá tə
mì nde mì gene baá wò saá tə
I go I see PRES. you that so

361 mì boó su a gu. à ke mì
mì boó su a gu à ke mì
I do again to walk he look me

362 lè nde naá sarega guna mò gə Njwe,
lè nde naá sarega guna mò gə Njwe
in go PAST funeral-feast parent-in-law mine at Njwe

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 boó boó tena sum dè bu manji hën
mì boó boó tena sum dè bu manji hën
I them do cut-through remove of it small this

366 Yaŋi; Barka ma. ðe mò, cher mò né dapsi,
barka ma ðe mò cher mò né dapsi
fate then of me road mine is long

367 de sen Njwe à né ka loó ma.
de sen Njwe à né ka loó ma
of his NEG. he is at village then

368 Ch; Sam, lane ðe lane à tene nde à ki chén.
sam lane ðe lane à tene nde à ki chén
not today of today he break go he at true

369 Njáa Njwe bó chu
Conclusions

ŋaga ŋgwe bó chu
clear NEG. they return

370 Xx; xxxxxxxxxx

371 Ga; né njai kogo
né njai kogo
is thing stool

372 Bébé; à tue ñene ñgwe né nan nji à
à tue ñene ñgwe né nan nji à
he say see NEG. is how thing to

373 Ga; Dé mò mì tue nji kogo
dé mò mì tue nji kogo
of me I say thing stool

374 Bébé; xxxxxxx

375 Nj; < Dé mò mì bó su re kéléhén wa? Dé mò mì nde a.<=
Laughter

dé mò mì bó su re kéléhén wa dé mò mì nde a
of me I do again again now QN. of me I go to

376 Ch; Dé kéléhén ju baá be bon.
dé kéléhén ju baá be bóon
of now talk PRES. hand theirs

377 Ma né “ọọ” né “ọọ” ma, to.
ma né “ọọ” né “ọọ” ma to
if is yes is yes then So

378 Ma né “aḥa” ma bó kela nde te to nde.
ma né “aḥa” ma bó kela nde te to nde
if is no if we pass go so before go

379 NJ; Kéláhén mgbe a, hën () ju bó...
kéláhén mgbe a hën ju bó
now chief to this talk theirs

380 ju bó... Bó, bó, kó bó yila mave,
ju bó... bó bó kó bó yila mave
talk theirs They they even they enter woman

381 bó bó bó naga sua.
bó bó bó naga sua
they do lick sua

382 To ma mì chu chum mì jé:
to ma mì chu chum mì jé
So if I return return I say

383 buwada xxxxxx bó yila be bó naga sua,
buwada xxxxxx bó yila be bó naga sua
bush-knife they call hand theirs lick sua

384 ụgàm mì munu ka le mò.
ụgàm mì munu ka le mò
because I think at in mine

385 Ju mave... ma die a tabé
ju mave ma die a tabé
talk woman if fall to earth
Conclusions

à xxxxx mba yuo nde suú
à xxxxx mba yuo nde suú
she freely leave go again-NEG

386

Naá ñuna ni wa
naá ñuna ni wa
PAST child who QN.

387

To, () guna () see bé see ti,
to guna see bé see ti
So parent-in-law work we work stupid

388

bé kubu kubu ñaga,
bé kubu kubu ñaga
we open open clear

389

ñaga bé doŋ pat kubu ti né ñgwa ()
ñaga bé doŋ pat kubu ti né ñgwa
clear we all all open stupid is NEG.

390

To, njai m© b© tue naá,
to njai m© b© tue naá
To thing with they say PAST

391

wò ñue né ñue
wò ñue né ñue
you listen is listen

392

Bí né ???be sogo ke be ye
bí né ???be sogo ke be ye
you is hand only at hand yours

393

Ndeka bí be nyag© su nd©
ndeka bí be nyag© su nd©
must you hand repair again also

394

gw; bon, M© kum, ha kwe nde b© huan
bon m© kum ha kwe nde b© huan
bon I just until tomorrow come Pl. child

395

hen kum bí sum ñwe m© njara©
hen kum bí sum ñwe m© njara©
this just you remove NEG. me something

396

ndeka m© yuo te tab©.
ndeka m© yuo te tab©
must I leave at earth

397

M© ne ko de ja ju sua
M© ne ko de ja ju sua
I is know of say talk sua

398

ke loó mò, nji m© kulu sam ñwe.
ke loó mò nji m© kulu sam ñwe
at village mine thing which I bless not NEG.

399

M© kw©go kwa de lu,
M© kw©go kwa de lu
I chase find of SUB.EMP.

400

b© di b© kw©go kwa de loó,
b© di b© kw©go kwa de loó

401
they other they chase find of village

402 bó dí kwọọ mën: kela baá bè man.
they other chase thus pass PRES. place thus

403 Bu bó mì tue né je ()
he they me say is say

404 de ọ̀wọ́ je bó boó né më nje man sam ọ̀wọ́
de ọ̀wọ́ je bó boó né më nje man sam ọ̀wọ́
stay NEG. say they do is with thing small not NEG.

405 To mì () mava yila guo,
406 nde ma a yila guo,
go if she enter house

407 mì mbo mì luge më nje. Né su lane wa.
I myself I fight with thing is again today QN.

408 Nj; Né mena bon ma naá ọgam ha naá wò kọ
né mena bon ma naá ọgam ha naá wò kọ
is thus theirs if PAST divination until PAST you know

409 gw; Mì luge baá le luge,
I fight PRES. PAST fight

410 mì kela mì bie bu.
I pass I ask her

411 Kẹ kelshẹ̀n baán wa baá. Mì kwa tu mì ha nji bẹ̀rẹ̀di
ke kelshẹ̀n baán wa baá mì kwa tu mì ha nji
bẹ̀rẹ̀di
at now illness arrive PRES. I find before me until
thing some-place

412 bó tue yë né gechén baán bó wa baá
they say is true illness them arrive PRES.

413 Baán wa baá baán ndo
illness arrive PRES. illness also

414 Vẹ̀ mò mì ọgene né ma wò tue ọgwa mbo
woman mine I see is if you say NEG. freely

415 saá baán yila (1)
that illness enter

416 Ko si ma kwa mì jẹ dẹ sen A ko ọgwa, ???lu mì.
even husband if find I say of his she know NEG freely me
Conclusions

417 No () ama wa: oui mi nde, nuar han tue,
no ama wa oui mi nde nuar han tue
also but say I go person this say

418 tue, nuar han tue bu koɔ ph < = blows raspberry
 tue nuar han tue bu koɔ ph
say person this say him SUB.EMP.

419 Nde bo mgbe bo yila bu koɔ ph < = blows raspberry
 nde bo mgbe bo yila bu koɔ ph
go Pl. chief they call her SUB.EMP.

420 nji me ka () ndem ndem ()
nji me ka ndem ndem
thing with at just-that

421 dua mi nuar një, mi kwa kwa je mi a : "ehe"
dua mi nuar një mi kwa kwa je mi a "ehe"
there I person that-one I put put say me to no

422 Ma né nyen, Ma né gachèn,
ma né nyen ma né gachèn
if is lies if is true

423 Nj; ha né ggam ñgam
ha né ggam ñgam
until is divination divination

424 gw; ma à wòŋ lu
ma à wòŋ lu
if he avoid SUB.EMP.

425 à tue né gachèn
à tue né gachèn
he say is true

426 Dë mò, watene, bè më më yila jolori dë,
dë mò watene bè më më yila jolori dë
of me say we which I call Palace of

427 mi tue né je bo yila bo huan
mi tue né je bo yila bo huan
I say is say they call Pl. child

428 ñgam të mi bie fada sedako mò
ñgam të mi bie fada sedako mò
because so I ask like witness mine

429 Nj; aha, né ka mun
aha né ka mun
mmmmmm is at thus

430 gw; ma bo ko ñgwë bo yuo nji bon.
ma bo ko ñgwë bo yuo nji bon
if they know NEG. they leave thing theirs

431 To, dë mò mi tue né je kë kelahen lanen ()
to dë mò mi tue né je kë kelahen lanen
To of mine I say is say at now today

432 yuli fe hên bo,
yuli fe hên bo
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 boó wò.
yuli boó wò
shame do you

436 Nj; boó ngwe, boó ngwe, boó ngwe
boó ngwe boó ngwe boó ngwe
do NEG. do NEG. do NEG.

437 gw; To bí nde a. () Saá dè mò ha gi a, hên gi a kən.
to bí nde a saá dè mò ha gi a hên gi a kən
To you go to that of mine until end to this end to
already

438 Nj; Sam ngwe nde bie ka bie ni. () Bie ka bie ni!
sam ngwe nde bie ka bie ni bie ka bie ni
not NEG. go ask at ask very ask at ask very

439 Bí te cham de.
bí te cham de
you NEG. refuse stay

440 gw; Bó vulu. Dè mò mì tue né je bó vulu
bó vulu dè mò mì tue né je bó vulu
they leave of me I say is say they leave

441 fabé mì tue né hên de. Gi né fabé mani
fabé mì tue né hên de gi né fabé mani
like I say is this of end is like thus

442 ng; Dè be kum bê bie nde su
dè be kum bê bie nde su
of hand old we ask go again-NEG

443 Nj; Mì le cham sam ngwe.
mì le cham sam ngwe
I PAST refuse not NEG.

444 Mì naá ha njai cham de sam ngwe
mì naá ha njai cham de sam ngwe
I PAST until thing refuse of not NEG.

445 gw; Dè mò kum, mì gwan a gède fabé hên
dè mò kum mì gwan a gède fabé hên
of me just I want to precisely like this

446 ng; Dè mò, mì gwan fade gède hên
dè mò mì gwan fade gède hên
of me I want like precisely this
Conclusions

447 Nj; Ju né sòn sam ngwe
   ju né sòn sam ngwe
   talk is mouth not NEG.

448 XX; NG a, de sen: a né ma sòn sam ngwe
    NG a de sen a né ma sòn sam ngwe
    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 Yiaggi; 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 ya né tue mè wò né de ye tue,
   né tele ye né tue mè wò né de ye tue
   is father yours is say with you is of yours say

452 saá dua tue wò kò né de yə ke ma
   saá dua tue wò kò né de yə ke ma
   that there say you know is of yours at then

453 Bb; Hen njì me bë gwan né tue də, bí né də bì kò wa?
   hen njì me bë gwan né tue də bí né də bì kò wa
   this thing with we want is say of you is of you know QN.

454 Nj; GW a, njì me boô né wò né kò wa.
    GW a njì me boô né wò né kò wa
    GW to thing which do is you is know QN.

455 Ju sua, sua né njai chum saá né talebo.
   ju sua né njai chum saá né talebo
   talk sua sua is thing old that is tradition

456 To ama bô nuar mè dëna jemu dua, bô tue yə:
   to ama bô nuar mè dëna jemu dua bô tue yə
   So but Pl. person with here after there they say say

457 de Ñenefì a te sòn tue, am ngwe lem né tele sen.
    de NG a te sòn tue am ngwe lem né tele sen
    of NG he at mouth say NEG. NEG. only is father his

458 Aâa bô chum ke né bô.
   aâa bô chum ke né bô
   aâa they refuse look is them

459 bô né gwan, ke né mëna bô. Sua né njai chum.
    bô né gwan ke né mëna bô 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 gë chie dë.
    bí fa bí yuo baá gu bí yuo kela gë chie dë
    you two you leave PRES. walk you leave pass at outside of

461 Ha mgbe a tue tue naâ bí yə, bí ndée baá bí ndée baá.
    ha mgbe a tue tue naâ bí yə bí ndée baá bí
    until chief he say say PAST you yours you come PRES. you
    come PRES.
Conclusions

462 Ọnemedọọ; Aaa bí nde de bí hi wa?
    aaa bí nde de bí hi wa
    aaa you go of you where QN.

463 XX; Bí yuo kela ka chie, mgbe sum naá bó ko waá
    bí yuo kela ka chie mgbe sum naá bó ko
    you leave pass at outside chief remove PAST them SUB.EMP.
    QN.

464 Bb; Mgbe sum naá bí koō wa.
    mgbe sum naá bí koō wa
    chief remove PAST you SUB.EMP. QN.

465 Ama de a tue naá bí yē bí ndée baá de bí ndée.
    ama de a tue naá bí yē bí ndée baá de bí ndée
    but of he say PAST you yours you come PRES. of you come

466 Ha bí ndée baá wanyu.
    ha bí ndée baá wanyu
    until you come PRES. else

467 XX; bó nde né hi wa?
    bó nde né hi wa
    they come is where QN.

468 Yiagi; Bí muyni
    bí muyni
    you patience

469 Nj; Mgbe de sen wa ọgwe yē, ha de bí bí yuo baá jemu.
    mgbe de sen wa ọgwe yē ha de bí bí yuo baá
    chief of his QN. NEG. NEG. until of you you leave PRES.
    after

470 Bí yuo nde né ham nan aaa.
    bí yuo nde né ham nan aaa
    you leave go is until how aaa

471 gw; Né njai kweka be mò.
    né njai kweka be mò
    is thing small hand mine

472 TT; Kadi de keləshen de, ma ko baá wò jē:
    kadi de keləshen de ma ko baá wò jē
    really of now of if know PRES. you say

473 ọha mi ko baá, ma ko ọgwe,
    ọha mi ko baá ma ko ọgwe
    yes I know PRES. if know NEG.

474 wò jē: ọha mi ko ọgwe. De saa gi né mena
    ọgwe wò jē ọha mi ko ọgwe de saa gi né mena
    you say yes I know NEG. of that end is thus

475 gw; Se boō, mì bie ọgwe, ma mì bie baá kən,
    se boō mì bie ọgwe ma mì bie baá kən
    NEG. do I ask NEG. if I ask PRES. already

476 sua mì sie ọgwe.
    sua mì sie ọgwe
    sua me take NEG.
Conclusions

De mò mi wa leteni hën dé, ma mì bie baá,
de mò mi wa leteni hën dé ma mì bie baá
of me I arrive between this of if I ask PRES.

de mò gi né lem fada men dé.
de mò gi né lem fada men dé
of me end is only like thus of

Yiaŋi; əə baá baá BT
əə baá baá BT
PRES. PRES. BT

Naá la gwan a, tê dole njì mè gi né sam ñgwè,
naá la gwan a tê dole njì mè gi né sam ñgwè
PAST PAST want to so cool thing which end is not NEG.
njì mè bó ñene ñgwè sam ñgwè ndo.
njì mè bó ñene ñgwè sam ñgwè ndo
thing with they see NEG. not NEG. also

dà; De saá dé, se den ñgwè njè fe. De saá,
de saá dé se den ñgwè njè fe de saá
of that of NEG. stay NEG. thing new of that

saá den né njai talebo.
saá den né njai talebo
that stay is thing old

Yiaŋi; To ke káloñ, bó bie njì mè bì.
tó ke káloñ bó bie njì mè bì
To at now they ask thing with you

BT tê tabé leli mba mè bó kuku bó churrep,
 BT tê tabé leli mba mè bó kuku bó churrep
 at earth yesterday freely with Pl. elder Pl. quiet

mè bó tue njì mè bó hán dé
mè bó tue njì mè bó hán dé
which they say thing with they this of

tê tabé hàn dé, le ləm ko baá, bí bó kuku bó churrep.
tê tabé hàn dé le ləm ko baá bí bó kuku bó
churrep
 at earth this of PAST only know PRES. you Pl. elder Pl. quiet

Hèn ma mì yila BT dè, tue né yə: né neguñ bó
hèn ma mì yila BT dè tue né yə né neguñ bó
this if I call of say is yours is ancestors ours

Bb; dé né a gwan dè a tue dè.
dé né a gwan dè a tue dè
of is he want of he say of

Yiaŋi tue né jë: neguñ mè yila né dè ()
Yiaŋi tue né jë neguñ ma yila né dè
Yiaŋi say is say ancestors with call is of

Yiaŋi; To () ke káloñ mè njì saá ko húom né yə:
tó ke káloñ mè njì saá ko húom né yə
To at now with thing that even good is say
Conclusions

nde ka wò yila wuli nuar ku di,
nde ka wò yila wuli nuar ku di
must you call bring person big some

bì nde ã ã jou wò tue bu ã ã: nyí ko baá saá.
bì nde ã ã jou wò tue bu ã ã: nyí ko baá saá
you go at after you say him yours speaker know PRES. that

ŋgàm kè wa? Nuar mè bó kwa né bu le kogo hën.
ŋgàm kè wa nuar mè bó kwa né bu le kogo hën
because what QN. person with they put is him in stool this

Bò jè: a né huan mani, ama kè kelehe n a baá nuar ku.
bò jè: a né huan mani ama kè kelehen a baá nuar

they say he is child small but at now he PRES. person big

Je: ma wò ko ŋgwè xxxx jiba né ma wò je nyí
je ma wò ko ŋgwè xxxx jiba né ma wò je nyí
say if you know NEG. stop is if you say speaker

ko ŋgwè ndo saá wò ko ŋgwè.
ko ŋgwè ndo saá wò ko ŋgwè
know NEG. also that you know NEG.

Mì den dua ma ko ŋgwè wò je nyí ko ŋgwè.
Mì den dua ma ko ŋgwè wò je nyí ko ŋgwè
I here ask if know NEG. you say speaker know NEG.

Ama wò ko baá wò yila wò nde né nuar ku di,
ama wò ko baá wò yila wò nde né nuar ku di
but you know PRES. you call you go is person big some

wò tue bu, wò je bu a: nyí ko baá.
wò tue bu wò je bu a nyí ko baá
you say him you say him to speaker know PRES.

ŋgàm le moço GW fe né bé, bé lie.
ŋgàm le moço GW fe né bé bé lie
because in group GW head is us we remain

Ma wò ko baá, ko wò ??tem na mena bu be tu lu,
ma wò ko baá ko wò ??tem na mena bu be tu
lu
if you know PRES. even you touch PAST thus her hand before day

saá wò gwan.
saá wò gwan
that you want

Wa: wò foti baá de mè wò yila nuar di,
wa wò foti baá de mè wò yila nuar di
say you can PRES. of with you call person some

wò je bu a ndée, de nyí ko baá,
wò je bu a ndée de nyí ko baá
you say him to come of speaker know PRES.

nyí tema baá bu be tu lu.
nyí tema baá bu be tu lu
speaker send PRES. him hand before freely
Conclusions

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 Dë han né njì mə nyí boó naá. Nde tue boó ye.
dë han né njì mə nyí boó naá nde tue boó ye
 of this is thing with speaker do PAST go say do yours

509 Ama de nyí boó baá man. Han né ṅgor de bë.
am de nyí boó baá man han né ṅgor de bë
 but of speaker do PRES. thus this is declaration of we

510 Bọ ko né ye: de à né bè fabé man.
bọ ko né ye de à né bè fabé man
 they know is yours of it is place like thus

511 Yor bí ye duóm ṅge: né njai chum.
yor bí ye duóm ṅge né njai chum
 body you yours start NEG. is thing old

512 Ch; Bëbë jëgo nde ke ke di ye
 Bëbë jëgo nde ke ke di ye
 B|b| carry go look look of yours

513 Nj; Né njai chum, fe yor bí ye duóm ṅgwe
 né njai chum fe yor bí ye duóm ṅgwe
 is thing old shame body you yours start NEG.

514 ch; to bien sur ṅgue bọ ṅue () de bë, bë,
to bien sur ṅgue bọ ṅue de bë bë
 So bien sur listen they listen of we we

515 bọ kita bọ,
bọ kita bọ
 Pl. cases Pl.

516 wateni dole, bọ gwan baá se yuo nde né mëna.
wateni dole bọ gwan baá se yuo nde né mëna
 say cool they want PRES. NEG. leave go is thus

517 Bọ boó gwan mëna lane
 bọ boó gwan mëna lane
 they do want thus today

518 wò tue mëna "aha" mì la jë wò la jë éééé
c wò tue mëna "aha" mì la jë wò la jë éééé
 you say thus no I PAST say you PAST say yes

519 e e yuo né ṅgwe.
e e yuo né ṅgwe
 leave is NEG.

520 Dë kita kam, ma nuar wa, ha njì a wò kita
dë kita kam ma nuar wa ha njì a wò kita
 of case just if person arrive until thing to you case

521 ñë wò boó ṅgwe saá wò munu né,
ñë wò boó ṅgwe saá wò munu né
 no you do NEG that you think is

522 ma bó ha njì a kita re, kita boó nde ne koós.
ma bó ha njì a kita re kita boó nde ne koós
Conclusions

if they give thing to case again case do go is SUB.EMP.

523 Di yë bó ha nji kita parce que yogo ne lu.
di yë bó ha nji kita parce que yogo né lu

524 Ga; xxxx

525 Ch; Wò wa le nji kita, de kita kam,
wò wa le nji kita de kita kam

526 useni ma nuar wa kita,
useni ma nuar wa kita

526 bì vulu tema te ma nuar wa më nji,
bì vulu tema te ma nuar wa më nji

527 wò jë: Mì yë bó di mën
wò jë: mì yë bó di mën

528 Di yë kita sam ñgwe. ë? Di yë kita sam ñgwe.
di yë kita sam ñgwe ë di yë kita sam ñgwe

529 Ma wò yuo wa de kita wò fela,
ma wò yuo wa de kita wò fela

530 bë xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx man
bë xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx man

531 wò fela, wò ke ka bó yuo ke tu
wò fela wò ke ka bó yuo ke tu

532 ëëëë, kita né baá man.
ëëëë kita né baá man

533 Gëchéñ, nyëñ, bó tare tare tare tare pat
gëchéñ nyëñ bó tare tare tare tare pat

534 gëchéñ bó nyëñ
gëchéñ bó nyëñ

535 Yiajì?; saá wò tuë ñgwe ha bó gi ndë sön bon
saá wò tuë ñgwe ha bó gi ndë sön bon

536 Ch; ëëëë, saá né kita
ëëëë saá né kita

537 Nj; xxxxxxxxxx

538 KG; xxxxxxxxxx
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: Baba
Bt: one of the accused.
Ch: The Chief
Ga: Gamia
Gw: Ng's Father
Jb: Jacob
Kg: the other accused youth.
Kp: Kotap Jeremy
Mb: Mbinyu Paul/Taillu
MS: Sondue
Ng: the husband of the woman who allegedly committed adultery.
Ni: Ngomni
Nj: Njaibi
Ny: Nyakati
Ta: Tetiya
Tt: Tamtam
Wb: 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 ŋgwə chi, mì tue ŋgwə chi
   I say NEG. that

2 XX; Hèn hèn hèn
   hèn hèn hèn
   This This This

3 Ny; sèye, mì tue naá chi ndo, à tue ŋgwə nan?
   sèye mì tue naá chi ndo à tue ŋgwə nan
   Saye I say PAST that "then" he say NEG. how

4 Bí je wa: ma bó gwan baá kən, ma bó gwan nji,
   bí je wa ma bó gwan baá kən ma bó gwan nji
   you say say if they want PRES already if they want thing
   [ ]

5 Ga;
   ??mgbe bó kɔ́ ə tena ŋgwə ma
   ??mgbe bó kɔ́ ə tena ŋgwə ma
   chief them SUB.EMP. take NEG. "really"

6 Ny; bó gwan baá kən ma. Ma bó gwan baá kən, bó kulu sua
   bó gwan baá kən ma ma bó gwan baá
   kən bó kulu sua
   they want PRES already "really" If they want PRES already
   they bless sua

7 dé Gw à tue naa mən ma
   dé Gw à tue naa mən ma
   of Gw he say PAST thus "really"

8 XX; xxxxx
Conclusions

9 Ny; Den ŋgwə à nde ne ma togo wanyu.  
Den ŋgwə à nde ne ma togo wanyu  
Here NEG. he go is with quarrel surely

10 À togo nde ŋgwə. (..) Bò wə, à tue ləm ne de mane.()  
À togo nde ŋgwə bó wə à tue ləm ne de mane  
he quarrel go NEG. they take he say only is of thus

11 Mb;  
nde ŋgwə  
nde ŋgwə  
go NEG.

12 Ny; Bí mbo ma la ne le... ŋue yə.ne gəchén wa.?  
bí mbo ma la ne le ŋgue yə...ne gəchén wa  
you divine then PAST is PAST listen yours at true QN.

13 Nj; Aaa mì, nuar nje mba, ama bó, ma bó gwan ne ŋgwə sua kulu,  
aaa mì nuar nje mba ama bó ma bó gwan ne ŋgwə 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, bó kulu ndugu mba wa?  
amá lane bó kulu ndugu mba wa  
but today they bless mendaciously? freely QN.

16 Mb; Bò njì ləm ne yor bóó...  
bó njì ləm ne yor bóó  
Pl. thing only is body theirs

17 bó chén di ne dana, chén di ne wa ŋgwə yə  
bó chén di ne dana, chén di ne wa ŋgwə yə  
they one some is here one some is arrive NEG. NEG.

18 XX;  
shəə  
yes

19 Mb; bó gwan ne sôn, bó doóŋ  
bó gwan ne sôn bó doóŋ  
they want is mouth them all

20 Ny; doóŋ doóŋ ne gəchén wa. Guna doóŋ ne ???chəŋi  
doóŋ doóŋ ne gəchén wa guna doóŋ ne ???chəŋi  
all all is at true QN. son-in-law all is ???change

21 Jb; Mì tue ŋgwə  
mì tue ŋgwə  
I say NEG.

22 Mb; xxxxxxx nyí ko ləm ne bó tele,  
xxxxxxx nyí ko ləm ne bó tele  
speaker know only is Pl. father

23 Gw; À mbo tele ŋgam... mə huan xxxxx  
À mbo tele ŋgam mə huan xxxxx  
he divines father because with child

24 Ny; doóŋ ne gí ki chén.
Conclusions

214

25 AA sôn baá dóng pat ne gi ki chén məna.
   aa sôn baá dóng pat ne gi ki chén məna
   all is end at onethus

26 Gw; Bɔ tele dóng ne ki chén
   bɔ tele dóng ne ki chén
   Pl. father all is at one

27 Nj; ̧ȩȩ ȩȩ ȩȩ

28 Gw; ɗgwe yə, ɗgwe yə. Wò ɗgwe də ɗgwe.
   ɗgwe yə ɗgwe yə wò ɗgwe də ɗgwe
   listen yours listen yours you listen of listen

29 Mì tue ɗgwe yə: tele. Mì ko tele də hi?
   mì tue ɗgwe yə tele mì ko tele də hi
   I say NEG. say father I know father of where

30 Mì jə: mì ko ləm ne tele.
   mì jə mì ko ləm ne tele
   I say I know only is father

31 Tele mò Lucas bɔ Mgbe.
   tele mò Lucas bɔ mgbe
   father mine Lucas Pl. chief

32 Mì tue ɗgwe tele: wò bie nji wa?
   mì tue ɗgwe tele wò bie nji wa
   me say NEG. father you ask thing QN.

33 aa (.) Wò tue mì: (.) mì jə mì ko ləm ne bɔ tele,
   aa wò tue mì mì jə mì ko ləm ne bɔ tele
   aa you say me I say I know only is Pl. father

34 də me ve ne hən də.
   də me ve ne hən de
   of with woman is This of

35 Ma bɔ jə bɔ wə nde ne ki wa?
   ma bɔ jə bɔ wə nde ne ki wa
   If they say they take go is at QN.

36 bɔ nde kalɔn be yə, bɔ nde nji bɔɔ ko ḅgaurderı nde.
   bɔ nde kalɔn be yə bɔ nde nji bɔɔ koɔ
   ngaundere nde
   they go money hand yours they go thing do SUB.EMP.
   ngaundere go

37 bɔ nde lɔ wa?
   bɔ nde lɔ wa
   they go treat QN.

38 ???Keri bu bɔ tue wò, tə bɔ kulu sum.
   ???keri bu bɔ tue wò tə bɔ kulu sum
   If him they say you so they bless remove

39 Nj; ̧ȩȩ dɔ̧ng ̧ȩȩȩȩ ̧ȩȩȩȩ
   ̧ȩȩȩȩ dɔ̧ng ̧ȩȩȩȩ ̧ȩȩȩȩ all ̧ȩȩȩȩ
Conclusions

40 Gw;
Mi bie ke ne mə bɔ tele.
Mi bie ke ne mə bɔ tele
I ask look is with Pl. father

41 Nj;
aa dua dua ke kaləhen tele ten am ne ŋgwə,
aa dua dua ke kaləhen tele ten am ne ŋgwə
aa there there at now father there-is NEG. is NEG.

42 GA bɔ mbə telə.
GA bɔ mbə telə am ne ŋgwə
GambəA Pl. chief there-is NEG. is NEG.

43 Ma ve saa mə bɔ nde bu jəgo,
ma ve saa mə bɔ nde bu jəgo
If woman that with they go her marry

44 bɔ tele temə naa bu koˈso wa.
bɔ tele temə naˈa bu koˈso wa
Pl. father sends PAST her SUB.EMP. QN.

45 Gw;
Ju jəgo naa kpọŋ ju ve naˈa (.) Mì jə bí vulu.
ju jəgo naa kpọŋ ju ve naˈa mì jə bí vulu
talk marry PAST main-road talk bad PAST I say you leave

46 Ga?;
Mgbe koˈso temə am ŋgwə
mgbe koˈso temə am ŋgwə
chief SUB.EMP. there-is NEG. NEG.

47 XX;
xxxxxxxx bə naga ŋgwə
xxxxxxx bə naga ŋgwə
we lick NEG.

48 xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx ma bə naga ŋgwə
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx ma bə naga ŋgwə
if we lick NEG.

49 Gw;
xxxx xxx () xxxx ənəne
xxxx xxx xxxx ənəne

50 NG;
mgbe kə ter tue nde ki yə den ka noŋ
mgbe kə ter tue nde ki yə den ka noŋ
chief at up say go at yours stay at peace

51 Gw;
Sua kulu ne ŋgwə
sua kulu ne ŋgwə
sua bless is NEG.

52 Ng;
Ju kənəshən ne be bə (.) bɔ chok hən də.
ju kənəshən ne be bə (.) bɔ chok hən də
talk now is hand theirs (.) PL. clothing this so

53 Bɔ mə tuŋ baá ju=
bɔ mə tuŋ 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 kiə oʃə tue nde ne bɔ ke.
mgbe kiə oʃə tue nde ne bɔ ke
chief overthere he say go is them what
Conclusions

56  De bi, bi tue nde ne mgbe a, nyə- nyəgo ma.
de bi bi tue nde ne mgbe a nyə- nyəgo ma
of you you say go is chief at rep- repair then

57  Ama bi nde ne kulu sum nde ne sua ma
ama bi nde ne kulu sum nde ne sua ma
but you go is bless remove go is sua then

58  Ma bi kulu sum baá sua də,
ma bi 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 bə əna nji mani,
ju ne man bə əna nji mani
talk is thus we roast thing thus

61  Mì tue bi a, mì kə ləm ne bə tele tele tele
mì tue bi a mì kə ləm ne bə tele tele tele
I say you to I know only is Pl. father father father

62  Nj;  Mì jə wa: ha bì jə aa mgbe a,
mì jə wa ha bì jə aa mgbe a
I say say Until you say PAST chief to

63  Gw;  Tele tue nde ne koə.
tele tue nde ne koə
father say go is SUB.EMP.

64  Nj;  mgbe le nəa tue jə bə huan a
mgbe le nəa tue jə bə huan a
chief PAST PAST say say Pl. child to

65  Gw;  Mə tele tue jə: əə bə ənu(ə) nyí(.) nyí kə ne kə
mə tele tue jə əə bə ənu(ə) nyí(.) nyí kə ne kə
with father say say we leave speaker speaker know is

66  Nj;  bə nde bə sip wa? Ha nyí, nyí tue nde ne bə ənu nyí,
bə nde bə sip wa ha nyí nyí tue nde ne bə ənu nyí
they go we male QN. Until speaker speaker say go is Pl. child his

67  Gw;  À tue mə wa par sən sen
À tue mə wa par sən sen
he say with say lip mouth his

68  Nj;  Jə nyí a: bə nde ne jəgo, bə jəgo ma
jə nyí a bə nde ne jəgo bə jəgo ma
say speaker to they go is marry they marry then

69  Gw;  Mə na hiun mə tue a njərədi, bə wula mə.
mə na hiun mə tue a njərədi bə wula mə
with PAST different I say at something they kill me

70  Nj;  Huan sip ne man, ma və ne man, bə ne ki chén
Huan sip ne man, məvə ne man, bə ne ki chén
child male is thus woman is thus they is at one
Conclusions

71 Gw; Ma tele je: nyí wəp nde ne nji ya gwom,
ma tele jə nyí wəp nde ne nji ya gwom
If father say speaker control go is thing yours pay

72 mì mì ma nji bën tue, chaŋ à wula mì nda.
mì mì ma nji bën tue chaŋ à wula mì nda
I I if thing illness say chaŋ it kill me also

73 Allah mì yuo, bí boó sum nji dəne=.
allah mì yuo bí boó sum nji dəne
I leave you do remove thing

74 Nj; =Ma bó nna mə̀ŋ, bó huan sip nna məna, bé kwa-re yə.
ma bó nna məna bó huan sip nna məna bé kwa-re yə
if they PAST thus Pl. child male PAST thus we put yours

75 Ga; bó kə ne yə=:
bó kə ne yə
they know is say

76 Gw; =??xxx bó ju məvə mə huan sep,
??xxx bó ju məvə mə huan sep
Pl. talk woman with child male

77 huan sep kum
huan sep kum
child male just

78 Ga; ?? bó kə ne ŋγam kə wa?
bó kə ne ŋγam kə wa
they know is because what QN.

79 Mava bó huan sip bó ne ka to məna
mava bó huan sip bó ne ka to məna
woman Pl. child male they is at before thus

80 ?? Nuar huan sip, ma məvə sum yor tue nji ne ŋγwe.
nuar huan sip, ma məvə sum yor tue nji ne ŋγwe
person child male, if woman remove body say thing is NEG.

81 ?? bó sela wə tue nde ne nna ŋγwe. Mava ma wə
bó sela wə tue nde ne nna ŋγwe məvə ma wə
they only?? say say go is PAST NEG. woman if take

82 səm yor kumu nji ŋγwe, à sə den re ka nɔŋŋ
səm yor kumu nji ŋγwe à sə den re ka nɔŋŋ
mouth body open thing ŋγwe she that stay again at peace

83 Gw; ma kələhən, ma d`ld`l nuar koó gənə ŋγwe,
ma kələhən ma d`ld`l nuar koó gənə ŋγwe
if now if small person SUB.EMP. want ŋγwe

84 kula bó nji ne koó ve.
kula bó nji ne koó ve
count Pl. thing is SUB.EMP. bad

85 Mə bó ɣene njulu də gwom ne də... gəw- gəw- gwom
mə bó ɣene njulu də gwom ne də gəw- gəw- gwom
with we see eyes of gwom is here pay pay pay

86 wəp njulu. Mə nji kwa ten wə?
wəp njulu mə nji kwa ten wə
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... ??ŋwa Bí ne mgbe chaŋ wa?

nuar nde ne kə ??ŋwa bí ne mgbe chaŋ wa

person go is what NEG. you is chief chaŋ 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; Bɔ nuar yi lọọ pat xxxxx kadi

bɔ nuar yi lọọ pat xxxxx kadi

Pl. person at compound all really

93 Jb; Ma nuar ye ve yee, ŋgwa, mə le ndo wula ma.

ma nuar ye ve yee ŋgwa mə le ndo wula

ma

If person eat woman yours penis? with treatment also kill then

94 kweka ne wọ-le wa? <=laughter

kweka ne wọ-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 jogo ve yə, bu jogo bu manji.

À jogo ve yə bu jogo bu manji

he marry woman yours she marry him small

98 Mb; Ma à la ju gwan ne ŋgwə,

ma à la ju gwan ne ŋgwə

if he PAST talk want is NEG.

99 ma à la ju gwan ŋgwə, à ndée a.

ma à la ju gwan ŋgwə 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 ŋgwə à ndeè aa

ma à la ju gwan ŋgwə 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.
Conclusions

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 ñgwé
ma à nde ñgwé
If he go NEG.

104 Bí tue nde ne jé: à nde ñgwé mba.
bí tue nde ne jé à nde ñgwé mba
you say go is say he go NEG. freely
[ ]

105 Ga; huom ne ka, dë më njì saa à naga
huom ne ka dë më njì saa à naga
good is at of with thing that he lick

106 Ni; ?? Ma nuar wa baá, nyí yue ne jë: nyí sap baá
ma nuar wa baá nyí yue ne jë nyí sap
baá
If person arrive PRES. speaker cry is say speaker mistake
PRES.

107 Nyí sap baá dë ne njì më bí tue kë ne ka tu yë nan wa.
nyí sap baá dë ne njì më bí tue kë ne ka tu
yë nan wa
speaker mistake PRES. of is thing with you say at is at
before yours how QN.

108 Bë gwan baá die nóóg. Ha nji
bë gwan baá die nóóg ha nji
we want PRES. fall quiet Until thing

109 hën gi aa, xxx xxx xxxx di yë té bò telë,
hën gi aa xxx xxx xxxx di yë té bò telë
this end PAST of yours at Pl. father
[ ]

110 Nj; xxx sua baá. ma ne mëna sam ne ñgwé
xxx sua baá ma ne mëna sam ne ñgwé
xxx sua PRES. If is thus not is NEG.

111 bò kulu kulu sua bu koó.
bò kulu kulu sua bu koó
they bless bless sua his SUB.EMP.

112 Nì; Tie telë ye té
tie telë ye té
ears father yours so

113 Mb; bò tuj baá ju
bò tuj baá ju
they organise PRES. case
[ ]

114 Nj; xxxxxxx chuar bó jemu.
xxxxxx chuar bó jemu
chicken place after
[ ]

115 Gw; Lucas ki!!

116 Jb; Lucas më- ëë mi jë wa: dëne këne ëë dëne den dë
lucas më ëë mi jë wa dëne këne ëë dëne den dë
with I say QN. here now here stay of
Conclusions

117 mə tʊŋ am ñgwe. Am ñgwe dədə
mə tʊŋ am ñgwe am ñgwe dədə
which organise NEG. NEG. NEG. NEG. small

118 À de dêne ten am ñgwe ma saa ne ki wa? à dua ne sua
À de dêne ten am ñgwe 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 mì, ne mì, Njaibi,
ne mì ne mì Njaibi
is me is me Njaibi

120 Gw; À dua ne sua.
À dua ne sua
he ask is sua

121 Nj; Mì jula ne sua wa?= mì jula ne sua wa
I flee is sua QN.

122 Jb; =Voila!

123 Nj; ?? Sua chum ðe, mì jula ne ðe nyí chi wa?
sua chum ðe mì jula ne ðe nyí chi wa
sua old of I flee is of speaker that QN.

124 Jb; To, bó tue ne chi saa, ma à bë́ ñloş, bó le ræ ne ni?
to bó tue ne chi saa ma à bë́ ñloş bó le ræ
ne ni
So we say is that that if he harm compound they PAST again
is who

125 më jemu ni?,(.) bó nde ne ñloş wa koş dë bó jë: sum bu wa?
më jemu ni bó nde ne ñloş wa koş dë bó
jë sum bu wa
with second who they go is compound arrive SUB.EMP. of
they say remove him QN.

126 ?? Ne chi saa më Gw à tue dëne.
ne chi saa më Gw à tue dëne
is that that with Gw he say here

127 Gw; Jemu ne nan wa? Dë mò mì ko lëm ne bó tele.
jemu ne nan wa dë mò mì ko lëm ne bó tele
second is how QN. of mine I know only is Pl. father

128 Bó tele tue ne jë: huan ne be mò
Bó tele tue ne jë: 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 jë: ama bó kulu sum,
ma bí kwa tue ne jë ama bó kulu sum
If you put say is say but they bless remove

131 nyí nuar jë, nyí wë ne huan, nyí nde Ngaundere=
nyí nuar një nyí wë ne huan nyí
nde Ngaundere
speaker person that-person speaker take is child speaker go
Ngaundere
Conclusions

132 Ga; =xxx=

133 Gw; =À tue ml.
À tue ml he say me

134 Ama ndo, nyí tue ne nan ma, bó boó ke dua,
a ma ndo nyí tue ne nan ma bó boó ke dua
but also speaker say is how if they do look there

135 À dua bí ha nde ne m en wa? À tue
À dua bí ha nde ne m en 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 hen.
bó bó tue nde ne jolori hen
they they say go is palace this

138 bó boó kulu ye suá hen. Mí tue ne bí hen.
bó boó kulu ye suá hen mí tue ne bí hen
they do bless yours This I say is you this

139 Jb; xxxxxxx xxxx

140 Gw; Ńgor mò ne laga ngam.
ŋgor mò ne laga ngam
speech mine is payment divination

141 Ni; Am ngwe ju me tue naa mana me bó je wa
am ngwe ju me tue naa mana me bó je wa
NEG. NEG case with say PAST thus with they say say

142 Gw; bó mana tue ngwe, iii, Ńgu
bó mana tue ngwe iii Ńgu
they thus say NEG. iii Ńgu

143 bó tue ne bà hiun-i
bó tue ne bà hiun-i
they say is place different

144 Ga; bó gwan ngwe
bó gwan ngwe
they want NEG.

145 Gw; bó je tele tele, bó yila mì naá Ńjai. Mì Ńjai yila ngwe. bó je tele tele bó yila Mi naá Ńjai mì Ńjai
yila ngwe they say father father they name I PAST Ńjai I Ńjai
name NEG.

146 Ga; Dë tue, dë mì kum, dë mì kum, mì bie bó kén.
dë tue dë mì kum dë mì kum mì bie bó kén
of say of me just of me just I ask them already

147 Më mì wa, mì bie bó.
më mì wa mì bie bó
with me say I ask them

148 Mì jë ma bó gwan bó gwan əəə,
Conclusions

mì ja ma bó gwan bó gwan aea
I say if they want they want aea

AMA MA Bó WEP BAÁ, Bó WA, Bó WA DëNë, NDE Në TE Bó LO,
AMA MA Bó WEP BAÁ Bó WA Bó WA DëNë NDE Në TE Bó LO
but if they steal PRES. they arrive they arrive here go is so they treat

150 JB; Ama bó je baá: ha nde ne læm kalon
AMA Bó JE BAÁ HA NDE NE LÆM KALON
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 ñgwë, bakata, më bó fon nde ne,
a saa bó wop ne ñgwë bakata më bó fon nde ne
to that they steal is NEG. like with they search go is

153 bò le saa.
bò le saa
place in that

154 Ha am ñgwë ne læm kwëka mbah ma
ha am ñgwë ne læm kwëka mbah ma
give NEG. NEG. is only small freely then [ ]

155 JB; Aaa ke ne wò ma, ñgwë nuar një ne më wò
aaa ke ne wò ma ñgwë nuar një ne më wò
look is you then NEG. person that-one is with you

156 GW; Nde nööö
Nde nööö
go quiet

157 Dé mò yula ke më te keri wa
de mò yula ke më te keri wa
of mine illness at me so on-top-of SUB.EMP.

158 NJ; Dé mò: bó jögo kulu sua, dé mò mì kó læm le.
de mò bó jögo kulu sua dé mò mì kó læm le
of mine they carry bless sua of mine I know only treatment

159 GW; Ki!, ki! ki! (1)
ki! ki! ki!

160 Ama ke, à ne më ??dédè yi be,
amà ke à ne më ??dédè yi be
but look he is with small at hand [ ]

161 GA; Ne yögo ke.
ne yögo ke
is surpass at

162 GW; Mere ne nuar di
mere ne nuar di
perhaps is person some [ ]

163 GA; Nyugemi ka kiye bóó mə akilo
Nyugemi ka kiye bóó mə akilo
Nyugemi at overthere do with intelligence
Conclusions

164 mə mì hapdi gə Mbor chu aa ŋgam
with I hurry at Mbor return PAST because

165.xxx xxxx xxx
[ ]

166 Jb; Aaa ne njai jaa na
aaa is thing laugh PAST

167 Ga; ŋgäm mì ha mbi mò.
because I give friend mine

168 Mì tue naa bu a:  nda huan bò bɛ́ loś baá bu kən.
I say PAST him to young-men child do harm compound PRES.

169 Mì ha naa mə mə mə mə mə  Love ga giye də.
I give PAST with love there over-there of

170 Jb; Ne bò si, bò bɛ́ loś ve yə ko ma.
Is Pl. husband they harm compound woman yours SUB.EMP. then

171 Ga; Mì hapdi ne falí bó ha.
I hurry is threaten them until

172 Jb; Go baá "pee pee pee pee" də
go walk PRES. of

173 Ga; Nji mə mì bɛ́ ne falí bó den
thing which I harm is threaten them stay

174 Gw; Ne wò si naa ne dole.
is you husband PAST is cool

175 Wò nde a ne dole.
you go to is cool

176 Ga; Nuar mə ko ne ni? (5)
person with know is who

177 Jb; Ma ne və mə nuar bɛ́ lu,
If is woman with person harm anyway

178 diya ne dili ŋgwə
diya PAST harm anyway
of-that is straight NEG.

179 Gw; ???Ndeka bó kulu baa, ???n'deka bó kulu baa
       must we bless PAST

180 Nj; Mgbe mè ju dua ten sam
       mgbe mè ju dua ten sam
       chief with talk there there-is not

181 Ga; ama bó ju baá tuŋ-
       ama bó ju baá tuŋ
       but we talk PRES. organise
       [ ]

182 Nj; Gamgbe, Gamgbe mè ju dua ten am ñgwè.
       Gamgbe Gamgbe mè ju dua ten am ñgwè
       Gamgbe Gamgbe with talk there there-is NEG. NEG.

183 Mi mè mi den hèn mi mè ju dua ten am ñgwè.
       mi mè mi den hèn mi mè ju dua ten am ñgwè
       I with I Here this I with talk there there-is NEG. NEG.

184 Mvulu, Mvulu mè du naa den, à mè ju dua ten ma ñgwè.
       Mvulu Mvulu mè du naa den à mè ju dua ten
       ma ñgwè
       Mvulu Mvulu that ground PAST here he with talk there there-is then NEG.

185 Ke ne bó vè baá fà
       ke ne bó vè baá fà
       look is Pl. woman PRES. two

186 Ga; Ne ka mèna.
       ne ka mèna
       is at thus

187 Gw; Ama gi ne ka mèna, ???saá ndeka bó vulú baá ma
       ama gi ne ka mèna ???saá ndeka bó vulú baá ma
       but end is at thus that must we leave PRES. then

188 Ng; Ama bó ke ñgwè.
       ama bó ke ñgwè
       but they look NEG.

189 Jb; Aaa bó ne mè fe bóon wa?
       aaa bó ne mè fe bóon wa
       aaa they is with head theirs QN.

190 Ga; bó tuo naa..
       bó tuo naa
       they say PAST

191 Ng; ???Saá bi sum kë bó ko chiè te bó tema bó fà, bó fà.
       ???saá bi sum kë bó ko chiè te bó tema bó fà
       bó fà that you remove at them at outside so they send them two
       them two

192 Mb; øøøø øøøø Bi ngue ye. Bi ngue ye wa.
       øøøø øøøø bi ngue ye bi ngue ye wa
       yes yes you listen yours you listen yours QN.

193 Jb (to NG); Di ye kum, ne ten
di ya kum ne ten of yours just is there-is

194 Mb; Bí tuŋ...əə bó ne me fə bˈəʊ sam ŋgwe, bɪ tuŋ ... əə bó ne me fə bˈəʊ sam ŋgwe you organise they is with head theirs not NEG.

195 Tema naa bó ne ni wa? tema naa bó ne ni wa sends PAST them is who QN.

196 Fabə́ mə, mə bó tue naa de domsa ɗə, fabə́ me mə bó tue naa de domsa ɗə like with with they say PAST of doctor of

197 nuar ha njì ləm () Ma ha naa nì? nuar ha njì ləm ma ha naa nì person give thing only If give PAST who

198 Ga; To to So

199 Mb; Mbi yə ten am ŋgwe ɗə.(.) mbi yə ten am ŋgwe ɗə occasion yours there-is NEG. NEG. of

200 Jb; xxxx [ ]

201 Nj; Ve saa ɗə, mə bó nde bu jogo. Bó le kwa naa bu le nda hi wa? ve saa ɗə mə bó nde bu jogo bó le kwa naa bu le nda hi wa woman that of with they go her marry they PAST find PAST her PAST bed where QN.

202 Đə guo ni wa? đə guo ni wa of house who QN.

203 Mb; Merre, bó ten am ŋgwe ɗə. merre bó ten am ŋgwe ɗə perhaps they there-is NEG. NEG. of

204 Nj; bó, bó mare bə chīə bə. bó bó mare bə chīə bə they they surpass we outside we

205 Mb; Kə kələshən ne ve nuaa ma, kə kələshən ne ve nuar ma at now is woman person then

206 Gw; bó ve bì ye ma bó ɲuna bˈəʊ, mə bó yuo dənə, bó ve bì ye mə bó ɲuna bˈəʊ mə bó yuo dənə Pl. woman you yours with Pl. child theirs with they leave here

207 bó ɲuna bì, bó huan nde ɲər dənə, bó ɲuna bì bó huan nde ɲər dənə Pl. child you Pl. child go speech here

208 mə bó nde nde yaa,
Conclusions

mə bɔ̀ nde nde yaa
with they go go there

209   Ju ju ya kum, bie ka loó ye kum
       ju ju ya kum bie ka loó ye kum
talk talk yours just ask at compound yours just

210   ŋgàm ŋgwa bó kuó gi aa wa?
       ŋgàm ŋgwa bó kuó gi aa wa
because penis ours die end PAST QN.

211   Mb;   Aaaa Gw a, de bó je lem bò si və saa
       aaaa Gw a de bó je lem bò si və saa
       Gw to of we say only Pl. husband woman that

212   Fabó me bó tue jə;
       fabó me bó tue jə
like with they say say

213   Ma bó ne le dopta nji bó tue mə Gamia.
       ma bó ne le dopta nji bó tue mə Gamia
If they is in doctor thing they say with Gamia

214   Gi ne lem məna.
       gi ne lem məna
end is only thus

215   Jb;   aha ne mane. Ama ŋgue və
       aha ne mane ama ŋgue və
mmmm is thus but listen yours

216   Mb;
       Gamia ŋgue və
       Gamia ŋgue və
       Gamia listen you

217   Nj;
       xxx xxxxxx xxx xx

218   Jb;   Ama bó ŋgɔ́r tibi tibi si bó den ne ŋgwə
       ama bó ŋgɔ́r tibi tibi si bó den ne ŋgwə
but they speech short short -ness they here is NEG.

219   Ga;   Am ŋgwə də mò, mì tue su məna ma.
       am ŋgwə də mò mì tue su məna ma
NEG. NEG. of mine I say again thus then

220   Mb;
       Saa ko ne ni
       saa ko ne ni
that know is who

221   Jb;   Saa gua də () Ne chi saa ama bó ne de nji
       saa gua də ne chi saa ama bó ne de nji
that home of is that that but they is stay thing

222   Ga;   Nji mə tue baá hən də, bó wə nde xxx xxx ma ler ne ten
       nji mə tue baá hən də bó 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 bó ha nyí kalon, () tə nji mə, bó tue naga.
       a saa bó ha nyí kalon, tə nji mə bó tue
ŋaga
to that they give speaker money so thing wait they say
clear

224 Jb; aa ne fada ne loó ne dē bé ma.
aa ne fada ne loó ne dē bé ma
aaa is like is compound is of we then

225 Ga; øøø mani
øøø mani
yes thus

226 Tue ndape ko, ha bí tue ndape ne ki?
tue ndape ko ha bí tue ndape ne ki
say prolix SUB.EMP. Until you say prolix is what

227 Jb; dē saa, ðgôr saa se huom ne ka mëna.
dē saa ðgôr saa se huom ne ka mëna
of that speech that NEG. good is at thus

228 Mb; eeee eeee eee wa? Am ðgw, gi ne ka fabé mëna ndo ma
eeee eeee eee wa am ðgw gi ne ka fabé mëna ndo ma
eeee eeee eee QN. NEG. NEG. end is at like thus also
"really"

229 Ny; Gw tue ne mëna ðgam kwé bé ko ma Gw xxx xxxx
Gw tue ne mëna ðgam kwé bé ko ma Gw xxx xxxx
Gw say is thus because tomorrow we know if Gw xxx xxxx

230 Jb;
Hën ne hën
hën ne hën
This is this

231 bé bie ne chi ma
bé bie ne chi ma
we ask is that "really"

232 Ny; Gw tue ne mëna, à jë: Gamia ne be yë, bí mgbe fa.
Gw tue ne mëna à jë Gamia ne be yë bí mgbe fa
Gw say is thus he say Gamia is hand yours you chief two

233 Ma bí je wa: bí nde wëp ne lu wa, bí tue ðaga de.
ma bí jë wa bí nde wëp ne lu wa bí tue ðaga de
If you say you go control is SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP. you say clear so

234 Ma bí je sam ne ðgwë bí tue ðaga
ma bí jë sam ne ðgwë bí tue ðaga
If you say not is NEG. you say clear

235 Dë nỳi kum ma bí jë: ëëë bó nde ne lo,
dë nỳi kum ma bí je ëëë bó nde ne lo
of speaker just if you say ëëë they go is treat

236 bó kulu sua.Maní
bó kulu sua.maní
they bless sua thus

237 Jb;
Maní dë bí yuo
mani dë bí yuo
thus so you leave

238 Ny; Dë Gw, à tue Gw mëna ndo.
dë Gw à tue Gw mëna ndo

227
Conclusions

of Gw he say Gw thus also

228

239 Jb; Ma wop ne ngwá cher we kálon wó ha Gamia
If control is NEG. road take money you give Gamia

240 Mb; Ko Gamia hen Ko Gamia de ngue són bwó si hén de
Even Gamia this Even Gamia of listen mouth Pl. husband this

241 Jb; eëhë mani
eyes thus

242 Gamia ngue a ké baá re mè bó man de ma
Gamia listen to at PRES. again with they thus of then

243 Mb; Sògo Gamia sen ngue són bwó si saa,
only Gamia his listen mouth Pl. husband that

244 Ny; À tue ne chi ma, À tue ne chi saa ma.
A 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 mè hén no
ha à sua nde ne mè hén no
Until he descend go is with this also

246 Ga; Dë mó, naa mì ngue ne mè bó ma.
of mine PAST I listen is with them then

247 Jb; Gamia à hwune baá ké de saa nóŋ, hên baá re chi saa bè mè
Gamia he tight-lipped PRES. at of that peace this PRES.
again that that place with

248 à ggór kware kware dëne.
he speech beside beside here

249 Nj; Sua kulu baá kulu, kulu ha huan dë, bó nde dëne lò dëne.
sua bless PRES. bless bless give child here they go here

250 Mb; aaa!

251 Nj; Dole sua dë bó kulu ne bó nde ne huan dën lò den, ndo.
dole cool suá so they bless is they go is child here treat here

252 Ga; Dole hên dë no, dole bó bó nó de ka bu lò den
cool This of also cool they do go at him treat here
Conclusions

253 Nj; Log de sua ne hiên, log de la ne hiên.  
log de sua ne hiên log de la ne hiên  
space of sua is different space of treatment is different

254 Jb; Mana ni. To Ma la yuo chop chén baá mën mën mën mën ma,  
mën ni to ma la yuo chop chén baá mën  
mën mën mën mën 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

257 Jb; Ma bó gwan a më sôn bon,  
ma bó gwan a më sôn bon  
If they want to with mouth theirs

258 bó Gamia: Oui, gwom ṣgwè. bó gwom baá lè dënè.  
bó Gamia oui gwom ṣgwè bó gwom baá lè dënè  
Pl. Gamia pay NEG. They pay PRES. treatment here

259 Ga;  
= To =  
= to =  
So

260 Jb; bó gwom mì mbo baá jam.  
bó gwom mì mbo baá jam  
They pay me divine PRES. good

261 Ta bó ṣgene bó nji kela,  
ta bó ṣgene bó nji kela  
so they see Pl. thing pass

262 kela sua, bó cho. Nji më bó, bó... bó...  
kela sua bó cho nji më bó bó bó  
pass sua they chop thing which they they

263 bó nuar nje ko nde a, fabé më bó boó ko nde à koó.  
bó nuar nje ko nde a fabé më bó boó ko nde à koó  
Pl. person thing know go to like with they do know go he  
SUB.EMP.  
[           ]

264 Gw;  
Yili ta yila  
yili ta yila  
name so names

265 Ga;  
De hën xxx xxxx xxxx ko  
de hën xxx xxxx xxxx ko

266 Jb;  
Ama tam ṣgwè  
amat tam ṣgwè  
but none NEG.

267 Gw;  
ha mì a kwè a sôn, à tue nde më sôn  
ha mì a kwè a sôn à tue nde më sôn  
Until I at change to mouth he say go with mouth
Conclusions

Until person change then

because child young-men

[ Huan hən xxxx xxxx hapdi ñgwə= huan hən xxxx xxxx hapdi ñgwə child this argue NEG.

bè tue naa tu bè tue géché
we say PAST before we say true

nuar tue nde nji mə mə tue naa de.

Mli ma mə () tue den ne ju chén bu saa de

I if I say here is talk one it that of

[ ]

bè lo guom baa.

Ndewgombaà ka jumu bo ñə=
go pay PRES. at after PL. head

Ndewgombaà ka jumu bo ñə=

=Ndə ka jemu tə bò 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.

Aibe fula aibe <=laughter
ain correct like?? mistake

wò yila moptere nuar nde ñgwə, ()
you call meeting person go NEG.

wò tue go nuar nde ñgwə.(())
you say walk person go NEG.

Hən sogo bí nji bò pat,
This only you thing Pl. all

sogol mə yọŋ ka gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa ça y est.
ça y est
only I stroll at house house house house house house house
ça y est

283 Ga; Saa bó nde ŋue.
saa bó nde ŋue
that they go NEG.

284 Ch; Oui, mais normalement c’est comme ça

285 Nj; Ma lu saa mì ma, mì bu ŋene ŋgwè,
ma lu saa mì ma mì bu ŋene ŋgwè
If day that I if I him see NEG.

286 lu saa à de rë bë hiën-i
lu saa à de rë bë hiën-i
day that he stay again place different

287 To lane ma à de su a bë hiën-i.
to lane ma à de su a bë hiën-i
To today if they(Sing) stay again to place different

288 Ga; xxx xxx

289 Ch; Wò yila moptere nuar pat ndée.
wò yila moptere nuar pat ndée
you call meeting person all come

290 To, () ma wò la tue, ma tue l’heure ka kë loö bí yë ne mëna.
to ma wò la tue ma tue l’heure ka kë loö bí yë
ne mëna
so if you PAST say if say l’heure at at village you yours
is thus

291 Mì den le moptere, mì yila yili pal pal pal, le moptere.
mì den le moptere mì yila yili pal pal le moptere
I stay in meeting I name name all all all in meeting

292 ()Njai dë nuar hën, nuar hën tue mì ŋue ŋue kam,
()njai da nuar hën nuar hën tue mì ŋue ŋue kam
()thing of person this person this say I listen NEG. at-
all

293 Tue mì dë yë wa?
tue mì dë yë wa
say I of you QN.

294 Ga; Age mì boö ne nan wa?
age mì boö ne nan wa
I do is how QN.

295 Nj; Wò la nyí tue wa? <=laughter
wò la nyí tue wa
you PAST speaker say QN.

296 Ch; Tam döög ne nì, ne bë ka më aibe nì.
tam döög ne nì ne bë ka më aibe ni
none all is who is we at with mistake very??

297 Nj; aa?
aa

Conclusions
Conclusions

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 së tuŋ ma ha bè wòŋ nde gí kum
   dua ne le nde ne së tuŋ ma ha bè wòŋ
   there is in go is NEG. organise "really" until place world
go end very

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

301 Ni; Bt a, ke keləhən bè mom den njì mè yuo nde kə sòn yə,
   Bt a ke keləhən bè mom den njì mè yuo nde kə sòn
   Bt to look now we wait here thing with leave go at
mouth yours

302 mè wò tue nde njì mè Gamia. Tè bè ġele yuo.
   mè wò tue nde njì mè Gamia tè bè ġele yuo
   which you say go thing with Gamia so we disturbed leave

303 Ch; Tourjours la patience

304 Mb; Bè mom nde ne chi tal
   bè mom nde ne chi tal
   we wait go is that SUB.EMP.

305 Ga; Ne ðə ka ġgɔ̀r chèn bìi hɛn ðə, mè
   ne ðə ka ġgɔ̀r chèn bìi hɛn ðə mè
   is of at speech one thing this of with

306 Ny; Ne mani
   ne mani
   is thus

307 Mb; ðə bè mom ne ka chi
   ðə bè mom ne ka chi
   We wait is at that

308 Ny; Ñgɔ̀r tue ne mani mɔ mì bie ne ka mɔ bó
   Ñgɔ̀r tue ne mani mɔ mì bie ne ka mɔ bó
   speech say is thus with I ask is at with them

309 Ma bó tue nyɛn mba mba nde ka tu,
   ma bó tue nyɛn mba mba nde ka tu
   If they say lies freely freely go at before

310 à ça y est waga sam ñgwe
   à ça y est waga sam ñgwe
   it ça y est fast not NEG.

311 Mb; À yuo nde togo togo
   À yuo nde togo togo
   it leave go quarrel quarrel

312 Ny; À saa yuo nde ne togo.
   À saa yuo nde ne togo
   he that leave go is quarrel

313 Ga; aa dɛnè bè tue nde nde ne kì wa?
   aa dɛnè bè tue nde nde ne kì wa
aaa here we say go go is what QN.

314 Ne lóm kó ngór chén hén fela den më më bie ne hän de ne lóm kó ngór chén hén fela den më më bie ne hän de is only SUB.EMP. speech true this like here with I ask is this so

315 Më bie ne chi. à bë́e nji baá dua, bë ngue gaga. Më bie ne chi à bë́e nji baá dua bë ngue
gaga I ask is that he harm thing PRES. there we understand clear

316 ()ne ka le mógo dëné. ne ka le mógo dëné is at in group here

317 Nj; Gw ndeka, më tue nji ne më mgbe, më tue nji ne më Gamgbe.() Gw ndeka më tue nji ne më mgbe më tue nji ne më Gamgbe

318 Mb; Dé bê, bê bie nji su ne më bu dé bê, bê bie nji su ne më bu of we we ask thing again is with him

319 Nj; Dé Gamgbe bô bie bí bí, bí bí bò jógò vë. dé Gamgbe bô bie bí bí bí bí bò jógò vë of do ask you you you you Pl. marry woman

320 Ma mì nde à bë́e nji nyí, bí nde ne kalon ha ne nyí wa, ma mì nde à bë́e nji nyí bí nde ne kalon ha ne nyí wa

321 Nj?? de tê mì nde lô nyègë su huan bu saa,?? nji de tê mì nde lô nyègë su huan bu saa thing of so I go treat repair again child him that

322 Bí bë́e lôó baá kòn.() bí bë́e lôó baá kòn you harm compound PRES. already

323 Mb; Aa bó tue nji dé më bu aa bó tue nji dé më bu aaa They say thing of with him

324 Ga; Ne ka mën, wò nde ne më sôn yë. ne ka mën wò nde ne më sôn yë is at thus you go is with mouth yours

325 Nj; Chuar, à tue nde ne ka më sôn sen. chuar à tue nde ne ka më sôn sen chicken he say go is at with mouth its

326 Ga; Ma wò tue mì a, wò wë nde ne kô, wò lô nde ne kô, ma wò tue mì a wò wë nde ne kô wò lô nde ne kô If you say me to you take go is SUB.EMP. you treat go is SUB.EMP.
Conclusions

327  Han mi ha nde ne kalon te te mi hapdi me nji to.
    han mi ha nde ne kalon te te mi hapdi me nji to
    This I give go is money so so I hurry with thing before

328  Ne lem tibi si mani.
    ne lem tibi si mani
    is only short -ness thus

329  Ch; () Oui ma ngóru yuo kela chie, huom ne tue.(2)
    oui ma ngóru yuo kela chie huom ne tue
    if speech leave pass outside good is say

330  Ngám () ne tare de ne hén de,
    ngám ne tare de ne hén de
    because is hard of is this of

331  Bó tare ne (1) bó tue ne...ju bó huan mani mba.
    bó tare ne l bó tue ne...ju bó huan mani mba
    place hard is they say is talk Pl. child small freely

332  Bó huan mani, bó bie nde bó no,
    bó huan mani bó bie nde bó no
    Pl. child small they ask go them also

333  Bó són bóó bie nde ne ka?
    bó són bóó bie nde ne ké
    they mouth theirs ask go is what

334  Njai bie ten am ngwa. doóng xxx gène ngwa
    Njai bie ten am ngwa doóng xxx gène ngwa
    Njai ask there-is NEG. NEG. all see NEG.

335  Kanshan () Mose à tue ne baga.(4) Le bòŋ bu saa,
    kanshan Mose à tue ne baga.(4) le bòŋ bu saa
    now Mose he say is good (4) in group it that

336  Saa baá tue le bòŋ bu saa à ten am ngwa. (1)
    saa baá tue le bòŋ bu saa à ten am ngwa (1)
    that PRES. say in group it that he there-is NEG. NEG.

337  To ma "le decision" de mò, (2) nde Gamia de kuú,
    to ma "le decision" de mò nde Gamia de kuú
    To if "le decision" of mine go Gamia of big

338  À se tue ngwa. Mí hên, ngám chi me mí gwan ngwa tue.
    À se tue ngwa mí hên, ngám chi me mí gwan ngwa
    tue
    he NEG. say NEG. I this because this with I want NEG. say

339  Mais nde yuo kela mí kum, mí foti tue le lóŋ bu hên.
    mais nde yuo kela mí kum mí foti tue le lóŋ bu hên
    mais go leave pass I just I can say in space it this

340  Bu hên jé wa: à ne tibisi. Mose wa və,() bon.
    bu hên jé wa à ne tibisi mose wa və bon
    him this say QN. he is short say woman bon
Conclusions

Nde wa va, à ke: mystique boɔ baá ten (1) 
go arrive woman she look do PRES. there-is

Nde mystique boɔ baá, (3) À ha nji su nde bé jumu, () 
nde mystique boɔ baá, (3) À ha nji su nde bé after

Gó arrive woman she look do PRES. (3) he give thing again go place

bô kiye de bô maga baá són ten amŋgwe= 
bô kiye de bô maga baá són ten amŋgwe 
Pl. overthere of Pl. big PRES. mouth there-is NEG.

Gw; =Men 

Ch; Bé nji nde ne dopta koɔ. 

We thing go is dispensary SUB.EMP.

Bé boɔ nde ne ke bu, bë boɔ baá ke bu. Bë boɔ naa koɔ. 
bë boɔ nde ne ke bu bë boɔ baá ke bu bë boɔ naa koɔ 
we do go is at it we do PRES. at it we do FAST SUB.EMP.

Diya ne oblige, parceque ve naa le be bé, () 
diya ne oblige parceque ve naa le be bé ma ne ŋaga e 
of that is oblige parceque woman PAST in hand ours

ma ne ŋaga e ce soir 
if is clear e ce soir

bô bô nuar bë́é naa de bu, bô tuŋ nde a koɔ. 
they Pl. person harm PAST of her they organise go to SUB.EMP.

Di ya ju Mose ten am su, bô parler nde bu tibisi men. 
Di ya ju Mose ten am su bô parler nde bu tibisi men of yours talk Mose there-is NEG. again-NEG they parler go him short thus

XX; ñeé 

Ch; ñeé 

Ny; Bí Gw su gwan a mani. À gwan a mën de, tê bô bô boɔ. 
bí Gw su gwan a mani À gwan a mën de tê bô bô boɔ 
you Gw again want to thus he want to thus so so they they do
Conclusions

356 Ch; Di ye kum ŋgwə, bó wè nde a man.
di ye kum ŋgwə bó wè nde a man
of yours just NEG. we take go to thus

357 Ma ma bi bóó ne facture ne mə kə, ne mə kə lu,
ma ma bi bóó ne facture ne mə kə ne mə kə lu
If if you do is with price is with price

SUB.EMP.

358 Ma wò wa, wò jè; mì ne mə facture de ne hən. Tibi si hən.
ma wò wa wò jè mì ne mə facture de ne hən tibi -
adj hən
If you arrive you say I is with is this short -
ness this

359 XXXX; ̓ee ̓ee ̓ee <= Laughter
̓ee ̓ee

360 Ga; Kadi ma facture dęngwə kənehən wa?
kadi ma facture den ne ŋgwə kənehən wa
really if NEG. now QN.

361 Ch; Den ŋgwə de wò bie nde ne bu lu.
Den ŋgwə de 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 ŋgwə wa?
də yə wò nde ne gwom wa wò gwom ne ŋgwə wa
of yours you go is pay QN. you pay is NEG. QN.

363 Aaa ma à jə nyí gwom ne ŋgwə no, wò bhό ne nan.
aaa ma à jə nyí gwom ne ŋgwə no wò bhό 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 ŋgwə (3) Mì yə bu nan
foti ŋgwə mì yə bu nan
can NEG. I eat him how

367 Jb; Ama nuar bu hən xxx xxxx saa baá pəŋpaŋ ju.
amu war bu hən xxx xxxx saa baá pəŋpaŋ ju
but person him this xxx xxxx that PRES. mills case

368 Ne dé wò me nde ne bu le kilo wa?
ne dé wò me nde ne bu le kilo wa
is of you measure go is him in QN.

369 Ko ne dé wò bhό nde ne bu nan wa?
kə ne dé wò bhό nde ne bu nan wa
Even is of you do go is him how QN.

370 Ne saa gər ʒəne badi ma.
ne saa gər ʒəne badi ma
is that pain see approach "really"
Conclusions

371 Allah, ha mbi fa mì xxxxx xxxx xxxx <=laughter
allah ha mbi fa mì xxxxx xxxx xxxx

Until occasion two I xxxx xxxx xxxx

372 Ch; Mì sɛ kwa baá ju, bɔŋ mɛ bɔŋ ooo <=laughter
mì sɛ kwa baá talk de bɔŋ mɛ bɔŋ ooo
I NEG. put PRES. case of group with group

373 Vraiment c'est comme ca.<=laughter

374 Nj; xxxxxxx

375 Jb; Bó me baá bó le jaa wa
bó me baá bó le jaa wa
they measure PRES. them in laugh QN.

376 Nj; Bó me baá le kilo <=laughter
bó me baá le kilo
They measure PRES. in

377 Jb; Ma Chaŋ guan ne jɔɡɔ ve nuar, dɛ mɛ kulu gi aa, <=
Laughter
ma chaŋ guan ne jɔɡɔ ve nuar dɛ mɛ kulu gi baá, <
If chaŋ want is marry woman person so with bless end PAST

378 mɛ, mɛ njai vɔn.
me me njai vɔn
with with thing evil

379 Bɔ nde, bɔ dili kwa ke tuŋ, ha chi yula nde...
bɔ nde bɔ dili kwa ke tuŋ ha chi yula
nde
They go they straight put look organise until that
illness go

380 Nj;
Aaa de saa mgbe,
aaa de saa mgbe
aaa of that chief

381 Ndeka bɛ boɔ sum dɛde.
ndeka bɛ boɔ sum dɛde
must we do remove small

382 Gw; Ne mì() Mì ɲe ne nji mɛ yɔɡɔ Chaŋ sam.
ne mimi ɲe ne nji mɛ yɔɡɔ chaŋ sam
is me. I see thing with surpass chaŋ not

383 Ama ne mì kum.
am a ne mì kum
but is I just

384 Ai Bɛ munu ke le mɔ kum, gwan ɬɡwɛ sua,
ai bɛ munu ka le mɔ kum gwan ɬɡwɛ sua
we think at in mine just want NEG. sua

385 bɔ kulu mɛ sapdi=
bɔ kulu mɛ sapdi
they bless with mistake

386 Jb;
= Njai doɔŋ ne ka mɛna
njai doɔŋ ne ka mɛna
thing all is at thus
Conclusions

387 Ny; Dà mè Dà mè Dà mè bó tue sum baá kan, de ya yula suú. Dà mè Dà mè Dà mè bó tue sum baá kan de ya yula suú of with of with of with they say remove PRES. already of yours illness again-NEG

388 xx; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

389 Gw; Bó kulu bu sam. Nde mè Mgbe ye, bó kulu bu sam nde mè mgbe ye They bless him not go with chief yours

390 nde Gamia tue baá su koó ye: de ñgwñ njai fe di. nde Gamia tue baá su koó ye de ñgwñ njai fe di go Gamia say PRES. again SUB.EMP. yours stay NEG. thing new some

391 Ny; xxx tele bë, ne de xxxxxxxxxx xxx tele bë ne de xxxxxxxxxx xxx father ours is of xxxxxxx

392 Kp; Di ye kum ju tam su di ye kum ju tam su some yours just case none again-NEG

393 Nj; Mgbe tue de ka() mgbe tue de ka chief say of at

394 Kp; Di ye këñehan, ju ye dua ten am su di ye këñehan ju ye dua ten am su of yours now case yours there there-is NEG. again-NEG

395 Gw; Vë de kan, bí ko ke mbam yuo jõgo. Vë de kan bí ko ke mbam yuo jõgo woman of anyone you know to palace leave first

396 Vë de kan, wò ko ke mbam ñgàm bë bó mbam bô, Vë de kan wò ko ke mbam ñgàm bë bó mbam bô woman of anyone you know to palace because we Pl. palace Pl.

397 bë ne bó nuar ti. bë ne bó nuar ti we is Pl. person stupid

398 De mì mì munu jë ëó ne chën.() de mì mì munu jë ëó ne chën of me I think say village is one

399 Wò ñene mani bó ??vela baá Wò ñene mani bó ??vela baá you see thus they push PRES.

400 Nj; oi ëó ne ka chën mëna, ëó fa sam oi ëó ne ka chën mëna ëó fa sam village is at one thus village two not

401 Gw; Ne mëna yì guo yì ëó. Ne mëna yì guo yì ëó is thus at house at village
Conclusions

239

Kwa ne ma kam hən də, à yogo nde kə?
kwa ne ma kam hən də à yogo nde kə
find is woman old this so she surpass go what

402

Njə̀r ye yogo ngwe ndo.
Njə̀r ye yogo ngwe ndo
thing surpass NEG. also

403

bì ?ne kusum bó nde nde
you is spittle they go go

404

Chàŋ ha njì bó saa də kə to
chàŋ ha njì bó saa də kə to
give thing them luck of at before

405

Kə yor loó ??gér lane ndo??, kadi.
Kə yor loó ??gér lane ndo kadi
at body village pain today also really

406

Tue bə hi, ne ka loó ?gə la njo?, ne bə hi? (
Tue bə hi ne ka loó gər lane njo ne bə hi
say place where is at village pain today also is place
where

407

Kə kəlehən fatere bəə () fona fon,
Kə kəlehən fatere bəə fona fon
at now section ours search search

408

Njì mə bó fona par ne gi kə fatere bəə,
Njì mə bó fona par ne gi kə fatere bəə
thing which they search skin is end at section ours

409

XX; mun sam. mun sam sam sam
mun sam mun sam sam sam
thus not thus not not not

410

Gw; Ha bó tema bəə lu, à ne ki.
Ha bó tema bəə lu à ne ki
Until they send us SUB.EMP. it is what

411

Bó ju kare lu bó ju kare lu, bó kə bó njì
bó ju kare lu bó ju kare lu
They talk interleaf SUB.EMP. they talk interleaf SUB.EMP.
they know Pl. thing

412

(2) Ju sam ngwe, chaŋ à ha njì bó kə tu kə tu (.)
(2) Ju sam ngwe chaŋ à ha njì bó kə tu kə tu
(2) talk not NEG. chaŋ it give thing them at before at
before

413

Bó ne mə yaa bóɔ, bó ne mə nda bóɔ
bó ne mə yaa bóɔ bóɔ bóɔ ne mə nda bóɔ
They is with young women theirs they is with young men
theirs

414

Bó ne mə ke bó ɗʊŋ, chang a ha njì bó kə tu. Fabé...
bó ne mə ke bó ɗʊŋ chang a ha njì bó kə tu
fabé
they is with look them all chang it give thing them at
before like

415

239
Conclusions

416 Ga; Bọ njai da bọ; bọ ne yaa, bọ ne nda
bọ njai da bọ bọ ne yaa bọ ne nda
Pl. thing of them they is young women they is young men

417 Nj; Yaa ye ne yaa, nda ye ne nda ndo.
yaa ye ne yaa nda ye ne nda
ndo young women yours is young women young men yours is young men also

418 bọ ko nde bọ njì hi wa.
bọ ko nde bọ njì hi wa
They know go Pl. thing where QN.

419 Gw; Wọ ko mọ wọ tue jẹ, Ma ve a, tẹ tue.
wọ ko mọ wọ tue jẹ ma ve a tẹ tue
You know which you say say woman woman to NEG. say

420 À ke ke, À ke a () nde nde
À ke ke À ke a nde nde
she at look she look at go go

421 Wọ huan sep nde a ??mwo a?? kọ ṣẹgẹ,
wọ huan sep nde a ??ma wọ a kọ ṣẹgẹ
you child male go to if you to know NEG.

422 ma wọ wula ṣẹgẹ. 
ma wọ wula ṣẹgẹ
if you kill NEG.

423 bọ mave di kumu wula su bu te te te njì de vule
bọ mave di kumu wula su bu te te te te njì de 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; Diyẹ ne fakit
diyẹ ne fakit
Of yours is certainly

426 Gw; Aaa mi hẹn ne den, mi ne den naa sua hẹn nde ne sie naa
aaa mi hẹn ne den mi ne den naa sua hẹn nde ne sie
naa
aaa I This is here I is here PAST sua this go is take
PAST

427 Nj; Ama baá mọna à vula =
am baá mọna à vula
but PRES. thus she leave

428 =vula. baá ve saa, ama vula te njì de vule
vula baá ve saa ama vula te njì de vule
leave PRES. woman that but leave so thing that leave

429 Di yẹ kum ne fakit.
di yẹ kum ne fakit
of yours just is true

430 Mb; Di yə kum, ne bɔ.
   di yə kum ne bɔ
   of yours just is them

431 Ga; À bɔ́ ne mànə de tə njì de vule
   À bɔ́ ne mànə de tə njì de 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 məvə 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 tug de sa
   ne sua sen tug de sa
   is sua his organise of that

[                ]

435 Gw; Bɔ́ wula də mə nan, de ŋgwə ju sua.
   bɔ́ wula də mə nan de ŋgwə ju sua
   They kill of with how stay NEG. talk sua

436 Ma à ke, à jọgo baá kən, mə ma və `
   ma à ke à jọgo baá kən mə məvə
   If he look he marry PRES. already with woman

437 À tue ŋgwə, à tue ŋgwə.
   À tue ŋgwə, à tue ŋgwə.
   he say NEG. he say NEG.

438 Allah wula sum, à wula sum nuar ten.() Huan nda de
   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;
   eħe Ma à vulu =
   eħe ma à vulu
   if he leave

440 =ma, à ha lə be ma və. À jə ma və a:
   ma à ha lə be məvə À jə məvə 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 məvə də
   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 Fl. husband that
Conclusions

Ne ŋam kə bó boó saw naa són koó.
né ŋam kə bó boó saw naa són koó
is because what they do ignite PAST mouth SUB.EMP.

Dé saa bé ne gi koó gi.
de saa bé ne gi koó gi
of that we is end SUB.EMP. end

Ma nuar kulu baá və yə, kə ə ne məna mə lə,
if person bless PRES. woman yours Even he is thus with
treatment

Mə saa bə́ ne gi kə bə́ bə́ bə́.
də saa bə́ ne gi kə bə́ bə́ bə́
of that we is end SUB.EMP. end

Ma nuar kulu baá və yə kə ə ne məna mə lə
if person bless is woman yours SUB.EMP. do is with how

À nde ne wò wula.
À nde ne wò wula
he go is you kill

Ma bó boó nyə́gə ndə ne só́n,
If they do repair go is mouth

Ma nuar kulu ne və yə koó bóó ne mə nan.
if person bless is woman yours SUB.EMP. do is with how

Bó nde ne wò wula.
bó nde ne wò wula
They go is you kill

Bó, bó bóó saa só́n, nde dole
They they do ignite mouth go cool

Hoom nyə́gə də́ bí, bí den
Hoom nyə́gə də́ bí bí den
good NEG. of you you stay

Ama ŋə́m ma mən saa nyə́gə nde nde kə to a fada
but because if thus not NEG. go go at before to like

À wula sum mba.
À wula sum mba
he kill remove freely

Ma wò ???toku rə́ bu, ma bili rə́ ne bu.
If you together again her if together again is her
Conclusions

À wula sum wò kə kalahan.
À wula sum wò kə kalahan
he kill remove you at now

Də se kum sə ŋgwə
Də se kum sə ŋgwə
of NEG. just live NEG.

Hən nuar boɔ və ye bo wɔ saa baá sön,
Hən nuar boɔ və ye bo saa baá sön
This person do woman yours they ignite PRES. mouth

Ko boɔ mə nan à nde ne wɔ wula
Ko boɔ mə nan à nde ne wɔ wula
Even do with how he go is you kill

Kə kəlan də saa də, sə ŋgwə.
Kə kəlan də saa də sə ŋgwə
at now of that of live NEG.

If woman do is you you divine you do is her also

Ma mə ve boɔ ne wɔ, wɔ mbo, wɔ boɔ ne bu ndo. ma mə ve
boɔ ne wɔ wɔ mbo wɔ boɔ ne bu ndo
if woman do is you you divine you do is her also

Ma wɔ tugu nde bu, à wula sum wɔ
Ma wɔ tugu nde bu à wula sum wɔ
If you quarrel go her she kill remove you

Də saa kə kəlan də sə ŋgwə.
Də saa kə kəlan də sə ŋgwə
of that at now stay live NEG.

À wula sum wɔ, lu ye mbo le su ka to.
À wula sum wɔ lu ye mbo le su ka to
she kill remove you day yours freely in again-NEG at before

Kan, kan, kuli (ŋə ñə ŋ), (ŋə ñə ŋ).
kan kan kuli ñə ŋ
dd odd NEG.

Kan, kan kuli ñə ŋə, bə tue ne nan.
kand kan kuli ñə ŋə bə tue ne nan
odd odd NEG. we say is how

Wa tu bu tue ñaga baá
watu bu tue ñaga baá
say he say clear PRES.

Nuar kan cho cho chok tə tue.
nuar kan cho-cho-chok tə tue
person anyone IDIO.: babble NEG. say

Cho cho chog tə tue. Cho cho chog tə tue.
cho cho chog tə tue cho-cho-chog tə tue
??? ??? so say IDIO.: babble so say

Saa baá tue Kuŋ! bí məna? tə tue
saa baá tue Kuŋ bí məna tə tue
that PRES. say Kuŋ you thus NEG. say

Ha nde nde bɔ huan kuó gi, nuar kuó mə bili bɔ
ha nde nde bɔ huan kuó gi nuar kuó mə bili
bɔ
Until go go Pl. child die end person die with together them

\[475\] ñgam dua ka ko tue nan wa
\[475\] ñgam dua ka ko tue nan wa because there at know say how QN.

\[476\] Ama, bí ńgue a wa, bí bọ Gumbe bọ.
\[476\] but you listen to SUB.EMP. you Pl. Gumbe Pl.

\[477\] Nj: Tam saa bé, bé ko ne rẹ nji wa.
\[477\] none that we we know is again thing SUB.EMP.

\[478\] Ha ju mọ ńga de
\[478\] Until case with clear very

\[479\] Gw; Mí ju yula di
\[479\] I case illness very

\[480\] Nj; Nuar dì nde mì mbo bu mba,
\[480\] person some go me divine him freely

\[481\] ama yili mò ko ńgwọ.
\[481\] but name mine know NEG.

\[482\] Dẹ mì kum, mì yire den ne, de yè: mì baá nuar ku
\[482\] of me just I attempt here is of say I PRES. person big

\[483\] ju sua sen ne be bé. Bé bé tue gi rẹ nde ne koọ.
\[483\] talk sua his is hand ours We we say end again go is

\[484\] Ma chuar nde a be mò, mhm saa mì nde a bọ̀ wade bọ̀
\[484\] If chicken go to hand mine mhm that I go to do division do

\[485\] Gw; Chaŋ ne ten. À tue ne de tue.
\[485\] chaŋ ne ten ìÀ tue ne de tue

\[486\] Nj; Chaŋ je bu ye a: bí ne kuùn bí ye kun.
\[486\] chaŋ je bu ye a: bí ne kuùn bí ye

\[487\] Le bọ ju nuar hẹn mẹ mì ńgue a,
\[487\] in Pl. talk person this with me understand to

\[488\] saa mì kum mì ko ńgwọ, njai mò ko ńgwọ.

474

244
Conclusions

that I just I know NEG. thing mine know NEG.

489 Mìí mò kə ngwe.(10)
mìí mò kə ngwe
mother mine know NEG.

GAamia & a Mboro have a Fulfulde conversation: omitted but simultaneous with the below until the Mboro’s departure.

490 Gw; Kenehan, Ng a, nji de nji hen bí boó sum baá kən, kenehan Ng a nji de nji hen bí boó sum baá kən now Ng at thing of thing This you do remove PRES. already

491 Nde ngôr ?nuar safi kən, bô boô sum. (1)
nde ngôr ?nuar safi kən bô boô sum
go speech person with-treatments already they do remove

492 Hên de, à la sen və sen, nuar nje, bê´é ngwe.
hên de à la sen və sen nuar nje bê´é ngwe
This here he PAST his woman his person that-one harm NEG.

493 Wô gwan ?nduan sen, wô tue ne koó.(1)
wô gwan ?nduan sen wô tue ne koó.(1)
You want division his you say is SUB.EMP.

494 To à sen, bí tue tue, tue go di am ngwe,
to à sen bí tue tue tue go di am ngwe
To he his you say say say walk other NEG. NEG.

495 à nə luŋ njulu
à nə luŋ njulu
she is with open eyes

496 Və jə à də sen, à ne məna
və jə à də sen à ne məna
woman say she of hers she is thus

497 Də yə ne də mə mə ma. <=laughter
də yə ne də mə ma.<
of yours is of mine "really"

498 XXX: Ngue dɔŋ xxxxxxxxxx
Ngue dɔŋ xxxxxxxxxx
listen all

499 Gw; Fà bë mə Ve na də sen nuar nje də.
faɓé mə ve na də sen nuar nje də
like with (Ve,bad?) PAST of his person that-one that

500 Nda, bô boó yor den baá yi guo saa ma.
nda bô boó yor 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; Mopter ne kwa de <= to Joseph
mopter ne kwa de<
meeting is tomorrow then

503 Gw; Ma naa la ve ne ngwe yə,
Conclusions

ma naa la ve ne ŋgwə ya
if PAST PAST bad is NEG. NEG.

ko lane ne məna tìə ma,
kə lane ne məna tìə ma
even today is thus sister then

səgo mə kəə kəə kəə
səgo mə kəə kəə kəə
only I SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP.

mə boò su a bu gə gə ge bu hən
mə boò su a bu gə gə ge bu hən
I do again to him suffering suffering suffering him this

Nj; Ma la ne bè bə Luo bə, ma ne məna ne ki wa?
ma la ne bè bə Luo bə ma ne məna ne ki wa
if PAST is place Pl..Luo Pl. if is thus is what QN.

Mə sela kwa wə su mə.
mə sela kwa wə su mə
I cross find take again mine

Bə bə gə Luo bə, ama ne məna de kwa,
bə bə gə Luo bə ama ne məna de kwa
Place Pl. at Luo Pl. but is thus of find

mə kwa wə njai mə
mə kwa wə njai mə
I find take thing mine

Ch; Muya yoço kə, kə kə.
muya yoço ka kə ka
patience surpass what even what

Njai pat ma gua muya,
njai pat ma gua muya
thing all if home patience

Chaŋ boò kə ŋgwə dede bəə sən kə le muyna yə kə ()
chaŋ boò kə ŋgwə dede bəə sən kə le muyna yə
kəə
chaŋ do know NEG. small PRES. mouth at PAST patience yours
SUB.EMP.

Saa bə kə bu
saa bə kə bu
that they know him

Gw; Muya de mə yoço na kə, de mə mə homo jə:
muya de mə yoço na kəə de mə mə homo jə
patience of mine surpass PAST SUB.EMP. of me I tired say

Departure of a Fulbe man from Mbor or Mbum

Ma ŋgwə dənə ŋgam de hənə kə ŋgwə
ma ŋgwə dənə ŋgam de hənə kə ŋgwə
if understand here because of this know NEG.

Ch; Chaŋ Chaŋ kə nde, bə gwom kənəhən dede =
chaŋ chaŋ kə nde bə gwom kənəhən dede
chaŋ chaŋ know go we pay now small
Conclusions

518 =muya yə kɔ, Mose.

519 Le wɔŋ hən dede bɔ bɔ muya nî. Bɔbɔ mɔna nɛn. =

520 =Nuar bɔ mɔna nɛn,

521 Chaŋ kɔ nde bɛ gwɔm nde nɛ muya yə kɔɔ. (4)

522 Nj; aaaha ne ka mɛn. Nde bɛ bɛ dua naa,

523 bɛ dua naa fada mɛna.

524 Je Bt a, nde wə kə bə bə chuar yə wə.

525 Ga; Dɛ muya kum, ne ten.

526 Ch; Njì à de mɛna na, den mɛna naa, ma wä njì,

527 wɔ̀ ha nji a mə chaŋ ni.

528 Chaŋ kɔ ne bɔ gwɔm nde kɔɔ.

529 Ga; Dole (4)

530 Nj; Ki!, (3)

531 Jb; Nda bî ɲẹn ne hɛn dɛ,

532 nji bɔ yila ne ve jọgọ hɛn dɛ yɛ-

"xx; xxxx xxx"
Conclusions

thing they call is woman marry this that yours

533 NJ; Ma və tue je fade à ha, à joco ve wa. 
mave tue je fade à ha à joco ve wa 
woman say say like she give he marry woman SUB.EMP.

534 Ñari à la ve go duom nde. 
ñari à la ve go duom nde 
disorder he PAST woman walk start go

535 Ga; Ki!
ki!
Ki!

536 Gw; Am ñgwe huan di go wuwa kənəhən ma. <=laughter 
am ñgwe huan di go wuwa kənəhən ma.<
NEG. NEG. child other walk fast now "really"

537 Ne ??ŋuŋ kare?? <=laughter 
ne ??ŋuŋ kare
is centipede

538 Ne li wa? fela ne li xxxxxx tubu ñgwe 
ne li wa fela ne li xxxxxx tubu ñgwe
is stomach QN. like is stomach become pregant NEG.

[ ]

539 Nj;
À ke ke de ye.( )
À ke ke de ye
he look look of you

540 Ga; Ki! () À ke kənəhən À sela baá ye dede, 
ki! À ke kənəhən À sela baá ye dede
Ki! he look? now he cross PRES. yours small

541 Nj; de mé à go duom baá ye ve. À bəˈá bəʊ nan wa? 
de mé à go duom baá ye ve À bəˈá bəʊ 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; Bˈé bəʊ né nan 
Bˈé bəʊ né nan 
we do is how

544 Ga; Tue:( ) tam chu dɔŋ le moptere bɔ nna tue. 
tue tam chu dɔŋ le moptere bɔ nna 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 te ten badi 
uar te ten badi 
person NEG. there-is approach

547 Chu mə lu de, nuar ten badi ñgwe, 
chu mə lu de nuar ten badi ñgwe
Conclusions

Ma nuar- ma nyuri yila, gom tene, wòn tene baá, ma nuar ma nyuri yila gom tene wòn tene baá if person if grass enter belt break world break PRES.

Saa, bó bó yè hén. saa bó bó yè hén that they do yours this

WB; Chum chu à tan ten chum chu à tan ten< time time he market there-is

To, Chu mè lu bade, nuar de sen fale ñgwè to chu mè lu bade nuar de sen fale ñgwè To time with day approach person that theirs upset NEG.

Saa mì tue wa: ne nyèn. saa mì tue wa: ne nyèn that I say say is lies

Bò, bóo jògo hèn, gè nda di, bóó jògo hèn gè ndagá di they do marry this at bed some

ma mì naa lebu naa ñgwè ga gè Njere giyè <=Laughter ma mì naa lebu naa ñgwè ga gè Njere giyè< if I PAST hit PAST NEG. there at Njere over-there

Bò vè ne mèn, bò sep mèn ndo. bò vè ne mèn bò sep mèn ndo Pl. woman is thus Pl. male thus also

Nda dè mè mì lebu ñgwè ne gè Nda dè mè mì lebu ñgwè ne gè young men of which I hit NEG. is at

takere nda dè hì? takere nda dè hì what sort young men of where

Ga; Ma sela naa nan bó le tu no wa. Ne nan bó le to no wa? ma sela naa nan bó le tu no wa ne nan bó le to no wa if cross PAST how we in before also QN. is how we in before also QN.

Bí bí fa, ne yuo chibi teni, ne mè ne leteni chibi bí bi fa ne yuo chibi teni ne mè ne leteni chibi you you two is leave night period is with is between night

Sarki, Sarki ndée le jògo naa ke wa yuo de le naa Sarki Sarki ndée le jògo naa ke wa yuo de le naa Sarki Sarki come in first PAST what QN. leave of PAST PAST

Ŋgonbi le jògo mbe yaa, saa Sarki le naa le sep nda. końbi le jògo mbe yaa saa Sarki le naa le
Conclusions

563 Sarki ???kum wanyu da.
Sarki ??kum wanyu da
Sarki just else of

564 Ne lu ma bó nde à mbe yaa saa mwe.
ne lu mè bó nde à mbe yaa saa mwe
is day with they go to beer young women that drink

565 Se bó je ndée ndée bó nyàm we
se bó ja ndée ndée bó nyàm we
so they say come come come they extinguish fire

566 se baá lêm ko vogo mba.
se baá lêm ko vogo 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; Njërëdî ten yuo ñgwa.
njërëdî ten yuo ñgwa
something there-is leave NEG.

569 Ne dëné sogo ma bó Gumbe
ne dëné sogo ma bó Gumbe
is here only if Pl. Gumbe

570 chibi jëgo yelili den ñgwà ma bó ve manji
chibi jëgo yelili den ñgwà ma bó ve manji
night carry evening stay NEG. with Pl. woman small

571 Chia bó ñoro baá ñene Ki!
chia bó ñoro baá ñene ki!
outside they back PRES see Ki!

572 Nj; Ki!
ki!
Ki!

573 Gw; Bô sep mëna, bó ve mëna eehee (20)
bô sep mëna bó ve mëna eehee
Pl. male thus Pl. woman thus

574 To, Bô nda bóó njì.
to bó nda bóó njì
To Pl. young men do thing

575 Naa mi tue ne jë:
naa ml tue ne jë
PAST I say is say

576 kwun mô ne ve ndeka më duom ()
kwun mô ne ve ndeka më duom
forehead mine is bad from with start

577 njì mô pat ne bó ñgam. Ne mëna naa.
njì mô pat ne bó ñgam ne mëna naa
thing mine all is place divination is thus PAST
Conclusions

578  Kẹnšẹn, sua mọ bó kulọ dẹ huan mani tam,
kẹnšẹn sua mọ bó kulọ dẹ huan mani tam 
now sua which they bless of child small none

579  huan mani ma à jọgọ ve, à huan mani sam su.() 
huan mani ma à jọgọ ve à huan mani sam su 
child small if he marry woman he child small not again-NEG

580  Chaŋ aa bóọ tẹ tubu bu fela gẹ mọ mọ ọgene ke bili 
chaŋ aa bóọ tẹ tubu bu fela gẹ ọgene ke bili 
chaŋ PAST do NEG. conceive her like suffering which I see 
at together

581  jumu hẹn dẹ, mọ mọ kwa, kwa ọgam tẹ. 
jumu hẹn dẹ mọ mọ kwa ọgam tẹ 
after this that which I put put because so

582  Allah saa dẹ bó nuar à kuọ ìgbùn kum kuọ 
allah saa dẹ bó nuar à kuọ ìgbùn kum kuọ 
that of we person they-S. die all just die

583  (3) Tẹue tẹue ka de tẹue. 
(3) tẹue tẹue ka de tẹue 
(3) say NEG. say at of say

584 Nj;  Wọ ne twa hi? 
wọ ne twa hi 
you is roast where

585 Gw;  Allah () Ma jibi ka man, 
Allah if shake at thus

586  mọ nde nde jumu, nji bí bóọ mbar dẹ, 
mọ nde nde jumu nji bí bóọ mbar dẹ 
with go go after thing you do square that

587  bí see tena, wọ nde nde ha wọ kọ wọ gwọm ọgwẹ 
bí see tena, wọ nde nde ha wọ kọ wọ gwọm ọgwẹ 
ğini ẹ ọgene gẹ jumu. 
you work cut-through, you go go until you know you pay 
NEG.

588  Wọ ọgene gẹ jumu. 
wọ ọgene gẹ jumu 
you see suffering after

589 Jb;  (1) aa bó dí ne man, 
(1) aa bó dí ne man 
(1) aa they other is thus

590 Nj;  xxxxxxxxx 
xxxxxxx

591 Jb;  Bọ dí jumu saa fona se, 
bọ dí jumu saa fona se 
they other after that search NEG.

592 Nj;  xxxxxxxxx 
xxxxxxx

251
Conclusions

593 Jb; Bò di van ten
bò di van ten
they other evil there-is

[ ]

594 Nj; xxxxxxxx. To
xxxxxxxx to
so

595 Jb; Dì yè ne ju dè bò huan-
dì yè ne ju dè bò huan
of yours is talk of Pl. child

596 dè bò nuar ten. Bò nuar nuar ne ten.
dè bò nuar ten bò nuar nuar ne ten
of Pl. person there-is Pl. person person is there-is

597 Gw;
À tue ka ne nan wa? Dè bò nuar ne ten.
À tue ka ne nan wa dè bò nuar ne ten
he say at is how QN. of Pl. person is there-is

598 Dè bò, bò bò mií ne ten,
dè bò bò bò mií ne ten
of them PL. Pl. mother is there-is

599 bò nuar kan ne ten.
bò nuar kan ne ten
Pl. person anyone is there-is

600 bò nuar kan ten, () To.
bò 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 mì go mií mò ten ndo.
mì go mií mò ten ndo
I walk mother mine there-is also

603 Nj; Ne ka mòna
ne ka mòna
is at thus

604 Gw; Mì tue ka dè mò mòna.
mì tue ka dè mò mòna
I say at of mine thus

605 ama mì ãene ka,
ama mì ãene ka
but I see at

606 Jb; mì jè mì ãene ka ãgam dè ãene naa.(2)
mì jè mì ãene ka ãgam dè ãene naa
I say I see at divination of see PAST

607 NG; Ne ka sua, sua cho ka bê koó (2)
ne ka sua sua cho ka bê koó (2)
is at sua sua chop at us SUB.EMP.

608 Nj; Ne baga fa òng wa,
ne baga fa òng wa
Conclusions

is good two all QN.

609 NG; Bó je fa dɔŋ xxxxx
bó je fa dɔŋ xxxxx
they say two all

610 Nj;
Bé naga Bé naga Bó Bó wë njai bon.
bé naga bé naga bó bó wë 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 charù sua koš, bó sum kalòn koš, bó cho sua.
bó sum nde charù sua koš bó sum kalòn koš
bó cho sua
they remove go chicken sua SUB.EMP. they remove money
SUB.EMP. they chop sua

613 Aaa nde ne nuar chén de, ndeka bé bɔ́ sum bó
aaa nde ne nuar chén de ndeka bé bɔ́ sum bó
aaa go is person one of must we do remove them

614 Jb;
Ne mëna
ne mëna
is thus

615 Nj; Bé bɔ́ sum bélé dëna wa.
bé bɔ́ sum bélé dëna wa
we do remove us here QN.

616 Jb; Ha nde nde de jemu nde ne waga chén ne bó,
ha nde nde de 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 kalòn de.(3)
aaa sum bu kalòn de
aaa remove it money that

619 Mb; Fabé...fabé Bt hën de, ma de jemu waga chu a,
fabé...fabé Bt hën de ma de jemu waga chu a
like like Bt this of if of after fast return to

620 ma tue wò tue ṣgwë ne koš, jumu sua fela më ne gi chén.
ma tue wò tue ṣgwë ne koš jumu sua fela më ne gi chén
if say you say NEG. is SUB.EMP. after sua listen with is
end one

621 Ml tue ne hën.
Ml tue ne hën
I say is this

622 Gw; Ne ka ggɔ́r bu aa.
ne ka ggɔ́r bu aa
is at speech his to
[623 Mb;  Ne  ngam ka...ngam kam
ne ngam ka...ngam kam
is divination old divination old

624 À den ngwé njai mba de.
À den ngwé njai mba de
it stay NEG. thing free very

625 Gw;  Ne ka mèna
ne ka mèna
is at thus

626 Ga;  xxxxx
xxxx

627 Gw;  Wò ye nuar am ngwé gia.
wò ye nuar am ngwé gia
you eat person NEG. NEG. end

628 Bò bò su wò dole ndo bò bò bò dole ndo.
bò bò su wò dole ndo bò bò bò dole ndo
they do again you cool also they they they cool
[

629 XX;  aaaaaaaa aaaaaaaa

630 Gw;  Hèn ne njai dole=
hèn 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 Dë gun kaga ne kalon ne da kalon de tare.
dë gun kaga ne kalon ne da kalon de tare
of okra pick is money is of money of hard

633 Fé suá ne chuar.
fé suá ne chuar
head suá is chicken

[634 Mb;  Chuar
chuar
chicken

635 Nj;  Fé suá ne chuar, kalon hèn ne tare mba(4)
fé suá ne chuar kalon hèn ne tare mba
head suá is chicken money this is hard freely

636 Jb;  Ha njì be Ng tè à ha mgbe (2)
ha njì be Ng tè à ha mgbe
give thing hand Ng so he give chief

637 Nj;  Kalon ne njai tare mba
kalon ne njai tare mba
money is thing hard freely

638 Fé suá ne chuar dë.
fé suá ne chuar dë
head suá is chicken that
Conclusions

639 Jb; Ng wə chuar, ha nji mgbe
Ng wə chuar ha nji mgbe
Ng take chicken give thing chief

640 Ny; () Wò sie ṣgwà, ju tue ne Ịgwà.
wọ sie ṣgwà ju tue ne Ịgwà
you take feather talk say is NEG.

641 Ch; Hẹn à ne chuar chén, chuar taar sam Ịgwà
hẹn à ne chuar chén chuar taar sam Ịgwà
this it is chicken one chicken three not NEG.

642 MB; Sie ṣgwà saa
sie ṣgwà saa
take feather that

643 Nj; à sie ṣgwà chuar.
à sie ṣgwà chuar
he take feather chicken

644 Ch; À sie ṣgwà no
À sie ṣgwà no
he take feather also

645 Nj; Sie ṣgwà Bt sie ṣgwà.
sie ṣgwà Bt sie ṣgwà
take feather Bt take feather

646 Mb; Ha nji bu, bili nji mè bu.
ha nji bu bili nji mè bu
give thing him together thing with him

647 Ny; Sie mè chuar dà.
sie mè chuar dà
take with chicken of

648 NJ; Sie mè chuar dà.
sie mè chuar dà
take with chicken of

649 Mb; Òw mèna (2)
Òw mèna (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 kalon saa wə ma. L'argent.()
wə kalon saa wə ma l'argent
take money that take then

653 Ni bóóc né ko wa? Bí wə né wə
Ni bóóc né ko 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

Conclusions

655 Ga; Ha nji Baba
ha nji Baba
give thing Baba

656 Nj; (1) Mose à wə te kalon saa wə ma. Bí jə: baá sam su ndo.
(1) Mose à wə te kalon saa wə ma bí je baá sam
su ndo
(1) Mose he take at money that take then you say PRES not
again-NEG also

657 Ch; Wò kum, baá dì yə
wò kum baá dì yə
you just PRES. of yours

658 NJ; Aaa wə nji chogo bí gwan
aaa we nji chogo bí gwan
aaa take thing stick you want

659 Ch; fada boó ne ko ??kuɔp mba ni Bó boó ni wa?
fada boó ne ko kuɔp?? mba ni bó boó ni wa
like do is know scrape freely who. they do who QN.

660 Ni; Njaibi we su koɔ wa?
njaibi we su koɔ wa
take again SUB.EMP. QN.

661 NJ; ææ
ææ

662 NI; Ha be Niŋə hən
ha be Niŋə hən
give hand Niŋə this

663 Nj; Ha ma kulu (2)
ha ma kulu
give then bless

664 Ny; Tə kuɔp kadi
tə kuɔp kadi
so scrape really

665 Nj; À kwa tə kuɔp kuɔp a bu.
À kwa tə kuɔp kuɔp a bu
he put so scrape scrape to him

666 Bí; Sua sen ne ləm be bóɔ
sua sen ne ləm be bóɔ
sua his is only hand theirs

667 A sɔɡɔ mli se kuɔp s’úu koɔ
a sɔɡɔ mli se kuɔp súu koɔ
to only I NEG. scrape again-NEG SUB.EMP.

668 Ni; À kuɔp ne lu koɔs, À nyən ɡgwə().
À kuɔp ne lu koɔs À nyən ɡgwə
he scrape is VB.EMP. SUB.EMP. he forget NEG.

669 Nj; To bù ne be ni wa?
to bù ne be ni wa
To knife is hand who QN.
Conclusions

(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

670 MS; (4) Ho yo.

671 Nj; (3) Ha nji
(3) ha nji
(3) give thing

672 Mb; Ha nji (1)
ha nji (1)
give thing (1)

673 Ny; Ha ngwe Ngomni à ne mə sua be ma.
ha ngwe Ngomni à ne mə sua be ma
give NEG. Ngomni he is with sua hand then

674 Nj; Wo sela wò kuɔp
wò sela wò kuɔp
you cross you scrape

675 Ny; Njomni à ne kuɔp koɔ.
Njomni à ne kuɔp koɔ
Njomni he is scrape know

676 Ma ma mì kuɔp vaa də koɔ, mì sə mɔ gu o ye suú.()
ma ma mì kuɔp vaa də koɔ mì sə mɔ gu o ye
suú if if I scrape torso of SUB.EMP. I NEG. mine house yours
again-NEG

677 Wə de, wə nji han, wò kela chie.
wa de wa nji han wò kela chie
take of take thing this you pass outside

678 Ni; Bí la ya den baá də bí wanyu
bí la ye den baá də bí wanyu
you PAST yours stay PRES. of you else

679 NJ; eee
EEE

680 Ny; Wò ha nji bɔ huan mani, bɔ huan ñela.
wò ha nji bɔ huan mani bɔ huan ñela
you give thing Pl. child small Pl. child roast

681 Ny; Wò ha nyí, nyí ñela ne ko ma.
wò ha nyí nyí ñela ne ko ma
you give speaker speaker roast is SUB.EMP. then

682 Nj; Bɔ kuɔp ke chie. Bí kwa nde ne be mani.
bɔ kuɔp ke chie bí kwa nde ne be mani
they scrape to outside you put go is hand thus

683 Bt a, bí yuo kela de chie.
Bt a bí yuo kela de chie
Bt to you leave pass of outside

684 Bí fa dɔog bí yə, bí kwa nde ne be mani.
bí fa dɔog bí yə bí kwa nde ne be mani
you two all you yours you put go is hand thus
Conclusions

686  Bọ kulu ka chiè.
    bọ kulu ka chiè
    they bless at outside

687  Ni;  Mì ko ko ma.
    mì ko ko ma
    I know know then

688  Nj;  (4) kuop kop chiè (2)
       (4) kuop kop chiè
       (4) scrape side outside

689  Ni;  Bọ kuop gi, bọ ọlẹ ya ma.
       bọ kuop gi bọ ọlẹ ya ma
       they scrape end they roast yours then

690  Ny;  Bí sie kwa dẹ be ma. Sie kwa mẹ be <=laughter
       bí sie kwa dẹ be ma sie kwa mẹ be
       you take put of hand then take put with hand

691  Ny {to merup};  Dẹ bí bố fona wuli bọ jar.
       ny to dẹ bí bố fona wuli bọ jar
       of you do search bring Pl. firewood

692  Nj;  Yuo kela chiè tu. Mì na ha nde kuop kuop ne ka be.
       yuo kela chiè tu mì ne ha nde kuop kuop
       leave pass outside before I PRES until go scrape scrape
       is at hand

693       () Ne ka le be, () tẹ kuop ne koọ.
       () ne ka le be () tẹ kuop ne koọ
       () is at in hand () so scrape is SUB.EMP.

694  Gw;  aaa gi ka yor mọ.
       aaa gi ka yor mọ
       aaa end at body mine

695  Ha nuar nuar yula yor ọlọ yara
       ha nuar nuar yula yor ọlọ yara
       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, bẹ bẹ bẹ chẹn-e,
       (1) bí kwa be mani, bẹ bẹ bẹ chẹn-e
       (1) you put hand thus place place place one

698  bí kwa bẹ chẹn-e mba ee bẹ chẹn-e mba
    bí kwa bẹ chẹn-e mba ee bẹ chẹn-e mba
    you put place one freely place one freely

Between lines 699-707 the nduŋgu sua is being scraped.

699  Jb;  Bí fa bili bọ mbì
       bí fa bili bọ mbì
       you two together Pl. friend

700  Gw;  <3 Dẹ hẹn mọ ma kwa bu jemu,
       de hẹn mọ ma kwa bu jemu
       of this mine if put him second
Conclusions

701 ma mì kwa, allah, mì wọpẹ ne bu.
702 if I find I organise is him

703 Nj; (4) Wọ kuop, wọ kuop nji kop di, bò nji kop di.
4 wọ kuop wọ kuop nji kop di bò nji kop di
you scrape you scrape thing side other Pl. thing side

704 Mb; (2) Dəm əmgbe tue naa de, à tue naa gəchén.
(2) of which chief say PAST here he say PAST at true

705 hən ne ??nəgo vən=
hen ne ??nəgo vən
this is meat evil

706 Gw; =ndeka bí naa boş əgəwə,
ndeka bí naa boş əgəwə
from you PAST do NEG.

707 wọ jula kwa hən də,
you flee put this here

708 Hən də chì jula kwa mì ka loʃ,
this here this flee find me at compound

709 NJ; Ma baa kuop, wọ wə tabé wọ kwa le nyəgo də.
ma baa kuop wọ wə tabé wọ kwa le nyəgo də
if PAST scrape you take earth you put in finger of

710 Wọ kema kwa tabé tə əgo??
you touch put earth at left

711 Gw; Allah. Tue jula əpəpəg ləm je:
say flee mill only say

712 nuar bu hən â boʃ nan ma.
person him this he do how "really"

713 To, tue naa bò Mvu, bò Mvulu bò bò dim, bò Kʊŋ su,

714 bò  Kʊŋ su

715 Bò jə; bò nde naa tə bò nde mì tue.
they say they go PAST so they go me say
Conclusions

716  Mì jë: mì ko ŋgwë.
    mì jë mì ko ŋgwë
    I say I know NEG.

717  Jb;  Watu bë tue: të tue. Wa: të tue
    watu bë tue të tue wa të tue
    say we say NEG. say say NEG. say

718  Nj;  Ma wò wë baà tabë wò kwa le (ŋgor,ŋgo) dë, wò naga.
    ma wò wë baà tabë wò kwa le (ŋgor ŋgo) dë wò
    naga

719  Wò kulu njì bò të temà, wò kulu nuar dì le temà,
    wò kulu njì bò të temà wò kulu nuar dì le
    temà
    you bless thing them at liver you bless person other in
    liver

720  Wò naga më leba ma.
    wò naga më leba ma
    you lick with tongue then

721  Wò naga su më be ŋgo mëna. Mëna.
    wò naga su më be ŋgo mëna mëna
    you lick again with hand left thus thus

722  Wò naga su më ŋgo fìì
    wò naga su më ŋgo fìì
    you lick again with left again

723  Gw;  Një baà mì ko ŋgwë.
    një baá mì ko ŋgwë
    thing PRES. I know NEG.

724  Bí den nöŋ, bí vulu ka mì.
    bí den nöŋ bí vulu ka mì
    you stay quiet you leave at me

725  Mb;  aaa ju hënd ë, Bí ñue ë ñue ya.
    aaa ju hënd ë bí ñgë de ñgue yë
    aaa talk this here you listen of listen you

726  Bò jë bu a: wò sum sen ndë bòø chëw wa
    bò jë bu a wò sum sen ndë bòø chëw wa
    they say him to you remove his go do outside QN.

55 secs talk about cars due from Banyo (mainly Njaiibi and Jacob)
    omitted

727  Go luli bò yuo gë Mëbro, ma bò chu chu, ma bò ne yë loó
    go luli bò yuo gë Mëbro ma bò chu
    chu ma bò ne yë loó
    walk day-before-yesterday they leave at Mëbro if they return
    return if they is at compound

728  MS;  À tue ne ka mën
    À tue ne ka mën
    he say is at thus

729  Mb;  Ngàm
Conclusions

ngàm
because

730 MS; Bí tə see tə sen
bí tə see tə sen
you NEG. work at his

731 Mb; wò șene ma?
wò șene ma
you see then

732 Nj; Ju gi aa
ju gi aa
talk end PAST

733 Gw; Nde a tamə nde bọ̀ suu
nde a tamə nde bọ̀ suu
go to consider go do again-NEG.

734 NJ; Nde nde nde di ya.
nde nde nde di ya
go go go of yours

735 Ny; bó nde leyili, bó vulu leyili wa.(3)
bó nde leyili bó vulu leyili wa
they come evening they leave evening QN.

736 NJ; M̀ kó-le cho bá lu
m̀ kó-le cho bá lu
I know chop PRES. freely

737 den ngwè bè...
den ngwè bè
stay NEG. we

738 Ny; Sogo bó kulu gi aa
sogo bó kulu gi aa
only they bless end PAST

739 Nj; wò kulu gi aa de dõgg bó cho ki chén.
wò kulu gi aa de dõgg bó cho ki chén
you bless end PAST of all they chop at true

740 Ny; de rë de më liya në bó cho këla ki chén
de rë de më liya në bó cho këla ki chén
of again of with remains is they chop pass at true

741 Nj; Bó lì nde ke
bó lì nde ke
they stomach go look

742 Ny; aa bë- Lu bó kulu gi aa dõgg bó cho,
aa bë lu bó kulu gi aa dõgg bó cho
aaa we day they bless end PAST both they chop

743 bó cho lêm nji, bó cho lêm nji.
bó cho lêm nji bó cho lêm nji
they chop only thing they chop only thing

744 Mb; Lu ma chén di wa, ma chén di wa
lu ma chén di wa ma chén di wa
day if one other arrive if one other arrive
Conclusions

745  bó() bó() Bó cho baá ki chén ma.
     bó bó bó cho baá ki chén ma
they they they chop PRES. at true "really"

746 Ny;  aa
      aa
      aaa

747 Mb;  Bó sie aa baá kulu fa dóòg
     bó sie aa baá kulu fa dóòg
they take PAST PRES. bless two both

748 Ny;  dóòg. Ki chén saa bó cho cho ki chén#22
     dóòg ki chén saa bó cho cho ki chén
both at true that they chop chop at true

749 (5) Ṣu wò nde jar foni wa. (2)
     (5) Ṣu wò nde jar foni wa
     (5) you go firewood search QN.

750 Ni;  Gamia yuo baá wa, te à nde kwe ha bé kalon ten.
     gamia yuo baá wa te à nde kwe ha bé kalon ten
there-is

751 Nj;  Dap (1) À yuo dap.
      dap (1) À yuo dap
      far (1) he leave long

752 Ny;  (3) Wò je nyí ndeka sie sie gjwè, sie!
       (3) wò je nyí ndeka sie sie gjwè sie!
       (3) you say speaker must take take feather take

753 o jula dena! <=laughter
       o jula dena!<
       flee here

754 Nj;  O Bí ñela su wa? Bí nde ñela ñela ma.
     o bí ñela su wa bí nde ñela ñela ma
     you roast again-NEG QN. you go roast roast "really"

755 Mb;  Bó nde ne ñela, bó nde jar foni().
     bó nde ne ñela bó nde jar foni
they go is roast they go firewood search

756 Ny;  Mì sie, mì tue: ??nyima oì
     mì sie mì tue ??nyima oì
     I take I say year

757 Wò nde sie ma, sie ka sie bu, wò wè wè.(1)
     wò nde sie ma sie ka sie bu wò wè wè
     you go take then take at take it you take take

758 Ni;  Bó mom den ne hên. Mè ñela baa kàn.
     bó mom den ne hên mè ñela baa kàn
we wait here is this when roast PRES already

759 Ha bé nde wè kwo sen mè bé nde dua.
     ha bé nde wè kwo sen mè bé nde dua
until we go take bone his that we go there

760 Ny;  Mì tue naa mèna. Wò jumu nde wè kwa be.
     mì tue naa mèna wò jumu nde wè kwa be
Conclusions

I say PAST thus you after go take put hand

761 Nj Bô nde mə kuɔ
bô nde mə kuɔ
we go with scrape

762 ch; To usuko. Né be b`ɔ nuar kuú ()
To usuko. Né be b`ɔ nuar kuú
So thank-you is hand PL person big

763 Nj: Ñenedog wò kwa mî leyili hən, ??fə bê kuɔp????
Ñenedog wò kwa mî leyili hən $fə bê kuɔp$$
Ñenedog you find me evening this like we scrape

764 wa, mî fə yi ter tu.
wa mî fə yi ter tu
say I attach? at up tree

765 ()O Nyakati ma wò fə ser bê hiun-i <laughter
()o Nyakati ma wò fə ser bê hiun-i
()O Nyakati if you attach? upside-down place different

766 Ny; (2) Wò kɔ su a də je: wò ha njì, ha njì.
wò kɔ su a də je wò ha njì ha njì
you know at of say you give thing give thing

767 Wò yuo a ha mî, Wò njì chu də bu loɔ,
wò yuo a ha mî wò njì chu də bu loɔ
you leave to give me you thing return of him compound

768 keneshaŋ wò nde baá re mɛ njì wanyu <laughter
keneshaŋ wò nde baá re mɛ njì wanyu
now you go PRES. again with thing else

769 Nj; Mî mò mə ñəŋɔr ten am ñgwə wa?
mî mò mə ñəŋɔr ten am ñgwə wa
I mine with there-is NEG. NEG. QN.

770 WB; Ne ten wa?
ne ten wa
is there-is QN.

771 Nj; Ñəŋɔr suə wa?
ñəŋɔr suə wa
ñəŋɔr suə QN.

772 Gw; À jaa ten-
À jaa ten
he laugh there-is

773 Ny; xxxxxxxxxxx

774 Nj; Ma mî li məŋɔjɔ ma wò kuɔ ñgwə,
ma mî li məŋɔjɔ ma wò kuɔ ñgwə
if I stomach morning if you die NEG.

775 leyili saa wò kuɔ baá.
leyili saa wò kuɔ baá
evening that you die PRES.

776 Ne ñəŋɔr mò də.(6)
ne ñəŋɔr mò də
is ñəŋɔr mine that
Conclusions

777 Ki! wòg! () Wòg be´é baá njai. Oì(4)
ki! wòg wòg be´é baá njai oì
ki! world world harm PRES. thing

778 Bu boò cho baá hèn, (1) øø mena ne ki wa?
Bu boò cho baá hèn (1) øø mena ne ki wa
he do chop PRES. this thus is what QN.

779 Ni; Wòg be´é baá njø. Møø ne kø:
wòg be´é baá njø men ne kø
world harm PRES. thing thus is what

780 Bé kulu bu ten am ñgwè.
Bé kulu bu ten am ñgwè
we bless him there-is NEG. NEG.

781 Ch; Kuã à ne de sen san de hi wa?
Kuã à ne de sen san de hi wa
Ku he is of his refuse here where QN.

782 Nj; Mì ko njì wa? Naa munjogo hèn mì naa më Mvulu tue
Mì ko njì wa naa munjogo hèn mì naa më Mvulu tue
I know thing QN. PAST morning this I PAST with Mvulu say

783 Bt?; ama mì më njì fèla ñgwè, mì ñgue ne lu.
ama mì më njì fèla ñgwè mì ñgue ne lu
but I with thing like NEG. I understand is VB.EMP.

784 xx; Bí boò ne nan wa? (1)
Bí boò ne nan wa
you do is how QN.

785 Nj; Bí, bë boò de nan wa?
Bí bë boò de nan wa
you we do of how QN.

786 Bí njai jula, bí ñene ve nuar jula chu,
Bí njai jula bí ñene ve nuar jula chu
you thing flee you see woman person flee return

787 njai nuar jula chu ki! 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; Kalon ne dua, bë wa.()
kalon ne dua bë 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 helì kalon ne dua, bë wa.
chù helì kalon ne dua bë wa
time-period when money is there we say

792 Ni; Chu ha njì à më kalon te wa
chù ha njì à më kalon te wa
Conclusions

time-period give thing he with money NEG. speak

793 Mb; Ko ləm...
ko ləm
even only

794 Ni; À ko ləm bɔ lu mba wanyu
À ko ləm bɔ lu mba wanyu
he know only Pl. day freely else

795 te mə à mumu ŋgwə yə de jə; kalon nde nde ne ten saa,
tə mə à munu ŋgwə ye de jə kalon nde nde ne ten
saa
so with he think NEG. NEG. of say money go go is there-is
that

796 Mï yuo kela.
mï yuo kela
I leave pass

797 Chu mə bɛ bɔɔ məɡo su ama
chu mə bɛ bɔɔ məɡo 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, bɔ ler cher wa?
ama sela naa məna bɔ ler cher wa
but pass PAST thus they loose road QN.

800 Nj; Mï jə: mï tue Bt ma, le təjəɡo kup,
mï jə mï tue Bt ma le təjəɡo kup
I say I say Bt then PAST first all

801 À baá da və de guom, go duɔm yə.
À baá da və de guom go duɔm yə
he PRES. of woman of pay walk start yours

802 () À baá və go duɔm
À baá və go duɔm
he PRES. woman walk start

803 Ch; tue kadi, see baá mə sama
tue kadi see baá mə sama 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 ŋgwə yə
badi à ne wulu ne ŋgwə yə
approach he is enough is NEG. NEG.

806 Nj; Yɔɡɔ bɛ
yɔɡɔ bɛ
surpass us

807 Ni; Hən baá man de, mï kwa bì mə see bì,
hen baá man de mï kwa bì mə see bì
this PRES. how-many of I find you with work yours
808 Bò ne ma togo, bò boò xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
bò ne ma togo bò boò xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
they is with quarrel they do
[  
809 Wb;

810 Nj;

Ko mbe kə, mì yogo bò.
kọ mbe kə mì yogo bò
even length what I surpass them

811 Ní; Mì tue ne mèn kum,
mì tue ne mèn kum
I say is thus just

812 Ne ve boó baá mèn dua, bò nde=
ne ve boó baá mèn dua bò nde
is woman do PRES. thus there they go

813 Nj; bò ve die nde, bò sep die nde.
bò ve die nde bò sep die nde
Pl. woman fall go Pl. male fall go

814 Bò ve baá nde, bò sep sua nde
bò ve baá nde bò sep sua nde
Pl. woman PRES go Pl. male descend go

815 MS; Kalon dèlaman de bò ve ñene ñgwọ dòog
kalon dèlaman de bò ve ñene ñgwọ dòog
money pay of Pl. woman see NEG all

816 Nj; Bí nde nde ya te nde yogo sen.
bí nde nde ya te nde yogo sen
you go go girl so go surpass hers

817 Xx; xxxxxxxxxxxxxx
818 MS; xxxxxxxxxxxx
819 Xx; xxxxxxxxxxxx

820 Nj; Aa mì su nde nde ma? bie de bie ma.
aa mì su nde nde ma? bie de bie ma
aaa I again go go then ask of ask then

821 Ma bó jogo ju ye: guo mì wa? naa su wa2,
ma bó jogo ju ye guo mì wa naa su wa2
if they carry talk yours house me QN. PAST again QN.

822 À kwa kwa bó kə chiẹ?
À kwa kwa bó kə chiẹ
she find find them at outside

823 Xx; À kwa bó kə chiẹ.
À kwa bó kə chiẹ
she find them at outside

824 Ny; Bó tue naa: mave mave, ne be, ne ka njai nuar ka ju.
bó tue naa mave mave ne be ne ka njai nuar ka ju
they say PAST woman woman is hand is at thing person at
case

825 Wò bó nji soọ boò-
Conclusions

wò bò nji sọgọ bọ̀
you Pl. thing only do

826 Nj; Ama mave saa à ne ka de sen <=laughter
ama mave saa à ne ka de sen
but woman that he is at of hers

827 Ny; wò nji sọgọ bọ̀(). Mave kum, wò de ngwe kələhẹn.
wò nji sọgọ bọ̀ mave kum wò de ngwe kələhẹn
you thing only do woman just you know NEG. now

828 Kela ml, ma kuo, wò chu: lane kələhẹn
kela ml ma kuo wò chu lane kələhẹn
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 ve de=
ma ve de
if woman of

831 Ny; =Wò huan sep wò jula kọ́, saye
wò huan sep wò jula kọ́ saye
you child male you flee SUB.EMP.

832 Nj; Ne mọ́na bó jẹ;
ne mọ́na bó jẹ
is thus they say

833 bó yè bó ve kələhẹn bó huan mẹ̀ni bó bọ̀ vẹ̀n ne te, bọ̀...
bó yè bó ve kələhẹn bó huan mẹ̀ni bó bọ̀ vẹ̀n ne te
bọ̀
they say Pl. woman now Pl. child small they do evil is
there-is do

834 À kẹ̀ bọ̀
À kẹ̀ bọ̀
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 bọ̀ ne hẹ̀n ndo
À nji bọ̀ ne hẹ̀n ndo
he thing do is thus also

837 MS; Hẹ̀n de bó ve bó bọ̀ ne chí, de bó gwom ñɡwẹ.
hẹ̀n de bó ve bó bọ̀ ne chí de bó gwom ñɡwẹ
this of Pl. woman they do is that of they pay NEG.

838 Nj;
Hẹ̀n de
hẹ̀n de
this of

839 MS; Ma bó le naa bóɔ gwom-e, kwe lu heli
ma bó le naa bóɔ gwom-e kwe lu heli
if they PAST PAST do pay tomorrow day when
Conclusions

840  huan sep la sie mana bu nan wa
     huan sep la sie mana bu nan wa
     child male PAST take thus her how QN.

841  À sela gwan ṣgwе.
     À sela gwan ṣgwе
     he only?? want NEG.

842  Dj;  Dé han, bé njiba la ju de baán.
     dé han bé njiba la ju de 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 mè chuar, nde na, nde na wè (3)
     nde mè chuar nde na nde na wè
     go with chicken go PAST go PAST take

846  Dé mò kum, mì kulu baá sua, ju mò gi aa.(3) <= Claps hands three times
     dé 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  Dj;  Dé mò kum, mì sua mò ne Luwa chum.(4)
     dé mò kum mì sua mò ne luwa chum.(4)
     of mine just I sua mine is law old (4)

849  Ma bí naa de tue. Ma bí njai nuar jula ṣgwе (8).
     ma bí naa de tue ma bí njai nuar jula ṣgwе (8)
     if you PAST of say if you thing person flee NEG. (8)

850  Ny;  Njai chiè chén (1) gi aa, kelèhèn liya ??de mò kum?? <= Laughter
     njai chiè (1) chén gi aa kelèhèn liya ??de mò kum
     thing outside one (1) end PAST now remains of me just

851  Dj;  Bò chiè fà wa? Di yè Nyakati
     bò chiè fà wa di yè Nyakati
     we day two QN. of yours Nyakati

852  Ni;  Wò jè: kwa kwa tè tue de. Wa chiè chén
     wò je kwa kwa tè tue dewa chiè chén
     you say tomorrow tomorrow to say of say day one

853  mè bó mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ ha
     mè bó mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ mgbaŋ ha
     with one mill? mill? mill? mill? mill? until

854  Dj;  eeee
     eeee

855  Ni;  Njè chiè chén nan ma.(2)
     njè chiè chén nan ma.(2)
thing day one how "really" (2)

856 WB; Njai, jëre yə, ne bí yə suú tuar kuū-si di
Njai jëre yə ne bí yə suú tuar kuū-si
di
Njai sua-enclosure yours is yours yours ginger roast big
some

857 Nj; aaa?

858 WB; Jëre bí yə ne suú terep mbə mbole wa?
Jëre bí yə ne suú terep mbə mbole wa
sua-enclosure you yours is ginger strength pop pop QN.

859 Nj; Jëre yi Beya wa?
Jëre yi Beya wa
sua-enclosure to Beya QN.

860 WB; Yi Beya <=laughter
Yi Beya
at Beya

861 Mb; À ne mè bò njia, à nde mè-
À ne mè bò njia à nde mè
he is with Pl. thing he go with

862 Nj; Aa bí bu fuo chok ñgwə,
Aa bí bu fuo chok ñgwə
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 ñgwə yə
À ne chok fuo ne ñgwə yə
he is cloth blow is NEG. NEG.

866 WB; Ma fuo yogo?
ma fuo yogo
if blow surpass

867 Mb; Kè wa? Ma baá wòŋ mò, kælæhæn mì ne mè vu mèn
kè wa ma baá wòŋ mò kælæhæn mì ne mè vu mèn
what QN. if PRES. world mine now I is with wife thus

868 Nj; Bò naa fuo chok naa tu le
bona fuo chok naa tu le
they PAST blow cloth PAST before PAST

869 Mb; Hè?
hè

870 Nj; Bò naa fuo chok nde ()
bon naa fuo chok nde
they PAST blow cloth go

871 Ch; Le tu bó ne fuo mèn wa? ()
le tu bó ne fuo man wa
in before they is blow thus QN.

872 Mb; Le tu bó fuo chok yə,
le tu bó fuo chok yə
in before they blow cloth yours

873 ge jemu mani, ma baá habaru ğene ğgwə.
ge jemu mani ma baá habaru ğene ğgwə
at after thus if PRES. news see NEG.

874 Bó gwan ne puŋ we ma, puŋ kan puŋ kan puŋ kan.
bó gwan ne puŋ we ma puŋ kan puŋ kan
puŋ kan
they want is reclaim take then reclaim any reclaim any
reclaim any

875 Wiya B; oooo ()

Section untranscribed: c. 2 minutes of talk between Mb, Nj and Ch

876 ch; Ju bí yə, bí bó Kuŋ hən, (3) ne ju də le gəchən kum
ju bí yə bí bó kuŋ hən, 3 ne ju də le gəchən 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 ğgwə jə wuwaga safi bí munu kənehən.()
parce que den ğgwə jə wuwaga safi bí munu
kənehən
stay NEG. talk very-fast tradition you think now

879 Bí ğgene ne lane, ju manji fe-fela, fela ğgwə.
bí ğgene ne lane ju manji fe-fela fela ğgwə
you see is today talk small like like NEG.

880 øhe bə nde kə chìə,
øhe bə nde kə chìə
yes we go at outside

881 kwə fe-fela fela ğgwə, bí nde kə chìə. (3)
kwə fe-fela fela ğgwə bí nde kə chìə. (3)
tomorrow like like NEG. you go at outside (3)

882 øø Dans la generalite bə ne bi dossiers parceque,
øø dans la generalite bə ne bi dossiers parceque
øø dans la generalite we is thing dossiers parceque

883 bə dɔɔg kela nji mə ọgmətə bɔɔ ne dɔɔg.
bə dɔɔg kela nji mə ọgmətə bɔɔ ne dɔɔg
we all pass thing with officials do is all

884 Ọgmətə ke dossiers, à ke bə ma.
ọgmətə ke dossiers à ke bə ma
officials look he look us then

885 Bé kita ne bə wa tam dɔɔg,
bé kita ne bə wa tam dɔɔg
we case is us arrive time all
Conclusions

886 Bò ne kwa wa: ki! bó hän bó,
bó ne kwa wa ki! bó hän bó
they is put say Ki! Pl. this Pl.

887 bó gwan ne kè ne bó boò ju kela.
bó gwan ne kè ne bó boò ju kela
they want is at is they do talk pass

888 Le loò man bó nuar bó gwan ne ju wani,
le loò man bó nuar bó gwan ne ju wani
in village thus Pl. person they want is case much

889 Bò ha ne gi ten.
bò ha ne gi ten
they until is end there-is

890 To ne ñgàm chi wò ñgene mì hän mì den boò,
to ne ñgàm chi wò ñgene mì hän mì den boò
To is because that you see me this I stay do

891 ñgene ko njai dè wò ñgene wa:
ñgene ko njai dè wò ñgene wa
see know thing of you see QN.

892 lane bii kita boò ne mì njulo ke turum ()
lane bii kita boò ne mì njulo ke turum
today thing case do is I accompany at down

893 Le nyima, ma hapdi, ma maga ko mè kita chèn ko fà,
le nyima ma hapdi ma maga ko mè kita chèn ko fà
in year if hurry if many even with case one or two

894 saa maga yogo.
saa maga yogo
that very surpass

895 Bò mè boò pat ne mì gwan ne kita wula loò.
bò mè boò pat ne mì gwan ne kita wula loò
we that do all is I want is cases kill village

896 XX; 

897 Ch; Usuko. To, ju problem bí yè, bí bó Kuŋ hên dè.
usuko to ju problem bí yè bí bó Kuŋ hên dè
thank-you To talk you yours you Pl. Kung this of

898 Mì le tue wa, mì le tue a Kuŋ.
mì le tue wa mì le tue a Kuŋ
I PAST say I PAST say to Kung

899 Mì jè Kuŋ a: à fona kalon.(1)
mì jè kuŋ a à fona kalon
I say Kung to he search money

900 ñgam mì le ñene bi facture,
ñgam mì le ñene bi facture
because I PAST see thing

901 bó le nyara facture kè, () bó naa ha mì.
bó le nyara facture kè bó naa ha mì
they PAST write at they PAST give me
Conclusions

902 Ne bó, bó nyaa facture, bó le ha ml, ne bó bó nyaa facture bó le ha ml is they write they PAST give me

903 tə ml géné njí bó, bó ha naa bó ha naa.(1) tə ml géné njí bó bó ha naa bó ha naa so I see thing theirs they give PAST them give PAST

904 Bó le nyaa facture, bó ha ml.(1) bó le nyaa facture bó ha ml they PAST write they give me

905 Mì tue baá Kuŋ mbo. () Kuŋ je ml a ñë. mì tue baá Kuŋ mbo Kuŋ je ml a ñë I say PRES. Kuŋ himself Kuŋ say me to no

906 Bó njai de bó nyaa bili, bó nyaa bili bó njai de bó nyaa bili bó nyaa bili Pl. thing of they write together they write together

907 bó njí de nyí ko ñgwa.() bó njí de nyí ko ñgwa Pl. thing of speaker know NEG.

908 To bó di nyí ne ko, nyí ne ko, () bu mbo à kwa di ya.(1) to bó di nyí ne ko nyí ne ko 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 və mbo, mə kalon a fona. À tue a si və mbo, mə kalon a fona he say to husband woman himself with money to search

910 À le naa və le waé de hi wa? À le naa və le waé de hi wa he PAST PAST take PAST month of where QN.

911 Mom waé de hi wa? Mom waé de hi wa? () mom waé de hi wa mom waé de hi wa wait month of where QN. wait month of where QN.

912 Bi bu hən dé, ml tue wò gachén, bi bu hən dé ml tue wò gachén thing it this of I say you true

913 Di ya de ñgaa sam ñgwa. di ya de ñgaa sam ñgwa of yours then clear not NEG.

914 Bó bu yila ñgwa, bu ndé ñgaa. bó bu yila ñgwa bu ndé ñgaa 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 wò jolo və, wò ke character mava. lane wò jolo və wò ke character mava today you marry woman you look woman

917 Wò homo ñgwa, wò jə Non,
Conclusions

wò homo ṣgwè wò je non
you tired NEG. you say Non

918

() character yè hèn mì homo ṣgwè.
character yè hèn mì homo ṣgwè
character yours this I tired NEG.

919

Dede nji mè wò bòς su, mì homo ha ṣgwè.
dede nji mè wò bòς su mì homo ha ṣgwè
small thing which you do again I tired until NEG.

920

Ndée nji a. () Gua de ne hiun.
ndée nji a gaa de ne hiun
come thing to home stay is different

921

Lane wò jọgo vè. () Bí yè vè ne guo.
lane wò jọgo vè bí yè vè ne guo
today you marry woman you yours woman is house

922

Lane wò ṣgene mave torter mbi a
lane wò ṣgene mave torter mbi a
today you see woman transgress occasion at

923

Ehe, vè mò a: chúu.
ehe vè mò a chúu
woman mine to return-here

924

Wò hapdi, mave jè: sam, nyí wò sam ṣgwè.
wò hapdi mave jè sam nyí wò sam ṣgwè
you hurry woman say not speaker you not NEG.

925

Wòe hapdi, mave jè: sam nyí wò sam ṣgwè.
wò hapdi mave jè sam nyí wò sam ṣgwè
you hurry woman say not speaker you not NEG.

926

Bòg bu saa ne su de hiun.(2)
bòg bu saa ne su de hiun.2
group her that is again of different

927

Bò fotì ṣgwè kè kələhən, bè melanger pedales.
bò fotì ṣgwè kè kələhən bè melanger pedales
we can NEG. at now we

928

Bon, lane su mave à ne mè huan be ne ten,
bon lane su mave à ne mè huan be ne ten
bon today again woman she is with child hand is there-is

929

sum mave à ne mè huan be sam ṣgwè, pat ne ten.
sum mave à ne mè huan be sam ṣgwè 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 dè hi wa? ne le cher bu hòn wa?
ne le cher dè hi wa ne le cher bu hòn wa
is in road of where QN. is in road him this QN.
Ne le cher bu hän wa? Ne le cher bu hän wa?
ne le cher bu hän wa ne le cher bu hän wa
is in road him this QN. is in road him this QN.

Ne le cher bu hän wa? ()
ne le cher bu hän wa
is in road him this QN.

Ma wò ṣene cher de wò bili nde ne ten,
ma wò ṣene cher de wò bili nde ne ten
if you see road of you together go is there-is

Wò tue kəlahen bí we de biye en gros.
wò tue kəlahen bí we de biye en gros
you say now you take of you-yours

Le see3 ŋgaa naa mè... Gaŋfi bô Li dua.
le see3 ŋgaa naa mè Gaŋfi bô Li dua
in work clear PAST which Gaŋfi and Li there

Ju bí ya nde nde: Bí tə we ju mə sembe.
ju bí ya nde nde bí ta we ju mə sembe
case you yours go go you NEG. take talk with strength

Gaŋfi nuar, bu bu ne bé chén.
Gaŋfi nuar bu bu ne bé chén
Gaŋfi person he he is place one

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

mì ne bu yila: Gaŋfi e, kə wa?,
mì ne bu yila Gaŋfi e kə wa
I is him call Gaŋfi e what QN.

ma bí ṣene, ṣuna bí ye ne be bɔ nuar.()
ma bí ṣene ṣuna bí ye ne be bɔ nuar
if you see child you yours is hand Pl. person

Ne və bí ya, () lane tam chu mə mì ne tue je:
ne və bí ye lane tam chu mə mì ne tue je
is woman you yours today time time-period with I is say
say

aha bɔ nuar ne bu kulu, bɔ nuar ne bu kulu
aha bɔ nuar ne bu kulu bɔ nuar ne bu kulu
mhhhmm Pl. person is her bless Pl. person is her bless

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

Lane ma, kɔ kwe, le nyima, wò wə mana sɔgo ŋgwagam chén,
lane ma kɔ kwe le nyima wò wə mana sɔgo ŋgwagam
chén

today if or tomorrow in year you take thus even maize

one

ve mɔ we ŋgwagam, nde huan. Yogo kənəhən ne kɔ kə?
ve mɔ we ŋgwagam nde huan yogo kənəhən ne kɔ kə
woman mine take maize go child surpass now is SUB.EMP. what

948 Savalon chén jè ve mò wè, bí yè nyí kulu huan ma nji,
savalon chén jè ve mò wè bí yè nyí kulu
huan ma nji one say woman mine take you yours speaker bless child with thing

949 yogo kənəsan ne koś kə?
yogo kənəsan ne koś kə
surpass now is SUB.EMP. what

950 To bí kwa lam cher mba njərədi ten am ngwe.
to bí kwa ləm cher mba njərədi ten am
NEG. To you find sleep sleep freely something there-is NEG.

951 Keləhən kita tue nde wò: huan ne bí yè wa? Ne de mə. keləhən kita tue nde wò huan ne bí yè wa ne de mə 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 məvə koś, ma ne kita tue ne jə wò sum naa məvə koś ma ne kita tue ne jə you remove PAST woman SUB.EMP. if is case say is

954 ma wò sum baá məvə, () wò njərədi bie ngwe ma wò sum baá məvə wò njərədi bie ngwe if you remove PRES. woman you something ask NEG.

955 Jb?; De nyí ma, nyí jəgo ni ma de nyí ma nyí jəgo
ni ma of speaker then speaker marry who then

956 Ch; Saa ne dua bi marriage.
saa ne dua bi marriage that is there thing

957 Ma wò sum ne koʃ, wò njərədi bie ngwe. ma wò sum ne koʃ wò njərədi bie ngwe if you remove is SUB.EMP. you something ask NEG.

958 Mais, ma məvə torter ne koʃ, mais ma məvə torter ne koʃ if woman transgress is SUB.EMP.

959 ko korota be sen liye ne ngwe, Đə yə wò nde ne bie.() ko korota be sen liye ne ngwe đə yə wò nde ne bie even needle hand hers remain is NEG. of yours you go is ask

960 To, mi boș a bu hən đə, ne condition.
to mi boș a bu hən đə ne condition
To I do to her this of is
Conclusions

961 Condition sen, ne ki wa?
condition sen ne ki wa
hers is what QN.

962 Bé ke ne ya; ne baán. Baán de puis que
bé ke ne ya ne baán baán de puis que
we look is yours is illness illness that

963 mə à ne nuar baán, Kuŋ a, le bi,
mə à ne nuar baán Kuŋ a le bi
with he is person ill Kuŋ to in thing

964 le kalon de mə bó ha ne de ()
le kalon de mə bó ha ne de
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 bé ke dede wò bɔɔ ha Taillu dɔɔg,
wò nde nji le fada bé ke dede wò bɔɔ ha taillu
dɔɔg you go thing in like we look properly you do give all

967 ngam yor sen mə nji.()
ngam yor sen mə nji
because body hers with thing

968 Də ye ngam bé nyə内科 ne leteni laó.
də ye ngam bé nyə内科 ne leteni lo
of yours because we repair is between compound

969 XX; Ne mən
ne mən
is thus

970 Ch; Mhm, ngɔr bí ye hən də,
mhm ngɔr bí ye hən də
speech you yours this of

971 den ngwə mbo te bə nde mə sembe.
den ngwə mbo te bə nde mə sembe
stay NEG. only so we go with strength

972 Bé nde mə wə mə akilo.(1)
bé nde mə wə mə akilo
we go with take with intelligence

973 Kop di tema te yula, kop di mbo tema te yula.
kop di tema te yula kop di mbo tema te yula
side other liver at ill side other divine liver so ill

974 Tj; Naa baá cher mban, bə ko ngwə bé si.
naa baá cher mban bə ko ngwə bé si
PAST PRES. road palace we know NEG. we husband

975 Ch; øhə saa bu hən mi tue ne ni mə ni? Wò nde mə akilo.
<=laughter
øhə saa bu hən mi tue ne ni mə ni wò nde mə akilo
yes that he this me say is who with who you go with intelligence
Conclusions

[...]

976 Xx; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

977 Tj; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

978 Den ñgwe dø bø boɔ naa bu ke guo oui.
den ñgwe dø bø boɔ naa bu ke guo oui
stay NEG. of we do PAST her at house

979 ñgam gwan ne ñgwe.
ñgam gwan ne ñgwe
divination want is NEG.

980 Bø di gwan ne ñgwe ko chén.
bø di gwan ne ñgwe ko chén
Pl. other want is NEG. even one

981 Ma bø´e naa bu ko (1) Ma bø´e naa bu ko
ma bø´e naa bu ko 1 ma bø´e naa bu ko
if harm PAST her know if harm PAST her SUB.EMP.

982 Ch; Bì bø´e naa mave, tue ne ko, =
bì bø´e naa mave tue ne ko
you harm PAST woman say is SUB.EMP.

983 =mave bø´e naa bí koɔ?
mave bø´e naa bí koɔ
woman harm PAST you SUB.EMP.

984 () Aa saa ne kita fe nde nde yuo ye.
aa saa ne kita fe nde nde yuo ye
aaa that is case new go go leave yours

985 Puisque dø mò, mì ɲue naa, Dø ve naa mave koɔ, bø jø: oui.
puisque dø mò mì ñgue naa dø ve naa mave koɔ
bø jø oui
they say

986 Tj; [ ]
Bø bø´e naa bu hi wa?
bø bø´e naa bu hi wa
they harm PAST her where QN.

987 Ma baán wa baá le famille, bí ye famille dɔɔ pat
ma baán wa baá le famille bí ye famille dɔɔ pat
if illness arrive PRES. in you yours all

988 bí kuó gia wa?(2)
bí kuó gia wa? (2)
you die end QN. (2)

989 Ch; Non < parce que non se (4) <=laughter
no parce que non se (4)
non parce que non NEG. (4)

990 Mb; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

991 Tj; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

992 Nj; Wò te jø: nyí gwan a jøgo bu kadi <=laughter
wò te jø: nyí gwan a jøgo bu kadi
you at say speaker want to marry her really

993 Tj; Mì jogo ngwə nan
mì jogo ngwə nan
I marry NEG. how

994 Jb; À jogo baá və ma, tue bu mane
À jogo baá və ma tue bu mane
he marry PRES. woman then say her thus

995 Tj; Mì jogo ngwə ye nan wa?
mì jogo ngwə ye nan wa
I marry NEG. NEG. how QN.

996 Mì huan sep sam ngwə?
mì huan sep sam ngwə
I child male not NEG.

997 Jb; (1) Keləhən Mose
(1) keləhən mose
(1) now

998 Tj; (1) Mì jogo ngwə nan?
(1) mi jogo ngwə nan
(1) I marry NEG. how

999 Jb; Ma bí nyəgə chu fone wò boɔ ndo
ma bí nyəgə chu fone wò boɔ ndo
if you repair return search you do also

1000 Ju mò ne ke?
ju mò ne kə
talk mine is what

1001 Naa bí fale tu, bí fale ngwe.
naa bí fale tu bí fale ngwe
PAST you upset before you upset NEG.

1002 Tj; Bí je mi jogo ngwə. Mì jogo ngwə bu nan
bí je mi jogo ngwə mì jogo ngwə bu nan
you say I marry NEG. I marry NEG. her how

1003 Jb; Ke nuar hən, mə tuŋ bì
ke nuar hən mə tuŋ bì
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 ye yɔr mò.
duɔm duɔm naa ye 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; Bɔ nuar jə wò jogo xxx xxx
bɔ nuar jə wò jogo xxx xxx
Pl. person say you marry
Conclusions

1008  ne də bɔ nuar, bɔ huan ne bɔ kə? (1)
ne də bɔ nuar  bɔ huan ne bɔ kə 1
is of Pl. person Pl. child is PL. what

1009 Nj; Bí ju jula=
 bí ju jula
you talk flee
you talk flee

1010 Jb;  =Ne ləm ka yə < ju ka ləm yə, ne sən mə sam.
ne ləm ka yə  ju ka ləm yə ne sən mə sam
is only at yours talk at only yours is mouth
mine not

1011  Êgor yə njulu chi am Hən ne jor.
êgor yə njulu chi am hən ne jor
speech yours eyes that NEG. this is good?

1012 Tj;  Ju hən gi aa? Mə bu hən, ma jəɡə bu, huan jəɡə bu,
ju hən gi aa mə bu hən ma jəɡə bu huan jəɡə bu
 talk this end PAST I her this if marry her child marry her

1013  wɔ və...  wɔ və wɔ nı?
 wɔ və  wɔ wɔ wɔ nı
you woman you you you who

1014 Jb;  Kələhən ne məvə, ma à sì gwan ñgwə kɔ
kələhən ne məvə ma à sì gwan ñgwə kɔ
now is woman if she husband want NEG. SUB.EMP.

1015 Kp;  Bí sere njai bí yə. Bɔ mgbe tue ne kul, de nyí tam ñgwə.
bí sere njai bí yə  bɔ mgbe tue ne kul  de
nyí tam ñgwə
you separate thing yours yours PL. chief say is whisper of
speaker none NEG.

1016  Kələhən ne də mì kɔ, ne...
kələhən ne də mì kɔ  ne
now  is of I know is

1017 Tj;  Wə wa am: də mì, mì nde jəɡə.
 wə wa am  də mì mì nde jəɡə
you say NEG. of me I go marry

1018 Nj;  ()To, Mgbe ha bəá cher.(3)
to mgbe ha baá cher
To chief give PRES. road

1019 Ny;  À ha bọ cher nan?
 À ha bọ cher nan
 he give them road how

1020 Kp;  À ha bọ cher kə? (2.5)
 À ha bọ cher kə?
 he give them road what

1021  À bie njì. à bie njì see sen de.
 À bie njì  à bie njì see sen de
he ask thing he ask thing work his of
[  
1022 XX;  xxxx xxxx xxxx
Conclusions

1023 Kp; À bie ne njai sen.
À bie ne njai sen
he ask is thing his

1024 XX; x

1025 Ni; ðe ve ssó ñgwe, nde ve mgbe ssó ñgwe,
ðe ve ssó ñgwe nde ve mgbe ssó ñgwe
of woman live NEG. go woman chief live NEG.

1026 Nj; Am ñgwe nji manji ma
am ñgwe nji manji ma
NEG. NEG. thing small then

1027 Ng?; Ne ve ðe be sen am ñgwe
ne ve ðe be sen am ñgwe
is woman of hand his NEG. NEG.

1028 Ng?; Ðe mò mì chogo hên=
ðe mò mì chogo hên
of mine I stick this

1029 Mb;

1030 TT; Jacob, yaafi oda xxxxxxxx oda
Jacob, yaafi oda xxxxxxxx oda
Jacob, forgive law xxxxxxxx law

1031 Nj;

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 mòna vi allah, ona.#31
À ne ləm nə mòna vi allah, ona
he is only is thus say allah his

1034 TA; Allah yaafi, wò li yiri bu,
Allah yaafi, wò li yiri bu,
Allah forgive you PAST help him

1035 ðodon nonon allah yaafi kum dën bana nina
ðodon nonon allah yaafi kum dën bana nina
he is thus allah forgive then stay like that

1036 ðe më hotimi bana ni, da hallah debbo on na
ðe më hotimi bana ni, da hallah debbo on na
will-go like this story woman his like

1037 Ni; Mií mò tue dene mì xxx
mií mò tue dene mì xxx
mother mine say here I

1038 Nj;

Mgbe tue gi aa kên. Mì tue gi aa.
mgbe tue gi aa kên mì tue gi aa
chief say end PAST already I say end
Conclusions

1039
Mì furu Kuŋ. Kuŋ à ne hi?
Mi bury Kuŋ Kuŋ he is where

1040
Bé Kuŋ dubu ??????
bé Kuŋ dubu
we Kuŋ plant

1041
() ñgwë à ne kë do ki yë ma.
NEG. he is at here at yours then

1042
À ka dëna kela bé ke wa?
À ka dëna kela bé wa
he at here pass we what QN.

1043
À sela dëne, nyì kela ndë kë löö Kuŋ,
À sela dëne nyì kela ndë kë löö Kuŋ
he cross here speaker pass go at compound Kung

1044
am ñgwë Kuŋ sela ha njì bu ma.
am ñgwë Kuŋ sela ha njì bu ma
NEG. Kung cross give thing her then

1045
À sela li be Kuŋ, ha bu. ()
À sela li be Kuŋ ha bu
she cross PAST hand Kung give him

1046
Wô ha njì dë yë ne kë
wô ha njì dë yë ne kë
you give thing of yours is what

1047 TA; Maw debu hawti debbo dopti sare na. () To Allah ()
Notable gather woman accompany house this () So Allah

1048
Ne yaafi allah le ndugu bu hën
ne yaafi allah le ndugu hën
is forgive allah in area it this

1049 Ni;
Mií mò tue naa mì ko ne njì wa
mother mine say PAST me SUB.EMP. is thing QN.

1050 Nj;
ama njì ka tu mgbe ndë bë ke wa
but thing at before chief go we look QN.

1051 À ndë njì ka tu mgbe, te mgbe tue su bu kë wa?
À ndë njì ka tu mgbe te mgbe tue su bu kë wa
she go thing at before chief so chief say again her at QN.

1052 À ndë ke yor Kuŋ, à wa kë löö Kuŋ,
À ndë ka yor kuŋ À wa kë löö Kuŋ
she go at body Kung he arrive at compound Kung

1053 À li be tutulu Kuŋ, ha njì bu.
À li be tutulu kuŋ ha njì bu
she PAST hand verandah Kung give thing him

1054 À yuo mgbe de ki ye. ()
Conclusions

À yuo mgbe də ki ya
she leave chief of at yours

1055 Mb; Ne ju mə, nuar mə han, tue bə kə kə.
ne ju mə nuar mə han tue bə kə kə
is talk with person with this say we change SUB.EMP.

1056 () De han da, wö le ju de sön mgbe yuo aa,
de han da wö le ju de sön mgbe yuo aa
of this here you in talk of mouth chief leave PAST

1057 Ñue ne ju de yə mə bə chu nde?
ŋue ne ju de yə mə bə chu nde
listen is talk of yours with we return go

1058 Tj; aha, de mə nde jaa, jam tam.
aha de mə nde jaa jam tam
mnhmmm of me go laugh good none

1059 Nj; À nde a tutulu Kuŋ,
À nde a tutulu kuŋ
he go to verandah Kung

1060 À li yi be baá Kuŋ, ha bu.
À li yi be baá kuŋ ha bu
he PAST there hand PRES. Kung until him

1061 Tj; aaaaa.() Duəm ne be yə soş ŋgwə
aaaaa duəm ne be yə soş ŋgwə
start is hand yours live NEG.

1062 Nj; Nde ka te tutulu Kuŋ, li fada nde bə kə wa?
nde ka te tutulu Kuŋ li fada nde bə kə wa
go at at verandah Kuŋ PAST like go place what QN.

1063 Ny;
Ki! vulu ki!
kì! vulu ki!
Ki! leave Ki!

1064 Nj; Ju fada man nde tə yila. Nde tue Kuŋ,
ju fada man nde tə yila nde tue Kuŋ
talk like thus go to call go say Kuŋ

1065 Tue Kuŋ a, ha nji nyí.
Tue Kuŋ a, ha nji nyí
say Kuŋ to give thing speaker

1066 Kuŋ ha wö. Wö mə nji fada Nde ki yə?
Kuŋ ha wö mə nji fada nde ki yə
Kuŋ 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 ŋgwə,
mgbe jə muyni mən am ŋgwə
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
Conclusions

1070 Nj; [À bë fë gi a këñ. 
À bë fë gi a këñ 
aaa we head end to already

1071 Bë te jaa wa?  
bë te jaa wa 
we at laugh QN.

1072 Bë te sôn kumu su ndo.(9)  
bë te sôn 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 ke tu ne ɲuna Njai. 
huna la ke tu ne ɲuna Njai  
child PAST at before is child

1075 Më tue de ɲuna Kuŋ de, ne ɲuna Njai  
më tue de ɲuna Kuŋ de ne ɲuna Njai  
with say of child Kuŋ of is child thing

1076 Nj;  
Nyima netun Nyima netun=  
nyima netun nyima netun  
year twenty year twenty

1077 =Kuŋ nji de gwom de Ɂgwë.  
Kuŋ nji de gwom de Ɂgwë  
Kuŋ thing of pay of NEG.

1078 Mb; À ne ɲuna Njai fada ɲuna nuar sua  
À ne ɲuna Njai fada ɲuna nuar sua  
he is child thing like child person sua

1079 Nj; Ko nyima netun Kuŋ bu nji de gwon de Ɂgwë.(1)  
kо nyima netun Kuŋ bu nji de gwon de Ɂgwë  
even year twenty Kuŋ he thing of pay of NEG.

1080 Ɂgue mì, wò sua. Wò sua wò Ɂaga, Ɂgue mì wò sua wò sua wò Ɂaga  
listen me you descend you descend you climb

1081 wò sua, wò Ɂaga (3) <= Laughter  
wò sua wò Ɂaga  
you descend you climb

1082 Mb; Ɂgue mì Ɂgue mì  
listen me

1083 Wò temë te nji Ɂgwë, to kware baá.  
wò temë te nji Ɂgwë to kware baá  
you send so thing NEG. To beside PRES.

1084 Ɂgue mì, Vèju ne ɲuna ni wa? Ɂgue mì Vèju ne ɲuna ni wa  
listen me Vèju is child who QN.
Conclusions

1085 Kalahan ma wò jula ten. <
kalahan ma wò jula ten
now with you flee there-is

1086 Xx; Bó tue mè akilo akilo
bó tue mè akilo akilo
they say with intelligence intelligence

1087 Nj; (2) Aa? Ñue mí, mgbe tue gi dē sen yië: fiuŋ!
(2) aa ngue mi mgbe tue gi dē sen yië fiuŋ
(2) aaa listen me chief say end of his overthere all

1088 Wò den jemu, wò nde dē yë bé hiuni.
wò den jemu wò nde dē yë bé hiuni
you stay after you go of yours place different

1089 Baán bɔɔ naa kɔɔ, bë naa baán bɔn baán.
baán bɔɔ naa kɔɔ bë naa baán bɔn baán
illness do PAST SUB.EMP. we PAST ill theirs ill

1089 To ju baán dē, bë jə: ìhë bë bɔɔ nan wa?
to ju baán dē bë jə ìhë bë bɔɔ nan wa
To talk illness of we say yes we do how QN.

1091 (1) Ma huan saa dē den ka guo,
im huan saa dē 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 han
À ne die lom tare han
he is fall sleep hard this

1094 Nj; ìë?
ìë

1095 Ga; À ka fo ngwë wa? <= Laughter
À ka fo ngwë wa
he at brush NEG. QN.

1096 Nj; Ma wò ne gwan vë dë, wò nde ne le akilo akilo ne.
ma wò ne gwan vë dë 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 më à le cher lom ne kë guo dë,
À sie më à le cher lom ne kë guo dë
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.
Conclusions

(1) Ma à yə baá guo nuar. Bó baá see bu ja: à ma su və.
(1) Ma à yə baá guo nuar bó baá see bu ja à ma su və.
(1) if she at PRES. house person they PRES. do her say she then again-NEG woman

1101 Nj; De saa à nde den ma à nde vulu tu tu tulu tu baá ki chén.
De saa à nde den 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 njį ne ha wò no.
bó wə njį ne ha wò no
they take thing is give you also

1104 Ga; To
to
To

1105 Nj; Wò nde ne wə kادي, wò wò wò wə njį mə akilo akilo de.
wò nde ne wə kادي wò wò wə njį mə akilo akilo de.
you go is take really you you take thing with intelligence intelligence of

1106 Ñwa;

1107 Ga; Ha ne kə
ha ne kə
give is what

1108 Ny; Bó kiye ñgwə sam.
bó kiye ñgwə sam
they overthere NEG. not

1109 Ñgwa; doɔŋ ne ñgwə ne ko bí-
doɔŋ ne ñgwə ne ko bí
all is NEG. is know you

1110 Ny; Ma bό, bó jula ñgwə yelili wa, yelili wa baá
ma bó bó jula ñgwə 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 kelehen kum, ju də bέ gi aa.
8 to də kelehen kum ju də bέ gi aa
To of now just talk of us end PAST

1112 Ny; De saa mə tuε- mə tue ne ñgwə danə.
de saa mə tue mə tue ne ñgwə danə
of that I say I say is NEG. here

1113 À den kware moni, à sie njį sòn sen "papap."
À den kware moni à sie njį sòn sen "papap."
he stay beside thus he take thing mouth his

1114 Ga; Bí ñene bu mə njį wa?
Conclusions

bí ġene bu mē nji wa
you see him with thing QN.

1115 Ny; Bí ġene ġale foni mani, mē bí kwa nna mēn aal.
bí ġene ġale foni mani mē bī kwa nna mēn aal
you see scrape search thus with you find PAST thus PAST.

1116 Ma dap ne be be nyēn ye.
ma dap ne be be nyēn ye
if long is hand hand lies yours

1117 Ch; < Mì kwogo() kwogo su ha ye loō Jabule <= Laughter
mì kwogo kwogo su ha ye loō Jabule
I chase chase again until at compound Jabule

1118 Ny; (2) Mì nāa ġue nāa
mì nāa ġue nāa
I PAST understand PAST

1119 Ch; (1) Nuar ne be ye, vraiment.
nuar ne be ye vraiment
person is hand yours

1120 Ma njai sap baa ṅe
ma njai sap baa ṅe
if thing mistake PAST of

1121 Nde mì yila moptere wò nde ṅgwə, to
nde mì yila moptere wò nde ṅgwə to
I call meeting you go NEG. so

1122 Ama go ṅgwə nde jə: mì ġue nāa ṅgwə
ama go ṅgwə nde jə mì ġue nāa ṅgwə
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.